Global Agenda 2013:
Water, Energy, and the *Arab Awakening*

FOREWORD BY ABDEL SALAM MAJALI

EDITED BY THOMAS S. AXWORTHY AND ZAFAR ADEEL

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Water, Energy, and the Arab Awakening

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WATER, ENERGY, AND THE ARAB AWAKENING

Edited by
THOMAS S. AXWORTHY AND ZAFAR ADEEL

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Acknowledgements

Foreword

When in office, politicians all over the world are often under enormous pressure to make quick decisions on an endless series of political and policy issues. Sometimes their capacity to make what they perceive as the right decision on such matters is hindered by immediate crises; political pressures, including public disapproval; looming confidence votes in parliaments, or elections; or budgetary difficulties.

Not many people, including many intellectuals and scientists, understand the restrictions of political office, or have a clear idea of the political processes. Some do not appreciate the pressures or the timelines that politicians work to. Both camps, that is, politicians and intellectuals and scientists, recognize the importance of each other. But there seems to be no natural dialogue between the two, because they come from different worlds, sometimes from completely different academic streams. By the same token, few politicians appreciate the possibilities of intellect and science, and how it can be a tool to address real development problems.

Bridging the gap by creating better communications between the scientific and the political communities should be a priority, and — to my mind — has been an area in which the InterAction Council (IAC) has succeeded.

The IAC has been pooling the expertise of world leaders for more than thirty years, and getting them to speak out on a whole range of issues of vital importance to the world community and the community of world leaders alike.

One of the recent themes addressed by the IAC, has been the continuously unfolding events in the Middle East, in what many political scientists have described as the 'Arab Spring,' reminiscent of the Prague Spring of 1968.

The underlying causes of the so-called 'Arab Spring' can simply be described as the inability of some Arab regimes to address national and regional political and economic problems, and thus offer hope to the armies of young men and women searching for a brighter future. Suffice it to say, a major factor that contributed to the so-called 'Arab Spring' is the inability of economies to develop the appropriate value chain, and create the jobs required to meet the demands of the increasing number of graduates. That was further compounded by the inability of economies to achieve sustainable economic growth, and of course continued regional tensions that have taken people's insecurity and frustration to unprecedented levels.

International fora such as the IAC have a commendable role to play in raising the awareness of decision-makers and the public alike on many important global issues. They are capable of mobilizing the experience, energy, and international contacts of statesmen who have held the highest office in their countries to develop recommendations and practical solutions to political, economic, and social problems confronting humanity.

As a politician, but perhaps more as a medical doctor, I learnt to diagnose, and to ask why certain things happen. Moreover, I have realized that intolerance, prejudice, and bigotry can also be seen as forms of illiteracy and ignorance, thereby eroding social values, eating away at our humanity and stamping on our ethical obligations and duties — to one another and to the world as a whole. I believe that if we continue to depend on the rule of force, on power as a deterrent, we will eventually be unable to disable violence. We — all of us in the East and the West — must become more sensitive to the concept of consequences: the consequences of injustice, poverty, illiteracy, lack of opportunity, and despair, which can all lead to the contemplation of violence. This is where the relevance of the policies becomes evident; in creating a better tomorrow for generations to come.

I hope the ideas outlined in this book will provide food for thought to politicians, as well as policy practitioners alike, and contribute to the ongoing debate on the Middle East in particular, and help us all contribute more effectively to global peace and security.

H.E. Dr. Abdel Salam Majali
Prime Minister of Jordan (1993-95, 97-98) and
President of the Islamic World Academy of Sciences

Introduction

ANDRÉS PASTRANA
President of Colombia (1998-2002)

The InterAction Council concentrates on major continuing priorities of the global agenda — the world economy, human security, ethical norms, and ecological balance — and assesses progress or reversals in these areas through a regional lens when it meets in different parts of the world. Thus in 2012, meeting in Tianjin, China, the Council heard from Emeritus Senior Minister Goh Chok Tong, the former Prime Minister of Singapore, about how Asia was transforming the world economy. Goh writes in his contribution to this volume that: "the world is in fact undergoing a profound transition of power and ideas ... when President Barack Obama announced at the G20 Summit in Pittsburgh in September 2009, that the G20 would replace the G8, he was in effect acknowledging the end of the post-World War II era". Goh's insights set a very useful frame for the IAC leaders meeting with then Premier Wen Jiabao and future President of the People's Republic of China, Xi Jinping, and his article succinctly outlines structural changes in the world economy.

Today's 'Arab Spring' is another indication that the post-World War II era is over. In 2012, the Council extensively discussed change in the Middle East and decided to make this theme the centrepiece of its 2013 deliberations. The former Prime Minister of Jordan, Dr. Abdel Salam Majali, presented a tour de force speech on "The Reality Beyond the Failures of Politics and Policies" in the current Arab world for the 31st Annual Plenary Meeting of the Council, held in Manama, Kingdom of Bahrain, in May 2013. Dr. Majali and Moneef Zou'bi, Director General of the Islamic World Academy of Sciences outlined a "number of time bombs" in the Arab world "that have been on the radar for at least a decade": increasing youth

unemployment, financial malpractice, heavy weapon purchase and "the centrifuge of power in many Arab countries." Recent events have been described as an 'Arab Spring' but Majali and Zou'bi believe "it is a spring that has not blossomed so far." These thoughts on challenges and opportunities raised specific concerns about water supply, and these sentiments are equally emphasized by Peter Brabeck-Letmathe, the Chairman of Nestlé, in his contribution to our state of the world discussion. With seven billion people inhabiting the planet, and with China and India making great strides toward becoming middle class societies, Brabeck-Letmathe argues that it is imperative to address resource efficiencies because "if everybody was to adopt an average U.S. lifestyle, and if we were not able to change the way we currently use our resources, we will need the equivalent of four Earths" for our resources supply. When looking at this resources supply-demand quandary, "it turns out that water is by far the most critical." Drinking water needed for human survival is only 1.5 to 3 percent of total water use, much more water is withdrawn (10 percent) to generate energy and by far the greatest amount of withdrawal (70 percent) is required to grow food. Brabeck-Letmathe estimates that "water overuse already represents 10 percent of sustainable supply. If nothing changes, this figure will increase to 60 percent, posing a serious risk for food supply."

It is not, however, all gloom and doom in the Middle East. Majali and Zou'bi mention the peace between Jordan and Israel, a treaty that Dr. Majali signed as prime minister along with Yitzhak Rabin, the former leader of Israel. This 1994 treaty had a major water-sharing component and water cooperation continues between Jordan, Israel and the Palestinian Authority, to save the vanishing Dead Sea. Moneef Zou'bi's article highlights the challenge of water insecurity in the Middle East. Describing decades of turmoil in the traditional domain of military conflict, Zou'bi broadens the discussion to include water "as an issue that influences security and stability in the region, one that can provide an opportunity in the region and one that should be of concern to Arab politicians and the world." One hopeful development that Zou'bi notes, is that in December 2013, at a meeting held at the World Bank, Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinian Authority signed an agreement to seek donors to support the construction of the desalination plant in Aqaba to provide water for Jordan and Israel in the south. In exchange, Israel will provide water from the Sea of Galilee in the north for Palestinians in the West Bank. In addition, there will be a pilot study of a pipeline to link the Red Sea to the Dead Sea. This may provide some relief to the Dead Sea, which now receives little replenishment because of diversions from the River Jordan. At a minimum, the recent agreement is an example of Israeli, Jordanian, and Palestinian cooperation, a result to be applauded and one that counters the perception that there is only bad news about the region.

Another hopeful sign in 2013 was the passage by the UN General Assembly of the Arms Trade Treaty regulating the international trade in conventional arms. Oscar Arias, a Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, former President of Costa Rica and a

long-time member of the InterAction Council, has been arguing for such a treaty since 1996 when he convened a group of fellow Nobel Laureates to press for controls on arms transfers. The position paper of the Arias Foundation included in this volume, "Conventional Arms and the Arms Trade Treaty," describes both authorized and illicit arms transfers; the international trade of arms may be worth US$70 billion a year, with much of the trade being illegal. This huge trade of small arms certainly threatens global peace and security. Amnesty International estimates that 1,500 people die in armed conflict every day. For that reason, former UN Security Council Kofi Annan has called small arms "the real weapons of mass destruction."[1] The Arias Foundation position paper maintains that "the lack of effective legal regulations provides illicit brokers with the opportunity to operate" and that the Arms Trade Treaty "will provide the international standards needed to close the loopholes on which arms brokers rely." In 2012 the InterAction Council urged world leaders to support the Arms Trade Treaty and in 2013, the world community did so. On 2 April, 2013, the General Assembly of the UN voted to adopt the treaty with 154 votes in favour, 3 opposed, and 23 states abstaining. According to the UN Office for Disarmament Affairs, 115 countries have signed the treaty as of December 2013 and nine have ratified it (it needs 50 ratifications to come into force). In calling for states to approve and ratify the treaty, in an op-ed in the New York Times in October 2013, Oscar Arias succinctly made a strong moral point — "Don't Arm Thy Neighbour."[2]

The state of the world in 2013 was, as is always the case in international affairs, uneven. As the articles in this volume articulate, there were problems aplenty, and the tragedy in Syria is particularly heart wrenching. But the Red Sea-Dead Sea agreement on water supply and distribution, the successfully negotiated Arms Trade Treaty, the September 2013 Russia-U.S. brokered agreement with the Assad Regime to fulfill the UN security council resolution to destroy Syria's entire arsenal of chemical weapons, and the November 2013 interim agreement with Iran[3] and the Western powers on a Joint Action Plan to freeze Iran's development of potentially destabilizing nuclear capacity, demonstrate that diplomacy still has a role in trying to make the world a safer place.

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1   Catharine Defontaine, "After Years of Pressure, the UN adopts an arms trade treaty"
     http://www.thenation.com/article/174207/after-years-pressure-un-adopts-arms-trade-treaty
2   Oscar Arias Sanchez "Don't Arm Thy Neighbour" *New York Times*, 23 October 23 2013.
3   The agreements on chemical weapons and the Joint Action Plan with Iran are discussed in later sections.

CHAPTER 1

Water Overuse and Debt as Challenges to Sustainability

PETER BRABECK-LETMATHE
Chairman, Nestlé S.A.

If we want to understand the present state of the world, we could possibly start by looking at it from outer space: we would see a small, blue and green planet. Seven billion people currently inhabit this planet, and if you were to get close enough to see the lights at night, you would realise to what extent these people are concentrated in major urban agglomerations, mostly along the coast of its seven seas.

Today, with a world population reaching levels never seen before, population projections suggesting considerable growth going forward, and greater prosperity for an ever-larger share of this population, the question of resources quite naturally comes up.

Indeed, if everyone on the planet were to adopt an average U.S. lifestyle, and if we are unable to change the way we currently use our resources, we will need the equivalent of four Earths. It thus becomes imperative to address questions of resource efficiency.

When looking at the resources we need going forward, it turns out that water is by far the most critical. First and foremost, water is essential for life; as such, we must consider water as a human right. But the water required for survival represents only about 1.5 to 3 percent of total water withdrawals for human use. Much more water — about 70 percent of total withdrawals for human use and more than 90 percent of actual consumption — is required to grow food and also fibres; about 10 percent each to generate energy in power plants, for industrial processes, and last but not least, for municipal use (beyond basic survival needs) for example, washing a car, watering the lawn, or filling a private pool.[1]

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1   *http://webworld.unesco.org/water/ihp/db/shiklomanov/summary/html/summary.html#4.4.%20The%20 dynamics*

In too many instances, however, water has no value. And water needs a value that reflects its increasing scarcity in order to create the necessary incentives to change the way we use it today. The 2012 report of the InterAction Council (IAC), which calls on the United Nations Security Council to recognise water as one of the top security concerns facing the global community, illustrates the extent to which we should all be concerned.

Today, water overuse worldwide already represents 10 percent of sustainable supply. If nothing changes, this figure will increase to more than 60 percent, posing a serious risk for food supply, since the main consumer of water worldwide is agriculture. In addition, economic development will be affected, due to lack of freshwater for energy generation.

Even as awareness of the water scarcity problem increases however, our understanding of the nature and complexity of the issue (overuse, access to safe drinking water, pollution, etc.) does not seem to be appropriately reflected in general discussions. All too often, relatively unsophisticated polemics seem to be replacing analysis, facts and argumentation.

Some of the polemics:

- On the need to give a value to water to improve efficiency of use — greedy multinationals want to charge individuals for their use of water (bottled water in particular is targeted, despite the fact that bottled water represents only 0.0009 percent of water withdrawals).

- On the notion that, while water is a human right for well-defined basic needs, it is not a free good — companies want to monopolise the global water supply.

- On the suggestion to improve water management (such as reducing loss due to leakage from pipes) of municipal water organisations — a group of neoliberals want to privatise a public service.

- On the idea of full cost recovery for water supply — exploiting the poor.

The UN Secretary-General is trying to bring back clarity and focus to these discussions, with a priority on goals and measurable targets, rather than general polemics. A member of his Eminent Persons Group for the post 2015 Development Goals, Paul Polman, invited me to act as water ambassador for a broad, informal consultation on the business side. Based on this consultation, I propose the following targets as part of one stand-alone water-related goal:

1. **Universal access to improved drinking water** by 2025, with a parallel focus on quality, moving from an 'improved' water perspective to 'truly safe' drinking water.

2. **Accelerate** the provision of access to **improved sanitation** to at least 120 million additional people per year, aiming for **universal access** before 2050.

3. **Adequate treatment of all municipal and industrial wastewater prior to discharge** by 2030.

4. Finally, yet fundamentally, in order to address the water overdraft, we must aim to **bring withdrawals back into line with sustainable supply** (defined as natural renewal minus environmental flows).

Implementation of the above targets has to happen locally, i.e., in countries and watersheds, and must be fact-based, non-ideological, and ultimately, cost effective. More on this and other practical aspects of my proposals may be found on my blog, *www.Water-Challenge.com*.[2]

There is another dimension to be kept in mind. The InterAction Council's 2012 report states: "Constitutional enactment represents an impotent attempt to address the conditions that underlie the global water crisis."[3] We have to understand the order of magnitude of water overuse and of the financial resources needed for municipal water infrastructure. The maintenance and improvement of a deteriorating municipal water supply, providing access for those 780 million people that do not have access to an improved water source today, and investing in sanitation facilities and wastewater treatment requires a total cumulated (to 2030) investment of some US$20 trillion[4]; the IAC report even refers to the amount of US$26 trillion. These investment requirements need to be set against a background of fiscally stressed, and in some instances, even bankrupt states in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

This brings me to my next point: the overuse of financial resources over the past decades by both governments and citizens. This debt has three major components, most of which is hidden debt: household debt from overspending by individuals combined with public debt from overspending by governments and pie-in-the-sky promises accumulated over the last 10-20 years. This has led to total debt levels in the order of several hundreds of percentage points of GDP. Most of this debt does not appear in official accounts. Any CFO of a private company would find himself in prison if he were to use the same loose accounting methods as those used by governments. As opaque as the accounting, are language and "analysis."

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2   *http://www.water-challenge.com/default.aspx*

3   Harriet Bigas (ed), The Global Water Crisis: Addressing an Urgent Security Issue Papers for the InterAction Council, 2011-2012.

4   World Economic Forum (2012) "Strategic Infrastructure: Steps to Prioritize and Deliver Infrastructure Effectively and Efficiently," page 52. *http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_IU_StrategicInfrastructure_Report_2012.pdf*

Instead of debt, politicians talk about "imbalances." The current crisis caused by high debt and currency inflexibility within the Eurozone is conveniently called a "crisis of capitalism and free enterprise."

As a result, the main "reform efforts" that we are seeing today are simplistic and reflect a polemic, often counter-productive make-believe approach, not unlike the one on water:

- Addressing the *symptoms* of the last crisis (heavy banking regulation, deficit spending, with hopes that this will generate growth, "no austerity") rather than its underlying *causes*, i.e., private debt driven by extremely low interest rates that in many instances have caused recent banking crises in the U.S. and Europe, uncovered high expected pension costs, and in particular, soaring healthcare costs due to changing demographics.

- Attacks on private initiative and enterprise ("greed"), those who were successful and have put some money aside ("inequality"). Proposals for greater redistribution (recently even postulated by organisations such as the OECD, which until now were supporters of more market-based approaches), and wage compression as occurred in the 1970s (for example, scala mobile in Italy; the time of Eurosclerosis in the late 70s and early 80s resulted from these politics). Many people have forgotten that companies, by investing productively and innovatively, are the main sources of broad prosperity. Using a quote from Abraham Lincoln, often repeated by Margaret Thatcher: "You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong. You cannot bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift. You cannot help the wage-earner by pulling down the wage-payer."

- A new form of tax competition whereby governments are trying to get a higher share of tax revenue at the expense of others — and to further increase tax revenues overall.

I have addressed two very different topics, but if you take a closer look, there are some clear analogies that can be drawn. First, with respect to the nature and size of the sustainability challenge: lakes and rivers are drying up from water overuse and misallocation; similarly, the overuse and misallocation of financial resources has resulted in the massive rise of debt levels. Second, with respect to some of the causes: water is being overused because too many people refuse to give it a value; meanwhile interest rates — the market price for credit — are being kept artificially at absurdly low levels. And third, with respect to the consequences: in both areas, we will pay a very high price in the future for not taking actions now.

At this point in time, we can still change outcomes — members of the IAC are well placed to drive this change. They have the experience as heads of state, of government, and the advantage of no longer having to fight for re-election to make the kinds of proposals that rise above ideology and polemics, that bring transparency to the nature and scope of the real issues at hand and represent solutions that are relevant and cost-effective.

In that sense, every crisis, if analysed and addressed seriously, is also an opportunity, i.e., to find a way back to true resource efficiency in the areas where it matters most. I started in outer space, because we need to look at the whole in order to be able to sort out the issues locally.

Present State of the World

GOH CHOK TONG
Prime Minister of Singapore (1990-2004)

2.1   INTRODUCTION

I have had the pleasure of visiting Tianjin several times. In Tianjin, one can be excused for forgetting that the world faces many troubling challenges. I have been struck by the scale of Tianjin's ambition and vision, and the pace of its development. The clearest example is the Tianjin Binhai New Area, a major economic development to the east of Tianjin City. It is about 3,000 square kilometres in size. That is more than four times the size of my country, Singapore. Like Singapore, Tianjin is home to many major global companies. It is also home to a government-to-government project between Singapore and China, called the Tianjin Eco-city, a large-scale 'green' development in one of the 10 zones in Tianjin Binhai New Area. I had the privilege of proposing this project to Premier Wen Jiabao, who immediately accepted it, given China's desire to achieve sustainable development. The joint venture partners, backed by the Tianjin authorities and the two governments, have worked very hard and I am particularly pleased with the significant progress that has been made. We have transformed a tract of barren salt flats and a lake used for toxic waste into a sparkling, environmentally friendly city, which when completed in about 10 to 15 years, will house up to 350,000 residents. The eco-city will serve as a model of sustainable development for the rest of China.

Tianjin clearly illustrates the unprecedented economic growth China has experienced since Deng Xiaoping opened the country to the outside world in 1978. China's growth will continue unabated, though at a slower rate, reflecting the

maturing of its own economy and the global economic slowdown. At the same time, China's emergence as an economic powerhouse will have a profound impact on the global economy and far-reaching implications on the geopolitical landscape.

Hence, I believe that it is appropriate to discuss the "Present State of the World" with China's rise as a backdrop. In commenting on this topic, I will not be prescriptive, but instead try to highlight the key trends that have shaped, and will continue to shape our world.

2.2   CURRENT GLOBAL TRANSITION

The world has changed profoundly over the last five years. This is hardly an insightful observation. In today's highly inter-connected world, economic dependence on other countries is a reality. It is also impossible for any country to isolate itself from major geopolitical changes and transnational issues like terrorism, pandemics and climate change. But my point is that picking our way through these changes often confounds us.

Take for instance the so-called 'Arab Spring' that has changed the face of the Middle East. From Egypt to Libya and from Yemen to Syria, the aftermath of the uprisings and the legacies they will leave behind is unclear. It will take many years for new national leaderships to right their ship of state and restore equilibrium. What will be the ideology of the new leaders? Would they be secular or religion-based? To put it starkly, will they be pro or anti-West?

Transnational terrorism, fuelled by violent religious extremism, remains a potent threat despite the deaths of Osama bin Laden and other key Al-Qaeda leaders. There has also been a worrying trend involving self-radicalised 'lone wolf' terrorists who are motivated by extremist ideology — jihadist or otherwise. How should nations and societies deal with these worrying threats?

The state of the global economy remains weak. The U.S. economy has picked-up slightly, with leading indicators pointing to a nascent recovery, but questions over the sustainability of this recovery remain. However, the Eurozone is in a mild recession, and a sustained recovery is uncertain. Europe needs to address fundamental structural challenges for it to regain confidence and sustain its growth in future. Will the austerity measures work? Are the European governments politically strong enough to take tough, painful policy decisions and will Europeans accept prolonged austerity measures with high joblessness? If Europe does not address these serious challenges well, how will this affect the world economy? I am personally holding my breath as I watch the EU deal with its crisis.

I am glad that Asia has emerged relatively unscathed. Asia's resilience is based on sound economic fundamentals. It has learnt its lessons well from the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997 and 1998. China, India, and Southeast Asia continue to

grow at a steady pace, albeit a shade slower than in the last decade. As the U.S. and EU struggle, can domestic consumption replace exports to drive Asian economies and help them to remain resilient?

2.3   INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM IN TRANSITION

Beyond these specific challenges, the world is in fact undergoing a profound transition of power and ideas. For the last 200 years, the international system has been shaped and defined by the West. Since the end of the Second World War, this has largely been a Western-shaped world supported by the UN system and Bretton Woods institutions, themselves largely Western creations. That era is now drawing to a close. When President Barack Obama announced at the G20 Summit in Pittsburgh in September 2009 that the G20 would replace the G8, he was in effect acknowledging the end of the post-World War II era.

Asian growth, in particular the spectacular growth of China, India, and the East Asian economies, is the main catalyst of change in today's international system. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) estimates that based on current trends, emerging economies will account for nearly 60 percent of world gross domestic product (GDP) by 2030. Perhaps of greatest significance, China overtook Japan in 2011 as the world's second-largest economy. Correspondingly, Chinese industry giants such as Huawei, Lenovo, Haier, and the China National Offshore Oil Corporation are making their presence felt in various sectors of the global arena. In contrast, sub-Saharan Africa managed a respectable, but slower annual average growth rate of 5.7 percent in the past decade. Many analysts expect Latin America to grow by 3.5 to 4 percent annually, although some countries could grow in excess of 6 percent.

These changes have raised many fundamental questions on the models of growth and the shifting balance of power to the East. China and some other East Asian countries are regarded by some quarters as an aberration to the Western historical narrative, because East Asian capitalism is able to flourish without Western liberal democracy. But is it an aberration? Or can countries flourish with Asian capitalism, i.e., a mix of market economy and state-owned-enterprises, and less liberal democracy, or even one-party rule? Or to put it in another way, is market failure the root cause of many of the current economic and financial crises, or is it political failure? These questions are being asked with increasing frequency, including in Western democracies, because of the financial and economic crises, high unemployment rates in the developed world, and the political gridlock in many western countries.

However, it would be incorrect to characterise the global economic shift as 'Asia rising, and the West declining.' The changes in the distribution of power

that are occurring are relative, not absolute. It is not as if a Western system will be replaced by an Asian system. Also, the Asia that is growing is an Asia that has been profoundly shaped by centuries of contacts with the West and from which it adapted best practices from. Indeed, much of Asia, including Singapore, owes a debt to the West. The West has played a significant role in providing technical assistance, market, capital, and investment that have all been crucial to our development. Moreover, Asia has a strong interest in a Western economic recovery simply because it is now coupled with the West in a globalised economy.

2.4   U.S.' ESSENTIAL ROLE IN THE GLOBAL SYSTEM

Some commentators have argued that the U.S. is a nation in risk of decline because of its fiscal situation. But the U.S. will remain the dominant global player for many more decades. No major issue concerning international peace and stability can be resolved without U.S. leadership, and no country or geopolitical grouping can yet replace America as the dominant global power. The U.S. remains a huge market for most economies and there is no viable alternative to the U.S. dollar as an international reserve currency in the short to medium-term. The U.S. leadership in ideas and innovation in many fields remains unmatched. Thus, the U.S. has a critical role to play in leading and managing the transition from one international system to another.

Still, the last decade has shown that the U.S. cannot effectively exercise power alone. It must negotiate coalitions, such as the G20, to manage the international economy. It is widely recognised that the G20 had coordinated a global response to the 2008-2009 financial crisis, and helped avert a global economic depression. The current G20 is by no means the final or only possible configuration. But it is clear that there is no going back to G8 to solve the world's problems.

2.5   EMERGING COUNTRIES

I have briefly mentioned the role of emerging economies. There has been much talk about the BRICS in particular. BRICS, with an uppercase "S" with the inclusion of South Africa, includes Brazil, Russia, India, and China. The BRICS are undoubtedly important components of the new international system. They have the potential to become key global players, but — for the present and perhaps for the foreseeable future — they are all still primarily regional powers.

The country among the BRICS with the greatest global potential is China. China, like Russia, is a Permanent Member of the United Nations Security Council. Its decision to abandon an unworkable planned economic system resulted in its

transformation and spectacular growth, as well as increasing integration with the international system. Many countries have prospered because of China's rise and count China as one of their top trading partners. However, nothing in China's long history has prepared it for a global role. Thus far, China appears to have defined its global interests in a selective manner. This is unlikely to be sustainable. China will inevitably have views on many global issues when its interests are affected. China can also expect to be called upon to play a bigger role on the global stage in areas outside its core interests. These will increasingly enmesh China in the global system and geopolitics.

The other major emerging Asian economy is India. India too, has undertaken major economic reforms and plugged itself into the international economy. To stay on the track of high and steady growth, it must get its politics right, and focus on pushing reform forward and developing its infrastructure.

Although we cannot simply extrapolate China's and India's past growth to project the future, their basic trajectory of growth is set.

2.6   IMPORTANCE OF SINO-U.S. RELATIONSHIP

Given the indispensible role of the U.S., and the growing economic and geopolitical weight of China, the Sino-U.S. relationship will undoubtedly define any new international system.

Some degree of competition between an incumbent superpower and an emerging one is expected and inevitable. However, conflict is not. It is true that China's growing economic clout has been accompanied by a growing defence budget. This year, China's military spending passed US$100 billion for the first time. Though this is only one-seventh of the U.S. defence budget, it has led to anxiety for some countries, especially in Asia, over China's growing military power. The U.S.' moves to station marines in Darwin and talks over an increased military presence in the Philippines are seen as part of a larger strategy to 'contain' China.

The media has also made much of the U.S.' 'pivot' to the Asia-Pacific. But the fact of the matter is that U.S. has long played a major role in East Asia. It provided the foundation of the stability that has led to more than 30 years of growth and prosperity. It would also be a mistake to focus only on the U.S. military presence in East Asia to the exclusion of other dimensions of U.S. policy.

There are compelling reasons for the U.S. to continue engaging the region, many of them economic. The U.S. can also play a constructive role in its engagement with regional organisations and vehicles such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the East Asia Summit, as well as Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). U.S. engagement is, and should continue to be multi-faceted. This will continue to bring mutual benefits to the U.S. as well as the region.

Any rhetoric of 'containment' is dangerous. My view is that any attempt by the U.S. to contain China will not work, nor will countries in the region want to take side on this.

Is the U.S. and China relationship a zero-sum game? Can it not be seen in win-win terms? Is 'containment' the right strategy or is 'engagement' not a better alternative? The rise of China does not imply the decline of the U.S. Conflict should and can be avoided, if competition and rivalry take place within a stable international framework. It is good that China and the U.S. are working together to ensure that their relationship is one based on cooperation and engagement, and not confrontation, or containment. Such cooperation will be necessary to manage challenges that are not in either country's interests, such as those involving the nuclear programmes of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and Iran. While some stresses and strains are to be expected, and will be further complicated by domestic politics and geostrategic considerations, I believe that the world and Asia are large enough to accommodate both the interests of China and the U.S.

2.7   REGIONAL RESPONSE TO SHIFTING GEOSTRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT

The Sino-U.S. relationship is already the most important bilateral relationship in East Asia. It sets the tone for the whole region. Many countries' foreign policy calculations take both the U.S. and China into account.

Constructing a stable external environment for growth is not a straightforward matter in these times. Although countries have developed increasingly inter-dependent economies, market forces and shared economic interests by themselves do not create a stable environment for continued growth. Against this backdrop, regional integration and multilateralism have become important vehicles for countries to secure more markets, and protect economic as well as political-security interests. This is so in the Middle East (Gulf Cooperation Council), South Asia (SAARC — South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation), Africa (African Union), Australia and the Pacific island countries (Pacific Islands Forum), the countries on the Pacific Rim (APEC) and South-east Asia.

Without doubt, ASEAN is the most developed and effective of all these regional organisations. For instance, ASEAN has continued to be in the 'driver's seat' of various regional fora, trying to shape them and steer their direction as much as possible. After the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997, ASEAN found itself wedged between a resurgent India and China. There was really no other choice than to pursue deeper integration to 'hold our own' in between the two powers.

All ASEAN members recognised the need to marry national with regional thinking, or run the risk of becoming irrelevant. This led to the ASEAN Charter

being adopted in 2007. The Charter was a milestone in ASEAN's evolution. It forms the foundation of efforts to make ASEAN a more effective and rules-based organisation, as well as to enhance integration across three pillars: political-security, economic, and socio-cultural. ASEAN's objective is to achieve an ASEAN Community by 2015. This will not be a supranational body like the EU, but rather an articulation of a common identity and shared values among the diverse populations in our region.

The core of these efforts is in the economic sphere. With a combined population of 600 million and a combined GDP of US$1.8 trillion, its objective is to create a single market and production base to make ASEAN more dynamic and competitive. ASEAN has made good progress. It has concluded a Trade in Goods Agreement, the ASEAN Comprehensive Investment Agreement, and a network of free trade agreements with our Dialogue Partners. To maximise and synergise the benefits from these FTAs, ASEAN is now working on a Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RECEP) or "ASEAN++" FTA framework. We see the RECEP initiative, together with the ASEAN+3 and ASEAN+6 FTAs, as well as the TPP, as steps towards a broader Free Trade Area of the Asia Pacific. This will entrench an open regional economic architecture that will help to promote prosperity and stability.

Regional integration in Southeast Asia is also supported by initiatives beyond traditional economic activities. A key example is the Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity, which is meant to better integrate ASEAN through enhanced physical, institutional, and people-to-people links. There is also cooperation on issues such as sustainable development, health, and the fight against narcotics. For instance, pandemics are a priority area for cooperation in the East Asia Summit, an ASEAN-centered organisation, alongside disaster management, education, energy, and finance. The East Asia Summit has also begun discussions on food and energy security. This cooperation will support and buttress regional integration in an open and inclusive manner.

I have discussed ASEAN at some length, because its member countries are taking gradual, but careful steps to integrate their countries with one another, the ASEAN region with East Asia and East Asia with countries across the world. It is an example of how we can build a more peaceful world based on fostering under-standing and constructive co-operation, much like what the EU did earlier.

2.8   CONCLUSION

The geopolitical landscape is shifting and dynamic. The boundaries between geopolitical and domestic issues are also blurring. Better-educated and connected citizens will demand a bigger say on international issues and how their governments respond to them. No foreign policy initiative can succeed if it does not rest on a

foundation of strong domestic support. Adjustments will be necessary at the global, regional and domestic levels, both in Asia and the West, as well as between Asia and the West. It is likely to be a long transition, with attendant crises and challenges.

I am aware that I have not covered many parts of the world, or some of the other pressing issues. Africa, for example, is an important emerging continent, but its impact on the world will probably not be felt for some time. Many countries there are doing well, but a few still are mired in internal conflict.

I would like to pose the same two questions that I raised when the InterAction Council (IAC) met in the quaint and charming city of Québec in 2011. Is the world better today than it was then? My own view is that it is. Will it be better tomorrow? I am afraid that I do not know the answer. But I know that for it to be so, a conscious and concerted effort will be required on the part of all countries to solve the world's economic problems, to manage the many transnational challenges, and to avoid and manage potential sources of conflict, while a more balanced, stable, and interdependent global system takes shape. Members of the IAC have experience in dealing with similar problems before. Hopefully, the Council's deliberations and resolutions will contribute to this effort to bring about a better world.

Uprisings in the Arab World: The Reality Beyond the Failure of Politics and Policies

ABDEL SALAM MAJALI

Prime Minister of Jordan (1993-95, 97-98) and
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MONEEF R. ZOU'BI

Director General, Islamic World Academy of Sciences

I invite you to share a bird's eye view of the vast array of problems that impose themselves, or are self-imposed, on the Middle East.

Our area is certainly unique. Within a span of a few hundred kilometres, we have four countries that are member to or aspire to be members of the world club of nuclear powers: Russia, Pakistan, Iran, and Israel. We have one of the world's richest countries, Qatar, and one of the world's poorest, Somalia.

Moreover, since December 2010, the region has been witnessing mass protests, that started off on 17 December 2010 in Tunisia, following an incident in the town of Sidi Bouzid between a street vendor called Bouazizi, and a policewoman. Since then, all Arab states have witnessed protests in one form or another. But what are the imbedded reasons for this sudden or not so sudden surge in rebelliousness in the Arab world?

Such reasons are due to *Politics* and *Policies*.

A century ago, a declaration was issued by the British Foreign Secretary James Balfour, in a letter dated 2 November 1917, that stated that the British Government viewed with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.[1] Needless to say, the Balfour Declaration fit perfectly with the Zionist vision of establishing a homeland for world Jewry.

Numerous uprisings in the 1920s and 1930s followed in the Arab world, including in Syria, and in British-mandate Palestine, essentially against the declaration. Furthermore, after Israel was founded in 1948, the Arabs took to the streets *en masse* again to avenge the failures of their leaderships to retain the Arab Islamic identity of the Holy Land.

The creation of Israel in 1948 changed the region forever. For the Palestinians and the surrounding countries of Jordan, Syria, Egypt, and Lebanon, it resulted in a feeling of mistrust between ruler and people that lead to, among other events, the assassination of King Abdullah I of Jordan in Jerusalem in 1951, and the July 1952 revolution in Egypt, not to mention the endless series of *coups* that Syria was subjected to in the 1950s and 1960s.

Arabs were expressing their anger at their governments, anger that eventually translated itself into extreme political views from the very far right to the very far left. Indeed, the bitterness that had developed between Israel and the Arab countries culminated in another war in June 1967, which will be discussed later, in the context of water.

In 1973, we witnessed the fourth Arab-Israeli War that paved the way for a boost in the peace momentum between Israel and Egypt culminating in the Camp David Agreement between the two adversaries.

In 1987, there was the *Intifada*. This was a massive uprising by the Palestinians directed against Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The *Intifada*, together with the Second Gulf War of 1990/1991 that resulted in tremendous frustration among the Arab people, provided a new impetus for stakeholders to contemplate entering into negotiations aimed at resolving the Middle East conflict.

The 1991 Madrid Peace Conference, facilitated by the United States, was a watershed event, because for the first time, Israel entered into direct, face-to-face negotiations with Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and the Palestinians. The conference marked a start of an intricate process of negotiations that lead to the Jordan-Israel Peace Treaty, and the signing of the Oslo Accords between the Palestinians and the Israelis. The Madrid Conference witnessed the conception of the Palestinian entity for the first time and then the birth of the Palestinian National Authority.

Twenty years after Madrid, what we have is a small piece of 'peace.' At the moment, Arabs and Israelis are not dreaming the same dreams. The failure to achieve peace in the Middle East is the major reason for Arab and Islamic frustration today.

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[1]   Arthur James Balfour, "The Balfour Declaration of 1917," 2 November 1917.

This is the failure of *Politics*.

I have often told my Israeli friends that fortresses can no longer protect people. Israel should know this. In the words of the famous Israeli politician, Avraham Burg, "The Holocaust is over," and the Jewish people need to move on and eventually live in peace with their Arab neighbours.

Let me take you back to that novel about Israel's founding — Leon Uris's *Exodus*, which was subsequently made into a movie. To my mind, it had serious flaws, the most dangerous of which was depicting Arabs as people who only fear the whip (use of force). I dare say that the opposite is true.

The use of force will lead to more bitterness and anger and may never yield results. Trust, leading to dialogue, surely would.

The flow of people, information and indeed weaponry has rendered fortress mentality obsolete. Military might alone will never guarantee security for any country! Middle Eastern countries are amongst the highest spenders on arms and armaments in the world, sadly, at the expense of resources that could be allocated to real development, on achieving real human security.

The current peace process must be given a fresh lease on life. Violence by any party is uncalled for, because a further deterioration of the situation in the region will stir up yet more religious extremism and hopelessness.

The Arab-Israeli conflict has been with us for decades. The adversaries should give peace another chance by accommodating each other for humanity's sake. The Arab Peace Initiative represents a genuine move on the part of Arabs towards a final, just, and lasting peace in the Middle East.

It was none other than the late King Hussein, who at the funeral of Prime Minister Rabin in 1995 said: "Let our voices rise high to speak of our commitment to peace for all times to come, and let us tell those who live in darkness who are the enemies of life, and through faith and religion and the teachings of our one God, this is where we stand."[2]

I would sum up the 'Policies' failure in the Arab world in terms of a number of time bombs that have been on the radar for at least a decade. The first manifested itself in the centralization of power in many Arab countries that led to rural areas losing their ability to manage their own affairs. This was further aggravated by the arrogance of officials who owed their appointments to central authorities in the state and not to citizens. This explains the refusal of the governor of Sidi Bouzid to meet Mohammed Bouazizi when the latter asked for such an interview.

The second time bomb is unemployment. Arabs are young. Young populations can create dynamic societies, particularly if they are well-trained and well-educated. Both Tunisia and Egypt have succeeded in increasing enrollment in universities, however without creating the appropriate value chain of jobs required to meet the increasing number of graduates.

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2   King Hussein of Jordan, "Eulogy for the Late Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin," 6 November 1995.

The third time bomb manifested itself in the inability of economies to achieve sustainable economic growth. How could economies bloom when so much is being spent on weapons? Weapons willingly supplied by the West and the East to be used primarily for internal security.

Financial malpractice too played a pivotal role in frustrating the masses. Estimates talk of billions of dollars illegally transferred in and out of Arab countries as the "Global Financial Integrity Report," indicated.[3]

This is the failure of *Policies*.

Beyond Politics and Policies, I think it is also imperative to talk about soft security in the region, and that nexus between water and energy, which are essential elements in human security.

Arabs believe that water *is* life. The Qur'an declares: "We made from water every living thing."[4] But, around the world, women, men, and children today lack access to adequate and safe water to meet their most basic needs. Water resources, and the related ecosystems, that provide and sustain them, are under threat from pollution, unsustainable use, land-use changes, and climate change.

Competing claims to water between users within countries and between countries have to be managed in a cooperative, rather than a confrontational fashion. *Integration* rather than *segregation* should be the approach. The needs of future generations must be safeguarded and issues of quantity and quality of water must be addressed.

The Middle East is one of the most water insecure regions in the world. From the outset, disputes related to water resources have formed part of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In 1949, peace negotiations after the first Arab-Israeli war broke down, in response to Israeli demands to keep control over Lake Tiberias and the River Jordan. The water issue resurfaced again in the early 1960s after Israel announced plans to divert water from Lake Tiberias to the Negev. The Arab response was a counter-plan to divert water from a point upstream of the Israeli border down to the River Jordan system. The above conflicting water-diversion projects by Israel were a significant contributor to the 1967 Six-Day War. Three decades on, water disputes also contributed to the failure of peace talks between Tel Aviv and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO).

On the other hand, a successful example exists of two adversaries in the region sharing the precious little they have in terms of water resources for the sake of peace. Israel and Jordan signed their famous peace treaty in 1994. Abdel Salam Majali signed the Treaty on behalf of Jordan and Yitzhak Rabin on behalf of Israel.

The Treaty had a major water-sharing component that addressed one of the lingering difficulties between Jordan and Israel. As a consequence of the Treaty, Jordan acquired back its rightful share of water. The Treaty outlined an elaborate arrangement whereby Jordan and Israel would share the Yarmouk River and River Jordan waters.

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3   Dev Kar and Sarah Freitas, "Illicit Financial Flows From Developing Countries: 2001-2010" December 2012.
4   Holy Qur'an, Verse 21:30.

Nevertheless, water is still one of the central problems facing Jordan. Military conflicts in the region have further aggravated the problem as they have resulted in the movement into Jordan of people from Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq, and Syria. Such a human flood places increased strain on the already meagre water resources that Jordan has.

Recently, it was announced that Jordan was hosting over one million uprooted human beings from neighbouring countries within its borders. This is equivalent to the U.K. hosting 7 million refugees or the U.S. hosting 30 million. You can imagine the nightmare that agencies responsible for the provision of safe drinking water have to deal with, and indeed those extra finances that have to be found by the government for that purpose.

Today, in Jordan and the region, we face the challenge of saving the Dead Sea, which is vanishing with severe negative consequences on the area. For years, Israel and the Arab governments have diverted more than 90 percent of the southward flow of the River Jordan, which replenishes the Dead Sea.

A creative solution has been talked about for decades, yet no firm action has been taken by the stakeholder governments. It is a project to create a pipe-canal system connecting the Red Sea to the Dead Sea through building a 180 km pipeline across Wadi Araba (where the Jordan-Israel Peace Treaty was signed).

This three-party project (Jordan-Israel-the Palestinians) could restore most of the Dead Sea water level over time. Moreover hydroelectricity generated from the water coursing down the gradient would power large desalination plants, contributing to the water and energy security of the stakeholder countries.

The project represents an innovative — yet calculated — leap forward in the region's attempt to address its water and energy needs as well as create an ecosystem in which the involved countries have a stake in its longevity.

The project is thus as important for food and energy security as it is for human security; the security of the Israelis, Palestinians, and Jordanians. Unlike other national proposals, the Red Sea-Dead Sea Canal will not only save the Dead Sea from extinction but also provide desalinated water to Israel, Palestine, as well as Jordan. Further, such an undertaking has been stipulated in Article VI of the Jordan-Israel Peace Treaty which declared that Jordan and Israel shall co-operate in developing plans for purposes of increasing water supplies and improving water use efficiency, within the context of bilateral, regional, or international cooperation.[5]

As a decision-maker, I think that this project is innovative, forward looking and a potential peace asset that can contribute to regional interdependence and security.

Middle Easterners should think of such innovative proposals to address their water problems. For the majority of them, water is a matter of survival. Countries of the North, which happen to be industrialized and developed, are richly endowed with this precious resource. Thus, it is seen as a secondary problem despite the sincere efforts of caring environmentalists and politicians to address the issue.

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5   Jordan-Israel Peace Treaty, 26 October 1994.

Due to the fact that politicians are still far from understanding the problem of water problems the world is facing, some experts believe that the world water crisis is a crisis of governance, not one of scarcity.

Only until we realize — as the human family — that we are all in the same boat; that is politicians and scientists, people from the South and people from the North; and that we all face a transnational water crises, will we be able to realize a water-secure future for our children and grandchildren.

Let me now turn to energy. In the Middle East, this is not easy with two of the most richly endowed in oil countries in our neighborhood — Saudi Arabia and Iraq — and when people are talking about huge underwater natural gas reserves off the eastern shores of the Mediterranean.

Pessimists claim that the prevailing energy system in the world today is coming to an end, even though it accounts for over 90 percent of total supply. It no longer has a viable future for two solid reasons. First, no one can deny that reserves are limited. Second, we can no longer afford to burn all the reserves known today because the Earth's ecosphere simply could not bear it.

According to the latest findings in astrophysics, the solar system will survive for another 7 billion years — a virtually infinite time span by human standards. A journalist once asked the late Dr. Hermann Schemer, the famous German scientist/politician, when he mentioned this figure whether he had said 7 billion or 7 million years. When Schemer repeated that it was 7 billion, the journalist said that he was relieved. As if 7 million would have been a cause for worry!

We all know and agree that the greatest energy source is that which comes from the sun, or the sun itself. It is after all a sustainable source. Making this potential the basis for most human activity would help man to behave as intelligently as Nature.

Maybe it is time that we admitted that our collective intelligence lags behind Nature. Nature after all relies almost exclusively on solar energy. The conclusion is logical and unequivocal: the core of the solution to the global ecological crisis is the adoption of renewable energies. This must be coupled with promoting greater linkage between science, and energy policy-making.

This linkage should embrace holistic approaches to energy and sustainable development, as well as take account of the specific socio-economic and cultural context of individual countries. Our countries' institutions and universities should work productively together in the area of renewable energies. This, so that policies and cooperation projects may be based on relevant evidence and research, and also be shaped by ethical considerations.

Clearly, there is a problem when it comes to the relationship between scientists and politicians. Few politicians appreciate the possibilities of science. They do not understand the limitations of science, or the long time scales it can take to develop an idea into a product or a service. Nor do the majority of scientists understand the restrictions of political office, or have a clear idea of political processes.

Scientists should not view politicians as mere media or PR experts because they can really help. More could be done to 'pre-test' science messages being delivered to political receivers, and to teach effective follow-up. Some scientists are good communicators (Bruce Alberts of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences and Ahmad Zewail are good examples) and they could be held as role models and be encouraged to share their expertise with others.

We need to bridge the gap and make politicians understand the importance of science by creating better communications between the science and non-science worlds, and between the scientific and the political communities. We need to marry the 'vision' with the 'mission.'

Let me present to you, not as a politician, nor as a scientist, but as a human being, about nuclear know-how in the region. In the back of my mind of course, there is the stand adopted by the InterAction Council (IAC) on nuclear disarmament. I dare say, that we need to take that further now, and call upon all nuclear powers to embark on a process of disarmament. In the Middle East, the situation is critical. Middle Easterners must all lobby for a nuclear-free Middle East.

Those countries planning to have or already have nuclear armaments must, without exception, get rid of them under the watchful eye of international bodies responsible for such matters. Otherwise, we will have a nightmarish scenario on our hands.

Events that have swept through the region have been described by many as the 'Arab Spring.' Well, it is a spring that has not blossomed so far. It may have started off as an Arab Spring but very soon, many international players joined the bandwagon — naturally — to ensure that their interests in this vital region were not endangered, turning the phenomenon into more of an autumn of fury.

The essential lesson that all countries can draw from the events of the last two years is that autocracy as a mode of governance can no longer be acceptable to the public. Arabs seem to favour functioning monarchies, rather than despotic one-party autocracies. However, a system of an all-encompassing multi-party (it can start as a multi-stakeholder) democracy has to prevail. Political pluralism should be the norm for the future.

The Gulf region has been a region of peace for decades. Bahrain has been a vanguard of the reform movement in the region. Quietly yet effectively, it has been transforming itself into a constitutional monarchy over the last ten years. Owing to its geographical location, it has been subjected to the political winds blowing in the region.

All stakeholders know that inciting discontent in neighbouring countries is no longer the means to achieve hegemony.

I am certain that if Paul E. Erdman knew in 1976 when he published his famous novel "The Crash of '79" what he knew in 1980, he would have inked in quite a different plot to what he actually wrote. His work of fiction of course projected a

fictitious Shah of Iran as a leader determined to get nuclear know-how, who would ultimately gain control of the oil riches of the Gulf.

The world has moved forward in leaps and bounds since. Today, it is nobody's interest to see the Crash of 79 scenario implemented. We do not need another war in the region, as no victor would emerge from (the death and destruction of) such a war. Peace for all must be our strategic choice.

والسلام عليكم و رحمة الله و بركاته...
Peace be upon you and God's Mercy and Blessings

CHAPTER 4

Position Paper: Conventional Arms and the Arms Trade Treaty

ARIAS FOUNDATION FOR PEACE AND HUMAN PROGRESS

4.1 POSITION

The adoption of an international arms trade treaty is an integral step in improving arms transfer practices and thus reducing global violence.

4.2 THE ARMS TRADE TREATY

The proposed Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) is designed to prevent the use of conventional arms to violate human rights and the proliferation of illegal arms trafficking. Discussion of an ATT started with the Nobel Peace Laureates' International Code of Conduct on Arms Transfers in 1997. This Code was intended to include all transfers of arms, munitions, and parts. It stipulated that countries wishing to purchase arms had to demonstrate the promotion of democracy, the protection of human rights, and transparency in military spending. It further prohibited sales to nations that supported terrorist activities or that were aggressive towards other nations (Nuclear Age Peace Foundation 1997). This Code developed into a proposal for an international treaty under the United Nations (UN) General Assembly Resolution 61/89. This Resolution mandated the creation of a group of governmental experts to first determine the feasibility and scope of such a document, and then propose a treaty draft. Negotiations over the text of an ATT commenced in the UN in July 2012.

According to the latest paper of the Chair, Ambassador Roberto García-Moritan, the main elements of an ATT should include all conventional arms, their ammunition, their parts and components, and any technology or equipment used to develop, manufacture, or maintain the aforementioned elements. The treaty will seek to promote the goals of the UN Charter; establish standards for import, export, and transfer; prevent, combat, and eradicate the illicit market; prevent transfers that facilitate human rights violations; promote transparency and accountability among States; and have a universal application (Chairman's Draft Paper 2011).

The Arias Foundation supports an ATT that regulates all types of transfers relating to conventional arms as well as all parts and ammunition of conventional weapons. The Arias Foundation supports an ATT that holds governments accountable for ensuring that arms transfers are not approved to countries under a UN arms embargoes, or to countries that exhibit significant risk that the arms will be used to commit human rights violations. Through the promotion of transparency, an ATT will act to protect the basic human right of citizen security.

4.3   CURRENT INITIATIVES

The proposed ATT will not impose an entirely new framework for the control and regulation of conventional arms transfers. Rather, it will establish basic, international standards to guide arms transfers based on States' obligations under existing international law, human rights law, and international human rights law.

The UN currently supports three initiatives to control and monitor the use of conventional weapons, demonstrating important steps already taken in this area. The first initiative is the UN Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Their Parts and Components and Ammunition, more commonly referred to as the Firearms Protocol. The purpose of the Firearms Protocol is to "promote, facilitate and strengthen cooperation among State Parties in order to prevent, combat and eradicate the illicit manufacturing of and trafficking in firearms, their parts and components, and ammunition" (United Nations Fifty-Fifth Session 2001). This protocol represents "the only global legally-binding instrument addressing the issue of small arms" to date (United Nations Programme of Action 2008). The Firearms Protocol requires member States to treat illicit manufacturing, trafficking, or tampering of firearms as a criminal offense; to maintain records on arms manufacturing and trafficking; and to participate in the exchange of relevant information among States (United Nations Fifty-Fifth Session 2001).

The Firearms Protocol led to the development of the Programme of Action (PoA), a policy framework that resolves to "prevent, combat, and eradicate the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons" by monitoring, developing, and implementing programs at the regional, national, and international level (United Nations Program of Action 2001).

The PoA furthermore seeks to encourage civil society to hold States accountable for arms trafficking and to bring attention to high risk regions (UN PoA 2001). This second initiative led to the creation of the International Tracing Instrument, which allows states "to identify and trace, in a timely and reliable manner, illicit small arms and light weapons" (UN PoA, 2008). Small Arms Survey (2011f) shows, however, that the PoA's dependence upon nation state reporting has made progress difficult. Reporting trends vary greatly by region. A lack of reporting has been especially prominent in Oceania and parts of the Americas, leading to incomplete data sets and assessments (Small Arms Survey 2011f).

The third initiative currently supported by the UN is the Register of Conventional Firearms (UN Register). The UN Register is designed to promote transparency in arms acquisitions through voluntary nation state reporting on seven types of conventional arms: battle tanks, armoured combat vehicles, large-calibre artillery systems, combat aircraft, attack helicopters, warships, and missiles and missile launchers (United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs [UNODA] 2011). The UN Register remains the only global UN instrument to track both import and export values of conventional arms (UN PoA 2008). Although the UN Register has compiled a large and valuable dataset, it is stunted by voluntary reporting and a limited scope of arms (Wallacher and Harang 2011).

These initiatives constitute important steps towards the international regulation of arms transfers. Nonetheless, the majority of these and other arms transfer control systems suffer from gaps and weaknesses, which allow the illicit trafficking of conventional arms and related human rights violations to persist. The world still lacks an international and legally binding instrument that ensures that the controls established by one State or region are not undermined by less responsible actors. An ATT will fill these gaps and will improve existing initiatives by establishing international standards for either approving or prohibiting arms transfers, and encouraging transparency through reporting and exchanging information.

4.4   ARMS TRADE

Currently, military expenditure in many countries far exceeds the value necessary to respond to legitimate security threats. A high level of global military expenditure (which continues to increase) fuels mistrust among States and threatens global security. An ATT will promote transparency in arms acquisitions which will deter the threat of an arms race and will foster greater trust among nations.

The international arms trade is a lucrative business that has continued to grow in spite of the global economic recession (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute [SIPRI] 2011a). SIPRI (2011b) reports that the global average volume of arms transfers between the years of 2006 and 2010 was 24 percent higher than the average volume between the years of 2001 and 2005. From 2006 to 2010,

Asia and Oceania represented 43 percent of all imports, followed by Europe at 21 percent, the Middle East at 17 percent, the Americas at 12 percent, and Africa at 7 percent (SIPRI 2011b). The United States accounted for 30 percent of global arms exports between the years of 2006 and 2010, making it the largest exporter of military equipment (SIPRI 2011b). SIPRI (2012) estimated world military expenditure in 2011 to be US$1.74 trillion.

The annual total value of authorized international transfers of small arms and light weapons is US$1.1 billion (Herron et al 2011). The documented trade of annual light weapons imports alone is valued at US$242 million (Herron et al 2011), while the estimated value of undocumented annual light weapons imports is US$872 million (Herron et al 2011). Including ammunitions, the global authorized trade of small arms and light weapons reaches approximately US$7.1 billion per year (Small Arms Survey 2011c, Small Arms Survey 2011e).

The top importers of small arms and light weapons in 2008 were: the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Germany, Austria, France, and Pakistan (Herron et al 2011). These nations each have an annual import total of US$100 million or more (Herron et al 2011). United States imports alone account for US$1.27 billion (Herron et al 2011). According to Herron et al (2011) between 2000 and 2009, U.S. imports increased by 246 percent.

Global peace and stability become threatened as nation States increase weapon expenditure under the façade of legitimate security concerns. An ATT will foster transparency in the arms trade, thus indirectly decreasing the perceived need for arms expenditure, and protecting the security of all nations involved.

4.5   ARMS TRANSPARENCY

An ATT would foster greater transparency with respect to the arms trade, military expenditure, and arms ownership, resulting in increased trust and security among nation States.

In regards to small arms and light weapons, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, Germany, Serbia, and Romania are the most transparent exporters, while Iran and North Korea are the least transparent exporters (Herron et al 2011). This information is based on the transparency barometer that compiles data from national arms export reports, the UN Register of Conventional Firearms, and UN Comtrade (Herron et al 2011). Of 52 countries evaluated, Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil were the only Latin American countries included, and ranked at thirty-second, thirty-fourth, and thirty-ninth place, respectively (Herron et al 2011). This demonstrates a great lack of available information and country-specific reporting, which an ATT can revive. By holding international reporting standards, arms trade exportation and importation information will be available from all participating nation states, allowing for any mishandling to be noted and sanctioned.

Private security arms ownership is another area lacking transparency. Private security personnel are estimated to possess as many as four million firearms worldwide (Small Arms Survey 2011c). Small Arms Survey (2011c) ranked Latin America as the region with the highest ratio of arms per employee, a ratio that is about ten times greater than in Western Europe. These private security company arms stockpiles are just one of many areas that lack transparency and regulation (Small Arms Survey 2011a).

4.6   ILLICIT TRAFFICKING

Better regulation of the legal arms trade is the key to tackling the problem of the illicit arms trade. Problems in the arms trade arise when weapons reach nation States or private businesses that then transport them to sanctioned countries or use them for inhumane acts. Oxfam America (2011) reports that "arms brokers have funnelled arms to almost every country under a UN arms embargoes in the last 15 years, often fuelling armed conflict and serious human rights violations." Brokers can obtain fake end-user certificates that enable them to operate abroad where national laws do not have jurisdiction (Oxfam America 2011). For example, during the internal conflicts in Liberia, soldiers and warriors used Asian and European arms that had been funnelled into the country via another location (Oxfam America 2008). The lack of effective legal regulations provides illicit brokers with the opportunity to operate, an opportunity which can be eradicated with the ratification and acceptance of an ATT (Oxfam America 2011). An ATT will provide the international standards needed to close the loopholes on which arms brokers rely.

4.7   SURPLUS TRADE

The trade in surplus arms fosters the use of weapons in human rights abuses as surplus materials are often transferred to sanctioned regions. Small Arms Survey (2011d) reports that "civilian ownership is growing as fewer firearms are destroyed and more are produced." As more guns are manufactured each year, surplus weaponry and parts are re-entered for export into the arms market, often reaching sanctioned countries (Small Arms Survey 2011b). According to Small Arms Survey (2011b), surplus transfers generally involve a mix of small arms, light weapons, ammunition, and larger conventional weapons systems. On average from 2006 to 2009 the authorized trade for small arms and light weapons ammunition was US$4.3 billion annually (Small Arms Survey 2011b). Small Arms Survey (2011b) estimates that unreported authorized transactions of small arms ammunition are worth at least US$169 million. Despite numerous destruction programs on the regional, national, and international levels, surpluses are still found in the international markets (Small

Arms Survey 2011b). This demonstrates yet another need for a comprehensive ATT, to address issues of surplus and ensure this excess does not get funnelled into illicit trafficking to sanctioned countries.

4.8   GLOBAL VIOLENCE

The ratification of an international ATT will work to decrease global violence and subsequent human rights abuses.

Despite a reported increase in international activism, including a nine-fold increase in the number of ongoing disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration operations between the years of 1989 and 2008 (Human Security Research Group 2010), lethal violence claims 526,000 lives each year (Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development 2011a).Of these 526,000 deaths, only 12.2 percent occur in conflict settings, leaving 87.8 percent in non-conflict settings (Geneva Declaration 2011b). This corresponds to 55,000 deaths due to direct conflict (or terrorism), 396,000 intentional homicide deaths, 54,000 unintentional homicide deaths, and 21,000 deaths by law enforcement actions, per year (Geneva Declaration 2011c). The Geneva Declaration (2011a) also reports that 25 percent of violent deaths occur in only 14 countries, which are home to less than five percent of the world's population, and of these 14 countries, seven are in the Americas. With a global violent death rate of 7.9 per 100,000 people, the top regions affected by lethal violence are Central America (29.0 per 100,000), Southern Africa (27.4 per 100,000), and the Caribbean (22.4 per 100,000) (Geneva Declaration 2011b). The impact of such violence, however, extends far beyond death rates. The Geneva Declaration (2011b) states that, "for each person killed, many more are injured or experience prolonged physical and psychological wounds." When assessing the importance of an international arms trade treaty, each of these factors must be taken into account.

The researchers of the Geneva Declaration (2011a) state that firearms play an important role in the perpetuation of violence in communities. Statistics demonstrate that 78 percent of the countries that have at least 70 percent of homicides due to firearms also have high homicide rates of 20 or more per 100,000 people (Geneva Declaration 2011a). Reducing armed violence thus corresponds with positive development outcomes and achievements in the UN Millennium Development Goals (Geneva Declaration 2011a). Oxfam America (2008) reports that "In Burundi… a country with per capita government expenditure on health of US$5, each firearm injury costs the health system US$163… gunshot wounds accounts for 75 percent of medical spending on violent injuries." With such a large amount of health spending on injuries of violence, there is little or no funding left for other health necessities such as vaccinations and medication. The acceptance of an ATT would provide the regulatory standards and guidelines to control the proliferation of firearms used

to commit these violent crimes against humanity, and indirectly contribute to improvements in economic, social, and cultural rights.

4.9   CONCLUSION

By controlling the international conventional arms trade, an ATT represents one step toward a safer global community. An ATT will amend the current lack of mandated international standards on comprehensive arms transferring. Through its direct impact on trade and illicit trafficking, an ATT will also work to decrease rates of violence across the globe. As noted by Axworthy and Dean (2011), public support and engaged leaders are imperative in the adoption of an ATT.

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CHAPTER 5

The Arab Pseudo-Spring?
A Snapshot of the Underlying Politics and Economics, and the Challenge of Water Insecurity

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5.1   BACKGROUND

The Arab world stretches from the Indian Ocean in the east to the Atlantic Ocean in the west. The 22 Arab countries lie within the semi-arid climatic zone of the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean, and enclose the Red Sea. It is a region of historical importance, as it is the birthplace of the world's three monotheistic religions, and one that has contemporary strategic importance owing to its location and subterranean natural resources, essentially in the form of oil and natural gas, as 32 percent of the world's known natural gas reserves are found in the region.

The region encompasses remarkable cultural similarities, as well as highly distinct political and economic systems with a heterogeneous social fabric. The region's peoples share a commonality of language, history and religion but their societies are at variance in terms of natural wealth, governance, traditions and socio-economic systems. Within the Arab world, one finds one of the world's richest countries, Qatar and one of the world's poorest, Somalia. Neighbouring the Arab world, one finds countries that are members, or would-be members of the world club of nuclear powers: Pakistan, Iran, and Israel.

The decade since the U.S. led invasion of Iraq in March 2003, has been one of mixed fortunes for Arab countries. On the one hand, there has been a continuing stalemate on the Arab-Israeli peace front while, on the other hand, a number of Arab countries have had either parliamentary or presidential elections that were not in the least free and fair, resulting in national discontent.

Economically however, the oil-exporting Arab states of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar have enjoyed a short-lived downpour of revenue resulting from the hike in international oil prices to a peak of more than US$140 a barrel in July 2008. Oil-importing countries, on the other hand, such as Jordan, Tunisia, and Morocco have since faced fiscal difficulties due to their mounting national energy bills, a situation compounded by the associated rise in the cost of imported food commodities. Countries such as Syria on the other hand have faced severe drought since 2006 that has aggravated its food insecurity (Friedman 2012).

Furthermore, and as has been the case for most of the twentieth century, the region has witnessed continuing political and military conflict essentially emanating from the Arab-Israeli conflict in the West Bank, Gaza, and Lebanon; and also witnessed political and military turmoil in Iraq and Sudan.

This paper looks at some of the underlying reasons for the current state of turmoil in the region by discussing its politics and its economics. As 'water' has been identified as one of the most important challenges facing the countries of the region (UNESCO 2010, Bigas 2012), and the subject of discussion at recent meetings of the InterAction Council, it is highlighted as an issue that influences security and stability in the region, one that can provide an opportunity in the region, and one that should be of concern to Arab politicians and the world.

5.2   DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC BACKDROP

Countries of the Arab region may be grouped into three categories in terms of per capita income. The first is characterized by almost total economic dependence on oil. These are the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states of Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE), with GDP per capita income (Table 5.1) in 2011 being highest in Qatar (US$91,053), and lowest in Qatar's neighbour, Bahrain (US$17,615). Some 46 million people (including a sizeable foreign workforce) belong to this group, representing around 15 percent of the Arab population (Table 5.2). Countries of this group are mostly hereditary monarchies with either elected or appointed parliaments. With the exception of Bahrain, such countries did not experience sizeable public demonstrations in 2011-13.

Countries in this group such as Qatar, the UAE, and Saudi Arabia have, over the last ten years, been investing heavily in higher education and research,

especially in the fields of water and energy. This is clearly demonstrated by the work being done at King Abdullah University of Science and Technology (KAUST) in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia; and the Masdar Institute of Science and Technology in Abu Dhabi, UAE.

TABLE 5.1.
GDP per capita in the Arab region, 2006 and 2011 (US$ billions).

HDI RANK 2008	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	2006	2011
34	Qatar	62,905	91,052
29	Kuwait	33,391	56,968
31	United Arab Emirates	38,984	40,472
53	Oman	13,727	23,933
55	Saudi Arabia	14,725	20,748
32	Bahrain	21,223	17,615
52	Libya	7,773	10,229
78	Lebanon	5,945	9,114
100	Algeria	3,499	5,251
90	Jordan	2,546	4,645
95	Tunisia	3,101	4,337
105	Syria	1,828	3,350
127	Morocco	2,088	3,090
116	Egypt	1,505	2,972
146	Sudan	1,209	1,761
106	Palestinian Territories	1,050	N/A
151	Djibouti	929	1,500
138	Yemen	936	1,361
140	Mauritania	888	1,162

Sources: Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development (2007), World Bank (2013b).

The second group of Arab countries encompasses Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Palestinian Territories, Syria, and Tunisia. Here, GDP per capita in 2011 (Table 5.1) was highest in Libya at US$10,229 and lowest in Egypt at US$2 972. Although the countries belonging to this category have modest oil reserves — with the notable exception of Iraq and Libya — they boast relatively mature higher education infrastructures that includes some of the oldest universities in the Arab world, including Cairo University (1908), the American University of Beirut (1866), Ezzitouna University (relaunched in 1956) in Tunisia, and the University of Al-Karaouine (relaunched in 1963) in Morocco. The population of this group amounts to around 215 in 2011 million, constituting 65 percent of the population of the Arab world (Table 5.2).

Since December 2010, when demonstrations broke out in Tunisia, the countries of this group have undergone extraordinary transformations including regime changes in Egypt, Libya and Tunisia. Moreover, there has been a seemingly endless civil war in Syria and unprecedented economically/politically instigated demonstrations in Jordan. Algeria, on the other hand, did not experience internal strife during 2011-2013 owing perhaps to the turbulent times it had to endure during the 1990s.

There is an obvious dichotomy in the Arab world between the two groups mentioned above, as countries belonging to the former have the material and financial resources to achieve, but lack the human capital to affect socioeconomic development while in the second group of countries, the situation is the opposite. Egypt, for example, is not exceedingly wealthy but is considered as the regional hub of culture and the arts and, in more quantitative terms, a regional leader in terms of human resources.

The third group of Arab countries is characterized by limited or under-developed natural resources and a meagre supply of trained human resources. Countries in this category possess low GDP per capita income (Table 5.1), which classifies them as least developed countries (LDCs). They are Djibouti, Mauritania, Sudan, and Yemen. The population of this group of countries represents around 20 percent of the total population of the Arab world (Table 5.2). The proportion of those living below the national poverty line in such countries rose by almost 10 percent points over the period 1990-1995 and 2000-2004, from 37.1 percent to 46.8 percent (UN/LAS 2007). The problems faced by Arab LDCs have also been compounded by internal political strife over the past two decades.

Between 2001 and 2006, the Arab region enjoyed an average economic growth rate of around 5 percent. The bulk of this growth was due to the rise in oil prices, although other factors also contributed, such as economic diversification, international free trade agreements, and the rapid development of financial and other services sectors, especially in the Gulf.

Despite the above average rate of population increase in the majority of Arab countries, considerable progress was made in the Arab region in the past decade in meeting some of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) including the health and education goals (Lord 2008; UN/LAS 2013), yet the region continued to suffer from poverty, unemployment, and erosion of human welfare due to conflict and foreign occupation. Ironically, some of the best performers in meeting the MDGs were Egypt, Tunisia, and Syria.

TABLE 5.2.

Population of the Arab region, 2007 and 2011.

COUNTRY/TERRITORY	POPULATION (MILLIONS)	
	2007	**2011**
Egypt	75.5	79.4
Algeria	33.9	37.8
Sudan	36.3[b]	36.4
Morocco	30.9	32.1
Iraq	28.8[b]	31.8
Saudi Arabia	24.2	27.8
Yemen	22.4	23.3
Syria	19.9	22.0
Tunisia	10.2	10.7
United Arab Emirates	4.4	8.9
Jordan	5.7	6.2
Libya	6.2	6.1
Lebanon	4.1	4.4
Palestinian Territories	3.9	N/A
Mauritania	3.0[b]	3.7
Kuwait	2.7	3.1
Oman	2.6	3.0
Qatar	0.8	1.9
Bahrain	0.8	1.3
Djibouti	0.8	0.8
Total	**317.0**	**340.7**

Sources: Data are taken from the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development (2007), World Bank (2008) and World Bank (2013a). [b]Refers to the 2006 data.

The discrepancy between measures of MDG achievement and actual well being in such counties highlights the shortcomings of the measures and the risk of ignoring other essential components of human development such as freedom, good governance, and human security.

5.3   ARAB POLITICS: THE ROAD TO THE CURRENT TURMOIL

And those kids in Tahrir Square, they were not motivated by any religion or ideology. They were motivated by what they saw through this interconnected world, and they wanted a piece of the opportunity and a chance to get an education and have a job and have a future, and not have a corrupt government that deprived them of all of that and more.

(U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry, 2013).

The words of U.S. Secretary of State (Haaretz 2013) at the State Department to leaders of multinational American firms on 21 November 2013, came as a long overdue admission that the upheaval in the Arab world was an impulsive reaction by technology-savvy young Arab men and women to decades of political stagnation and the failure on the part of some Arab regimes to achieve socioeconomic development.

Since January 2011, Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and Syria have witnessed unprecedented demonstrations that led — except in Syria — to changes in political regimes in such countries. Despite having elected-parliaments, Jordan and Bahrain were two Arab monarchies that witnessed anti-government demonstrations. In Jordan, demonstrations were essentially directed against successive governments' failures to address serious economic issues, combat unemployment and root out corruption. In Bahrain however, demonstrations were more political in nature and to some extent 'sectarian' according to Samira Rajab, Bahrain's Minister of State for Information Affairs (Gulf News 2012).

5.3.1   Regional Conflicts and National Governance

The history of the Middle East tells us that during the First World War, the Arab world witnessed many revolutions, including in Arabia by the Hashemites (the ruling dynasty in Jordan since 1921) against the Ottomans, and the 1919 Revolution in Egypt against the British. In both cases, the main cause of the uprisings was to win independence from foreign domination.

Historians and political scientists agree that the seeds of Arab disen-chantment during the twentieth century were sown in 1917 when a declaration

was issued by the British Foreign Secretary Balfour that stated that the British Government "viewed with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, …, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done that may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine" (Jewish Virtual Library 2013). Needless to say, the Balfour Declaration fit perfectly with the Zionist vision of establishing a homeland for world Jewry in historical Palestine. When Israel was eventually founded in 1948, and after the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, the Arabs took to the streets *en masse* again to avenge the failures of their leaderships to retain the Arab Islamic identity of the Holy Land.

The birth of Israel represented a historical turning point in the politics of the region, especially for the Palestinians and the surrounding countries of Jordan, Syria, Egypt, and Lebanon, and led to the rise of a tremendous divide between the people and the regimes in such countries. A feeling of mistrust developed between ruler and people that lead to, for example, the assassination of King Abdullah I of Jordan in Jerusalem in 1951, and the July 1952 revolution in Egypt, not to mention the endless series of *coups* that Syria had to endure in the 1950s and 1960s.

Arabs were expressing their anger, anger that in the 1950s eventually translated itself into extreme political views from the very far right to the very far left. Indeed, the bitterness that had developed between Israel and the Arab countries culminated in the wars of 1956 and of June 1967, while 1973 witnessed the fourth Arab Israeli War that paved the way for an increase in the peace momentum between Israel and Egypt, culminating in the Camp David Agreement between the two adversaries in 1978.

Although the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) had gained wide recognition as the representative of the Palestinians after the 1974 Arab Summit, yet Israeli intransigence not to abide by the UN resolutions, as well as not to recognise the PLO, kept the Arab-Israel conflict at a stalemate. The Camp David agreement between Israel and Egypt in 1978 was decried by the PLO and many Arab countries, as it was unable to settle the core issue of the Israeli occupied Palestinian territories. The Palestinians living in the West Bank were least hopeful of outside help in their struggle against Israeli oppression and devised the method of *Intifada* as a novel and potent weapon of their own to deal with Israel.

The *Intifada* that began in late 1987 was a massive uprising by the Palestinians directed against Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. What distinguished the *Intifada* from past resistance efforts was popular participation, its long duration, and the prominent part played by Islamic groups. The *Intifada*, together with the Second Gulf War, the latter resulting in tremendous frustration among the Arab people, provided a new impetus for stakeholders to contemplate embarking upon negotiations aimed at resolving the Middle East conflict.

The 1991 Madrid Peace Conference, facilitated by the United States, was a watershed event because for the first time, Israel entered into direct, face-to-face negotiations with Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and the Palestinians. It marked the start of an intricate process of negotiations that eventually led to the Jordan-Israel Peace Treaty, and the signing of the Oslo Accords between the Palestinians and the Israelis.

The 1994 Jordan-Israel Peace Treaty, signed by the two countries that were officially at war for 46 years, was proof that negotiated peace is achievable. Furthermore, it dismissed one of the most enduring and potent beliefs about the Arab-Israeli conflict; namely the view that Palestinians and most Arab states refused to recognize the existence of Israel and sought its destruction.

The Jordan-Israel Peace Treaty, among other facets, provides a practical example of regional cooperation in the domain of water as it includes a unique water-sharing component of note.[1] In short, the treaty stipulates that Israel would voluntarily discharge around 50 million cubic metres (mcm) to Jordan annually until such time when a scheme is developed by Jordan to recoup this amount through an initiative of its own. This reflected the conviction of both Israel and Jordan, at the time, that it was in their best interest to incorporate tangible elements into such agreements.

Since 1994 however, there have been very few positive developments towards the resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Today, and almost three years into the regional turmoil, the Arab-Israeli peace process is at a stalemate, with stakeholders adopting fortress/isolationist policies that will not help in achieving peace and security despite the fact that the flow of people, information and indeed weaponry has rendered the premise of 'fortress states' obsolete.

Most politicians in the region and many in Israel, realize that Israel cannot be secure without her neighbours feeling secure too. Sharing precious water resources equitably is one way of saying that Israel and its neighbours are transnationally interdependent, and should be, for peace to last.

The world is committed to the objective of two states, Israel and a viable Palestinian State, living side by side in peace and security in the framework of comprehensive peace in the Middle East. In this context, a fair solution should be found to the complex issue of Jerusalem, and a just, viable settlement of the issue of Palestinian refugees.

Apart from the Palestine Question, a key historical impediment to the region's socioeconomic development has been the lingering political conflicts in Iraq, Lebanon, and Sudan. During the last decade, acts of terrorism in Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia have exacerbated the situation, causing many Arab countries to divert resources towards security, military and defence budgets at the expense of resources earmarked for development. Table 5.3 shows military expenditures in Arab countries as a percentage of GDP, the highest in the world back in 2001, even if it has since declined in relative terms. Much of this spending goes on the purchase of expensive armaments from industrialized countries. The

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[1]   For details of the 'Water Related Matters' of the agreement, see *http://www.kinghussein.gov.jo/peacetreaty.html*

top seven military spenders per capita in the world are the Middle Eastern countries of Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Jordan, Israel, and Yemen (CIA 2008).

This phenomenon calls for prompt action. Surely, the resolution of regional political problems and the introduction of transnational security arrangements by the countries of the region would pave the way for freeing up resources for socioeconomic development.

TABLE 5.3.

Military expenditure in selected Arab countries, 2001, 2005 and 2011. These values are a percentage of GDP, in descending order based on the 2005 figures.

COUNTRY	MILITARY EXPENDITURE (PERCENT OF GDP)		
	2001	2005	2011
Oman	12.2	11.9	6.0
Saudi Arabia	11.3	8.2	8.4
Yemen	6.1	7.0	…
Jordan	8.6	5.3	4.7
Syria	6.2	5.1	3.9
Kuwait	11.3	4.8	3.2
Lebanon	5.5	4.5	4.4
Morocco	4.1	4.5	3.3
Djibouti	4.4	*4.2	…
Bahrain	4.1	3.6	3.4
Mauritania	2.1	3.6	3.8
Algeria	3.5	2.9	4.6
Egypt	2.6	2.8	1.9
Libya	…	2.0	…
United Arab Emirates	2.5	2.0	5.4
Sudan	3.0	*2.3	…
Tunisia	1.6	1.6	1.3

Sources: United Nations Development Programme (2007), World Bank (2013c).
*Refers to the average data for 2002-2005.

This phenomenon calls for prompt action. Surely, the resolution of regional political problems and the introduction of transnational security arrangements by the countries of the region would pave the way for freeing up resources for socio-economic development.

Partly as a result of regional conflicts, governance in the majority of Arab countries has been in a state of turmoil. Arab regimes have been torn between upholding national security — as they perceive it — and maintaining social order on the one hand, and generally adopting good governance practices on the other; these practices include promoting democracy and the 'rule of law,' promulgating accountability, and combating corruption. Without good governance, achieving progress in the domains of human development and economic growth will be difficult.

For the purposes of this paper, two governance indicators are examined to gauge where Arab countries stand: the rule of law and voice and accountability.

5.3.2   Rule of Law and Voice and Accountability

There is no doubt that corruption played a pivotal role in the fall of the deposed leaders since the outbreak of the turmoil in 2010. Available estimates suggest that smuggling of funds annually amounted to US$2 billion in Egypt and US$1 billion in Tunisia, as the institution of the global financial sector soundness 'Global Financial Integrity' indicates (Global Financial Integrity 2013). This amount represents 3.5 percent of the GDP of Tunisia (for the year 2005) compared with 2 percent in the Egyptian case.

A related phenomenon is 'Rule of Law,' which has been described as a yardstick as important as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and the key to achieving the same. Strengthening the rule of law is the foundation for safer societies and the basis for security, justice and development. And although the *Arab Human Development Report* (UNDP 2003, Lord 2008) called for a 'fair and predictable rule of law,' recent research has shown however, that the performance of Arab countries is rather poor.

Kaufmann et al (2008) measured the 'Rule of Law' in 1998 and 2007 as the outcome of governance in Arab countries. Even if the standard error estimate is taken into account, Qatar emerges from their survey as the only Arab country to rank above the 75th percentile on a global scale in 2007. Four Arab countries rank around the 65th percentile: Oman, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain. These are followed by Jordan, Tunisia, and Saudi Arabia around the 60th percentile. Two Arab countries, Egypt and Morocco, rank around the 50th percentile mark. The remaining countries rank below the 40th percentile with Iraq being the lowest. Noteworthy, is that the rule of law has actually receded since 1998 in Iraq, Lebanon, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and in the West Bank and Gaza.

Historically, the centralization of power in many Arab countries resulted in many rural areas losing their ability to manage their own affairs. This was further aggravated by the arrogance of officials who owed their appointments to central authorities within the state machinery and not to citizens. This explains the refusal of the governor of Sidi Bouzid (Tunisia) to meet Mohammed Bouazizi when the latter asked for an interview, sparking off riots all over Tunisia in December 2010.

The region's showing for the 'Voice and Accountability' indicator over the past ten years has been disappointing. According to the study by Kaufmann et al. (2008), the top five Arab countries for this indicator are Lebanon, Kuwait, Morocco, Qatar, and Jordan. However, even for these countries, the scores are low by international standards, as they rank between the 35th and 30th percentiles. Four countries — Bahrain, Algeria, Djibouti, and Iraq — have shown a marked improvement. Overall, 12 out of 18 Arab countries registered a decline in 'voice and accountability' between 1998 and 2007, including four of the top five countries for this indicator: Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, West Bank and Gaza, and Yemen.

5.4   SOME OF THE DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES IN THE ARAB WORLD

The plummet of oil prices in 2008, as oil prices fell to about US$40 by the end of that year before recovering slightly, has brought the short-lived economic boom in the region to an abrupt end. It has also highlighted the volatility of oil prices and the need for Arab oil-exporting countries to diversify their economies.

5.4.1   Economic Turmoil and Youth Unemployment

The inability of most Arab economies to achieve sustainable economic growth, at around 7 percent annually, has led to the creation of a huge reserve army that was recruited with the beginning of the current Arab upheaval, which gave it momentum and enabled it to continue to evolve into a massive uprising. The low growth rate of per capita income in this case (4 percent in Tunisia and less than a percentage point in Egypt, as a result of population growth) was not consistent with the high expectations of citizens.

The economic fallout of the current upheaval will ultimately be felt by all, negatively affecting foreign direct investment (FDI) flowing into Arab countries and real estate markets. This will cause a slowdown in economic growth and a further rise in unemployment in the region. Both Arab states reliant on exporting goods and services to the U.S. and European Union (E.U.) and those that normally receive aid from these quarters may suffer.

Even before the economic crisis of 2008, unemployment in the Arab world was higher than in any other region, at around 12 percent. Young job seekers constitute over 40 percent of the region's unemployed. Today, Arabs are young. Over 30 percent of the population of Arab countries is less than 15 years of age. This is a double-edged sword for Arab decision-makers; it is an opportunity, as well as a challenge. Young populations can stimulate growth and create dynamic societies, particularly if they are well-trained and well-educated. However, the inability of Arab governments to expand the productive capacity to create a repository of jobs may result in further social upheaval (UN/LAS 2007). Both Tunisia and Egypt have succeeded in increasing enrollment in universities to around 35 percent, however they have not created the appropriate value chain of job openings required to meet the increasing number of graduates.

The World Bank (2007) estimates that the region will have to create over 100 million jobs by 2020 to employ the young men and women joining the employment market. Whereas the problem of unemployment may prove to be insurmountable in some Arab countries like Egypt, Jordan, Tunisia, and Yemen, it may be manageable in the short term at least for those which count among the richest countries in the world: Qatar, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates.

5.4.2   The Water Challenge

At the United Nations World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002, former Secretary-General Kofi Annan outlined five key priority areas. Known collectively by the acronym WEHAB, these cover water, energy, health, agriculture, and biodiversity (WSSD 2002). For Arab countries, key targets have not been met for all five of these priority areas. Other priorities that Arab countries need to address include wealth creation and the Arab world's contribution to world civilization. Thankfully, Arab countries speak almost in unison when it comes to their designated national priorities: water and energy. The traditional sector of agriculture also features in the development policies of some Arab countries (ASTPOA 2008).

With the exception of Sudan and Iraq, all Arab countries are water-poor, meaning that water is unavailable in sufficient quantities for household use, industry, and agriculture. In agriculture, modern water-saving technologies have been adopted in many Arab countries and some regional initiatives have been launched to develop new agricultural technologies suitable for the region, such as the International Centre for Biosaline Agriculture, based in Dubai.

The paths of regional politics and the development challenge of water cross again in the case of Jordan, Israel, and Palestine. One of the important outcomes of the Jordan-Israel Peace treaty is that it has enabled Jordan to contemplate implementing a regional water project that will help the said countries address some of

their water security problems through what has become known as the Red-Dead Canal Project.

The Dead Sea, which is the world's lowest point on earth, is vanishing with severe negative consequences on the ecosystem, industry, and wildlife in the area. Due to gradual water loss, the sea has split into two separate lakes and its coastline has receded significantly. For years, Israeli and Arab governments have been diverting up to 95 percent of the southward flow of the River Jordan, which naturally replenishes the Dead Sea, for agricultural and industrial purposes. Israel diverts an estimated 60 percent of the river, while Syria and Jordan divert the rest. The River Jordan is a shadow of its former glorious self. Indeed recently a small, yet highly sophisticated, water treatment plant had to be built by Jordan just upstream of the Baptism site on the eastern bank of the river to ensure reasonable quality of water for the pilgrims who flock to that historical location from all over the world.

The current plan for the Red-Dead Canal, as envisioned by Jordan is to build a 180-kilometre, partially covered pipeline across the Wadi Araba, which is a dry plateau stretching from the Gulf of Aqaba in the south to the Dead Sea in the north (Figure 5.1). The canal would likely straddle the Israeli-Jordanian border, but remain almost entirely within Jordan. Because of the Wadi Araba's hilly terrain, water flowing through the pipeline would initially have to be pumped to an altitude of 150 metres above sea level before flowing down 580 metres via natural elevation decline on its way to the Dead Sea.

FIGURE 5.1.

Proposed plan for the Red-Dead Canal across the Wadi Araba.

Theoretically, enough Red Sea water flowing into the Dead Sea (around 1.5 billion cubic metres per year) could restore most of its water level over time. Moreover, hydroelectricity generated from the water coursing down the gradient would power large desalination plants. Freshwater could then be delivered to urban areas, such as Jordan's capital Amman, to relieve existing chronic shortages. In addition, the canal's supporters argue that construction could spark more joint Israeli-Jordanian-Palestinian tourism and development projects in the Wadi Araba region.

The project's supporters believe that the proposal is a creative solution to an environmental challenge as well as being a potential model for Arab-Israeli cooperation. For Jordan, the project may be costly and would take years to become a reality, but for a country that is among the world's poorest in water resources, the project, together with the recently completed Disi Conveyance Project, which conveys water from the ancient Disi aquifer in southern Jordan to the capital via a 325 kilometre pipeline, are important mega-projects to address the country's water insecurity (National Agricultural Information System 2013). Needless to say, it would have been difficult to contemplate either project being implemented before the Jordan-Israel Peace Treaty was signed in 1994.

The shortage of water for agriculture has inveigled some Arab states to lease large plots of arable land in countries like Sudan to grow food. These countries include Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Foreign direct investment in Sudan's agricultural sector (FDI) in the form of land leasing amounted to US$279 million in 2007. The Sudanese government aims to secure US$1 billion in investments from Arab and Asian investment groups in 2009-2010. This amount has already been designated for 17 lead projects, covering a land area of 880,000 ha in northern Sudan (Sudan Tribune 2008).

However, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) is increasingly sceptical about the wisdom of such investments and has pointed to failures of previous mechanized farming schemes to observe fallow periods, improve land use and respect prior tenure relations (UNEP 2007).

Depending on their scale and the types of crop grown, such projects seem to be commercially viable from the investor viewpoint. However, they cannot be a real alternative to attempting to achieve regional, or at least national, food security. The question of security and stability again rises in the minds of future investors in a country such as Sudan, which has endured serious political problems over the last decade.

5.5   CONCLUSION

Owing to its history, strategic location, wealth of subterranean resources, the Middle East has been an area of conflict for the best part of a century. The creation

of Israel in 1948, at a time when most Arab countries were in the process of winning their independence, has undoubtedly affected the storyline of politics and socioeconomic development in the Middle East.

The so-called Arab Spring started in a small Tunisian town in December 2010 as an impulsive uprising by young Arabs against stagnant government policies that have failed to achieve socioeconomic wellbeing in milieus of tolerance and respect for human rights. Within weeks, it evolved into massive demonstrations that called for regime changes, with the international powers scrambling to develop new strategies to address the changing day-by-day scenarios.

Of the lessons that could be drawn from the events that have swept through the Arab world since December 2010, is that regimes and governments have to gauge, and be seen to gauge public opinion, and more importantly perhaps address popular needs and work to remedy the accumulated failures of governments and achieve measurable socioeconomic progress in free and tolerant societies in which the rule of law prevails.

The 'political' and 'policies' challenges facing Arab countries today are enormous. However, they can be overcome with vision, commitment and hard work. The huge strides made by countries that two or three decades ago were at the same level of development as Arab states, including Brazil, China, India, Ireland, Mexico, and the Republic of Korea, show that it is possible.

Decision-makers in many Arab countries seem not to have realised that the development 'value chain' is made up of a number of interdependent components, each of which influences and is influenced by the other. For example, it is politically unwise to fail to ensure that economic growth, if and when achieved, does not filter down, and is not felt by those segments of society in extreme poverty, or indeed expanding the higher education system of the country without enlarging the job-generating economy to absorb the increasing number of graduates. What is required is a multi-layered approach that ensures that the fruits of development are felt by all. A consolidated effort is required to create wealth and address the dire concerns of food, water and energy security.

Another factor stalling change in Arab countries has historically been the top-down approach to governance. This places political leaders in a position where they have to assume the role of championing all aspects of development, which is a practical impossibility to say the least.

Arab countries today are nation states, a particularly European invention that became obsolete with the signing of the Treaty of Rome in 1959. Since then, European countries have set about harmonizing their economic and scientific policies. It is true that, in the Arab world, there are regional umbrella organizations that try to do the job of the European Union such as the Arab League, and the Organisation of the Islamic Cooperation (OIC). However, due to a chronic shortage of political and material support for both, neither has been able to fulfil its mandate successfully.

Oil wealth has been a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it has helped Arab countries to consolidate their infrastructure, invest in service industries and promote trade. On the down side, 'easy money' has meant that real development took a back seat until very recently. Indeed, the slump in oil prices since 2008 has given oil states a glimpse into the future when they will no longer be able to count on oil for their major source of income.

The stability and security of Arab countries cannot simply be a function of military expenditure and to upholding law and order. Long-term security and prosperity for countries in the region can only be achieved by assuring the triple helix of food, water, and energy security, combined with sustainable and equitable socio-economic development in tolerant societies at peace with their neighbours.

Water scarcity in the Middle East is one of the most serious issues affecting people's welfare, activities, and lifestyles. In the Middle East in particular, water availability is inextricably linked to sustainable socioeconomic development as well as to food and energy security. Decision makers have been addressing the issue of water insecurity at the national level, and owing to the nature of water resources, at the regional level, with some success, however the issue of water remains critical.

There is a strong correlation between the degree of cooperation in water issues and the general atmosphere of peace and friendship between any two or more countries, according to the report entitled *Water Cooperation for a Secure World — Focus on the Middle East*[2] published recently by the Strategic Foresight Group.

A model of a regional water cooperation arrangement is the Jordan-Israel Peace Agreement (with its water-sharing component), as it has helped Jordan and Israel to address some of their national water problems.

Last but not least, Western-style democracy in the Arab world is not impossible, however it must be built on a solid platform, and cannot take root with so many regional conflicts around.

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2   For the complete report, see
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Introduction

JAMES BOLGER
Prime Minister of New Zealand (1990-1997)

Energy has long been a concern of the InterAction Council, most notably at our 2009 Plenary Meeting in King Abdullah Economic City in Saudi Arabia. Global water issues, too, have been a priority with the 2011 High-Level Expert Group meeting in Toronto (see Appendix 4) and Annual Plenary Meeting in Québec City, Canada, largely devoted to this theme. In Bahrain (2013), these issues came together in an extended debate about the water-energy-food nexus.

On energy, Carole Nakhle in her article "Energy and Climate Security" reminded us that there is no definitive answer to the question of how many resources are left in the world — it depends on price, infrastructure, and technology. "In reality," she writes, "the issue is not just whether the resource potential is there, but whether investment will be encouraged to transform potential into production." Our Canadian colleagues, for example, illustrated Nakhle's point about proven, as opposed to potential oil reserves, by questioning the headlines about the huge potential of the Arctic to add to the world's energy supply when there is as yet, little infrastructure to transport any discoveries. Nakhle's paper, in particular, highlights how technological innovation has led to the transformation of U.S. energy supply through shale/tight oil and gas. Starting in 2009, the long-held notion about the terminal decline of U.S. oil production was put to rest. Shale or tight oil now accounts for more than 30 percent of the country's total production, "which has grown more in 2012 than in any year since the beginning of the domestic industry in 1859."

Changes in the energy landscape are also the theme of Majid Al-Moneef's article on "Energy in the Twenty-first Century: Challenges and Opportunities." While growth in energy consumption has slowed in the "advanced economies, for example, the emerging economies have accounted for almost all the net incremental global demand of 13 million barrels per day over the period 2000-2010. Al-Moneef, the Secretary-General of the Supreme Economic Council of Saudi Arabia, also draws attention to the water-energy-nexus. Water is essential to the production of processing of oil and gas, biofuels and nuclear energy. Likewise, energy is essential in desalination. The interrelationship is profound: "in all energy processes," he writes, "water resources are either depleted or contaminated, while energy reserves are also depleted or misused in the production and consumption of water."

The Rosenberg International Forum on Water Policy invites 50 water scholars and senior managers to address specific global water problems. In 2013, the 8th Forum was held in Aqaba, Jordan and the Middle East featured prominently in the Forum's deliberations. Henry Vaux Jr. and David Dooley's conclusion from that Forum is that "the list of world's water problems is daunting." Aquifers have been depleted, the quantities of water needed to support food production "will likely decline at precisely the time when food production needs to grow," and climate change adds greatly to the uncertainty about the timing and availability of water supplies.

Uncertainty is also the theme of Robert Sandford's paper "Come Hell or High Water: Hydro-climatic Change and its Consequences." Sandford's hometown of Canmore in Southern Alberta was devastated by a flood in June 2013. His main point, however, is that the floods in Alberta were not an isolated event but an example of the basic hydro-climatic changes outlined in the Rosenberg Forum report. The World Economic Forum rates water-related issues fourth in threats posed by 50 global environmental, geopolitical and technological risks. This is because climate change, reducing snow cover and Arctic sea ice, is reducing the world's hydrologic stationarity. Extreme weather events are becoming the norm because "the whole series of interactions depends on constancy. We have lost that constancy and now we are losing hydrological stability." And such extreme changes are not just a North American problem: there were 25 hydro-climatic disasters globally in the first 8 months of 2013, including flooding in Central Europe that caused $22 billion in devastation. Sandford concludes that, "the loss of ice and snow in the Arctic will not only impact northern nations" but will also "likely impact national water security, and will almost certainly affect agricultural productivity, human health, and economic sustainability at mid-latitudes."

In "Water, Energy, and Food: The Ultimate Nexus," Rabi Mohtar and Bassel Daher explore in detail the synergies between water, food, and energy mentioned in the contributions of Al-Moneef and Vaux. They write: "food production demands water, water extraction, treatment and redistribution demands energy; and energy

production requires water." Optimizing food production is a necessity given the rise in world population, but this cannot be done unless irrigation efficiency improves dramatically. Power plant cooling is another large draw on water and nuclear energy is the highest water-demanding technology. The global water bill is increasing, the authors conclude, and "the entire world's responsibility is to bring this bill down."

A central theme of the InterAction Council discussion in Bahrain was the necessity to move from "silos to nexus." Recognizing that water, energy, and food are highly connected systems, and that population growth is putting pressure on all three, we will only make progress by assessing the three components together. Trade-offs between them will be inevitable. This will not be easy but that is what global political leadership should be all about.

CHAPTER 6

Energy in the Twenty-First Century: Challenges and Opportunities

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My remarks will cover two main topics: the changing global energy landscape and the emerging energy challenges of the twenty-first century.

Over the years, energy has powered the sweeping economic changes that have transformed the world. The dominant fuel in the energy mix transitioned from biomass to coal to oil. Each new fuel was in some way better, faster, cheaper, or more suited to its purpose than its predecessor. Technological innovation brought new uses to fuels that transformed the energy system. Today, some 87 percent of total world primary energy demand is met by fossil fuels — oil, coal, and natural gas. Wind, solar, geothermal, and other non-hydro renewable resources provide just 1.6 percent of total world energy.

The global consumption and production of energy in general, and oil and gas in particular, have shaped in one way or another, the patterns of global economic growth, international trade, and geopolitics throughout the last century. The forces of globalization, besides enhancing trade, allowed the diffusion of technology across borders, brought standardization, ensured efficiency gains, and unprecedented flexibility in energy production and consumption.

6.1   FEATURES OF THE ENERGY LANDSCAPE
OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

The energy landscape of the twenty-first century looks distinctly different than that of the past century. **First**, the rate of growth in energy consumption of the advanced

economies, which averaged 2.3 percent annually during the second half of the past century, slowed down and averaged 0.2 percent annually in the first decade of the twenty-first century against a global and non-OECD (The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) growth of 2.5 and 5.2 percent annually, respectively. The emerging economies have accounted for almost all the net incremental global demand of 13 million barrels per day (MBD) and 70 percent to the incremental global gas demand of 814 billion cubic metres (BCM) over the period 2000-2010 (BP 2012). The developing countries are projected to contribute 82 percent to incremental global primary energy consumption through 2035 and to overtake the OECD in the level of oil and gas demand before 2020. This means that the dynamics of energy markets are increasingly determined by countries outside the OECD. This energy demand shift is fuelled by the remarkable endogenous growth increasingly being decoupled from the growth of the economies of the OECD (IEA 2013).

The second feature of the energy landscape of the twenty-first century is the increasing role of technology in enhancing efficiency, diversifying the energy demand mix, and responding to environmental concerns. The great technological advances in the transportation sector (whether electric, hybrid, or more efficient vehicles), and in the power generation and transmission sectors (the smart grid, combined cycle, green buildings, etc.) are contributing to efficiency improvements worldwide. Technology is also playing a major role in increasing and diversifying the sources of energy supply and solidifying energy security. Thanks to technology, the energy resources today are more plentiful and diversified. Exploration and production technologies such as horizontal drilling, hydraulic fracturing, 4D seismic, etc. have contributed to a substantially increasing oil and gas resource base and increasing supplies worldwide, putting to rest at least for now, the concern over 'peak oil.' Proven global oil reserves increased from 667 billion barrels in 1980 to 1.6 trillion barrels in 2011 after an accumulated production of around 800 billion barrels over the period, so did gas reserves from 81 to 208 trillion cubic metres (TCM). The non-conventional oil and gas resources (such as oil sands, shale oil and gas, extra heavy oil, etc.) considered difficult to extract and uneconomic in the past century, are contributing to the lion's share of incremental supply today, and are projected to contribute 44 and 39 percent of incremental oil and gas production by 2035, respectively (IEA 2013).

The third important feature of the emerging energy system and relations is the central role of markets in finding solutions to the underlying energy challenges. The remarkable growth performance of the developing countries the past few decades would not have been achieved without the open market policies, the prudent macroeconomic policies, and the trade and price reforms undertaken in many of those countries in the past few decades. Similarly, technological innovations would not have been achieved without the proper market signals, fiscal incentives,

transparency of energy prices, and the favourable investment climate in many parts of the world. This trend is projected to continue with new developments in the form of re-examining and redesigning the energy subsidies in many developed and developing countries to ensure efficiency, equity, and environmental protection. The international prices of oil and gas, long a concern to producers and consumers, are becoming more transparent with the regulatory framework governing the interaction between the physical market of oil and the financial markets undergoing an overhaul following the financial crisis of 2008.

The fourth feature is the increasing integration of environmental concerns into the energy and economic policymaking framework at the national and inter-national levels and into business decision-making. This integration is becoming less costly to governments and businesses due to the advances in technology and the efficiency of markets. This integration runs across all countries and businesses, and will most likely continue irrespective of the economic downturns or crises in different parts of the world. One reason for this is the growing environmental awareness worldwide exemplified by the post-Kyoto framework, as well as the New Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Today, almost all future global energy outlooks for international organizations, national energy projections, and businesses incorporate in some way or another, either an environmental impact assessment or scenarios in their global, national, or business energy outlook.

The fifth feature is the growing role of national energy companies in the production of energy resources worldwide. These companies are totally or partially owned by governments of the producing and consuming countries, and are run commercially and expand globally. Their current operations in local oil and gas production and processing, are expected to expand globally and into renewables as well.

The sixth feature of the emerging energy relations is the political strategies associated with the shifting consumption and production patterns. The central role of the Middle East in global oil supply the past century, which through its excess production capacities eased the frequent supply interruptions, is being reconsidered due to the declining role of oil in the energy mix, and increasing North American energy independence. However, the strategic importance of oil exports is not dependent on whether petroleum goes from one nation to another at any given time, but rather it is dependent on the supply of the overall global market to which oil exports — mainly from the Middle East — will increase steadily in spite of any shifts in North American energy balance. The International Energy Agency (IEA) estimates that there will be a steady increase in Gulf production capacity — from 25 million barrels a day capacity presently, to some 35 million in 2035 (IEA 2013).

6.2   CHALLENGES

The coming decades of the twenty-first century will certainly face numerous challenges in an effort to increase accessibility, affordability, and reliability, while reducing environmental impacts. **The first** of such challenges is forecasting global energy balances in the face of mounting uncertainties. The poor record of long-term energy forecasting is partly due to the extrapolation of historical trends into the future. This necessitates that policymakers and industry consider forecasts with caution by understanding their inherent assumptions and methodologies. This might also necessitate some coordination among the forecasting agencies, and between those agencies and the stakeholders to examine and reconcile the different methodologies and assumptions.

The challenge of forecasting global, regional, or national energy balances raises the important issue of resource pessimism or abundance. The escalation of oil and gas prices in the second half of the 2000-2010 decade, and the associated supply interruptions and demand surges, gave rise to the notion of resource pessimism such as the "peak oil" hypothesis. This soon gave way to a yet overly optimistic notion of an abundance of hydrocarbon resources following the development of non-conventional resources such as shale oil and gas, as well as the oil sands. The fact of the matter is that conventional and non-conventional oil and gas are finite resources, the recoverable reserves of which depend on economics and technology, both changing considerably.

The second challenge is the dilemma of transition to a new energy system less reliant on fossil fuels. The transition to a different mix of energy sources like renewables is unavoidable but will require important changes and will take decades. Generally speaking, the energy system has historically evolved much more slowly than other technology-dependent sectors. It took eight decades for oil to overtake coal as the primary energy source in the U.S. Moving to wind and solar involves replacing the lower cost oil and gas, which have higher energy density, with more expensive, lower energy density substitutes. Since renewables by and large need subsidization to compete, their ability to acquire durable market share will be impaired. The long-term challenge will be in improving the productivity of renewables relative to fossil fuels.

The third challenge relates to the role of governments in response to the underlying challenges. The decisions by some governments during the oil price escalation of 2005-2008 to embark on developing biofuels through systems of incentives and subsidies proved to be hasty and unsustainable, to which many governments soon rescinded and the outlook for such fuels became more modest. Likewise, the decisions of many governments in response to the oil and gas price increases and to the public demands to introduce systems of energy subsidies, soon became burdens to the budgets and fostered inefficient energy uses, which many governments are now trying to phase out. In order to shape the energy system,

governments must accurately understand the risk/reward perspective of industry before embarking on decisions involving subsidies, incentives, and regulation.

The fourth challenge is the need to tackle energy poverty; defined as the lack of adequate, accessible, and affordable energy, to promote economic growth and satisfy basic human needs. For example, electricity coverage in 2008 stood at 100 percent in high-income countries, 90 percent in middle-income countries, but was available to only 45 percent of the population in low-income countries. Likewise, per capita energy consumption in terms of tonnes of oil equivalent (TOE) was 1.4 worldwide (and 3.6 TOE in the OECD) but stood at only 0.49 TOE per capita in Africa and 0.66 in Asia. Today it is estimated that around 1.3 billion people in the developing world do not have access to modern energy (World Bank 2013). The alleviation of energy poverty should therefore form a key pillar in strategies to achieve sustainable development and should be central to the achievement of the internationally embraced MDGs. International cooperation in this area, especially among the national, regional, and international financial institutions, is essential.

The fifth challenge is the integration, penetration and spread of technology, which will be central to addressing the other energy and environmental challenges. Despite the technological advances in the recovery of hydrocarbons and the advancements in reducing their carbon footprints, they alone will not be enough to meet expected long-term energy demand growth. The world will need all safe and reliable supplies of fossil fuels, nuclear energy, and renewables. The integration of different information and transportation technologies into energy systems will make energy accessible, affordable, clean, and its use more efficient.

The sixth challenge is the water-energy nexus covered elsewhere in this publication. Water is essential to the production and processing of conventional and non-conventional oil and gas resources, biofuels, and nuclear energy. Likewise, energy is essential in the production of ground or seawater. In all energy processes, water resources are either depleted or contaminated, while energy resources are also depleted or misused in the production and consumption of water. The main challenge will be to internalize the costs of water depletion and pollution in the production of energy.

The seventh and final challenge to the emerging energy system is the impact of the policy initiatives related to climate change on energy consumption, production and investment patterns. This is reflected in the European Union's low-carbon energy transition and its carbon trading system, the U.S.'s wide range of mandates, incentives, and regulations for low-carbon energy, and China's energy and emissions targets in the 12th Five-Year Plan. These and other national initiatives, if translated into policy actions and regulations, and if integrated into the global framework of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), will have a profound impact on the energy mix and use, as well as the technologies and investments associated with both.

6.3 CONCLUSION

The new energy system with all of its challenges will require timely and adequate investment in all conventional and non-conventional hydrocarbon resources along their entire value chain. The transition to a less carbon intensive system will also require investments in renewable and nuclear energies, as well as energy efficiency. Advancements and penetration of technologies such as Carbon Capture and Sequestration (CCS), smart grids, photovoltaic systems, and electric vehicles will make the energy system of this century more diversified, environmentally friendly, and sustainable.

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CHAPTER 7

Water, Energy, and Food: The Ultimate Nexus[1]

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7.1   ABSTRACT

Our global community is facing unprecedented risks and challenges that are directly linked to the way we currently understand and manage our resources. Providing sustainable solutions to overcome present challenges poses the need to study the existent interlinkages between these resources. This entry presents water, energy, and food as main systems that form a nexus, which itself is affected by defined external factors. Promoting integrative thinking in the process of strategic planning comes through highlighting the intimate level of interconnectedness between these systems.

7.2   INTRODUCTION

With global population growing to over 7 billion, accompanied by escalating economic crises, mismanagement of natural resources, climatic changes and uncertainties, and growing poverty and hunger, the world is living in a critical period defined by global challenges. These challenges are linked with social, economic, and political risks and unrest that present and future generations face. Different nexus combinations, including water, food, energy, trade, climate, and population growth, are being studied in an attempt to identify the types of interconnectedness present between those systems. The creation of those nexuses comes as a result of realizing the multidimensionality and complexity of the issue. This entry explores the synergies between water, food, and energy and presents a framework for this nexus that can help address the interfaces and further quantify these linkages.

7.3   FROM SILOS TO NEXUS

Water security, energy security, and food security are intimately linked. In simple terms, food production demands water; water extraction, treatment, and redistribution demand energy; and energy production requires water. Energy inputs via fertilizers, tillage, harvest, transport, and irrigation and processing have their influence on food prices. Environmental pressures and climatic changes, as well as growing economies and populations, both intensify the existent relations between the three systems. "A new nexus oriented approach is needed to address current levels of insecurity in access to basic services; one that better understands the inter-linkages and inter-dependencies across water, energy and food sectors as well as the influence of trade, investment and climate policies" (Bonn 2011 Conference 2011). According to the Global Risk 2011 report presented by the World Economic Forum (2011), the water-food-energy nexus is a global risk that fundamentally threatens human, social, and political security. Unintended consequences are common as policy makers seek to solve one part of the nexus and end up worsening another. Therefore, there is a need for creating a holistic framework that explicitly defines the links between systems and understands the effect one has on another.

Figure 7.1 shows a conceptual framework of the nexus with the existent linkages between water, energy, and food. It also presents the factors that affect the nexus, including rising economies, climate change, global population, international trade, and governance. The following sections will provide further explanation of the framework.
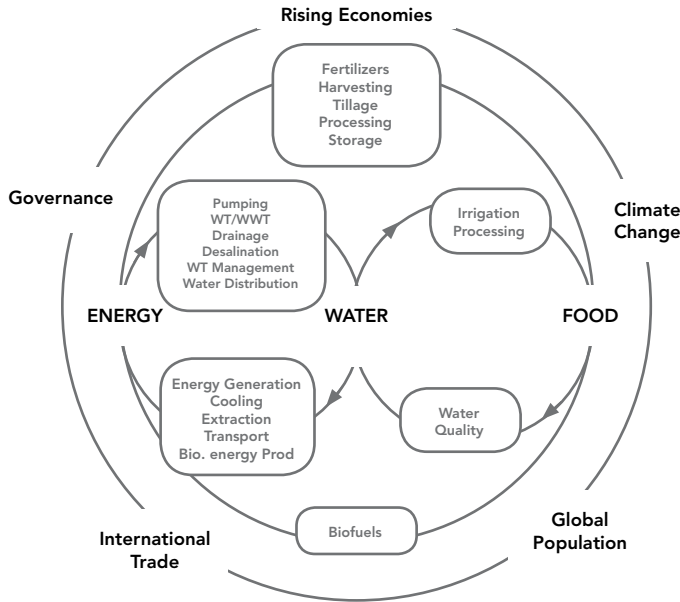
FIGURE 7.1.
Schematic showing the water-energy-food nexus with effecting parameters.

7.4   WATER–ENERGY LINKAGES

Water and energy are interdependent as they are major consumers of one another. The water system is an energy user mainly through electricity consumption for pumping fresh water, drainage, and water table management, desalination, water treatment, and water distribution in farms and cities.

In desalination, for example, reverse osmosis plants consume 4-6 kWh/m^3 of treated water versus 21-58 kWh/m^3 for multistage flash (Semiat 2008). These values include thermal and electric energy consumed to produce desalinated water. Energy needed for groundwater pumping is highly dependent on its source. "Groundwater supply from public sources requires 1 824 kilowatt-hours per million gallons — about 30 percent more electricity on a unit basis than supply from surface water, primarily due to a higher requirement of raw water pumping from groundwater systems" (Center for Sustainable Systems 2013). Water transport is also an energy consumer, a fact that is often overlooked.

Energy in return is a major water consumer (Table 7.1). Water is needed for energy generation, cooling, resource extraction and refining, transportation, and

bioenergy production. "Energy end use and waste disposal also use and contaminate water resources. For example, the largest withdrawal of water in the United States and most other industrialized countries is for power plant cooling" (World Economic Forum 2011). The dependency of one system on the other is largely defined by the choice of technology used in energy — water-demanding activities.

Current policies are in search of alternative energy sources to decrease their reliance on expensive and increasingly scarce fossil fuels. Controversy arises when the sustainability of these alternatives is investigated. Biofuels and nuclear energies are among those sources.

Biofuels are the most water-intensive fuel sources, consuming over 1,000 gal/MMBtu on average, "a water consumption one or two orders of magnitude greater than that of alternative sources of liquid fuels" (Belfer Centre 2010). Nuclear energy, itself, is the highest water-demanding thermoelectric technology, consuming 200-800 gal/MWh depending on the technology used (Belfer Centre 2010). There is a policy and institutional dimension to this part of the nexus that needs to be properly communicated through a common global agenda in order to relax any stresses water and energy systems are encountering due to current practices. There is a need to explore the potential of relying on renewable natural resources like wind and solar energy that would contribute in solving the challenge of meeting increasing demands without exerting more pressure on the nexus.

TABLE 7.1.

Energy requirements in transporting water.

ENERGY REQUIRED TO DELIVER 1M3 OF CLEAN WATER FROM:	
Lake or river	0.37 kWh/m^3
Groundwater	0.48 kWh/m^3
Wastewater treatment	0.62-0.87 kWh/m^3
Wastewater reuse	1-2.5 kWh/m^3
Seawater	2.58-8.5 kWh/m^3

Sources: World Business Council for Sustainable Development (2009).

7.5   WATER–FOOD LINKAGES

The world is facing a water scarcity challenge, where agriculture is its predominant consumer. It accounts for approximately 3,100 billion m^3, or 71 percent of global water withdrawals today, and is expected to increase to 4,500 billion m^3 by 2030

(McKinsey and Company 2009). In addition to the increase in water scarcity, the agricultural sector faces an enormous challenge of producing almost 50 percent more food by 2030 and doubling production by 2050 (OECD 2010). Optimizing the agricultural process is a necessity. A controversial issue lies behind growing the same crops with less water by using more efficient technologies at a local scale. With regard to improving irrigation efficiency, Kendy et al (2004) argue that water is not saved through reducing seepage, as drainage is needed to recharge the underlying aquifer. It is significant to realize that different countries and areas in the world differ with respect to technological advancement and ability to afford and shift to newer, more efficient practices. There is a need to understand the potential of reallocation of globally grown food products in a manner that maximizes the utility of green water (rain fed). This leads to saving scarce blue water (surface and groundwater) for producing the same amount of food.

Water productivity, defined as the output per unit of water volume consumed, varies from one place to another. This process is not just a matter of available technology or available human, social, and institutional capital. The fact that different countries have different water productivities creates a comparative advantage for those countries that have relatively high water productivity in producing water-intensive crops (Hoekstra 2003).

The issue goes further beyond the complexity of allocating water-type resources and areas of higher water productivity to actually making use of this knowledge through trade. Trading in agricultural products also means trading of the water embedded in growing these products, which is known as virtual water (Figure 7.2). An obvious effect of international trade in water-intensive commodities is that it generates water savings in the countries that import those commodities. This effect has been discussed since the mid-1990s (Allan 2001, Hoekstra 2010). In the period from 1997 to 2001, Japan (the largest net importer of water-intensive goods in the world) annually saved 94 billion m^3 by not using its domestic water resources. This volume of water would have been required, in addition to its current water use, if Japan domestically produced products instead of importing them. Similarly, Mexico annually saved 65 billion m^3, Italy 59 billion m^3, China 56 billion m^3, and Algeria 45 billion m^3 (Chapagain et al 2006).

A major example of virtual water import is Jordan. Jordan imports close to 90 percent of its food (Forbes 2008). Importing 5-7 billion m^3 of water in virtual form per year is in sharp contrast to the 1 billion m^3 of water Jordan withdraws annually from its domestic water sources (Haddadin 2003). Taking an extreme side of this issue, if trade of food products did not exist, Jordan would be forced to extensively use its domestic water resource, which is mainly blue water, thus depleting it and rapidly causing hunger threats. Yet by externalizing its water footprint, Jordan is in a weak spot of water dependency, which could be costly on the political and social levels.

Hoekstra (2010) mentioned that according to international trade theory that goes back to Ricardo (1817), nations can gain from trade if they specialize in the production of goods and services for which they have a comparative advantage, while importing goods and services for which they have a comparative disadvantage.
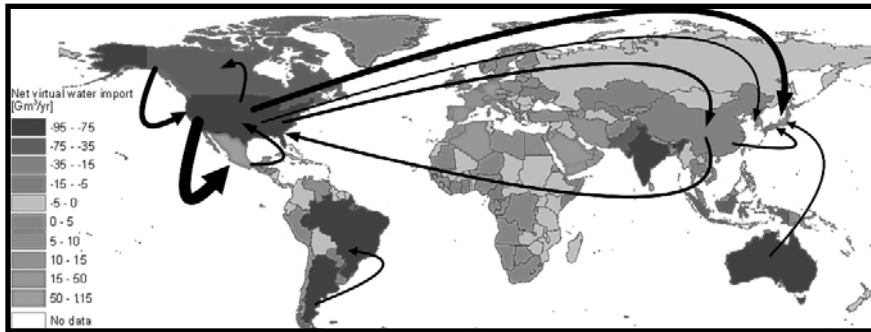
FIGURE 7.2.

Virtual water balance per country related to trade in agricultural and industrial products over the period 1996-2005. Net exporters are shown in green and net importers in red. The arrows show the biggest gross international virtual water flows (>15 GM3/yr); the fatter the arrow, the bigger the virtual water flow. *Source: Mekonnen and Hoekstra (2011)*

Water should be viewed and recognized as a global resource, and the actual amount of water saved by countries for food production should be viewed as a reduction to a global water bill. The entire world's responsibility is to bring this bill down.

7.6   FOOD-ENERGY LINKAGES

For the period 2006-2008, average world prices of different products rose significantly, leaving a huge portion of the global population unable to afford their basic nutrition needs. Rice price rose by 217 percent, wheat by 136 percent, corn by 125 percent, and soybeans by 107 percent during this period (Steinberg 2008). Fred Magdoff in "The World Food Crisis" relates the soaring in food prices during that period to different reasons, one of which is the rise in petroleum prices (Steinberg 2008). For this reason, the United States, Europe, and other countries adopted biofuel policies to limit their dependence on petroleum. It is estimated that over the next decade about one-third of the U.S. corn crop will be devoted to ethanol

production (Bloomberg 2008). Biofuel policy advocates insist that effects are limited as the additional production of corn for biofuel production between 2006 and 2009 only represented a small portion of globally consumed energy. Though this is true, it ignores the fact that the amount of grain transformed to fuels is equivalent to a year's supply of cereal for 250,000 people (Belfer Center 2010). According to the Food and Agriculture Organization, 925 million people do not have sufficient food, 98 percent being in developing countries (FAO 2010). Land that was once used for growing food is now transformed into biofuel production. Arable land is a limited resource that is struggling to cope with the growing demands, especially since yields have already reached their maximum limits.

On another note, there is serious concern regarding the sustainability of biofuels while considering water consumption, water and soil degradation, and other ecological impacts that could prevail due to excessive use of fertilizers. Governments should be aware of the sensitivity that exists between both systems and the unfavorable consequences that could surface as a result of any unplanned shift or tradeoff.

7.7   CONCLUSIONS

Water, energy, and food are three highly connected systems. The ability to face the current and anticipated global challenges will be governed by the ability of better understanding the interconnectedness and tradeoffs between these systems. Higher levels of collaboration between governmental entities concerned in setting future resource management strategies and policies are thus a must.

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CHAPTER 8

Energy and Climate Security: Then and Now

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8.1   INTRODUCTION

Before the financial crisis of 2008, the continuous increase in oil prices, particularly between 2004 and the summer of 2008, led to popular fear that a peak in oil production had been reached and the world was running out of oil. Some even predicted 'resource wars' to happen. Energy security, particularly security of energy supply, that is the availability of sustainable, affordable, and reliable sources of energy, was at the top of the political agenda for net energy importers, developing and developed countries alike. Meanwhile, the craze about climate change and the need for reducing carbon emissions reached a climax. Ambitious carbon reduction goals were set, fuelling tensions between developing countries and the developed world, the former arguing that it is now their right to develop their economies, and therefore they cannot adhere to the tough carbon diet the developed world was advocating.

Then the financial crisis hit the world's major economies, hence major energy consumers, with wider implications on the global economy. Demand for energy in these countries dampened while government budgets suffered. Meanwhile, a silent revolution, fuelled mainly by a legacy of high oil prices, was taking place: the shale revolution first for gas then for oil, along with other technical advances. As a result, enthusiasm about both energy security and climate change seems to have dissipated. There are perhaps good reasons for the former to go away but the latter remains the real problem.

This chapter reviews the developments that have altered the global energy scene and analyses their implications on both energy security and the climate change agenda.

8.2   ENERGY SECURITY

This section focuses first on the trends in energy supplies, then covers those in global demand and the energy mix.

8.2.1   Supply Side

Every time oil prices increase significantly, fears are expressed about the ability of supply to cope with increasing demand, and whether global oil production has reached a maximum or 'peak,' after which there would be an inevitable (and terminal) decline.

Oil and gas reserve estimates, however, always involve some degree of uncertainty, and different methodologies will give different numbers. There is no simple answer as to how many resources are left in the world. In reality, the issue is not just whether the resource potential is there, but whether investment will be encouraged to transform potential into production.

Resources and Reserves

"Hurry, before this wonderful product is depleted from Nature's laboratory," warned the Pennsylvania based oil refining, Kier's Petroleum or Rock Oil Company in the U.S. That was in 1855. More than a century later, the same warning continues to be raised, reaching a crescendo during periods of high oil prices.

Oil is central to modern economies and if it is running out while an energy-hungry developing world remains unsatisfied, then the world should prepare for a tough ride. But how close are we really to depleting nature's precious oil resources?

Renewable sources of energy, such as solar, wind, and hydropower, can be sustained indefinitely. Fossil fuels — oil, natural gas, and coal — however, cannot be replenished in a short period of time, and as such are called 'non-renewable' resources. They are derived from organic material that were deposited and buried under heavy layers of sediment in the earth, millions of years ago. The resulting high levels of heat and pressure caused the remains to metamorphose, into liquid and gaseous hydrocarbons.

Because fossil fuels take so long to form, their stock is described not only as scarce, but also as finite and exhaustible. In other words, these 'resources' are being depleted much faster than new ones are being formed, especially in light of rapidly rising demand.

However, the issue of exhaustibility of fossil fuels has often been questioned. Many economists argue that the depletion of fossil fuels stock is offset regularly by continuous investment and technological development. The key distinction here is between how much oil (or gas) is in place, how much can be technically recovered, and how much can be economically recovered.

The resource base includes the total quantity of oil estimated to exist, also called the total oil in place i.e., all oil, that is independent of whether it has already been discovered or not. For instance, according to the U.S. Geological Survey (2008), the Arctic could contain about 22 percent of the world's undiscovered oil and natural gas resources. However, the real question is, how many of these resources can actually be produced? The answer is given by the definition of reserves. Oil reserves are defined as oil that has been discovered, but has not yet been produced; they are estimated to be technically possible and economically feasible to extract, given existing conditions.

Reserve estimates depend on views about current technology and economic conditions. They are classified into three categories, depending on their chances of being produced. Proved reserves have a better than 90 percent chance of being produced, probable reserves have a better than 50 percent chance, while possible reserves are estimated to have a significant, but less than 50 percent chance.

Advances in technology, such as horizontal drilling, enable investors to reach more challenging reservoirs. Enhanced oil recovery techniques allow producers to get more oil out of any given reservoir (progress in recovery rates is one of the most important sources of additional oil supplies today). An increase in oil price and a reduction in costs encourage investment in smaller or technically more difficult fields. The increasing interest in Arctic oil and gas, and in the pre-salt layer offshore of Brazil (under thick layers of rock and salt) are good examples for the role of technological advances (and the price of oil) in opening up new frontiers for the production of oil.

This explains why the composition of reserves is continuously being 'upgraded,' and why official reserve data is not constant but shows regular revisions — possible reserves become probable, and probable become proved reserves. Despite consuming an average of 26 million barrels of oil per day (Mbls/d) since 1980, oil proved reserves have more than doubled over these 30 years (this is referred to as 'reserves growth') — they increased from 667.5 to 1383.2 million barrels (Mbls). Meanwhile, gas reserves have nearly caught up with those of oil (Figure 8.1). In fact, they have grown faster than those of oil and this trend is set to accelerate, given the breakthrough of technologies that enable the discovery of new gas resources and access to unconventional sources.
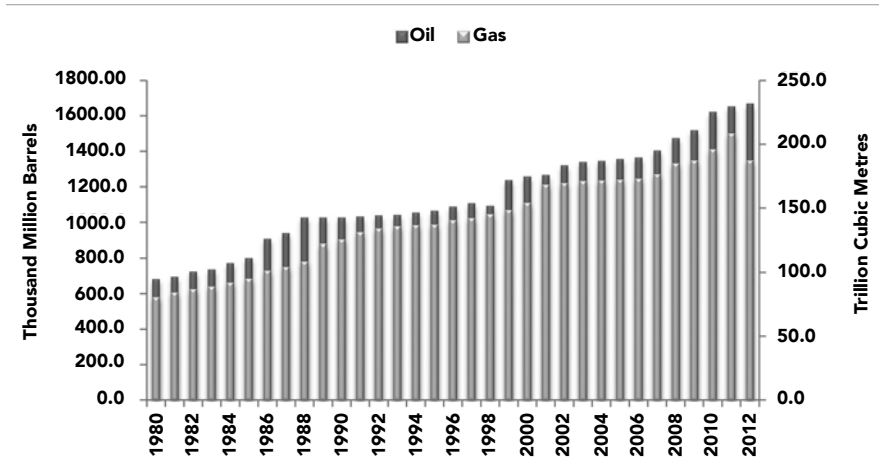
FIGURE 8.1.

Oil and gas proved reserves from 1980-2012 (BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2013).

As put by experts, 'reserves' reflect the tip of an iceberg called 'resources-in-place' — usually many times as large.

The peak oil concept is often referred to as peak oil theories. One of their most powerful expressions was developed in the 1950s by Marion King Hubbert, a highly respected geologist working for Shell Global. Hubbert observed that oil production in the U.S. seemed to follow a bell-shaped curve. For any given field, oil production first increases, reaches a peak, and then declines rapidly as depletion sets in. Hubbert translated this observation of single fields into a statement for regions (in his case, the U.S.) and then the world as a whole.

Whether oil supplies will ever 'peak,' has been contentious between geologists and economists since the beginning of the oil industry. For many geologists, oil production is bound to follow Hubbert's peak path. Economists, on the other hand, will also focus on demand, and will typically argue that production and consumption are dependent on prices. High prices encourage reserve growth and production, and improve technology, while at the same time limiting demand. Economists would say that oil demand therefore is more likely to peak than oil production (since 2005, oil demand in the developed economies of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has been decreasing, while it still rises in emerging market economies (BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2013).

Energy economist, Campbell Watkins (2006), once observed that: "oil entered the economic system because it was cheaper than alternatives or served

new forms of energy demand. Oil will leave the economic system when it becomes more expensive than alternative sources or when the end uses it satisfies disappear." The former Saudi oil minister Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani famously condensed this thinking saying: "Just as the Stone Age didn't end for lack of stones, the oil age will not end for lack of oil." For the last 150 years, economists seem to have won the argument.

Shale Revolution

The shale revolution took everyone by surprise. A combination of factors, including high prices leading to new technology developments, transformed abundant but previously uneconomic shale resources into economically viable oil and gas resources.

While extracting shale resources remains concentrated in the U.S. for the time being, such a development has wide-reaching implications, affecting oil and gas producers and consumers around the world. According to the 2030 BP World Energy Outlook (2013), shale gas and tight oil will account for almost a fifth of the increase in global energy supply in 2030. The bulk of this increase will be concentrated in North America.

The unconventional/shale resources base is large and we still do not have a full understanding of its extent. Resource estimates are likely to be revised as new information becomes available. In less than three years, the U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA) revised its estimates of the global shale resource upwards. In its latest (EIA 2013) report on shale resources in 41 countries (compared to 32 in an earlier report published in 2011), the EIA estimated technically recoverable shale oil resources of 345 billion barrels (BNBLS) and shale gas resources of 204 trillion cubic metres (TCM) (or 7,299 trillion cubic feet, [TCF]). The revised figure for shale gas is 10 percent higher than that in the 2011 report. Global resources of technically recoverable shale oil are estimated at 345 BNBLS, adding approximately 11 percent to the 3,012 BNBLS of technically recoverable oil resources. In an earlier report, the EIA did not even include shale oil.

Shale Gas

In the U.S., shale gas production increased by 440 percent between 2007 and 2012 — constituting around 40 percent of total U.S. natural gas production today. That share is expected to increase to more than 50 percent by 2040 (EIA 2013).

This rapid increase in supply has had major implications mainly domestically but also globally. The direct effect was a decrease in gas prices in the U.S., where Henry Hub — the American price for gas (spot price), fell from its peak of

US$8.85 per Million British Thermal Unit (MBTU) in 2008, to US$2.76/MBTU (even reaching a low point of US$1.83/MBTU in April 2012) — an overall fall of 221 percent within five years (EIA 2013).

The decrease in the price of natural gas has had two main effects. First, on the demand side, it has increased the attractiveness of natural gas, which increasingly displaced coal in power generation. According to BP Statistical Review of World Energy (2013), in 2012, gas fired power generation increased by 21 percent (217 TWh), the largest increment of any fuel in U.S. power generation for at least 40 years, and leading to an all-time high for gas fired power generation (1295 TWh). Coal fired power generation, on the contrary, fell (-12 percent) to its lowest level since 1987.

The switch from coal to gas has contributed to a rapid decline in U.S. carbon emissions, which decreased by more than 11 percent between 2007 and 2012. From the perspective of climate change policies, in power generation, emissions of CO_2 are 40-50 percent less than coal and 25-30 percent less than oil per Kilowatt hour (BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2013).

Meanwhile, many industries, especially those that use gas as a feedstock, enjoyed lower production costs, in addition to cheaper energy. Some European energy intensive industries, like German chemical giant BASF, have started to discuss the possibility of relocating production into the U.S. as a result.

Second, on the supply side, the effects have been mixed. Originally shale gas supplies increased rapidly but the fall in gas prices has acted as a disincentive for producers. While U.S. gas production continued to increase in 2012 (by 4.7 percent), growth was below the record expansion of 2011 (7 percent). Producers shifted their interest to the higher valued oil (including tight oil), and tended to focus more on associated gas (which is found with oil), rather than on non-associated gas (BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2013).

The U.S. is also planning to export some of its gas in the form of Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) to more lucrative markets. At the time of writing, 15 LNG export applications have been made for export authorisations.

Because so far the infrastructure for exports overseas does not exist, lower prices in North America have not been experienced elsewhere. As a result, significant price differentials emerged. For instance, while the U.S. enjoyed prices below US$3/MBTU, Japan was buying LNG for almost US$17/MBTU, as demand increased to replace nuclear power (See Figure 8.2). The differentials are also large when spot prices and long-term oil indexed prices are compared. It is these differentials that are bound to accelerate emerging trends and changing trading and consumption patterns around the world.

Many countries are now keen on replicating the U.S. experience. The U.K. Government, for instance, has recently announced generous tax terms to companies investing in shale gas. Countries like Algeria, Argentina, China, Poland, and Russia are also considering ways to exploit their substantial shale resources.
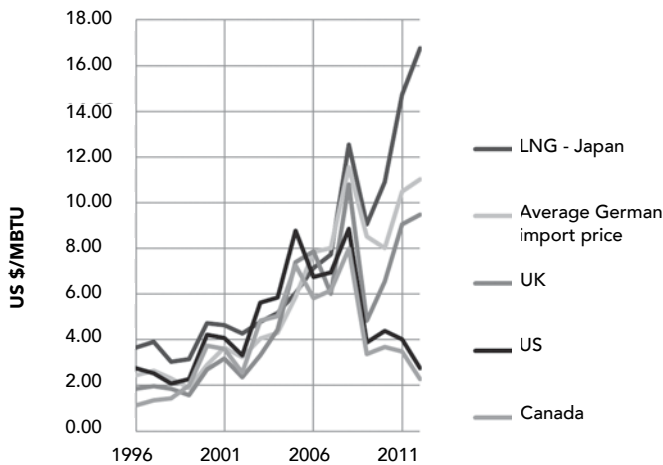
FIGURE 8.2.
Gas prices in key regions from 1996-2012 (BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2013).

The increasing production of shale gas has accelerated another important development namely the erosion of long term contracts in the LNG trade, with the gradual emergence of a growing segment of flexible LNG which responds to spot (market) prices.

In Europe, for instance, after the 2008 recession, gas demand fell by 7 percent in 2009, while LNG sales (mostly diverted away from North America following the shale gas revolution) increased substantially at the expense of pipeline gas supplies under traditional oil indexed contracts. As oil prices remained relatively high, wholesalers under such contracts suffered from overpriced gas compared to those purchasing spot gas. As a result, gas exporters were pressured to reduce the oil-indexed prices in their long term contracts with European wholesalers.

In 2012, as Russia maintained its oil indexed pricing, its gas exports to Europe declined by 10 percent, while exports from Norway increased by 12 percent as Norway switched much of its supply to spot related prices. Meanwhile, the excess of unwanted coal in the U.S. found its way to Europe where it was cheaper than natural gas and therefore displaced gas in power generation. In the EU in 2012, coal consumption increased by 3.4 percent in 2012, while gas consumption declined by 2.3 percent. If Europe had a well-functioning carbon pricing scheme, that switch would not have happened, at least not so easily.

Shale/Tight Oil

After reaching a peak of 9.6Mbls/d in 1970, U.S. oil production seemed to be on an inexorable decline (except for 1977-85), seemingly illustrating the argument put forward by Hubbert. However, in 2009 U.S. oil production reversed its declining trend. Within four years, production of shale or, the more accurate term, tight oil, increased by 217 percent, reaching 2Mbls/d by the end of 2012 and accounting for more than 30 percent of the country's total production — which has grown more in 2012 than in any year since the beginning of the domestic industry in 1859. Compared to 2011, production in 2012 increased by 15 percent, 92 percent of which came from shale oil (Figure 8.3).

FIGURE 8.3.

U.S. oil production from 1990-2040. Both conventional oil and tight oil production is shown (EIA 2013).
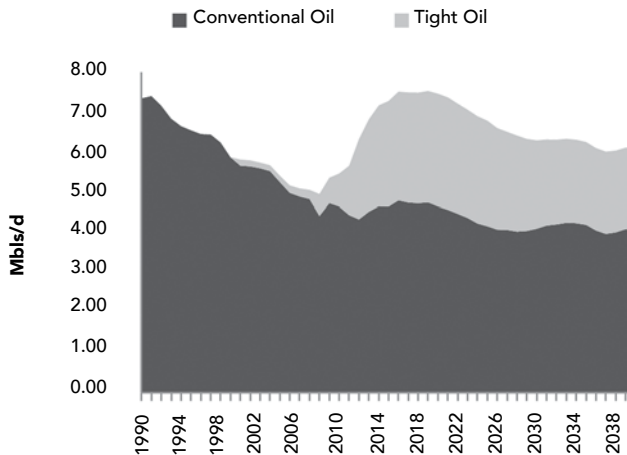
There seems to be a general consensus that the U.S., which is currently the third largest oil producer behind Saudi Arabia and Russia, is expected to become the world's largest oil producer. This could be as early as 2017 according to the International Energy Agency (IEA 2013).

The direct economic benefits to the U.S. include job creation, additional taxes paid by upstream producers, improvement in the balance of trade as oil imports decline, and an improved sense of energy security. Between 2008 and 2012,

U.S. oil imports from the Organization of Producing and Exporting Countries (OPEC) declined by 26 percent.

Some would argue that, geopolitically, as the U.S. becomes less dependent on oil imports especially from the Middle East it will greatly limit its involvement (directly and indirectly) in the region. That is questionable though, as political turbulences in the Middle East can cause spikes in the price of oil, which will be felt everywhere. Self-sufficiency does not mean independence from international oil prices. The difference, however, is that the redistribution of wealth in the U.S. would flow from consumers to domestic producers instead of to foreign suppliers.

Technically, to produce conventional oil, wells are drilled into the earth's surface, and pressure that is naturally present in the field is used to bring the oil to the surface.

Shale oil is at the moment classified as an unconventional resource (which also includes extra heavy oil and oil sands), because it is trapped in shale rock and tight sand formations, which means it cannot be extracted using 'conventional' techniques. Instead, producers use a combination of horizontal drilling and hydraulic fracturing (also known as fracking), where fluids are injected under high pressure to break up the formations and release trapped fuels. The classification of what is unconventional, however, varies over time as technology and economics change. Only a few decades ago, for example, deepwater drilling was also defined as unconventional.

TABLE 8.1.
Top ten shale oil resource holders.

RANK	COUNTRY	Shale (BNBLS)
1	Russia	75
2	US	58
3	China	32
4	Argentina	27
5	Libya	26
6	Venezuela	13
7	Mexico	13
8	Pakistan	9
9	Canada	9
10	Indonesia	8
	Total	270

Source: (EIA 2013).

Although the U.S., the largest oil consumer in the world, is leading the shale revolution, it is not sitting on the largest resource base; Russia is. Other countries like China also hold substantial resources (Table 8.1). What spurred activity in the U.S., in addition to the resource base, has been a combination of above ground factors — including high oil prices, advances in technology, private ownership of below ground mineral rights, well established service industry and infrastructure, water availability, competitive fiscal terms, and an overall investment-friendly environment. Experts argue that other countries do not possess a critical mass of these qualities, and as a result they doubt that the U.S. experience will be fast replicated elsewhere.

The oil price was already declining in 2012 until the fear of production and transport disruptions in Syria, Libya, Yemen, Sudan, and Egypt, among others, stopped the decline. Without these geopolitical disruptions and risks, the impact of higher U.S. oil production would have been more visible. In fact, average prices between 2011 and 2013 hardly changed, showing how the increased U.S. production last year almost compensated for these disruptions.

If the oil price were to fall close to the production cost of shale oil, arguably between US$40-60/barrel in the U.S. today, production would be negatively affected. However, this cut off point is difficult to determine in advance because cost could come down substantially and varies from field to field.

As for the demand side, talk about a peak in global oil demand has become increasingly popular. Indeed, demand for oil in the OECD peaked in 2005 and has been declining since. Demand in the non-OECD, in contrast, remains driven by economic growth which has shown signs of slowing down. While far from peaking, this may set the scene for a lower oil price scenario. It remains to be seen, however, whether the high prices over the last ten years have structurally changed demand or whether lower oil prices will simply reignite it.

On balance, there are forces which will put downward pressure on oil prices in the coming years. A study by PriceWaterhouseCoopers (PWC 2013) concludes that the increase in shale oil production could reduce oil prices in 2035 by around 25-40 percent (US$83-100/barrel in real terms) relative to the current baseline EIA projection of US$133/barrel in 2035.

If this materialises, OPEC members and other oil exporters will face a challenging environment. OPEC's output decisions and discipline will have a major impact, since the organisation accounts for 43 percent of world oil production. Traditionally, OPEC applies production cuts to support prices. This might however, become more challenging as new unconventional oil resources are brought on stream. OPEC members who managed to accumulate large financial surpluses while prices were high will fare better than the others; for the majority impact is likely to be painful. According to PWC, major oil exporters such as Russia and the Middle East could see a significant worsening of their trade balances by around 4-10

percent of GDP in the long run if they fail to develop their own shale oil resources. No wonder why a Saudi businessman was recently quoted saying that shale oil is a 'threat' to the Saudi economy.

Fuel Diversity

The above developments clearly show not only that the world is not running out of gas, but also that gas markets are likely to look different in the coming years.

Oil and gas are expected to continue to dominate the world primary energy mix for the foreseeable future (Figure 8.4). Together, they are estimated to supply about 60 percent of global energy demand by 2040, up from 55 percent in 2010 (ExxonMobil 2013).

While the shares of both oil and coal are expected to decline, the share of natural gas will continue to grow. Natural gas will grow faster than any other major fuel source, with demand and supply each up 65 percent by 2040 (ExxonMobil 2013). As a result, by 2030, the shares of fossil fuels will converge to 25-28 percent of world primary energy, which for the first time will not be dominated by a single fuel (BP World Energy Outlook 2013).

FIGURE 8.4.
Energy by type — world primary (ExxonMobil 2013).
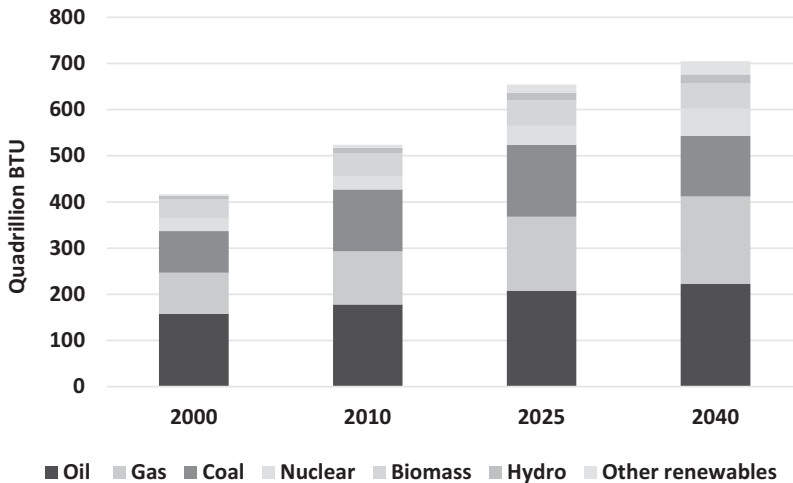
The share of gas has been on a steady increase since the 1970s. It rose from 16 percent in 1973 to nearly 21 percent in 2009 (Reece 2012). From 2010, gas use will rise by more than 50 percent and account for over 25 percent of world energy demand in 2035 (IEA 2011).

In 2012, in the OECD, the primary energy consumption continued to decline, falling by 0.8 percent compared to 2010. The U.S., the world's second largest energy consumer, consumed 0.4 percent less energy. This partly reflected improvements in energy efficiency. Furthermore, unlike many non-OECD countries, OECD countries had no subsidies on energy products; in this sense, consumers felt the direct impact of increasing prices, which in turn affected their energy consumption and habits. OECD oil consumption reached its lowest level since 1995. For the twelfth year in a row, oil was the slowest growing fossil fuel and its share in global energy continues to fall. In terms of gas, European consumption saw an unprecedented decline of 7.8 percent, although partly due to warmer weather.

By contrast, in non-OECD countries, energy consumption maintained its growth, and increased by 5.3 percent compared to 2010. China largely drove that growth with nearly a 9 percent increase — which is more than total annual U.K. energy consumption.

8.3 MARKET ADJUSTMENT

The developments highlighted in the previous sections explain why the fear of energy security seems to have dissipated, compared to a few years ago. The year 2011 best illustrates how despite major disruptions to energy supplies, the world has managed to sail through. The energy scene in 2011, far from collapsing, successfully adjusted thanks mainly to market forces.

For a start, there was the Fukushima disaster in March 2011. One consequence was that nuclear power plants were closed in two major industrial economies — Japan and Germany. This resulted in a loss of 7 percent (43 million tonnes of oil equivalent [mtoe]) of global nuclear power use compared to 2010. Before the Fukushima accident, Japan produced 11 percent of global nuclear power, while in Germany, nuclear power provided 23 percent of electricity. Nuclear energy went to its lowest levels since 1986.

Meanwhile, there was the political unrest across the Arab world, particularly in Libya, Yemen, and Syria. This led to a total loss of 72 mtoe in oil and gas production, which is equivalent to more than 11 percent of the EU's oil consumption. Libyan oil output fell by 1.2Mbls/d or 71 percent — the largest decline in a country's oil production since the aftermath of the Soviet collapse 20 years ago.

At the same time, floods curtailed coal production in Australia, the world's largest coal exporter. In Brazil, biofuel production was flat because of weather disruptions.

All this should add up to, as one might have expected, major volatility and crisis in the world energy scene. Yet, despite all these alarming developments, the crisis failed to emerge. Why? The answer quite simply is that market adjustment did its work.

It is true that the price of oil reached a record annual average of US$100 (in nominal terms). In Europe, the price of coal also increased by a substantial 24 percent. Since there is no global market for natural gas, the picture was mixed. In the liberalised U.S. market, gas prices continued to decline following the shale gas revolution. However, elsewhere, oil-indexed gas prices for long-term contracts reflected the increase in the price of oil.

As mentioned earlier, low gas prices in the U.S. led to a substantial substitution from coal to gas in power generation. This in turn triggered a release of coal from North America to Europe, and therefore not only helped to offset the decline in coal supplies from Australia, but also the diversion of natural gas in the form of LNG to Asia, to compensate for Japan's nuclear energy closures.

Thus we experienced a fascinating pattern of market cause and effect on a global scale, cushioning what might have otherwise been a major global energy disruption.

8.4 ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF ENERGY

In the fight against global warming, too much hope was put on nuclear and renewable energy. Pre-Fukushima, new life was being breathed into the future of nuclear energy. Experts and policymakers around the world were talking about 'the dash for nuclear' and 'a nuclear energy renaissance.' But their upbeat tone changed with the Fukushima accident in Japan.

Europe took the lead in increasing the share of renewable energy, particularly in power generation, and placed it at the centre of its energy policy. As early as 2001, an EU directive set a target of 21 percent of electricity generation from renewable sources by 2010. Then in 2008, the EU took one step further with the publication of the '20-20-20' package, which includes the twin targets of reducing the EUs greenhouse gas emissions by 20 percent and increasing its share of final energy consumption from renewable sources to 20 percent — both to be achieved by 2020.

Looking at the other side of the Atlantic, the U.S. has caught up and is now also one of the leading nations in promoting the use of renewable energy, which is growing fast in the country's primary energy mix. However, it is useful to put those numbers in perspective.

The U.S. is the world's largest economy. And in 2010, it had the world's second largest installed wind capacity (40,274 Megawatts). However, the share of wind energy is less than 1 percent of the country's total energy mix. Many European

countries are doing better than this. Denmark, for example, is a smaller economy and its installed wind capacity is also much smaller than that of the U.S. — 3,805 Megawatts in 2010. But, total renewables account for 29 percent of Danish power generation.

Today, the bulk of renewable energy consumption is still concentrated in the well-off OECD economies. But things are changing. Developing economies are catching up fast, with China leading the way. In 2010, China became the largest investor in low-carbon energy, overtaking the U.S. During the same year, it also overtook the U.S. as the world leader in installed wind capacity and had the seventh largest installed solar power capacity. Both are increasing rapidly.

The main problem facing renewable energy is cost. Compared with fossil fuels, it remains non-competitive because it costs more to produce one unit of energy using renewable sources than using fossil fuels. Governments have provided substantial financial support to the renewable industry in the forms of subsidies and tax breaks. Electricity from certain renewable installations receives above market prices and is subsidised, compared to electricity generated from coal or natural gas. This in turn has created additional challenges. First, in difficult economic conditions, like the post-recession period that countries around the world are facing, the axe of reducing budget deficits will most likely hit the renewable sector. Second, governments' support had led to 'too much success' in the use of renewable energy and targets had to be revised accordingly.

In Germany, Spain, and many other European countries, governments have started to reduce the price paid for solar power, in the face of exponential growth in solar panel installations, to reduce budgetary pressure.

Finally, countries have different priorities in terms of their energy policy. This is particularly true for the EU countries. Poland generates most of its electricity from coal — which is widely available in the country and is inexpensive compared to other sources of energy. It is difficult to see Poland giving the more expensive renewable energy priority in its energy policy. In Spain, the coal industry, as a large employer, has been protected by law.

In terms of biofuels, the picture is rather different with only two countries dominating the global supply of ethanol: the U.S. and Brazil. Ethanol made from sugar cane in Brazil is competitive at current oil prices; but ethanol made from corn in the U.S. is not. In Brazil, it is sold as a stand-alone fuel and also gets blended into gasoline. Approximately half of the new cars sold in Brazil now are 'flex fuel' vehicles that can run on either gasoline or ethanol. In the U.S. ethanol is blended into gasoline. Apart from the cost of large subsidies, the main challenge that biofuels face is the impact on food prices. The use of land and water for the production of feedstock for biofuels crowds out the production of food and as such has been blamed for pushing up food prices.

Globally, most forecasters would agree that the share of renewable energy is unlikely to reach 20 percent of all the consumed energy over the next 20 years. The bulk of this will be in power generation. It is true that power generation from renewable energy increased by 18 percent in 2012, however, it still only accounts for 2 percent of global primary energy. For global carbon emissions, this is still bad news as they increased by 3 percent in the same year.

The absence of further technological advances, the need for additional subsidies, and in the case of biofuels, the competition with the production of foodstuff, are likely to limit a more rapid expansion of renewable energy.

8.5   CONCLUSION

There is no shortage of energy supplies. Fossil fuels, in particular, remain plentiful. No simple answer to how many resources are left in the world exists. In reality, the issue is not just whether the resource potential is there, but whether investment will be encouraged to transform potential into production.

While this is good news for anxious consumers, the exploitation of fossil fuels comes with a big social cost — that is carbon emissions. However, since the financial crisis in 2008, the global concern about climate change seems to have weakened, as no competitive alternatives and effective policies have been devised or adopted. Tackling climate change has proved to be not as easy or cheap as originally proposed, resulting in major disappointments. Carbon Capture and Storage (CCS), for instance, is yet to be proven, while the European carbon market has nearly collapsed.

It seems that the indigenous forces in the system that have helped with energy security have not worked properly for climate change, which has no self-healing property. Efforts to curb global carbon dioxide emissions, and other greenhouse gases, to combat major climate change and to turn the page on fossil fuels have not yet succeeded. Instead of sudden, gigantic leaps towards a green era, a gentler transition is therefore inevitable. The increasing popularity of natural gas is already a positive, bridging step. Furthermore, the transition towards low carbon future is unlikely to be a 'one size fits all'; it will vary by country and by sector, depending on each nation's needs and resources.

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CHAPTER 9

Come Hell and High Water: Hydro-Climatic Change and its Consequences

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9.1 INTRODUCTION

As a result of warming induced by changes in the composition of the global atmosphere, the rate and manner that water moves through the global hydrological cycle are changing (IPCC 2013). The pace that this is happening demands we address a number of important questions. How will the loss of ice and snow in the Arctic impact northern nations, cultures, and development? How will the increasing loss of snow and ice in the North affect human wellbeing and prosperity further south? How will changes in the global hydrological cycle impact regional and national water security, ecological stability, agricultural productivity, human health, and economic sustainability?

The loss of hydro-climatic stability also directly affects public safety inviting further questions. How will the loss of ice, and changes in the timing and duration of snow cover impact human vulnerability to flood and drought-related disasters and sea level rise at the mid-latitudes, not just in the North but throughout the world? How can we protect our cities and agriculture from increases in big flooding events and deeper, more persistent droughts? What can we do to manage the human despair and skyrocketing economic costs associated with the growing number and intensity of such disasters?

But questions related to the loss of relative hydro-climatic stability globally do not stop there. We also need to ask what these changes might mean to our already compromised and threatened natural heritage, and reduced Earth system function. Most importantly, we need to know what we can do now to ensure we can cope with, and then resiliently adapt to these changes so that we can we can pass on a more secure world to future generations. How do we build a better bridge between science and public understanding of these matters and then cross that bridge in support of policy action on these threats? Recent major flooding in Western Canada demonstrates how important these questions have become, even in the most developed parts of the world.

9.2   FLOODING ON THE NORTH AMERICAN PLAINS IN 2011

Evidence that the period of relative hydro-climatic stability that we have enjoyed over the past several centuries in North America has come to an end became obvious as a result, in part, of scientific observation of changes in the ecological health of one of Canada's largest lakes. At 24,514 square kilometres, Lake Winnipeg is the sixth-largest freshwater lake in Canada, and the third-largest freshwater lake contained entirely within Canada.

Like many prairie lakes, Lake Winnipeg was subject to some contamination in its natural state. This is because of the presence of phosphorous-rich soils in the western and southern parts of the lake's catchment (Schindler et al 2012). Big changes have occurred since the 1990s, due to a combination of factors, including changes to the physical characteristics of the watershed. Flows in the Saskatchewan part of the system have declined because rising temperatures have increased reservoir evaporation, and because of increased abstractions for irrigation. Meanwhile flows in the Red and Winnipeg River sub-basins have increased due to destruction of wetlands and increased stream channelization. These increased flows have been accompanied by increases in nutrient loading brought about by significant increases in livestock operations (Schindler 2012).

Despite the relatively sparse human population in the region, the total animal, plus human excrement load in the Lake Winnipeg Basin in Manitoba, has been estimated to be the equivalent of a human population of nearly 50 million people. This nutrient loading is in addition to the already extensive use of synthetic fertilizers. Between 1994 and 2007, phosphorous inputs into Lake Winnipeg increased 71 percent or 5.1 percent per year (Schindler et al 2012).

The first evidence of problems in the basin became evident when algal blooms in Lake Winnipeg began to grow in size over the course of each summer. Algal abundance has increased 300 to 500 percent since 1900. Algal blooms with an area of up to 15,000 square kilometres have now begun to appear in the lake

annually. When the blooms begin to die and decompose, oxygen is consumed and declining oxygen levels threaten aquatic life in the lake by creating a condition called eutrophication. Lake Winnipeg, with its high mid-summer chlorophyll loads is now considered one of the most eutrophic of the world's great lakes (Sandford 2013).

But there is also another problem. The proportion of cyanobacteria in phytoplankton found in Lake Winnipeg, rose from 56 percent in 1969, to over 80 percent in 2012. The concentration of toxic nitrogen-fixing cyanobacteria has increased 1,000 percent since 1990. Some species of cyanobacteria create toxins called microcystins. In controlled experiments, microcystins have been shown to cause liver haemorrhage and promote tumour development in mammals. They have also been implicated in illnesses and deaths of domestic animals, wildlife, and humans. It is now held that the increased area of algal blooms and growing presence of toxic cyanobacteria in Lake Winnipeg, are a warning of accelerating eco-hydrological changes, not just in the immediate Lake Winnipeg area, but throughout the Central Great Plains region (Orihel et al 2012).

Lake Winnipeg is now increasingly viewed as a symbol of a much larger problem (Schindler 2012). Recent research demonstrates that the cyanobacterial toxin microcystin, has been now been detected in 246 water bodies across Canada at levels exceeding maximum guidelines in every province. Some 18 percent of the samples in 41 percent of lakes exceed World Health Organization standards. While lakes in neighbouring Alberta are in a particularly serious state, problems exist right across the country. The presence of these toxins is now an issue of national health and environmental concern. What is interesting about this alarming situation is that while phosphorous-rich agricultural run-off has long been identified as the source of algal blooms, the resulting eutrophication is growing despite on-farm efforts to reduce phosphorous inflows into water courses (Orihel et al 2012). The reason for this is that the region is experiencing greater mobilization of contaminants as a result of an increase in the duration and intensity of heavy rainfall events.

Dr. Kevin Shook, Dr. John Pomeroy, and their colleagues at the University of Saskatchewan have observed an increase in rainfall on the Canadian prairies. More of that rainfall, however, is being generated by multi-day rainfall events caused by frontal storms coming, for example, from the Gulf of Mexico, as opposed to shorter-term localized convective rainfall events. This change clearly affects water quality. Shook and Pomeroy (2012) have observed a 10,000-fold increase in the mobilization of fecal coliforms in these multi-day events compared to mobilization that occurs during localized thunderstorms.

It appears that the increased flooding is a consequence of three linked hydro-climatic factors all related to the fact that our hydrology is changing. One of the most significant recent advancements in hydro-meteorology is the realization of the global importance of the refrigerating influence of polar sea ice (Pollack 2009). The loss of Arctic sea ice and the reduction of the extent and duration of snow cover

in the Northern Hemisphere are reducing the temperature gradient between the north pole and the tropics. It is this difference in temperature between the polar region and the warmer air to the south that largely defines the behaviour of the jet stream. Observations of the jet stream have revealed that warmer atmospheric temperatures do not automatically translate into warmer weather (Sandford 2012). In a uniformly warmer, and therefore more turbulent atmosphere, both warm and cold fronts end up and persist in places in the mid-latitudes, where they were not common in the past.

The second significant factor is that the weakening of the jet stream and changes in atmospheric circulation patterns are pushing major sub-tropical storm tracks toward the poles, often causing floods of magnitudes we are poorly equipped to manage.

The third factor is that a warmer atmosphere can carry more water. The algorithm upon which this assertion rests is one of the most basic principles in atmospheric physics. The amount of water the atmosphere can hold increases by about 7 percent per degree Celsius or about 4 percent per degree Fahrenheit. Under the right conditions, that added water becomes available to fuel more frequent, and intense extreme weather events. We are seeing the consequences of this right across Canada, in Europe, and widely throughout the Northern Hemisphere (National Research Council 2011).

In the Lake Winnipeg Basin more frequent and intense spring floods now create a wash effect; flushing municipal run-off, nitrogen, and phosphorous contained in livestock, wildlife feces, and farm field fertilizers from the land surface into watercourses that flow into Lake Winnipeg. The ultra-high concentrations of these substances form the nutrient supply for the algal blooms. Increases in the intensity and duration of extreme weather events that appear to becoming the norm are likely to further increase nutrient input into the Lake Winnipeg system. But the consequences of these changes go far beyond the threat to Lake Winnipeg. The Americans and Canadians that share the Lake Winnipeg basin should expect far more intense floods and greater flood damage in the future.

Manitoba alone has a CDN$10 billion agricultural economy. Doug Chorney, Vice-President of Keystone Agricultural Products in Manitoba, stated that 25 percent of Manitoba's productive farmland went un-seeded as a result of the flooding in 2011. He said that in these instances farmers do not receive compensation, and that the economic hit to the province that year was CDN$160,000,000 (Doug Chorney, personal communication, 21 September 2013). These changing hydro-climatic circumstances have also begun to unmask other liabilities. After the 2011 flood, the Government of Manitoba spent CDN$1 billion dollars on disaster relief alone. Combined flood damages in neighbouring North Dakota and Saskatchewan were in the same range. Coincidentally, this was the exact amount of the Manitoba government's deficit the following year. But in addition, that government now faces CDN$1.3 billion in lawsuits related to the flood (CBC News 2013).

There is a clear link between hydrology and economy. Spring flooding throughout the region has been increasing in the past decade setting new records. There is concern about how much greater and more frequent these losses could become in an era that potentially has more damaging flood events happen, more often. There is real fear that in combination with landscape change, this loss of relative hydrologic stability could make parts of the Central Great Plains uninhabitable, that over time, could bankrupt flood-prone Canadian provinces like Manitoba (Sandford 2013).

9.3   THE GREAT FLOODS OF 2013

We know that hydrological conditions on this planet have always been changing. We have been fortunate to have had a century or so of relative hydro-climatic stability. That era, however, is over (Milly et al 2008). A report published by the National Research Council in the United States in late 2011 (National Research Council 2011), confirms how serious the loss of hydrologic stationarity could be in North America, and around the world if current trends persist. The problem here is this: when you find that one thing depends on something else that, in turn, depends on something else; the whole series of interactions depends upon constancy. We have lost that constancy; and now we are losing hydrological stability. What this means is that much of the old math, and many of the old methods of managing water no longer work. Continuing to assume that the past is a guide to the future is no longer practical, nor legally defensible. New understanding of hydro-climatic features such as atmospheric rivers demonstrates why.

Atmospheric rivers have likely existed for an eternity but only now because of satellite remote sensing capacity, do we know of their existence and dynamics. These corridors of intense winds and moist air can be 400 to 500 kilometres across, and thousands of kilometres long. They can carry the equivalent of 7 to 14 times the average daily discharge of the Mississippi River. Perhaps the best-known atmospheric river in North America is what we call the Pineapple Express. The Pineapple Express begins as a narrow stream of hurricane strength wind. As it crosses the warm Pacific, that atmospheric river fills with water vapour. We now surmise that some 42 atmospheric rivers deluged California between 1997 and 2006.

Atmospheric rivers produce flooding of the magnitude we saw in Australia and Pakistan in 2010, and possibly in parts of the Central Great Plains region of North America in 2011. Research is now being conducted to determine if an atmospheric river played a role in initiating the largest single natural disaster in the history of the Canadian province of Alberta in June, 2013.

Canada's largest city, Toronto, experienced heavy downtown flooding on 8 July 2013, just over two weeks after the Alberta flood. Analysis of the Toronto flood makes it clear that the uncertainty of a changing climate clearly demands a faster

response to flood threats, but making decisions and funding action in a municipality the size of Toronto "is akin to moving mountains" (Sandford and Freek 2014). The crippling cost of maintaining and replacing a stormwater system built for an earlier, and now disappearing climatic regime and a host of competing political interests presently prevent Toronto from becoming a resilient city.

Unfortunately, the flooding in Alberta in June, and in Ontario in July, 2013 is nothing compared to what the atmosphere is capable of delivering in the future. This was made evident by a series of extreme weather events that happened in Russia shortly after the flooding in Canada. What happened in Russia is almost beyond imagination. It is almost the makings of science fiction. The weakening of the European jet stream caused by reduced snow and sea ice cover led to the creation of a heat dome in Northern Siberia. In July, hundreds of wildfires broke out that were so hot they melted the permafrost below the burning forests, creating methane releases from the thawing tundra, adding fuel to the fires. Then in early August, in the midst of what was coming to resemble a virtual fire storm, three atmospheric rivers collided over the region and within four days created a flood that covered a million square kilometres (Sandford and Freek 2014). Again, we see what appears to be an increasing trend toward floods and fires of a magnitude seldom experienced before in the same basin, in the same year. But we also see something much darker. It appears we are melting the frozen lid on the jar that contains most of the world's methane. Compared to this, opening Pandora's box is like unwrapping a Christmas present.

Researchers are concerned that the kinds of storms we will have in the future may be fundamentally different in character than what we are used to experiencing. At a recent international conference in Canada, it was demonstrated that many of our recent floods were similar in a number of ways. Each involved rotating low pressure systems that remained in the same place for an unusual period of time bringing continuous precipitation up from the south, resulting in long duration, heavy rainfall events that covered very large areas. While exhibiting all these characteristics, another major flood in Colorado in 2013 was different, in that it occurred in September. Researchers are also examining other anomalies. The behaviour of the storms suggests that its precipitation may have been generated by processes of raindrop formation more typical of the tropical region where the storms originated, than local temperate conditions. The Colorado State climatologist Nolan Doeskan, noted that the storms "shattered all records for the most water vapour in the atmosphere." From this we might surmise that the floods of 2013 offer us a glimpse into the wild weather we might expect in a warmer world.

9.4 THE PUBLIC POLICY IMPLICATIONS

While the science has not yet caught up with all these changes, the policy implications are clear. Loss of sea ice and a warming Arctic have already begun to impact hydro-climatic circumstances at mid-latitudes, widely in the Northern Hemisphere. What we are seeing is that the hydrological game is clearly changing. Fortunately we are beginning to glimpse how the main rules are going to change.

9.4.1 GAME CHANGE 1: We need to begin controlling the hydrological cycle regionally and globally

An era of relative hydro-climatic stability has come to an end. This game change means that simply managing water in ways that are useful to us, will no longer be enough. We now have to be alert to changes in the larger global hydrological cycle, and where possible, try to manage and adapt to them. This is a huge new concept — a societal game changer — and it is going to take time to get our heads around it.

9.4.2 GAME CHANGE 2: What we have seen is likely what we are going to get

Predicted rises in temperatures of between 2°C and 6°C would result in further amplification of the hydrological cycle by 15 to 40 percent or more. This game change is not going to go away.

9.4.3 GAME CHANGE 3: We cannot do this ourselves: We need nature to help us

We can no longer ignore the value of natural ecological processes; meaning that we can no longer undervalue the work nature does. In order to gain even partial rein over the hydrological cycle we have to enlist all the help nature can provide us. We gain that help by protecting and restoring critical aquatic ecosystem function wherever possible by reversing land and soil degradation wherever we can.

9.4.4   GAME CHANGE 4: Managing water on a basin scale is no longer an option

In this context the watershed basin is the minimum unit at which water must managed. This fact in itself that basin scale water management is critical to social, economic, and environmental resilience to changing hydro-climatic conditions throughout the world should inspire recognition and support for efforts to manage water at the watershed level. Many in North America believe that now is the time, while the memory of recent flooding is still fresh and before the next disasters, to move on policy reform to strengthen watershed governance at the basin scale.

9.4.5   GAME CHANGE 5: Sooner or later we have to address the root cause

The new normal is that there is no new normal, and will not be until we stabilize atmospheric temperatures. Unless we want our future to continue to be a moving target, sooner or later we may have to confront the root cause. The initial goal of the Kyoto protocol was to reduce global greenhouse emissions by 5 percent compared to 1990 levels. Global carbon emissions are expected to reach a record 36 billion tons in 2013; which means that emissions from the burning of fossil fuels are now at 61 percent above 1990 levels. It is very difficult to adapt if you do not know what you have to adapt to.

9.5   CONCLUSION

There is reason to suspect that the loss of ice and snow in the Arctic will not only impact northern nations, cultures, and development subject to the immediate effects of this loss, but will also impact human well-being and prosperity further south in ways that will likely impact national water security, and will almost certainly affect agricultural productivity, human health, and economic sustainability at mid-latitudes. More people will be vulnerable to flooding and its diametric and symbolic opposite, drought. We do not at this time know how far south these impacts will extend, but it is clear that the economic costs associated with such disasters is likely to rise in many regions.

While it may be possible for people in countries with means to cope with, and then resiliently adapt to new hydro-climatic regimes, changes in the functioning of the global hydrological cycle are projected to create additional stress on already compromised natural systems and species at risk (Kolbert 2012). Better science and a more immediate and effective bridge between science and public policy needs to exist if we are to pass on a secure world to future generations.

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Bridging Science and Policy in the Management of Water Resources

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10.1   INTRODUCTION

The Rosenberg International Forum on Water Policy is a program of the University of California. It is supported, in part, by an endowment gift from the Bank of America to the University of California, on the occasion of Richard Rosenberg's retirement as chairman of the bank. Mr. Rosenberg has had a lifelong interest in water resources, and was credited with rallying California's business community to address the serious consequences of the great drought of 1987-1992. The Rosenberg International Forum meets once every two years in different locales around the world. Previous Forums have met in San Francisco, United States; Barcelona, Spain; Canberra, Australia; Ankara, Turkey; Banff, Canada; Zaragoza, Spain; Buenos Aires, Argentina; and Aqaba, Jordan.

Participation in the Rosenberg International Forum is by invitation and is limited to 50 water scholars and senior water managers from around the world. Forum programs are planned by an Advisory Committee, which selects a theme

and identifies the participants. The Advisory Committee also selects authors to prepare and present papers on various aspects of the Forum theme, intended to stimulate discussion. Completed papers are distributed to participants ahead of time so that they can be read prior to the Forum. At the Forum, paper authors provide a brief summary of their contributions and this is followed by roundtable discussion. Discussions are at the heart of the Forum and are designed to illuminate experience with different water management policies and strategies from around the world. In addition, each Forum will typically have a panel discussion featuring shorter presentations and more extended roundtable exchanges.

The 8th edition of the Rosenberg International Forum on Water Policy was held in Aqaba, Jordan in the spring of 2013. The general theme of this Forum was "Managing Water in the 21st Century: Challenges and Opportunities." The opening address was provided by His Excellency Professor Abdel Salam Majali, former Prime Minister of Jordan. There were sessions on "Regional Water Planning" and "Water Management" and on "The Fate of Agriculture in the Face of Increasing Aridity." The Forum concluded with a panel and discussion on the topic of "Bridging Science and Policy in the Management of Water Resources." The panel presentations were made by Dr. Moneef Zou'bi, Director General of the Islamic World Academy of Sciences; Professor Sally Fairfax, Professor Emeritus of Political Economy at the University of California, Berkeley; Mr. Ken Matthews, Distinguished Water Resources Professional and member of the Australian Academy of Technological Sciences and Engineering; and Professor Henry Vaux, Jr., Professor Emeritus of Resource Economics at the University of California and Chair of the Rosenberg International Forum on Water Policy.

The panel presentations and ensuing discussion are the subject of this chapter. The importance of science in the making of policy generally was recognized in the United States and elsewhere in the first decades of the twentieth century. The importance of science in contributing to the general welfare was underscored by a host of developments in medicine, physics, chemistry, and biology. Early development of the hydrologic sciences contributed in important ways to improvements in the management of water resources. Science contributed to better understanding of the causes and consequences of droughts and floods, developments in irrigation science contributed to improvements in agricultural productivity, and developments in engineering science aided significantly in the development of water supply and sanitation systems around the world.

For the future, the list of the world's water problems is daunting. Water scarcity will continue to intensify and will likely become most acute in developing countries with high rates of population growth. Water quality will continue to deteriorate and that loss of quality will contribute importantly to intensifying scarcity. Many of the most important aquifers in the world have been subject to overexploitation and that will lead inevitably to a loss in the availability of ground

water. The quantities of water available to support increases in global food production will likely decline at precisely the time when food production needs to grow to accommodate the demands for food and fibre of nearly three billion new souls. The spectre of global climate change adds greatly to the uncertainty about the timing and availability of water supplies. Thus, for example, snowpacks, which act as water storage bodies, are likely to be smaller and will likely melt earlier and more quickly than has been the case historically. The substantial levels of uncertainty that climate change entails will undoubtedly require adaptive approaches to water management. Such approaches entail learning by doing and adapting to the unforeseen as time progresses. All of these problems can be solved more readily and more effectively by making use of scientific knowledge.

In this chapter the presentations of the four panellists are summarized and the roundtable discussions are characterized and analyzed.

10.2   PANEL PRESENTATIONS

10.2.1 The Importance of Water-Energy-Food Security: The Need for Science-Based Policy

Dr. Moneef Zou'bi focused on the Middle East in discussing the components of national security and the importance of the water, energy, and food nexus within the array of those components. Governance in many countries, including those of the Middle East, is vested in several branches, which typically include a legislative branch, an executive branch, and the judiciary. In the Middle East, the roles of the branches of government in setting national priorities and addressing them are not clearly drawn. This means that many activities that should rank highly among national priorities either fail to be identified or fail to be addressed. In the case of water, the problem is further complicated by the presence of numerous and competing political interests attempting to advance self-serving ends and by a failure to articulate a national interest in the effective management of limited water resources. Additionally, there are instances in which confusion between means and ends prevails. In some cases, for example, the means of resolving water scarcity may be politically more important than the actual resolving of water scarcity. These problems are certainly not unique to the Middle East and in fact would generally characterize circumstances anywhere that water is scarce.

Lingering political conflicts in the Middle East, and elsewhere in the world, create a tendency to define national security in its hard (military) form. The evidence of this tendency to allocate resources toward defence and military budgets is particularly striking in the Middle East. The countries with the highest military

spending as a percent of gross domestic product are in the Middle East. On a per capita basis the top seven military spenders all come from the Middle East. They are Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen. The strong emphasis on funding for military security means that public funds are often allocated away from other programmatic areas, which may contribute very importantly to national security. Among these are the interlinked programmatic areas of water, energy, and food. Indeed, among the components of 'soft-security' water security, energy security, and food security would be high on any list.

The nexus between water resources and energy resources has been subject to intensive examination in the past decade. The complementarity among energy and water runs in both directions. The production of energy requires significant water availability both for hydroelectric production and for cooling demands from fossil plants. Similarly, it is well documented that irrigated agriculture is significantly more productive than rain-fed agriculture in arid and semi-arid regions. Thus, a nation's capacity to produce its own food may be importantly determined by the availability of water to support the agricultural sector. This relationship will undoubtedly become more important as the world's population is projected to grow by 3 billion by 2050, and that growth will stimulate a parallel growth in the global demand for food. These components of 'soft-security' tend to be neglected and under funded in favour of strategies that support hard or military security. Surely, the development of collective security arrangements for the region and the resolution of political problems would free up public resources that could then be devoted to improvements in the development and management of water and energy resources and increase the production of food.

The long-term security and prosperity for all countries in the region can only be achieved by assuring that food, water, and energy can be sustainably supplied. This imperative will need to be combined with equitable socio-economic development. If these challenges are to be met successfully, science-based national policies will be needed to address the challenges successfully. Only by taking advantage of available science in the fashioning of policies can the countries of the Mid-East region and other countries in arid and semi-arid regions hope to address their problems both effectively and efficiently. Additional science will be needed if these resources are to be managed on a continuing basis. Yet the first imperative will be to take full advantage of existing science.

Future policies will need to be based upon the disciplinary sciences, engineering sciences, and the social sciences. Thus, for example, chemistry and biochemistry will be crucial underpinnings of policy strategies designed to protect and enhance water quality. Engineering sciences are crucial in guiding the development of water supply infrastructure and sanitation facilities. Social sciences are similarly crucial in designing effective governance and management policies. These include policies, those governing the management of water resources, those

implementing water allocations and pricing, and rationing policies for managing scarcity and cost recovery.

CONCLUSIONS

Several conclusions emerge from this presentation:

1. Soft security, such as security of water, energy, and food, is probably more important to a country's development than hard security, which emphasizes the military and defence.

2. Hard security gets the lion's share of resources Middle East countries, and in other arid and semi-arid regions. Less reliance on hard security would free some of the resources needed to support the attainment of soft security goals.

3. Science-based policies will be needed to meet the challenges of developing water, energy, and food security, simply because they are likely to promote development that is both effective and efficient.

4. While research will be needed to potentially shape future policies, it is important to ensure that initially, policy development makes full use of existing science.

10.2.2 The Nexus of Science and Policy

Professor Sally Fairfax suggested that science and policy are much more aligned than is commonly assumed. Her presentation focused on the roles of science in policy making in the United States. The relationship between science and government had its origins in the early twentieth century when agencies such as the U.S. Forest Service began to rely on science in policy making for management of the National Forest System. The origin of the science/policy nexus coincides with the rise of science as a profession. Training in the science professions became the responsibility of the universities.

During this period science was specifically intended to displace politics. That is, in the U.S., the last years of the nineteenth century were characterized by political corruption and class warfare. Toward the end of that period, science appeared to offer the possibility that government policies and programs could be based on fact. As it turned out, however, such possibility was never realized and

is unlikely to be realized in the future so long as democratic forms of government prevail. Beginning in the early years, science and access to it, turned out to be a direct government subsidy to those whose interests were served by government science. Constituency-serving science became the rule and the primary beneficiaries were the agricultural sector, which benefited from research and education; the irrigated agriculture subsector; the timber industry; and others who benefited from the management of the National Forest System. The science, which the government offered, was said to be non-partisan and to flow from the technical competence of government scientists. It was, however, only non-partisan in the sense that it was not consistently associated with a political party. Moreover, it was not unbiased as evidenced by the unwillingness of the Forest Service to accept scientific findings about the natural role of fire in maintaining ecosystems and the influence of forested watersheds on water yields (see for example, Schiff 1962).

In addition, social scientists have routinely criticized public decision-making by scientifically trained experts as standing in opposition to open democratic processes in which public participation plays a major role. Government and scientific expertise also ignores — purposefully — experiential learning and traditional knowledge, most of which is thought to complement Western science in important ways. Ignoring such knowledge is incompatible with democratic processes. Indeed, scientific agendas and even scientific results have been traditionally tempered by political processes, which have sought to manipulate them for the benefit of those that could capitalize on the findings. All of these observations point to a situation in which science and policy and science and politics have been in close alignment. The bridging, then, of science and policy in a democratic society appears to be less of a problem than the consequences of close alignment. Those consequences include outcomes that primarily serve special interest groups often at the expense of the broader population.

A separate matter of concern is the fact that the relationship between science and public policy appears to be changing. The array of contemporary problems associated with government funding and the related funding of university-based research programs threatens to shift the focus of knowledge-generation and sharing. The government funding of research and of many university programs appears to be in the process of collapsing. The result has been a shifting of research support away from public sources to the private sector, and more specifically, to corporations. The result is a further tightening of the relationship between the pursuit of knowledge and profit-making, and a further loosening of the relationship between the pursuit of knowledge and efforts to advance the general welfare. There are several dimensions to this phenomenon.

The benefits of research supported by corporations and other private entities are likely to be mostly or entirely appropriable by the private sector. Those benefits accrue in a form that enhances the stream of profits to the corporations and

returns to its shareholders. The larger public and the larger public interests are not likely to be well served in such a situation. Indeed, the best that they could hope for would be to be ignored. The more likely circumstance is that there will be harm and certainly there will be lost opportunities and high opportunity costs.

Research aimed at endeavours, which do not enhance profit-making, is likely to suffer under such arrangements. Thus, scientific research to improve the understanding of negative externalities such as those created by pollution, for example, are unlikely to be conducted at optimal scales or in optimal ways. Similarly, research directed at maintaining and protecting public goods, common property resources, and especially the global commons is likely to suffer from a lack of attention and funding support. The conclusions are clear. To the extent that private entities take over the funding and support of research, the kind of research that is done will lead to benefits that are narrowly appropriable. Further, research that confers benefits across a wide spectrum of the population, and are not appropriable, will be relatively worse off and reduced in scope.

A final point concerns the fact that historically, much university research has been conducted in facilities that were paid for by the public and by scientists whose salaries were paid for by the public. If the majority of research falls to the province of the private sector, that sector will benefit from facilities that were paid for by the public and for which the public no longer receives appropriate return. In short then, the changing relationships between science and policy raises important issues about how science is conducted, how scientific research agendas are set, by whom the research is conducted, and most importantly, the resultant impact on the policy development processes and the allocation of scarce resources.

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions from this presentation are:

1. In the United States, science and policy have been closely aligned and intertwined for more than a century. The resulting science has not been unbiased and has not been immune from politics and the political process.

2. The relationship between science and policy is changing. The public funding support for university-based science and government science has declined significantly. It appears that the private sector is in the process of assuming a support role. One result will be that the private sector will acquire a disproportionately large share of influence over scientific agenda setting, the conduct of science, and the implications of science for policy making and implementation.

10.2.3 Improving the Science/Policy Nexus

Mr. Ken Matthews of the Australian Academy of Technological Sciences and Engineering, characterized the context of science in water policy making processes to describe typical flaws in the water policy making process, and identified the key attributes of effective and efficient water science arrangements. Matthews argued that good water policy making and good operational management of water requires a national system that closely links the users and providers of science. There does need to be a close alignment between science and policy making, as scientists will need guidance on problems and priorities, while policy makers need inputs from science in identifying emerging issues. Science as used here includes the social sciences. This is especially important given the growing needs for integrated cross-disciplinary solutions to water problems.

The notion that politics can be taken out of water decision-making — that problems can be solved by facts alone — is quite mistaken. Good data and good knowledge are essential for policy making and decision making. Scientists can provide these. However, political processes are essential to articulate and implement society's choices. Such choices are invariably value judgments. Scientists do not have special expertise or qualifications to make value judgments. That is the role of the political process. Thus, it is true that water management decisions should be science rich, but they should not be science-determined. The choices, judgments, and trade-offs will need to be made by the political process, which can articulate values.

The Australian experience with science and policy is flawed and some of these flaws are certainly present in other countries.

- Australia has no science strategy. There is no mechanism for systematically linking science and water policy. The priority setting process to guide the science effort is ineffective.

- There are many different institutions charged with various aspects of water management and they have been developed haphazardly. Lines of communication among them are *ad hoc* and frequently ineffective.

- The community that provides science is fragmented and this often leads to overlap and duplication.

- Science tends to be conducted in a narrow disciplinary way, and there are major difficulties in motivating the conduct of integrated, cross-disciplinary research that is badly needed to help solve modern water problems, which tend to be quite complicated.

- There is a lack of alignment and coordination between provincial levels of government, and their water research and management programs.

- Basic research is vulnerable to the loss of funding support and this is symptomatic of the ever-present risk of loss of science capability. The channels through which new and useful science can be put into the policy-making process are unclear.

Given the importance of effective institutional arrangements for managing water and for bringing relevant science to bear on water problems, it makes sense for such arrangements to be regularly reviewed in an effort to: minimize or eliminate fragmentation; clarify roles, responsibilities, and lines of communication among both water and science agencies; identify instances in which the collaborative machinery between institutions is absent or ineffective and make efforts to reform it; and optimize the expensive research infrastructure by avoiding duplication and facilitating clear communication. Institutional arrangements are critical and there is no justification for tolerating wasteful and ineffective institutions.

Developments involving the various stakeholders in the Australian urban water sector are instructive of the sorts of approaches needed to improve water institutions, their functioning, and the use of science in urban water policy making. Following a national forum in which research to support urban water policy and management was the focus, a national working group was established to produce two critical pieces of work. The first of these is a draft statement of Australia's urban water research needs and priorities as well as an enumeration of the research gaps. The idea was to allow all the research users — including policy makers — to signal the set of national urban water research needs as far in advance as possible. In this way those that provide funding and support for urban water research will be informed of the critical issues that need to be addressed. Subsequently a number of research funders have said they may be willing to steer their budgets towards shared national water challenges wherever possible.

The second charge to the working group entails the development of recommendations on specific, practical reforms that could be introduced to improve the way scientists, policymakers, and other users of research work together. One such reform under consideration is an occasional national symposium to discuss research needs and capabilities to ensure that the entire research enterprise is as efficient and effective as possible. Another specific reform under consideration would involve the development of a repository for all urban water research data sets. A final initiative focuses on building channels for state enterprises to influence the water research agenda, and to promote deliberate cross membership of the management boards of various water institutions. If these reforms can be successfully designed and implemented by the urban water working group, there is

the possibility that the process that led to the reforms, if not the reforms themselves, could be expanded to include all of the water using sectors across Australia.

CONCLUSIONS

There are a number of conclusions from this presentation:

1. A clear statement of research needs and priorities is essential. This could take the form of a national water science research strategy with a generous forward time horizon.

2. An effective working budget process that facilitates the strategic assignment of research support resources to current and emerging research needs.

3. A forum where both policymakers and researchers sit at the same table and interact as equals would be highly desirable.

4. There should be clear, and clearly stated, roles and responsibilities for all stakeholders. There should be clear lines of accountability and communication among them.

5. Finally, it is important that everyone connected with the management and use of water resources understand that developing and maintaining an effective national water science system is a responsibility that must be shared among all sectors. It is not just the responsibility of governments.

10.2.4 Making Science Useful and Effective for Policy Making

For this presentation, Professor Henry Vaux, Jr. drew on the findings of a committee of the U.S. National Research Council that he chaired during the early years of this century (National Research Council 2004). The work discussed here was part of an effort to define the role of scientific research on water in confronting the water management problems faced by the U.S. in the early decades of the twenty-first century. There are at least four attributes of water research and water research agendas that are likely to make the outcomes of research efforts in the water resources arena both useful and effective as the basis for enlightened water policy. These four attributes are: 1) an integrated and interdisciplinary approach to water research; 2) casting water and water research problems in a broad systems framework; 3) acknowledging uncertainty; 4) acknowledging and recognizing the

need to be adaptable both in the conduct of water research, and in the management of water resources itself.

Research and agendas designed to embody these attributes are likely to help to counter some of the current modes and protocols that govern research to the detriment of science-based policy making. Some examples include: 1) research programs conducted by government agencies tend to be focused on agency missions, meaning that they are frequently narrowly focused and bar efforts to understand large scale problems; 2) similarly, with individual research investigators, there are strong incentives and tendencies to work strictly within a single discipline and to engage exclusively in reductionist research. This research mode does not work well on complex problems. It leads to results so narrow that they are ill-suited to undergird the development of enlightened policy; and 3) water resources problems are not always local or regional as is frequently assumed. For national water policy, the required research must be broad in scope and support the use of different solutions, flexibly.

The four attributes that should characterize the modern water research agenda and help to facilitate science based-water policy making are considered below.

Interdisciplinarity is simply the need for expertise from multiple disciplines to solve many contemporary water problems. It is problematical because the research enterprise is almost always organized along disciplinary lines and the array of incentives faced by individual researchers emphasizes research, which advances the discipline in question, rather than multidisciplinary research. Consider several obvious examples where multidisciplinary research is required in the water sector. There are numerous factors, which affect the success of irrigated agriculture in arid and semi-arid lands. These include problems related to the inadequacy or deterioration of irrigation infrastructure; climate variability and long-term trends in climate change; and soil variability. Chemistry, physics, biology, ecology, economics, and soil science all play a role. If one considers the societal aspects of irrigation, which one should, additional social science disciplines must also contribute. Interdisciplinary research will be very important in devising successful policies to ensure that irrigated agriculture prospers in an era when population is growing, climate is changing, and the availability of public funds is likely to diminish.

Another example focuses on the control of non-point source pollution. These include fertilizer and pesticide residues, and substances found in urban run-off. They pose a threat to the quality of both surface and groundwater, and are often larger contributors to overall water pollution than point-source pollutants. More work is needed to understand the fate and transport of non-point source contaminants, including contributions from ecology, soil science, agronomy, hydrology, and economics. The development of effective control policies will also

require contributions from the social sciences, education, voluntary action, new legislative authority, and coordination across locales will all be needed if new and effective policies of non-point source control are to be implemented.

The Need for a Broad Systems View of Context

The linkages among components of a system, as well as among different systems, are very important and are frequently ignored. Thus, for example, it is well known among aquatic biologists that the linkages among elements of aquatic systems are very important. Yet, it is apparently true that the linkages between aquatic ecosystems and adjacent terrestrial ecosystems may be even more important in determining the health of these systems. These sorts of linkages tend to be ignored under traditional reductionist research. Many relationships in the physical and biological environment are non-linear, and lead to an inability to predict impacts or understand causes and consequences if not viewed in a broad systems context. Many issues of river basin management, allocation of the water, protection of quality, maintenance of habitat for fish and wildlife require research undertaken in a broad systems context. Understanding the hydrology alone, the timing and magnitude of flows, water temperature, and so forth is not enough.

Similarly, understanding the determinants of water demand in various sectors that use water consumptively requires an understanding of the connection between water and energy in a broad systems context. Thus, for example, in the western United States, it turns out that energy is more of a limiting factor on urban water supplies than water itself. This knowledge could not have been gleaned in the absence of research in a broad systems context. The relationship works two ways as the development of energy resources itself requires water. There is much talk of the fact that widespread development of hydraulic fracturing — fracking — in the United States could make the country energy self-sufficient. And yet, fracking is a water intensive activity, and it is unclear to what extent water supplies are available to support it on a large scale. Research in a broad systems context is required to obtain the answers.

Acknowledge Uncertainty

Historically, scientists have not normally dealt with uncertainty in a completely straightforward fashion. In recent years, the importance of acknowledging uncertainty and treating it analytically has become clearer, as the act of acknowledging uncertainty explicitly contributes to processes of estimating the reliability of research results. Uncertainty arises both from the lack of knowledge and from

inherent errors in observing, estimating, and modelling. The need to acknowledge uncertainty in water resources research and accommodate it in water policy is especially compelling in light of evidence indicating assumptions of hydrologic stationarity are no longer valid.

Beginning early in the twentieth century, some inherent uncertainty in hydrologic estimates could be removed by assuming that past patterns of precipitation, run-off, evapotranspiration, and other hydrologic variables were accurate guides to the future. Failure to account for uncertainty can lead to weak or faulty science. An example comes from a recent report from the U.S. Academies of Science that purports to develop a scientific basis for adoption of a new national risk-based flood management policy. This report includes policy recommendations that are based upon a project flood, which has a probability of occurrence of 1 in 100. Yet, it is now understood that hydrology does not exhibit stationarity. That is, past hydrologic records do not provide an accurate guide to future hydrologic behaviour (Milly et. al. 2008). It is unclear how a flood with a probability of 1 in a 100 could even be characterized in a non-stationary world. Policy prescriptions that are based on the veracity of assumptions of stationarity are almost bound to be wrong. More science must be done to resolve these issues. The point being that uncertainty looms particularly large in bridging science and policy in the water resources arena, and it is important to acknowledge, and where possible, accommodate this uncertainty by being adaptive.

Be Adaptive

Modern science and modern policy both need to be adaptable. Current and future eras are characterized by change and novelty. Change and novelty are best managed by being flexible and accommodating to changes in the physical environment rather than by resisting them. Adaptation can have two quite different meanings in the management of water resources. The first meaning accentuates the need to be flexible and nimble. A National Academy Committee defined it as "…a combination of flexibility in solving problems and shifting norms and standards in response to novel or changing situations" (National Research Council 2004). The second meaning is adaptive management, learning by doing, which, when well designed, is a significant tool for managing uncertainty. In both instances, science focused on increasing flexibility and adaptation is needed to undergird water policies, which will permit us to address changing, and novel circumstances. Adaptive management has the added benefit of generating new knowledge and new understandings even as it is practiced.

CONCLUSIONS

There are a number of conclusions from this presentation.

1. Reductionist science and science conducted within narrow disciplinary frameworks is less useful as a basis for policy making than science that is conceived in a broad systems context and conducted in an interdisciplinary fashion.

2. The extent of uncertainty associated with any scientific findings needs to be acknowledged if findings are to be useful for policy making. Hardly any scientific findings are true all the time, everywhere, and under all circumstances. Scientists need to be quite forthright in acknowledging this, and where possible develop estimates of the extent of uncertainty.

3. Future water policies will need to be adaptive so that both predicable and unforeseen change can be accommodated. This means that science must be placed in an adaptive context if it is to be useful for policy making. That is, science itself must facilitate the making of adaptive water policy.

10.3   ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION: ISSUES AND LESSONS

A number of key questions arose during the discussion that followed the panel presentations. Four areas of focus consumed most of the dialogue. They were:

*   Where will water policy initiatives originate in the future? Will they be driven by regulatory needs or will they emerge from robust scientific engagement?

*   Will an increase in available information result in a shift from 'top down' water policy development to more grassroots pressure to act by policy organizations?

*   Is the scientific community positioned to respond to an ever-changing demand for engagement in water policy processes specifically, and in public policy processes in general?

*   Can the scientific community organize in a more trans-disciplinary manner, and promote rational water policy development that is responsive to much more complex issues around the world?

As a preliminary matter it should be noted that the discussion revealed a lack of clear-cut answers to these questions. The participants were in agreement that both regulatory and scientific systems are largely based upon disciplines. There was a wide range of opinion about the capability of science to shape more rational and trans-disciplinary approaches. Many place blame for the failure to more fully integrate science into water policy processes upon the state of development in particular regions of the world, and the relative stability of political structures. There was even a divergence of opinion about the appetite of the scientific communities in the developed world for systematic engagement in water policy-making processes.

The discussion revealed widespread viewpoints about where policy initiatives will originate in the future and what the role science will be. Some believe that policy initiatives will increasingly be driven by science, while others believe that policy initiatives will remain a function of national directives. The explanations of these divergent views were themselves quite different. Some described the current lack of scientific engagement in policy matters as support for the view that little change will occur. Others noted the silo-like structure of both the scientific and water policy communities provide strong support for the *status quo*.

Among those who believe water policy will emerge from grassroots efforts, two factors were identified that will shape the engagement of science into public policy. First, as socioeconomic conditions improve in the developing countries of the world, the appetite for credible information will rise among the growing middle class. This view, combined with ever increasing access to information, will make decision by fiat without corroborating scientific evidence much more difficult. This general view of some discussants was tempered by the acknowledgement that the pace of change will vary in different regions of the world. Further, many noted that uncertainties associated with the 'Arab Spring' make forecasting change in North Africa and the Middle East very difficult.

Several discussants cautioned that improvement of socioeconomic conditions alone will not create a groundswell for more scientifically based water policy decision-making. These discussants noted that in some areas of the world the engagement of the science community with the ruling class has created a distrust of science that cannot be easily overcome.

There was extensive discussion about whether the science community is organized to engage effectively in the public policy arena. Several factors emerged from the conversation. As noted earlier, the disciplinary way the science community is organized does not lend itself to the more complex nature of public policy discussions that exist today and are likely to exist in the future. Secondly, a number of participants noted the difficulty of translating scientific information into language readily understood in political and policy organizations. The question of how to convey science to non-scientific communities was vigorously debated without clear consensus or resolution. Some discussants noted that water policymakers often

totally disregard science in favour of political considerations such as distributive politics.

Most of the discussants agreed that the scientific community must organize itself into more trans-disciplinary structures to address effectively emerging water policy questions around the globe. Historical academic organization and relationships, local political conditions, transnational relationships, and geopolitical issues will impact making the necessary cultural shifts to become more trans-disciplinary. All agreed that the pace and success of change will vary depending upon the region and local conditions.

In the course of the discussion, a number of local efforts were noted and deserve mention. First, and most relevant to the location of the Forum, the management of the Jordan River in the context of the Israel-Jordan agreements was passionately discussed. Several noted that while the agreements parsed water from the River Jordan, many unresolved issues remain. For example, the impact of oversubscription of the River Jordan on the levels of the Dead Sea was noted as one critical and unresolved matter. The lowering of the Dead Sea elevation is adversely affecting groundwater levels in Israel, the West Bank, and Jordan with resultant escalation of tensions among several countries in the region.

The discussion revealed strong disagreements among the Palestinians and Israelis regarding management of water in the West Bank and Gaza. The Israelis note the failure to develop internal infrastructure within the West Bank as a constraint to a long-term solution. The Palestinians speak of the difficulty negotiating long-term water agreements when the other party is an 'Occupier.' Both of these examples reveal the difficulties of resolving critical water issues utilizing scientific information in the context of broader regional geopolitical disputes.

Some discussants raised the utilization of groundwater in India as an area of concern. There are hundreds of thousands of unregulated groundwater wells. There is little data about the level of extraction or quality conditions. It was suggested this is an issue where the scientific community needs to engage in order to understand current conditions, as well as to formulate science-based policy options.

There were examples of a high level of coordination among and between the scientific and public policy communities. For example, the Danube Basin is managed by a transnational commission that has well-established mechanisms for engaging the scientific community and the broader public. The engagement of the scientific community in the water policy development process in Australia is another positive model. Spurred by extended dry conditions, Australia adopted a National Water Policy that significantly overhauled its legal and administrative structures. Priorities were established and markets created with a high level of stakeholder consensus. The scientific community was very engaged in the process.

The examples emerging from the discussion reflect a broad range of success and failure of scientific engagement in critical public policy matters. They

demonstrate how the political and scientific infrastructure in many parts of the world is not up to the task of addressing critical water related issues. It was also noted that in North America, the current state of engagement of the scientific community in policy processes is far from ideal.

10.3.1 Conclusions

If the role of science in public policy processes were to be viewed as a continuum with no engagement on one extreme and full engagement at the other extreme, certain conclusions can be drawn from the discussion.

- In virtually all areas of the globe, science has played some role in the formulation of policy. Certainly, the level of influence on policy has been affected by the security of government, custom and tradition, geopolitics (regional politics), corruption, and relative power. The level of engagement of science in the formulation of policy is not directly correlated to the level of socioeconomic development of the country or region. There are circumstances where the relationship of science to policy formulation processes is very poor in highly developed countries and regions. Of course, the converse is also true. Further exploration of the reasons why is warranted. It should be noted, however, that science and politics may be closely intertwined in policy-making processes, and it can be difficult to disentangle them.

- There are variations among and between countries and regions that affect where they lie on the continuum noted above, but these variations should not affect the end goal, they simply reveal where each country or region is in the process. All countries and regions should organize their scientific endeavours to have the greatest impact on policy formulation given its particular circumstances.

- The transition to more trans-disciplinary scientific input to policy processes is far from complete in virtually all areas of the globe. This is as much a function of the failure of science organization, as it is of policy frameworks. The scientific community must undertake critical self-evaluation to determine the impediments to organizing its work in ways more suited to major public policy issues.

- It is imperative that the scientific community translates its science into understandable and persuasive language. Too often policymakers are blamed for the failure to integrate science into policy decisions, when, in fact, scientific information has not been transmitted in a way that clearly communicates its relevance to the decisions at hand.

- The weight of science in policy processes is at least indirectly related to the level of engagement of the scientific community with the affected public and stakeholders. Another way of stating this point is that the level of engagement of the scientific community has a direct bearing on the value and relevance of the science and affects its impact on public policy processes.

- The scientific community must always acknowledge that public policy processes are for the most part a function of the political infrastructure. While science can inform policy, the ultimate responsibility rests with politicians. Policy decisions made by politicians consider many factors other than science. This is a theme that recurred throughout the entire session.

The presentations and discussion that occurred at the 8th Rosenberg International Forum on Water Policy session entitled "Bridging Science and Policy in the Management of Water Resources" shed light on the multi-dimensional complexities of scientific engagement in policy formulation around the world. It revealed that both water policymakers and water resource scientists must recommit to constructive engagement, while recognizing the appropriate role of the other. Much remains to be done.

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Introduction

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President of the Republic of Cyprus (1988-1993)

The InterAction Council (IAC) has for a long time now been interested in the role of religion in international politics and the necessity to recognize the common ethical base we have inherited from all religious faiths. The founders of the IAC — the late Takeo Fukuda of Japan and Helmut Schmidt of Germany — in 1987, convened a meeting of religious and political leaders in Rome at which Prime Minister Fukuda stated: "I felt that an understanding could be obtained from religious groups and that a certain common denominator might be found." Subsequently, Helmut Schmidt continued this initiative by leading the 1996 experts' group that worked on identifying and summing up what were considered global ethical standards. As a result, at the 1997 meeting of the IAC, Helmut Schmidt together with Hans Küng, prepared the *Universal Declaration of Human Responsibilities*, in which it is pointed out that "When rights and responsibilities are balanced then freedom is enhanced and a better world can be created" (see Appendix 2). The IAC endorsed the Declaration and promoted it worldwide between world leaders and opinion makers.

This tradition of assessing the impact of religion on current events led the IAC to convene an experts' group on sectarianism in May 2013, and to debate this issue fully at the 31st Annual Plenary Meeting of the Council in Bahrain (see Appendix 1). The discussion took place amidst the ravages of sectarianism plaguing the region, most notably in Iraq and Syria. Our understanding of the situation was greatly enhanced by a meeting with His Royal Highness the Crown Prince Salman bin Hamad al-Khalifa.

Sectarianism could be defined as excessive devotion to doctrines of a religious sect or group, and unfortunately it has long been with us. It is the opposite of tolerance, which is a willingness to admit the validity of seemingly contradictory viewpoints. During the session, after my brief introduction, four extremely interesting and illuminating contributions were made by:

1. Thomas Axworthy, Secretary-General of the InterAction Council and Distinguished Senior Fellow at the Munk School of Global Affairs on "Tolerance: An Underappreciated Virtue in our Sectarian Age";

2. Nicholas Fogg of the U.K., Former Head of Religious Studies at Marlborough College, spoke on "The Risks of Sectarianism";

3. Gholamali Khoshroo, Special Advisor to H.E. Sheikh Mohammad Khatami of Iran, talked about "Dialogue versus Sectarian Strife";

4. Ahmad Moussalli, Professor of Political Science and Islamic Studies at the American University of Beirut, spoke on "The Sectarian Dynamics of Arab Uprisings and Middle East Eastern Geopolitics".

Subsequently a thorough discussion followed between present members of the IAC and other invited experts.

Thomas Axworthy's paper on "Tolerance: An Underappreciated Virtue in our Sectarian Age" examines the outburst of European sectarianism after the Reformation in the sixteenth century, an outcome that contributes to the Thirty-Years' War, one of the most devastating conflicts in the history of war. The fires of sectarianism only began to subside when Voltaire and many other thinkers won the war of ideas through the promotion of tolerance. Axworthy uses the historical example of Europe to suggest ways to promote tolerance in our age.

Nicholas Fogg, on "The Risks of Sectarianism," shows that, despite the Age of Enlightenment, the embers of sectarianism still glow in their ancient heartlands. "Sectarian conflict is rife," Fogg writes, and one of his examples is the great game of football. Scotland is generally considered to have had a history of religious enthusiasm stronger than that of England, and in Glasgow, football clubs became associated with the sectarian divide (Celtic Football Club linked to Protestantism and Rangers with Roman Catholicism). Riots broke out in 1980 when Celtic won the Scottish Cup final and again in 1999, in the Old Firm match. In 2011, Rangers and their fans were banned from their next European match after singing sectarian songs at a game in the Netherlands. In September 2012, the Scottish government established an independent advisory group to suggest ways to tackle sectarianism. Therefore, we see that today's Middle East, unfortunately, does not have a monopoly on sectarian violence.

Gholamali Khoshroo, in his paper "Dialogue Versus Sectarian Strife," points out that in the Middle East where current sectarian disputes are the most dangerous, the injunction that "current political and cultural conflicts and trends in the Middle East and the world clearly show that dialogue among civilizations is not merely a moral recommendation, but a vital imperative." Khoshroo argues that, "for centuries, different branches of Islam were living together in a peaceful and respectful manner." But the strategic interests of certain states and elites have led to religion being "misused for political purposes."

The complexity of Middle East geopolitics is documented in the paper "The Sectarian Dynamics of Arab Uprisings and Middle Eastern Geopolitics" by Ahmad Moussalli. "The Arab world is still at the inception of a long and difficult process," Moussalli writes, "these uprisings are not only internal affairs, but also impact global politics and consequently transform the traditional balance of Middle Eastern hegemony in the Middle East and other regions, including the U.S., Russia, Europe, and the Far East." Moussalli assesses the interests of several actors in the Syrian crisis, not just the opposing forces of the Assad regime and the Sunni-led opposition. After reviewing the roles of Russia, the United States, France, Israel, Iran, and the Gulf States in backing one side or the other in Syria, Moussalli considers that "The Middle East is headed towards a difficult phase that needs world attention to stop deterioration, because time now seems to favour extremism and rise of conflicts."

In September 2013, there was at least one ray of hope in the Syrian conflict. As the United States and France headed a coalition of countries on the verge of carrying out air strikes on Syria in response to the use by the Assad regime of the chemical agent Sarin, Russia took the lead in persuading it to respond favourably to the long-time demand that Syria accede to the Chemical Weapons Convention. This "Framework for Elimination of Syrian Chemical Weapons" was endorsed by the UN Security Council in Resolution 2118, and requires Syria to destroy all chemical weapons by June 2014. The implementation of the agreement is being carried out by the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, which is coordinating international assistance to bring this about: Norway and Denmark, for example, have agreed to transport chemical weapons from Syria to Italy, where a U.S. naval vessel will undertake their destruction. Unfortunately, the Syrian civil war grinds on, with well over 100,000 casualties and two million refugees, but the elimination of Syria's chemical weapons is at least a positive sign that escalation of the conflict need not occur.

Ultimately, sectarianism will only be diminished if people of good will take a stand. The InterAction Council was heartened that one of its members, Seyyed Mohammad Khatami, a former president of Iran, joined with former Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad to issue a joint appeal in May 2013 that "Sunni-Shia animosity and antagonism have clearly weakened the Muslim ummah."

A former Prime Minister of a Sunni majority state and a former president from an overwhelmingly Shia nation appealed to all Sunni and Shia "to desist from massacring and killing one another." It is that kind of leadership that may eventually create regimes of tolerance instead of extremist outrages.

CHAPTER 11

Dialogue Versus Sectarian Strife

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11.1 INTRODUCTION

Current political and cultural conflicts and trends in the Middle East, and the world clearly show that dialogue among civilizations is not merely a moral recommendation, but a vital imperative. Sectarian strife in addition to ethnic and tribal clashes, on the one hand, and the continued misperceptions and misunderstandings between the Islamic world and the West — and even the East, as witnessed quite recently by the massacre of Muslims in Myanmar — on the other hand, further highlight the urgency of dialogue and coexistence.

Regretfully, sectarian violence is on the rise in the Middle East, but it is a manufactured and fabricated phenomenon, not a natural one. For centuries different branches of Islam were living together in a peaceful and respectful manner. The sectarian strife that has erupted in Pakistan, Iraq, and Syria, has two main targets: Shia communities and Iran. Due to the strategic interests of certain elites that regard themselves as the custodians of the Sunni majority in Islam, they have supported fanatical ideologies and recruited young and poor people all around the Muslim world. They have channelled money and provided security and organizational support to fight in the name of Islam against Shia people, whom they consider to be instruments of Iranian influence. The Taliban in Afghanistan and Pakistan as well as al-Qaeda branches in Iraq and Syria are killing Shia people on a daily basis while the West turns a blind eye.

In other words, religion has been misused for political purposes. Yet, religion can play a constructive role for peace and dialogue both between religions, and between different branches of the same religion. All major religions share certain sublime ideals and goals that can provide the basis for peace, friendship, and mutual respect.

During the past few decades, Shia Muslims living in the Middle East have been able to get rid of the pressure that was put on them by either secular or Sunni governments. In doing so, they have also been able to stabilize their social standing through revolutions, resistance, and recourse at the ballot box. This process has been sweeping all Shia-dominant countries in the region from Iran, to Iraq, Lebanon, and Bahrain. From the viewpoint of the Arab regimes in the region, Iran has been, and still is, expanding its sphere of influence into the heart of the Arab and Sunni world. The 'Shia Crescent' is the name they have chosen for this phenomenon. As a result, through fanning the flames of civil war in Syria by organizing and providing financial and military support to Takfiri groups, they are actually trying to control the influence of Shia Iran. From the viewpoint of Israel, Iran is now the greatest threat to its domination in the region. Therefore, Tel Aviv argues, the backbone of Iran's regional power should be broken in Syria in order to pave the way for laying complete siege to the Lebanese Hezbollah movement as a requisite for bolstering the security of Israel. The political and strategic root causes behind the current sectarian strife should be considered to be related to three major strategic changes in the Middle East. Such changes include:

- The Islamic Revolution in Iran
- The overthrow of the Baathist regime in Iraq
- The Arab Spring in the Middle East and North Africa

11.2   STRATEGIC CHANGES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

11.2.1   The Islamic Revolution in Iran

Iran's Islamic Revolution of 1979 paved the way for a return to Islamic values, national reliance and independence of the country. It also brought to power Shia political aspirations in Iran, led to the establishment of the Islamic Republic, and caused the country to distance itself from the United States and its hegemonic policies.

Sixty years ago, the CIA overthrew the government of the democratically elected Prime Minister, Mohammad Musaddiq, returning the Shah to power. Then, for 25 years, America established a special relationship with Iran and helped the Westernization policies of the Shah, supported his suppression of political

opponents, and initiated mega arms deals. In 1979, the Iranian people participated in the biggest contemporary revolution, targeting despotism and the dependency of the Pahlavi regime on America, overthrowing the regime and the monarchy. This was the inception of conflict between the two countries.

The former Iranian regime was considered a strategic ally for the United States and Israel in the region, followed a Western approach in its policies, and was secular in nature. Following the Islamic Revolution, the balance of power greatly changed in the region. The strategic partnership that existed between Iran and the United States was suddenly replaced by outright confrontation between Tehran and Washington, and at the same time, Iran's partnership with Israel turned into hostility. As a result, Israel is currently sparing no effort to aggrandize the so-called 'Iran threat' by depicting the country as the biggest menace to the security of Israel and the entire Middle East region.

11.2.2 The Overthrow of the Baathist Regime in Iraq

Following the invasion of Iraq by the United States and the subsequent overthrow of the Baathist regime of the former Iraqi dictator, Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi Shias that make up the majority of the population, removed the devastating suppression of the Saddam regime. The Shias in Iraq had experienced a history of suffering. They had suffered tremendous pressures under the rule of the Ottoman Empire and even under later governments that ruled them after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, which invariably tried to suppress Shias. Given the fact that Shias make up the majority of the Iraqi population, political developments that followed the fall of Saddam, led to the empowerment of Shias who grabbed a bigger share of the power in the new government. Therefore, the unwanted consequence of Washington's invasion of Iraq was empowerment of Shias in the Arab country who, naturally, have good relations with the people and government of Iran.

In Lebanon, Shias were historically a forgotten and weak group. Gradually, as the Hezbollah resistance movement took shape in that country, Shias turned into a major and effective political current in Lebanon and emerged as one of the main players in the political scene of that country both in military and political terms.

11.2.3 Arab Spring in the Middle East and North Africa

As the wave of the Islamic awakening swept through the Middle East and North Africa, regional dictators that were affiliated with the Western states were overthrown by people who had decided to establish a new system of government based on Islam and democracy. This process, which had led to the growth of freedom seeking

and independence seeking ideas, had also caused great concern among officials in Israel. The government of Turkey, so much interested in propagating for its model of governance, decided to make the most of the situation. Saudi Arabia, on the other hand, was totally averse to these developments. Some regional regimes, like that of Qatar, provided the process of change with financial and propaganda aid. On the whole, the Islamic awakening helped to promote the position of Iran in the region. In order to confront this process and stymie its further progress, they targeted Syria.

Therefore, all the aforesaid countries, which were pursuing conflicting interests in the past, suddenly joined hands and became united in order to stoke the civil war in Syria. The Syrian regime, contrary to what was expected, decided to resist their efforts. On the other hand, the adversary states continued their support for Salafi, Wahhabi, and Takfiri groups and spared no effort for the promotion of their sectarian ideas while threatening and massacring Shias and especially the Alawites in Syria. In parallel to fanning the flames of civil war in Syria, they also incited anti-Shia sentiments in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iraq, which has so far made thousands of innocent women and children the victims of the sectarian war that they have waged. Al-Qaeda and their supporters, which are currently engaged in a proxy war against the Syrian government on behalf of certain regional and trans-regional states, are trying to make their strategic confrontation with the Syrian government look like a war waged by Sunni Muslims against the infidels and heretics.

Relations between the Shiite government of Iran and the secular state of Syria are not based on sectarian unity, but a result of the two countries' similar approaches to Israel. It is the common pro-resistance approach of both countries, not their theosophical and jurisprudential similarities, that has brought the two countries of Iran and Syria close together.

11.3   ESCALATION OF SECTARIAN VIOLENCE

As extremism continues to thrive and the culture of dialogue is in decline, sectarian conflicts have afflicted all parts of our region. This situation has its roots in a fanatic way of thinking, dogmatically sticking to crude and primitive ideas, and violence. Frequent armed attacks on mosques, people's homes, convoys of pilgrims, and funeral ceremonies have turned into a repetitive and heinous show. Such anti-Islam measures have tarnished the public image of Muslims in the world with blood and violence. This form of violence is, in fact, a tool in the hands of regional and trans-regional powers that use it to achieve their political and strategic goals.

At present, an uncountable number of women and children are virtually waiting on death row as violence is escalating at the hands of brainwashed youths who are ready to lay down their lives for goals that actually serve the interests of hegemonic powers. The world of Islam is seeing part of its body on fire through

violent actions that take place before the eyes of the entire world and are in total contrast to the core tenets of Islam as the religion of peace and friendship. It is as if the Islamic world is actually heading towards a big mass suicide. It is now incumbent on the Ulema, scholars, and intellectuals in the Muslim world to play an important role and make it their mission to prevent that mass suicide from happening.

11.4   AFFINITY BETWEEN SHIAS AND SUNNIS

Shia and Sunni are the two major branches of Islam, which have coexisted throughout its history, and there has been good cooperation and interaction between the Ulema and people of both schools of faith. In historical terms, there have been constant disputes between Sunni and Shia scholars, whose main goal has been to prove the rightfulness of their own faith. However, commonalties between the two major denominations of Islam has created a positive atmosphere under which the majority of Shias and Sunnis could live by exercising tolerance toward each other's ideas. For instance, all Muslims have been conducting the Hajj ceremony for many long years under a tolerant atmosphere. Hajj, as one of the main pillars of Islam, is the worldwide annual Muslim pilgrimage, regardless of race, nationality, sect, or gender. All Shias and Sunnis have conducted this duty in a unified and coordinated manner throughout the history of Islam.

In modern centuries, two different approaches have been recorded with regard to the differences between Shias and Sunnis: **The first approach** was related to certain Islamic governments that tried to take advantage of the 'self – other' dichotomy in order to mobilize the public in support of their political agendas. Such an approach has frequently led to widespread bloodshed and even destruction of religious and historical buildings and deepening of religious rifts.

The second approach, which made its debut somewhat later than the first approach, is the one taken by such Muslim Ulema and reformist figures as Seyed Jamaleddin Asadabadi, Ayatollah Seyed Hossein Tabatabaei Boroujerdi, and Sheikh Mahmud Shaltout. These reform-minded figures and Ulema put the highest degree of emphasis on the necessity to bolster unity among all Muslims on the basis of common grounds and by avoiding animosity. Imam Khomeini, as an exceptional figure in contemporary history who managed to establish an Islamic government in Iran, followed a reformist approach and sought to make all Muslims united. He chose the time interval between two dates, which are considered by Shias and Sunnis as the birthday of Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him), and designated that period as the 'Unity Week.' Imam Khomeini also announced that the issue of Palestine was the most important issue facing the Islamic world and also the main axis around which all Muslims could achieve unity.

11.5   EXTREMIST AND TAKFIRI GROUPS

One may say that what is currently known as Shia – Sunni conflict in the region is not, in fact, a conflict between two communities of Shias and Sunnis. In reality, it is a consequence of the spread of Wahhabi thought — founded by Abd al-Wahhab in eighteenth century Arabia, who violently opposes Shias and Sufis and condemns many Muslims for pagan practice — and the behaviour of Takfiri groups. They not only consider Shias as infidels, but also believe that their Sunni opponents and all other Islamic sects are unbelievers. Takfiris are militant Sunni groups who accuse other Muslims to be unbelievers and legitimise violence and killing as a method of achieving their goals.

Issuing fatwas that declare all the Muslim rulers as apostates, incriminating all Muslim communities as being ignorant of religious commands, excommunication of all people who formulate and implement state laws, excommunication of all new parties and philosophical schools, and believing that jihad is an obligation for all Muslims in order to set up the true Islamic government, are all instances that differentiate new Salafis from the majority of other Muslims.

At present, the Islamic world is suffering from an upsurge in sectarian bloodletting. All the denominations of Islam have been there for over 14 centuries, but it has been only during the past decades that differences among them have turned into all-out conflict and sectarian massacre. This trend is quite dangerous for the following three reasons and should be categorically condemned:

First, many innocent people, especially women and children, are killed in these clashes and this is overtly against Islam. According to the teachings of Islam, killing any innocent person is akin to killing all of humanity and has been strongly prohibited and condemned by Islam.

Second, such violence will mar the compassionate image of Islam and will pave the way for ill-wishers and enemies of Islam to take advantage of the situation.

Third, such ethnic massacres undermine the very foundations of the Islamic Ummah, and also weaken the position and standing of Muslim nations in global developments.

11.6   SOLUTIONS FOR UNITY

Unity has undoubtedly been the most important key to victory of Muslims throughout the history of Islam, just in the same way that division has been the main cause of their failures. Prophet Mohammad (PBUH), as the main axis of the unity among the Islamic Ummah, and the city of Medina, as a role model for the modern Islamic civilization, should be the focus of attention for all Muslims. The Holy Qur'an has invited Muslims to engage in logical and tolerant dialogue with

other people in order to pave the way for everybody to attain the truth. All denominations, sects, and currents in the Islamic world should recognize and accept their existing theoretical and ideological differences. In this way, they will be able to prevent these differences, which can be potentially a blessing for the Ummah, from turning into political conflict, war and fratricide, which is the main goal pursued by the enemies of Islam.

The most important issue right now is not the presence of different Islamic denominations and sects, but is the potential for fostering extremism, which is inherent to some of these sects. Such extremist currents believe that they are the sole monotheistic people and consider other people, even Muslims, as infidels. This is why they have no problem issuing religious permit for the massacre of other Muslims. It follows from the above facts that all forms of extremism in the Muslim world should be denounced. Promotion of religious democracy is one of the major means that can thwart the efforts of certain people who intend to take advantage of religious and ethnic differences, at the behest of foreign powers, to pave the ground for further intensification of sectarian conflicts and massacres. Avoiding excommunication of other Muslims and incriminating them of being infidels and heretics, exercising religious tolerance, and respectful treatment of the existing theoretical differences constitute the sole mechanism that can not only prevent division among Muslims, but also block the growth and development of extremism and all kinds of violent approaches. Therefore, Muslims, especially their Ulema and scholars, should take practical steps toward solving their differences through healthy dialogue in which all logical and ethical rules of negotiation would be observed. Under present circumstances, the most critical duty for Ulema and scholars across the Muslim world is to expound and promote the goals and ideals of religious democracy. Achieving this difficult goal could only be possible through continued study of religious sources and extraction of new rules and regulations. If the awakening of Muslims could lead to the institutionalization of democracy in the Middle East and North Africa, followed by increased respect for civil rights and establishment of a new political structure on the basis of the citizens' votes, it would certainly raise hopes in the reduction of religious differences and sectarian conflicts.

11.7   CONCLUSION

Since 2001 when President Khatami's proposal for the promotion of dialogue among civilisations was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, the flames of war have been raging all around the region. The revival of the discourse of moderation and dialogue in Iran can not only bolster domestic unity, but also improve foreign relations with other countries. It can also bring sectarian and global violence under control and provide people with a happy and prosperous life. It is only through a

discourse of dialogue that the injustice and tyranny, which have become inherent to international relations, can be contained while promoting peace and friendship at the national, regional, and global level.

CHAPTER 12

Tolerance: An Underappreciated Virtue in Our Sectarian Age

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12.1   INTRODUCTION

We live in a sectarian age. Excessive devotion to the doctrines of a religion, sect, or group is a phenomenon of our time and as such, threatens peace and order both within and between states. Even a cursory reading of recent headlines makes the point: in Myanmar, Buddhist mobs armed with machetes chased Muslims, killing over 40 and driving nearly 13,000 Muslims from their homes and businesses.[1] Boko Haram (translates to 'Western education is forbidden'), an Islamic sect in northern Nigeria, plants bombs almost weekly in Christian churches, resulting in 900 deaths in 2012 alone.[2] In Libya, memorial crosses are so offensive to extremist mobs that commonwealth military cemeteries have been desecrated.[3] In Iraq, prominent analyst Kanan Makiya, who favoured the U.S. invasion to depose Saddam Hussein, declares that the "Arab Spring is now turning into an Arab winter … Mr. Hussein used sectarianism and nationalism as tools against his internal enemies when he was weak. Today's Iraqi Shiite parties are doing worse: they are legitimizing their rule on a sectarian basis."[4] And it is not just Muslim versus Christian, or Shia versus

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3   Geoffrey York, "Lone Guard at Canadian's Libyan Gravesite No Match for Islamist Mobs," Globe and Mail, 11 April 2013. *http://m.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/lone-guard-at-canadians-libyan-gravesite-no-match-for-islamist-mobs/article11102968/?service=mobile*

4   Kanan Makiya, "The Arab Spring Started in Iraq," The New York Times, 6 April 2013. *http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/07/opinion/sunday/the-arab-spring-started-in-iraq.html?pagewanted=all*

Sunni; divisions within Islamist movements are also large and evident. In Egypt, for example, after the fall of the Mubarak regime, the Salafist Movement designated their fellow Sunni Muslims on the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces as apostates, members of the Salafist al-Nour Party resigned from President Mohamed Mursi's Muslim Brotherhood government and supported his ouster in July 2013.[5] In Egypt, there is obviously a major cleavage between Egyptians of a more secular outlook and Islamists; but within the Islamist movement, there is little consensus as well.

In Syria, the sectarian cauldron has boiled over, turning a revolt against an authoritarian regime into a war of Sunni versus Shia, and Sunni versus Sunni. The Syrian conflict has left in its wake more than 100,000 casualties and over two-million refugees. This is horrible for the citizens of that country, and exceedingly dangerous for the region as a whole because of its potential for engulfing Syria's neighbours of Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey, and Iraq. Because of Syria, writes Geneive Abdo, "the Shi'a-Sunni divide is well on its way to displacing the broader conflict between Muslims and the West as the primary challenge facing the Islamic societies of the Middle East for the foreseeable future. Such sectarian conflict is also likely to supplant the Palestinian occupation as the central mobilizing factor for Arab political life."[6] And, as in Egypt, conflicts within various camps and between former allies have expanded this circle of violence even further. An al-Qaeda linked group has turned on other members of the rebel coalition and expelled them from rebel-held territories in Northern Syria. Infighting between the Sunni rebel groups has recently been even more intense than the fight against Bashar Al Assad.[7]

This violence has generated the worst population displacement crisis since World War II, with 120,000 Syrians leaving the country every month. The 2.3 million Syrian refugees have put enormous pressures on the infrastructure and resources of Syria's neighbours (900,000 refugees in Lebanon, 600,000 in Jordan and Turkey, and 200,000 in Iraq)[8] and has led to demands that Europe and North America should do more to assist.[9] As sectarianism roils the Middle East, so too does it disturb and embitter international relations as a whole.

Since the end of the Cold War, a major emphasis of Western scholars has been on globalization, the integration of world capital markets and the rise of new superpowers with global reach like India and China. But while one strong current in world affairs is globalization, an equally strong tide is localism with sects, groups, communities, and other non-state actors appealing to millions of people outside the dominant global-cosmopolitan state paradigm. Identity politics bubble everywhere

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5   Ali Bakr, "Egypt's Salafists: A Closer Look," Ahram Online, 15 October 2012.
         http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/55636.aspx; Jeremy M. Sharp, "Egypt: Background and US Relations,"
         Library of Congress Washington DC Congressional Research Service, 2009; Jahd Khalil, "Morsi Faces
         Challenge From Islamist, Salafist Parties," Al-Monitor, 5 March 2013.
6   Geneive Abdo. The New Sectarianism: The Arab Uprising and the Rebirth of the Shi'a-Sunni Divide
         (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2013).
7   Ryan Lucas. "Rebel Infighting Spreads," National Post. 14 January 2014
8   "Syria Regional Refugee Response," UN Refugee Agency, January 2014.
         http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php
9   Craig Smith, "Our Moral Duty to Syria's Refugees," National Post, 15 January 2014.
         http://fullcomment.nationalpost.com/2014/01/15/craig-smith-our-moral-duty-to-syrias-refugees

just below the surface with sudden violent bursts, periodically shattering the benign assumptions of 'Davos man.'

This was forecast 30 years ago by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Harvard scholar and U.S. Senator who wrote before the breakup of the Soviet Union that local ethnic identities were to be the next big thing: "Nation states," he wrote, "no longer seem inclined to go to war with one another, but ethnic groups fight all the time."[10] Samuel Huntington, friend and colleague of Moynihan, subsequently emphasized the role of religion in international affairs, in his famous book, *The Clash of Civilizations*: "The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future,"[11] he forecast. As seven of eight civilizations Huntington described had significant religious components, his concept of 'civilization' can be considered as a surrogate for religions. Pandemonium is what Moynihan and Huntington feared in the emergence of ethnic and religious divisions. So it has proved.

12.2   EUROPE'S SECTARIAN AGE

Moynihan took the title of his book, *Pandemonium*, from the name invented by John Milton for "the high capital of Satan and his peers."[12] Book I of *Paradise Lost* begins with a debate between the fallen angels in the council chamber of Pandemonium. Published in 1667, Milton's epic poem reflects the religious passions of his time, the two centuries from 1500 to 1700 of Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the subsequent wars of religion. The sectarian disputes of our age, in fact, are merely minor skirmishes compared to the devastation of the Catholic versus Protestant Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), which saw the population of central Europe fall from 23 million to 13 million, a death toll between a third and a half of Germany's citizens.[13]

All of the current facets of sectarianism have their antecedents in European history. As in Nigeria or Myanmar today, in pre-Enlightenment Spain, mobs attacked people of other faiths frequently (in 1391 there was a particularly vicious pogrom where approximately one-third of the Jews were massacred). Like Syria today, rulers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were happy to play the sectarian card: King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain, for example, practiced ethnic cleansing on a mass scale with forced conversions and the expulsion of 70,000 to 100,000 Jews in 1492, and up to 300,000 Moriscos (Spanish Muslims) in 1609.[14] Desecration of grave sites may be occurring in Libya today, but far more mindless destruction took place during the Reformation. Simon Schama, for example, asks: "What ever happened

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10   Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Pandaemonium: Ethnicity in International Politics (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

11   Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilisation and the Remaking of the New World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996).

12   John Milton, *The Complete Poems of John Milton*, vol. 4 (New York: PF Collier & Son, 1909), 109.

13   Norman Davis, *Europe: A History* (London: Pimlico, 1997), 568.

14   Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years* (New York: Penguin Group, 2009), 590.

to Catholic England?"[15] in his TV series *A History of Britain*, as he describes how Protestant zealots destroyed stained glass windows, altar rails, statues, and even Communion tables. A Puritan parliament event went so far as to outlaw celebrating Christmas in 1647. Violence between Shia and Sunnis? In the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre of 1572, 5,000 Huguenots were killed, mutilated, and degraded by Catholic mobs in what Benjamin Kaplan described as the "most notorious episode of the early modern age."[16] Sunni Salafist versus the Sunni Muslim Brotherhood? The English wars of religion pitted followers of the Church of England against Puritan dissenters. Protestant sects were as bigoted about other Protestants as they were against Roman Catholics: In 1648, an English Parliament with a Presbyterian majority promulgated an "ordinance for the punishing of blasphemous heresies" and as late as 1662, 4,000 Quakers were still in prison. Writing about these episodes, historian C.V. Wedgwood tartly notes about the persecution of Quakers that, "the creed of non-violence always exasperated the violent."[17]

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Europe exhibited religious discrimination, intolerance, and violence on a scale far surpassing anything today, yet there were always individual acts of bravery, understanding, and love, and slowly — ever so slowly — the notion of tolerance grew. Europe's sectarian age was succeeded by the Age of Enlightenment, and one pillar of the Enlightenment was the once-despised virtue of tolerance. The eventual acceptance of religious tolerance, according to Jurgen Habermas, became "the pacemaker for cultural rights" in general.[18]

12.3   TOLERANCE

In his magisterial *History of Christianity*, Diarmaid MacCulloch is dismissive, or at least not unduly impressed by the virtue of toleration. Waxing enthusiastically about the eventual growth of religious freedom, he writes: "Toleration is a grudging concession granted by one body from a position of strength; liberty provides a situation in which all religious groups compete on an equal basis."[19] To André Comte-Sponville, tolerance is a small but necessary virtue: "The truth demands nothing other than we pursue it. Scientists need not tolerance but freedom."[20] But it has practical uses because if we cannot decide on what truth is, humility and accommodation are in order. "It is placing a very high value on one's conjectures," advised Michel Eyquem de Montaige, "to cause a man to be burned alive because

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15   Simon Schama, *A History of Britain: The British Wars, 1603-1776* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2001).

16   Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009), I.

17   Cicely Veronica Wedgwood, *History and Hope: the Collected Essays of C. V. Wedgwood* (London: Fontana Press, 1987), 376.

18   Jurgen Habermas, "Religious Tolerance — The Pacemaker for Cultural Rights," Paper presented at the Royal Institute of Philosophy Annual Lecture, 2003.

19   Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years* (New York: Penguin Books, 2010), 731.

20   Andre Comte-Sponville, *A Small Treatise on the Great Virtues: The Uses of Philosophy in Everyday Life*, trans. Catherine Temerson (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2001), 158.

of them."[21] Voltaire, too, cautioned about certainty, "What is toleration? It is the prerogative of humanity. We are all steeped in weakness of errors: Let us forgive one another's follies."[22]

Toleration is, then, as MacCulloch implies, a way station: it is certainly better to allow or permit an action of which one may disapprove than use force to prevent it, but it is less progressive than creating a right (in which one has a legal claim rather than hoping for a favour), and it is further away yet from celebrating diversity and cherishing mutual learning. It was for these reasons that Goethe said that "toleration should only be a passing attribute: it should lead to appreciation,"[23] and Thomas Paine was typically pugnacious in declaring "Toleration is not the opposite of intolerance but the counterfeit of it." Both are despotisms: the one assumes to itself the right of withholding liberty of conscience, the other of granting it.[24] To Paine, and to many Western scholars since, individual rights are not only the preferred regime but the only one really worth the candle.

Tolerance then is not a maximum but a minimum.[25] But a minimum is not to be sneezed at if it prevents injustice and allows peaceful coexistence. Michael Walzer acknowledges that tolerance is the least we can do for our fellows but "even the most grudging forms and precarious arrangements [of toleration] are very good things, sufficiently rare in human history."[26]

Tolerance is defined by Andrew Murphy as an attitude or "a willingness to admit the possible validity of seemingly contradictory viewpoints."[27] It is a virtue based on the recognition, as Voltaire writes in his *Philosophical Dictionary*, that "discord is the great ill of mankind, and tolerance is the only remedy for it."[28] For Jay Newman, "tolerance is manifested when one is tolerant; toleration is manifest when one tolerates."[29] Toleration denotes "forbearance from imposing punitive sanctions for dissent from prevailing norms."[30] Toleration is a set of practices or arrangement that enables peaceful coexistence, a concept analytically distinct from the attitude or motivation of those involved in the arrangement. The distinction is important: tolerance is an individual attitude rooted in humility (we all make errors). Its opposite is fanaticism, described by John Morley as irritating prejudices that make no allowances and allow no

21   Michel de Montaigne, *Michel de Montaigne: The Complete Works* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 962.
22   Francois Voltaire, "Philosophical Dictionary," in *The Portable Voltaire*, ed. Ben Ray Redman (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1948), 212; Comte-Sponville, *Small Treatise*, 166.
23   Johann Goethe. *Maxims and Reflections*, trans. Thomas Bailey Saunders (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1906), 356.
24   Thomas Paine, *The Essential Thomas Paine*, ed. Sidney Hook (New York: The New American Library, Inc., 1969), 166; Francois Voltaire, "Philosophical Dictionary," in *The Portable Voltaire*, ed. Ben Ray Redman Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1948), 212.
25   Comte-Sponville, *Small Treatise*, 172.
26   Michael Walzer, *On Toleration* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), xi.
27   Andrew R. Murphy, "Tolerance, Toleration, and the Liberal Tradition." *Polity* 29, no. 4 (Summer 1998): 600.
28   Voltaire, "Philosophical Dictionary," 273.
29   Jay Newman, "The Idea of Religious Tolerance," *American Philosophical Quarterly* 15, no. 3 (July 1978), 188.
30   Murphy, "Tolerance," 596.

compromise.[31] There are therefore many obstacles to individual tolerance — ignorance, superstition, misunderstanding, indolence, and superiority. Intolerance can be displayed in jokes, name-calling, verbal abuse, discrimination and violence. Scotland, for example, recently created a sectarian advisory group to address the Catholic-Protestant antagonism so evident at events such as football matches.[32]

Tolerance, however, does not mean that one must tolerate everything. It is a practical, not an absolute, virtue that requires balance of judgement. One can understand, for example, that female genital mutilation may be a long-time cultural practice, but tolerating the suffering of others is selfish and an encouragement to cruelty. Tolerance necessitates judgement. Thus, Karl Popper, in *The Open Society*, claims that it is a paradox of tolerance "not to tolerate the intolerant."[33] Unlimited tolerance could lead to the disappearance of tolerance if action is not taken against extremists like Hitler, who used the rules of democracy to gain the power to end democracy. "Some things are intolerable, even — or especially — for a tolerant person,"[34] writes Comte-Sponville.

In *On Compromise*, the great Victorian statesman, John Morley, devoted much attention to the particular issue of persuading those of strong religious belief to endorse toleration. Morley argued that an earnestness of conviction is perfectly compatible with tolerating the views of others because "he whose faith is most assured, has the best reason for relying on persuasion, and the strongest motive to thrust from him all temptations to use angry force."[35] You have not converted a man because you have silenced him, and therefore, the strongest believers have the most incentive to participate in dialogue and debate. Morley is optimistic about encouraging the strongly religious to embrace toleration, because that is the only way to address belief (rather than mere observance).

If tolerance is an individual attitude or virtue, subject to education, personal persuasion, and mutual learning, toleration is a set of practices that deliberately chooses not to interfere with the conduct of others. As Europe moved from the era of religious wars to the Enlightenment, a variety of practices and accommodations allowed dissent from legally established churches or socially dominant faiths.[36] But slowly evolving regimes of toleration did not necessarily mean large advances in personal tolerance. Wedgwood writes that even as European leaders in the seventeenth century were forced to accommodate to the realities of different strains

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31   John Morley, *On Compromise* (London: Macmillan & Co Ltd, 1910), 4. A good example of Morley's point on how fanaticism warps judgement is the anti-Semitic Clause 22 of the Hamas Charter, which accuses Jews of using "money to establish clandestine organizations which are spreading around the world to in order to destroy societies and carry out Zionist interests. Such organizations are: the Freemasons, Rotary Clubs, Lions Clubs, B'nai B'rith and the like." The Freemasons at least have a secret handshake but the mind boggles at the description of Rotary and Lions service clubs as being conspiratorial or clandestine!

32   Community Safety and Legal Affairs, "Sectarianism Advisory Group setup," news release, September 27, 2012. *http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2012/09/sectarianism-27092012*

33   Karl Raimund Popper, The Open Society and Its Enemies, vol. 1, The Spell of Plato (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 265.

34   Comte-Sponville, *Small Treatise*, 163.

35   Morley, *On Compromise*, 246.

36   Murphy, "Tolerance," 598–600.

of Christianity, the goal for all was still a universal church (their own, of course) and toleration was still "regarded with dismay even by moderate men."[37]

Toleration regimes, therefore, are practical accommodations to achieve peaceful co-existence, which may or may not have much to do with the advance of tolerance. In combating sectarianism, one needs both a program to change individual attitudes and another to make institutional accommodation work.

FIGURE 12.1.

Continuum from state coercion to diversity.[38]
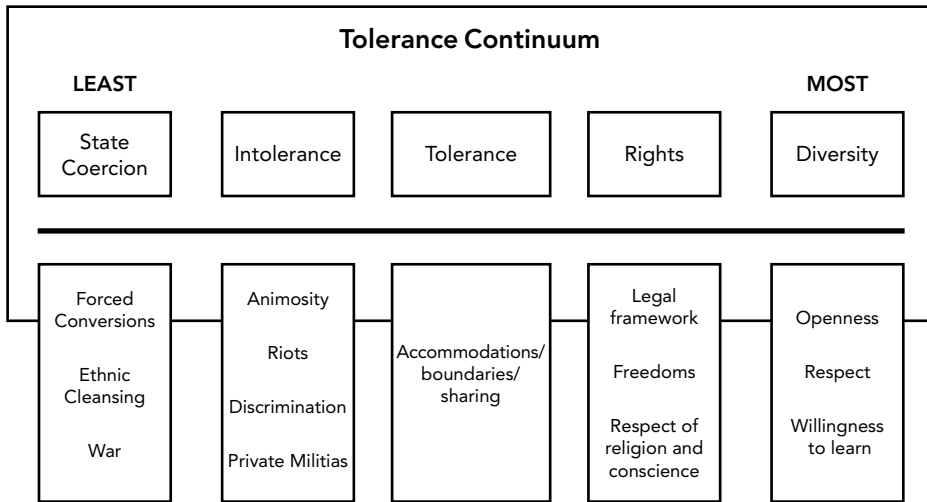
Adapting Michael Walzer's schema,[39] one can plot a progression along a continuum from state coercion, through intolerance, to toleration, to rights, and finally, furthest along the continuum, an enthusiastic endorsement of diversity and difference (Figure 12.1).

For 500 years, Europe and North America travelled along this continuum, until today not only are individual rights of conscience and freedom of religion constitutionally entrenched, but minorities with distinct cultures, like French Canadians, also have their cultural rights protected. Indigenous communities in Canada have treaty rights recognized and reinterpreted. Canada, like America, inherited the sectarian disputes of Europe, but in recent generations has largely left such cleavages far behind in creating a new rights-oriented multicultural society. Europe has moved beyond even the outer reaches of the Holy Roman Empire

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37   Wedgword, *History and Hope*, 43.
38   Michael Walzer, *On Toleration* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), xi.
39   Walzer, *On Toleration*, 7–11.

to create a Union that stretches from the Atlantic to the Urals with significant institutional protection for rights, minorities, and diversity. It took centuries, but in Europe and North America, there has been a definite transformation from sectarian war to multicultural peace.

12.4   EUROPE'S TRANSFORMATION

In August 1553, a fugitive from the French Holy Inquisition made a mistake: Michael Servetus de Villeneuve (Servetus), a physician of renown, had written articles questioning the Trinity and for that 'sin' had been arrested in Lyons on charges of heresy, and sentenced to death. He escaped, however, and made for Geneva in order to take a boat to Zurich. That was the mistake: Geneva was the fiefdom of John Calvin, an important protestant religious leader. Once recognized, Servetus had to face the same questions from a Protestant court that he had endured from the Inquisition. "To put it mildly," Norman Davis writes, Calvin's conduct towards Servetus was "unchristian."[40] Calvin set aside Geneva's tradition of religious tolerance and Servetus was burned alive, becoming "a symbol of the interdependence of Protestant and Catholic bigotry."[41]

In 1022, King Robert II of France set a precedent by reviving the horrific Roman Imperial custom of burning heretics in his campaign against the Cathar Christians sect.[42] Such alliance between royal power and religious fervour became commonplace in Europe's sectarian age. In Spain, for example, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella initiated the Inquisition in 1481, first against the Jews and then against the Muslims after the fall of Granada in 1492. They petitioned the Pope, who sent out Tomas de Torquemada as Grand Inquisitor: the infamous Spanish Inquisition began as a state-initiated, not church-led, campaign. Queen Isabella initiated the Inquisition in Castile to consolidate her hold on power and it has always been difficult to sort out the complexities of power's dalliance with religion. Then and now, the usual sources of conflict are ambition, greed, and power-lust in the ruling cliques. It is a mistake to look at sectarian violence and attribute its causes solely to religious divides; but it is an equal error to ignore the fact that sectarian wars have, as one of their motivations, religious zeal. Francis I of France in 1535 said about heretics, "if one of the arms of my body was infected with this corruption, I would cut it off."[43] And similar zeal motivated Philip II of Spain who committed his country's treasure and army to the goal of the Catholic Counter-Reformation.[44] Persia has been a central factor in the world's affairs since the days of Cyrus, so it should surprise no one that today's Iran has ambitions in the Gulf and elsewhere. But like Calvin's Geneva, Iran is also ruled by a theocracy and this adds a sectarian element to the conflict that cannot be ignored.

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40   Davis, *Europe*, 493.
41   Ibid., 493.
42   MacCulloch, *Christianity*, 396.
43   Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, I.
44   Geoffrey Parker, *Phillip II* (London: Penguin Group, 1979), 96–116.

Europe's solution to state-sponsored religious crusades was to establish the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio*, which contributed to the evolving concept of state sovereignty. In 1555, the Peace of Augsburg was negotiated between the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and the Lutheran nobles of the Schmalkaldic League. The Peace allowed the princes of the various states making up Charles' empire to select Lutheranism or Roman Catholicism within the domains they controlled. The state could still coerce citizens within its domains but there was now agreement that religious crusades should be outlawed. States sovereignty now had precedence over the idea of a universal church.

This was followed in 1648 by the even more significant Peace of Westphalia which ended the Thirty Years' War, confirmed the Peace of Augsburg (adding Calvinism to the options of cuius regio, eius religio) enshrined state sovereignty and the principle of non-intervention in another country's domestic affairs into international law. Westphalia was only a partial victory for religious toleration (Christians living in principalities where their denomination was not the established church of the ruler's choice were guaranteed the right to practice their beliefs in public under strict regulations and in private at their will). Rulers could still be beastly to their own subjects, as Louis XIV was soon to prove by his revocation of the Edict of Nantes. But Westphalia did contribute to toleration regimes by limiting the likelihood of future religious-inspired disasters like the Thirty Years' War, and by enshrining the principle of non-intervention.

The principle of non-intervention has been a rule of international law since Westphalia. The Friendly Relations Declaration of the UN General Assembly in 1970, for example, states: "No State or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. Consequently, armed intervention and all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the state or against its political, economic and cultural elements, are in violation of international law."[45] This rule is superseded, however, if the Security Council decides that state actions threaten peace and security and in recent years the "responsibility to protect" doctrine has also chipped away at the edifice of state sovereignty.[46]

Non-intervention is unpopular with many, as it is distressing to see regimes systematically oppressing their citizens. Nick Cohen, for example, makes a compelling case for humanitarian intervention in cases where dictators systematically destroy a people, as Saddam Hussein attempted to do against the Kurds. Indeed, as Cohen argued, if George W. Bush and Tony Blair had used the rationale of humanitarian intervention to justify the invasion of Iraq instead of the fallacious threat of weapons of mass destruction, they would not now be accused of manipulating the evidence and misleading their electorates. The subsequent effort to create a democratic Iraq might then have had legitimacy rather than being tainted in the

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45 UN General Assembly, Resolution 26/25, "Declaration of Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations," 24 October 1970, *www.un.org/documents/ga/res/25/ares25.htm*

46 Lloyd Axworthy, *Navigating a New World: Canada's Global Future* (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf. Canada, 2003), 192–193.

eyes of the world by the exaggeration of its champions.[47] But does the recent history of armed intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan give us any confidence that such interventions have not made bad situations worse? Non-intervention has endured as a practice of statecraft because it acts as a shield against the temptation of hubris. Otto von Bismarck, for example, opined that "the Balkans aren't worth the healthy bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier."[48]

In Syria, for example, there are no good options, only least bad ones. Prime Minister Harper of Canada is certainly correct that the al-Assad regime is composed of "thugs" that have committed terrible crimes against their own citizens.[49] But will an al-Qaeda run Syria be any better than an Assad-run Syria? Even taking Mr. al-Assad to the International Criminal Court for his crimes against humanity runs against the logic adopted at the recent G-8 meeting about the paramount importance of ending the civil war with a new transitional government representing all factions, including the Assad regime. Sixty percent of Canadians, for example, disagree that Canada should supply Syrian rebels with military aid[50] and it is likely that most Western publics agree. Alas, in Syria, it is a Shia-Sunni fight (and lately Sunni-Sunni fight), and there is no good reason that Canada (or anyone else) should pick one religious group over another.[51] What we should be doing is giving all the humanitarian aid we can to help the thousands of refugees displaced by the war, while trying to persuade countries like Russia to abide by the principle of non- intervention and by urging, as the G-8 has done,[52] a political and diplomatic resolution to the civil war. The Harper government's policy of military non-intervention in the Syrian civil war is the right one.

Russia has been much criticized for the role it has played in Syria. However, in September 2013, President Putin brokered one constructive agreement. As the United States, France, and others were preparing possible air strikes to punish Syria for the alleged use of chemical agent sarin, Russia obtained Syria's agreement to comply with the Chemical Weapons Convention. Russia and the United States negotiated a "Framework for Elimination of Syrian Chemical Weapons," and the Assad regime promised to destroy its chemical weapons arsenal by June 2014. The Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons is organizing and

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47 Nick Cohen, *What's Left?: How Liberals Lost Their Way* (London: Fourth Estate, 2007), 284-285.

48 Emil Ludwig, *Bismarck: The Story Of A Fighter*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1927), 511. Bismarck also presciently forecast that the next "great European War will come out of some damned foolish thing in the Balkans."

49 Jason Fekete. "Harper Announces $115M in Aid for Syria as Leaders Spar with Putin over 'Brutal Assad Regime'," *National Post*, 7 June 2013. *http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/06/17/lets-be-blunt-russias-stance-on-syria-changes-g8-to-g7-plus-one-harper-says/*

50 Carl Meyer. "Low Canadian support for arming Syrian rebels, poll finds," Embassy, 20 June 2013. *http://www.embassynews.ca/news/2013/06/20/low-canadian-support-for-arming-syrian-rebels-poll-finds/44066*

51 This argument is forcefully made by two well-known experts in Canadian foreign policy, Derek H. Burney and Fen Osler Hampson, in "Five Reasons to Stay out of Syria," *Globe and Mail*, 19 June 2013. They say "Canada does not have a dog in this fight." An equally distinguished analyst, Paul Heinbecker, takes the opposite view making the moral argument that "with every passing day, the slaughter of the innocent has increased and the cost of inaction grown," in his article "Every Day, the Costs of Inaction Grow," *Globe and Mail*, 18 June 2013.

52 Paul Waldie, "Tight smiles, Different Views on Syria," *The Globe and Mail*, 18 June 2013.

monitoring the implementation of the agreement. Diplomacy has prevented an escalation of the crisis.

In opposing sectarian crusades — its original rational — the principle of non-intervention still retains special validity. A state that seeks to encourage sectarian disputes across its borders by supplying arms, money, and volunteers is clearly in violation of international law and subject to sanctions. In 1648, Westphalia tried to contain religious conflict by limiting the ability of rulers to exploit it. That restraint is as much needed today as it was then.

States who give in to the temptation to fuel sectarian passions for their own ends do so at their peril. The Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) organization sponsored the fanatical Taliban as their agent in Afghanistan as early as 1994, but today the Taliban are deeply entrenched within Pakistan itself and threaten the integrity of the state that spawned them.[53] Extremist groups with their private militias also know exactly what they are doing when they inflame religious passions: Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, the former leader of al-Qaeda in Iraq, for example, described the Shia majority in 2004 as "the insurmountable obstacle, the lurking snake, the crafty and malicious scorpion, the spying enemy, and the penetrating venom." His suicide bombers would create mayhem upon the Shias, provoking them: "I mean that targeting and hitting them in [their] religious, political and military depth will provoke them to show the Sunnis their rabies... and bare the teeth of the hidden rancour working in their breasts. If we succeed in dragging them [the Shia] into the arena of sectarian war, it will become possible to awaken the inattentive Sunnis...."[54] States who sup with the sectarian devil may find themselves next on the menu.

European history also demonstrates how private intolerance can be reduced. A critical task is to disband private militias or warlords, a central factor in the Thirty Years' War. Order is the necessary precondition for peaceful coexistence. Once order is gained and crusades are outlawed, reducing private intolerance requires attitude change. The place to start is with the religious leadership itself: the gentle humanism of Erasmus of Rotterdam sought both to educate European church elites and to educate a wider public (Erasmus' book on classical proverbs and moral precepts was the world's first best seller): "What disasters would befall Rome," he wrote, "if ever the supreme pontiffs, the Vicars of Christ, should make the attempt to imitate His life of poverty and toil?"[55] John Locke continued in the same vein in his 1689 *Letter Concerning Toleration*, appealing to the "consciences of those that persecute, torment, destroy, and kill other men upon pretence of religion," whether they have "really embraced the Christian religion in their own hearts?"[56] Debate, dialogue, and mutual learning, starting with religious leaders are avenues to

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53   Carlotta Gall, "Report Says Pakistan Intelligence Agency Exerts Great Sway on Afghan Taliban," *The New York Times*, 13 June 2010. *http://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/14/world/asia/14pstan. html?adxnnl=1&adxnnlx=1368630082-bY70xEj5AlfrSp3Yo3r5Ig*

54   "Zarqawi in His Own Words," *BBC*, 8 June 2006. *http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/5058474.stm*

55   Davis, *Europe*, 478.

56   John Locke, *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, ed. James H. Tully (Indianapolis, Indiana: Hackett Publishing Co., 1983), 23.

dampen the fires of sectarianism. The interfaith dialogues of King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia are an important step in this direction. That is the strategy the InterAction Council also adopted in initiating a series of interfaith meetings on the subject of responsibility (a common theme in all faiths) resulting in the *Universal Declaration of Human Responsibilities* (see Appendix 2).

Elite education is one thing, popular education another. Sectarian outbursts, riots and pogroms disfigured European society well into the Age of Enlightenment. As late as 1780, in London, wage-earners wrecked mass houses, embassies and Catholic schools. Theological distinctions were lost on the crowd: when urged to only go to Catholic homes, the mob replied, "What are Catholics to us? We are only against Popery!"[57] Benjamin Kaplan concluded that "if toleration had depended on a friendly acceptance of other religions, if it had required an acknowledgement that people had a right to believe and worship as they please, there would have been precarious little of it in early modern Europe."[58]

Tolerance may have been lacking in early modern Europe but toleration practices began to sprout soon after Luther nailed his 95 Theses to the door of Wittenberg Castle. A Polish Jesuit wrote in 1592 about Calvinists, for example, that "heresy is bad but they are good neighbours and brethren."[59] To keep the peace local communities began experimenting with a variety of accommodations and regulations to lessen conflict: public festivals and parades invited trouble so these were strictly regulated, but private worship was allowed. Religious minorities were allowed to cross borders to worship on neighbouring estates (90 percent of Vienna's nobles were protestant in the 1570s, and they were allowed services outside the city walls).[60] Many cities had an equal number of Catholics and Protestants in city government with autonomy for religious leaders to govern internal affairs. The 1598 Edict of Nantes, for example, negotiated by Henry IV of France, granted the Huguenots (Calvinist Protestants) guaranteed protection from the Inquisition and granted the Protestants safe havens such as La Rochelle, where Protestant city governments could govern themselves, while reaffirming Catholicism as the established religion of France with protestant agreement to respect Catholic holidays. The Edict of Nantes did not guarantee individual freedom of religion but gave to the Huguenots a guaranteed corporate privileged status with their own churches and fortified towns. This was group protection, not individual rights.

More successful than the Edict of Nantes — lasting 500 years, not 100 — but based on the same approach, was the millet system of the Ottoman Empire. Voltaire advised: "look at the Great Turk. He governs Guebres, Banians, Green Christians, Nestorians, Romans. The first who tried to stir up tumult would be impaled and everyone is at peace."[61] Only Muslims had full citizenship in the Ottoman Empire, but in exchange for paying a special tax Jews, Greek, and Armenian Christians had

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57   Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, 262.
58   Ibid., 218.
59   Ibid., 251.
60   Ibid., 145.
61   Voltaire, "Philosophical Dictionary," 213.

their own laws, courts, places of worship, and officials. There was no individual right of conscience and strict prohibition on proselytizing, but each millet enjoyed legal protection and was self-governing.

Will Kymlicka writes that the millet system did not have human rights at its core, for it did not allow individual dissent within the prescribed communities but "it was generally humane and tolerant of group differences."[62] European tolerance regimes were largely built on such group rights.

Europe also championed during the same era a model of individual rights of conscience that eventually has become the norm worldwide (as witnessed by the massive adoption of UN human rights treaties). In 1568, the Transylvania Diet of the Kingdom of Hungary declared in the Edict of Torda that "ministers should everywhere preach and proclaim [the Gospel] according to their understanding of it."[63] Poland-Lithuania was a major power in this period and the Warsaw Diet in 1573, unanimously approved a clause on religious freedom: "We who differ with regard to religion will keep the peace with one another."[64] Poland became known as a state without stakes.

The Hungarian and Polish declarations on religious freedom were eventually overturned, but more long-lasting were the rights-oriented traditions of Amsterdam. After winning its freedom from Spain in the sixteenth century, the Dutch Republic opened its borders to Jews and dissenters. Expelled from his synagogue for heresy, for example, Baruch Spinoza stayed in Holland, and in his philosophical tracts argued that individuals are duty bound to interpret and accept religious dogmas according to their own understanding. Love of truth, Spinoza wrote, is more important than religion.[65]

As Spinoza, Locke and Voltaire were winning the war of ideas on behalf of freedom of conscience, legislative successes began to follow, especially in the New World. The Bay Colony of Massachusetts was a theocracy of puritans: it flogged and hanged Quakers and was the locale of the infamous 1692 Salem Witch Trials. Roger Williams immigrated to Boston in 1631 to become a minister, but was banished in 1635 for speaking "diverse, new and dangerous opinions." He established a settlement nearby in Rhode Island. Religious tolerance was among his "new and dangerous opinions," even for Jews and Muslims. In 1647, Rhode Island proclaimed that: "all men walk as their conscience persuades them, everyone in the name of God."[66] In 1663, Charles II approved Rhode Island's colonial charter, which guaranteed that individuals were free to practice the religion of their choice without interference from government. The colonies of Maryland and Pennsylvania followed Rhode Island's lead in legislating for greater religious freedom. Thomas Jefferson, reflecting on the consensus for toleration that had taken root in America, wrote in 1781: "it does me no injury for my neighbour to say there are twenty gods, or no

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62   Will Kymlicka, "Two models of Pluralism and Tolerance," in *Toleration: an elusive virtue*, ed. David Heyd (Princeton, NJ : Princeton University Press, 1996), 83.
63   MacCulloch, *Christianity*, 640.
64   Ibid., 643.
65   Comte-Sponville, *Small Treatise*, 209.
66   MacCulloch, *Christianity*, 640.

god. It neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg."[67] In 1798, the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution established nationwide the freedom of religion that Roger Williams had fought for: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

If the United States was in the forefront of nations enshrining constitutional protection of the rights and freedoms of religion and conscience, Canada has moved far to achieve Michael Walzer's "enthusiastic endorsement of difference,"[68] one that offers to individual men and women the choices that make this autonomy meaningful. This is the furthest stop along the toleration continuum. Like the colonies in the United States, Canada was heir to the old world's sectarian disputes: Ultramontanism was so strong in Quebec that bishops condemned liberals, and anti-Catholicism was so powerful a political force that in 1890, Manitoba broke its constitutional commitment to support Catholic and French-speaking schools. But Canada has moved towards achieving a "just society"[69] with federalism balancing power between the central government and the provinces; a Charter of Rights and Freedoms that includes language guarantees; section 35 of the Constitution committing to respect existing treaty rights of Canada's Aboriginal peoples; and section 27 protecting multiculturalism: "This Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canada."

Social and economic programs in Canada complement the legal protection of minorities. Sectarianism flourishes when social and economic inequalities are aligned with ethnicity and religion. Religious sect and disadvantaged class is a powerful cocktail. Through constitutionally guaranteed equalization payments to the provinces, Canada seeks the equality of public service provision while assisting low-income Canadians directly through the Guaranteed Income Supplement and the Child Tax Benefit. Devolution of power, constitutional guarantees for minorities, and significant assistance for the disadvantaged have helped dampen, although not extinguished completely, the fires of Canadian sectarianism that burned so fiercely in the nineteenth century.[70]

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67   Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, 70. Many, of course, still disagreed with the American argument for freedom of religion. As late as 1864, for example, Pope Pius IX issued the *Syllabus of Errors*, which declared it is not true that "man may, in the observance of any religion whatever, find the way to eternal salvation." In 1965 in *Dignitatis Humanae*, the Vatican Council, however, declared "that the human person has a right to religious freedom." In words that Erasmus would have cheered, the Council preferred "its believe that it is upon the human conscience that these obligations fall and exert their binding force. The truth cannot impose itself except by virtue of its own truth, as it makes its entrance into the mind at once quietly and with power."

68   Walzer, *On Toleration*, 11.

69   Thomas S. Axworthy and Pierre Elliott Trudeau, eds., *Towards a Just Society: The Trudeau Years* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1990).

70   Graeme Hamilton. "Quebec values charter sparks intolerant tone ahead of public hearings," *National Post*, January 9, 2014 *http://fullcomment.nationalpost.com/2014/01/09/graeme-hamilton-quebec-values-charter-sparks-intolerant-tone-ahead-of-public-hearings* The Parti Québécois government of the province of Quebec, for example, has recently raised a storm with its September 2013 introduction of a charter of Quebec values to prohibit the wearing of religious symbols like hijabs, turbans or kippahs in the public service. Yves Michaud a PQ stalwart has said that any public servant that does not want to remove these religious symbols should leave the province. Opponents of the Quebec charter accuse the Parti Québécois of cynically promoting a sectarian wedge issue that is sure to be challenged in the Canadian courts as unconstitutional if the charter passes the Quebec legislature.

12.5   SECTARIANISM IN TODAY'S MUSLIM WORLD

Sectarianism may have declined in Europe and North America but it is still a force to be reckoned with in much of the world, most notably the Middle East. The Pew Research Center commissioned surveys in 2010, 2012, and 2013 on the attitudes of today's Muslims on a host of issues, many of them relevant to the theme of toler-ance.[71] The most recent study in April 2013, for example, released findings for 38,000 interviewees of Muslim belief in 39 countries: the three Muslim countries not surveyed — Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Sudan — are among the most Sharia compliant countries in the world so the results, if anything, skew towards the centre.[72]

The results of the Pew study are mixed (as one would expect from a survey spanning 39 countries). Positive results show that democracy is favoured by Muslim majorities almost everywhere: in 31 of the 37 countries where the question was asked, at least half of Muslims believed a democratic government rather than a leader with a strong hold is best able to address problems: 81 percent of Lebanese Muslims, 66 percent of Nigeria's Muslims, and 55 percent of Egyptian Muslims favour democracy (only in Afghanistan and Pakistan do majorities not favour the democratic option).[73] Similar results obtain for the principle of religious freedom — Muslims generally say they are free to practice their religion, and most also believe that non-Muslims are free to practice their faiths. And among those who believe non-Muslims are free to practice their faith, the prevailing opinion is that this is a good thing: in Turkey, for example, 78 percent of Muslims believe they are free to practice their faith. Fifty-eight percent believe people of other faiths are free to do so, and of those, 89 percent say it is a good thing.[74] Support for making Sharia the official law of the land is very large (99 percent in Afghanistan, 84 percent in Pakistan, and 83 percent in Morocco),[75] but among Muslims who support Sharia, there are nuances. Most do not believe that it should be applied to non-Muslims: in Pakistan, for example, where over 80 percent favour Sharia law, 64 percent say it should apply only to Muslims (Egypt is the outlier here where 74 percent say Sharia should apply to all regardless of faith).[76]

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[71]   See The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life studies (*http://www.pewforum.org/Topics/Religious-affiliation/Muslim*), "Tolerance and Tension: Islam and Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa," 2010; "The World's Muslims: Unity and Diversity," 2012; and "The World's Muslims: Religion, Politics and Society," 2013. The survey was conducted in two waves: 15 sub-Saharan African countries with substantial Muslim populations were surveyed in 2008-2009, and some of those findings were analyzed in the Pew Forum report, "Tolerance and Tension: Islam and Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa." An additional 24 countries in Africa, Asia and Europe were surveyed in 2011-2013. The data was combined and published in the subsequent reports, "The World's Muslims: Unity and Diversity," in August 2012, and "The World's Muslims: Religion, Politics and Society," in April 2013. The figures cited refer only to the Muslim portion of the populations in the countries discussed.

[72]   *The World's Muslims: Religion, Politics and Society*, The Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, 30 April 2013. *http://www.pewforum.org/the-worlds-muslims-2013.aspx*, 9.

[73]   Ibid., 60.

[74]   Ibid.,62-3.

[75]   Ibid., 18.

[76]   Ibid., 48.

But there are equal grounds for alarm: Most Muslims decry extremists — at least half of Muslims in 22 of the 36 countries where the question was asked say they are concerned about extremists (68 percent in Iraq, 67 percent in Egypt, and 56 percent in Pakistan),[77] but in a few countries, substantial minorities believe suicide bombings can be justified (40 percent of Palestinians, 39 percent in Afghanistan, and 29 percent in Egypt).[78] Some nations are very worried about religious conflict: 68 percent of Lebanese, 65 percent of Tunisians, and 60 percent of Nigerian Muslim citizens believe religious conflict is a big problem in their countries.[79] Sunni-Shia tensions are also evident: 53 percent of Egyptian Sunnis, for example, say that Shias are not Muslims.[80] 50 percent of Egyptian Muslims also believe that Christians are hostile to Muslims, and 35 percent believe that Muslims are hostile to Christians.[81]

One root cause of sectarian tension is ignorance of others, and the Pew studies show that many Muslims are unfamiliar with Christian beliefs. Only 22 percent of Egyptian Muslims, 34 percent of Nigerian Muslims, and 38 percent of Lebanese Muslims say they know a great deal or something about Christian beliefs and practices.[82] Not surprisingly, Muslims in those countries believe that Christians are very different and have little in common with Muslims (56 percent of Egyptians, 45 percent of Nigerians and 57 percent of Lebanese say their beliefs are very different).[83] But Muslims who say they know at least something about Christianity are more likely than those with less knowledge to believe the two faiths have something in common. In Tunisia, for example, 68 percent of Muslims who say they know something about Christianity say Islam and Christianity share a lot in common. But among Tunisian Muslims who are less familiar with Christianity, only a quarter say the two religions share common ground.[84] Lack of knowledge amongst faith adherents is very high, but where knowledge is present, there is an understanding that what unites religions is more important than what divides.

The religious divide evident in the Pew findings have recently become a political force of terrifying intensity. When the Arab Spring revolt began in 2011, Iran's Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei made a pan-Islamic appeal declaring "it is not an issue of Shia or Sunni. It is the protest of a nation against oppression."[85] But a scant two years later, Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah declared to his Shia supporters (Hezbollah originally was created by Iran as a Shia proxy in Lebanon), that the Syrian war is "our battle."[86] This declaration of Shia solidarity, in turn, led to a fatwa by the Qatar-based Sunni spiritual leader, Yusef al-Qaradawi, characterizing the Syrian conflict as an aspect of the ongoing struggle between "100 million Shia"

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77   Ibid., 68.
78   Ibid., 29.
79   Ibid., 114.
80   *The World's Muslims: Unity and Diversity*, The Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, August 9, 2012, *http://www.pewforum.org/Muslim/the-worlds-muslims-unity-and-diversity-1-religious-affiliation.aspx*, 9.
81   Ibid., 116.
82   Ibid., 118.
83   Ibid., 120.
84   Ibid., 122.
85   Abdo, *New Sectarianism*, 1.
86   Gary C. Gambill. "Syria will be Iran's Stalingrad," *National Post*, June 18, 2013, A15.

and "1.2 billion [Sunni] Muslims."[87] What we are witnessing with the Middle East today is an example of the action-reaction theorem first described by Thucydides' Peloponnesian War: "what made the war inevitable was the growth of Athenian power and the fear which this caused in Sparta."[88] Thus the Shia success in Iraq in 2006-2007 led King Abdullah II of Jordan to warn Sunnis of the coming "Shia Crescent" across the region, and this fear defined in religious terms, in turn, is now felt by many Shia and other minorities in Syria, as they confront Sunni militants.[89] The fear-action-reaction-counter reaction is one of the truisms of international relations: this downward spiral destroyed classical Greece and it is well on its way to doing the same in today's Middle East.

12.6 CONCLUSION

Sectarianism is one of the most destructive forces in world politics. But the conflicts of today pale in comparison with the era of religious wars in Europe from 1500 to 1700. Europe and its heirs in North America have largely ended sectarian disputes by focusing both on tolerance or attitude change, and toleration regimes that initially developed rules for maintaining peaceful co-existence, leading, after centuries, to the human rights protections we enjoy today. Lessons from the West's journey from sectarianism to tolerance include the following.

12.6.1 Tolerance

- It is necessary to focus first on religious leaders and to make the case that strong belief is perfectly compatible with tolerance for other people's views. Surveys that show that a majority of Egyptian Muslim Sunnis do not believe Shias to be fellow Muslims, or that Christians are hostile to Islam, for example, demonstrating the need to engage the religious leadership of that critical Muslim country. Indeed, across the region, the mosque is a critical institution for the expression of opinion. In the authoritarian era of the Middle East, which lasted for years until the recent Arab Spring, the mosque was one of the few institutions independent of government. Attention to the schools that prepare faith leaders, and then dialogue between the leaders of different faiths is a slow but constructive step in moving from intransigence to mutual learning. All faiths in their extreme form carry the germ of tyranny; only with debate and a willingness to engage with fanaticism can we cure the illness.

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87   Ibid.
88   Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, trans. Richard Crawley (New York: J.M. Dent / E.P. Dutton, 1910), 1: 23.
89   Abdo, *New Sectarianism*, 4.

- Over time, the Lockes, Spinozas, and Voltaires won the war of ideas over toleration and it is necessary for rights-based organizations and governments committed to human rights to be vigilant when standards fall. Human rights are universal, not relative. States must be held to the principles of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

- It is important to stress the common ethical base of all world religions (do unto others as you would have done unto you) so that what unites members of different faiths becomes more important than what divides them. In this regard, the InterAction Council's initiative of a *Universal Declaration of Human Responsibilities* (Appendix 2), should be passed by the UN General Assembly as a complementary charter to the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The interfaith dialogue of King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia should equally command wide support.

- Extremism of all kinds is available on the internet. UNESCO should take the lead in preparing a popular education series that promotes the common ethical base of all world religions and then use YouTube, iTunes' university and the World Wide Web to ensure that ethics are promoted at least as heavily as fanaticism. The research from Pew shows that most Muslims know little about Christianity (and Christians almost certainly know little about Islam), but if they do, this strengthens beliefs that the two religions share much. The age old strategy of education bringing about tolerance works, but it has to be tried. This point is brought home by Muhammad Faour in a May 2013 Carnegie Middle East Center paper, *A Review of Citizenship Education in Arab Nations*. Faour writes that Arab countries have set ambitious goals for education reform and citizen promotion, such as introducing concepts like democracy and human rights, but in practice "Arab nations have taken very few steps to make these goals a reality and to prepare young people for the transitions ahead."[90] This paper points out the old truth that saying it is not the same as doing it.

12.6.2 Toleration

- States that promote sectarian violence outside their borders should be brought before the UN Security Council for threatening the peace and security of the world system. States that continue to finance terrorism or sectarian violence must equally be censored. The International Monetary Fund, for example, has criticized Kuwait for doing little to criminalize terrorist financing and for its loose regulatory regime on money

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[90]   Muhammad Faour, *A Review of Citizenship Education in Arab Nations*, Carnegie Middle East Centre, 20 May 2013. *http://carnegie-mec.org/2013/05/20/review-of-citizenship-education-in-arab-nations/g5bd*, 1.

laundering.[91] The U.S. Treasury Department has stated that both Kuwait and Qatar have "unfortunately become permissive environments for extremist fundraising."[92]

- Private militias, often using religion as a cover to execute their mayhem, must be disbanded and states facing such insurgencies should be assisted.

- Human rights may be the ideal, but peaceful co-existence is a necessary step to get there. Where sectarian disputes are evident and there is not sufficient tolerance to enforce a human rights regime, states should work with faith communities to think through rules to ensure peaceful coexistence.

- The world is full of different models to protect minorities and devolve power; federalism, constitutional protection and rights, electoral systems to reduce sectarian disputes, etc. Where sectarian parties exist, one interesting experiment is citizen juries, randomly selected outside of the party framework and constituted to give non-partisan advice to the authorities.[93] Some national dialogues include both representatives of the parties, important national groups, and citizens randomly selected. The goal must be to raise the sights from sectarian advantage to the public good.

- While motivated by religious differences, the social and economic roots of sectarianism cannot be ignored. Programs committed to economic and social equality are as critical to reducing extremism and violence as legal guarantees.

- The Hippocratic Oath of 'above all do no harm' is a persuasive argument for the continued relevance of military non-intervention as a general guide to policymakers. Non-intervention is not an absolute — in a crisis like the Rwandan genocide, a brief military intervention might have saved thousands of lives. But in a sectarian war like Syria, with no good options, what would a military intervention by outsiders achieve? The Assad regime could certainly be overturned but would it be replaced by anything better? Prudence is a virtue that goes together very well with tolerance.

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91   *Kuwait: Detailed Assessment Report on the Anti-Money Laundering and Combating the Financing of Terrorism* (Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund, 2011), No. 11/2.

92   Samuel Rubenfeld, "Kuwait, Qatar Criticized as Terror Finance Hubs," Wall Street Journal, 8 September 2011. *http://blogs.wsj.com/corruption-currents/2011/09/08/kuwait-qatar-criticized-as-terror-finance-hubs*

93   See for example R. Kenneth Carty, Patrick Fournier, Henk Van Der Kolk, André Blais, and Jonathan Rose. *When Citizens Decide: Lessons from Citizen Assemblies on Electoral Reform: Lessons from Citizen Assemblies on Electoral Reform*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), for the Canadian experience on using citizen assemblies for electoral reform.

It took centuries for Europe to close its religious divide. Learning from that experience, we can address sectarianism both by changing attitudes (tolerance) and conditions (toleration). Tolerance and toleration regimes eventually moved religious disputes from the centre of European politics to the periphery (except in a few regions like Northern Ireland). Many issues contend in the public policy agenda: because faith in the divine is a private matter, religion should not be one of them. As the poet John Dryden wrote as the process of toleration was evolving in Europe:

> *"Faith is not built on disquisitions vain.*
> *The things we must believe, are few and plain*
> *[...] Than by Disputes the publick Peace disturb.*
> *For points obscure are of small use to learn:*
> *But* **Common quiet** *is* **Mankind's concern**.*"[94]*

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94   John Dryden, *Dryden — Poetry, Prose and Plays*, Selected (London: Rupert Hart Davis, 1952), 163-174.

CHAPTER 13

The Risks of Sectarianism

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13.1   INTRODUCTION

Sectarian conflict is rife around the world. From the Balkans to the Middle East and from the Indian sub-continent to the heart of Africa, mankind is divided by ethnic, creedal, and political differences.

Rather than analyse each one, it is apposite to allow an example from literature to stand as a part for the whole. In *Romeo and Juliet*, William Shakespeare portrays the conflict between the Montague and Capulet families in Verona. The cause of the enmity is never mentioned. It appears to date back so far that its origins are never mentioned. The 'grudge' is 'ancient.' This is frequently the case with sectarian conflicts. Enmity has become an end in itself, when the cause for it has been forgotten. It is frequently inexplicable to the outsider. An example of this is the Sunni-Shi'ite divide within Islam, which has its origins in the schism that followed the death of Mohammad in 632. The Loyalist parades that take place in Northern Ireland each July 12, commemorate the victory of the forces of the Protestant King William III over those of the Catholic King James II at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. In the Republic of Ireland until quite recently, the divide between the two major parties appeared to be based around the stance they had taken on the Treaty with Great Britain and the subsequent Civil War in 1922.

Another feature of sectarian conflict is that innocent victims are almost inevitably drawn in. This is the case with Mercutio, who is drawn into a quarrel that

is not his. His final verdict on the conflict, "A plague on both your houses," must be regarded as that of many of those who are inadvertently drawn into sectarian conflicts. Resolution can come when the antagonists are simply too exhausted to continue the conflict, or when the depths of the tragedy make them reluctant to continue it. This is the effect experienced by the Montagues and Capulets when they lose their children, who are victims of the conflict between them. They resolve their differences and vow lasting amity. Yet the resolution is made within the terms of the higher authority of the Prince. It is within such recognition of an overall power above the sectarian strife that the hope of such resolution may often be rooted.

13.2   SECTARIANISM

Most, perhaps all, countries have them; Americans tell Polish jokes; Canadians, 'Newfie' jokes; Germans, Schleswig-Holstein jokes; and the poor Belgians are the butt of both the French and the Dutch. It seems a universal practice. Perhaps the ancient Greeks told Macedonian jokes; the Romans, Etruscan ones; and the Egyptians, Nubian jokes. Even those who are the butts of such 'humour' indulge in the practice. The British tell Irish jokes. The Irish tell much the same jokes, but the subjects are Kerrymen, while the Belgians tell Limburg jokes.

While to many, the practice of telling such jokes may be mildly offensive, to wage a campaign to eradicate them would probably be treated generally as laughable — political correctness taken to a ludicrous degree. Yet the fact remains that while the ethnic joke is, in the main, relatively harmless, it is a clear manifestation of sectarianism: an attempt to dehumanise the recipients by making them appear unintelligent to the point of absurdity. Their existence represents an accepted face of something more disturbing.

Like the ethnic joke, the sectarianism that it represents is a universal phenomenon. There are few societies in which it has not existed, either in a relatively harmless form of ethnic humour as described above, or, at worst, internecine strife. It may be broadly defined as the process through which ethnic and/or religious differences become forms of cultural identity to the detriment of the wider society. Frequently it represents antagonisms between sets of people who appear virtually identical to the outsider, focused as it often is between different factions of a religion or ethnicity. It is frequently based on a historic experience, as with the conflict between Republicans and Loyalists in Northern Ireland, or that between Sunni and Shi'a in the Islamic world. Even if the outsider is able to grasp the original cause of the tension, he is usually at a loss to understand why something that happened centuries ago should be treated as if it occurred yesterday. Still less is he able to grasp why sectarianism is regarded as a cause worth dying for.

Much historic sectarianism in Europe dates from the religious and political tensions created by the Reformation. Medieval Christendom may not have represented a perfect unity of mind and spirit, but there is little doubt that it represented a norm of shared values and attitudes. It is a generalisation to say that temporal loyalty was the prerogative of the prince; spiritual loyalty that of the Church. In fact, the Church claimed considerable secular powers, and a great deal of the religious turmoil of the Reformation era was charged by the desire of princes to gain control of the spiritual arena. This they frequently achieved. The example of Henry VIII's foundation of a state church in England is well known. The suborning of the spiritual power of the papacy toward the monarchy led to the emergence of a state system that reserved all powers for itself. This move toward authoritarianism was not restricted to Protestant monarchs. The often not fully understood theory of the Divine Right of Kings was ensuring a similar process in France, where maximum power was to be seized by the monarchy. In 1516, in the Concordat of Bologna, the Pope gave the French King[1] the right to nominate bishops, although this was in effect a formal recognition of a centuries-old practice. Similar arrangements were in force for the rulers of the Hapsburg and Portuguese empires. Often religion was used as the pretext for the political and financial process. This was certainly the case with Henry VIII whose seizure of monastic lands enhanced the Royal Treasury, but cut off a vital welfare resource for the poor. The support of many of the German princes for the Protestant reformers was similarly motivated.

Yet it is not sufficient to write off the Reformation as a mere shift of power. It was a time of vibrant religious controversy, with many factions emerging. It would surely be a diversion to delineate such movements minutely. Suffice it to say that the zeal of the reformers was sincere and that it was theologically based. Quite frequently it also represented a threat to the new status quo, whatever it may have been. Equally threatening to the new Protestant powers was the revived Catholic Church of the Counter Reformation. Thus, broadly speaking, by the mid-sixteenth century, the former medieval Christendom had divided into three:

1. The Catholic Church, which dominated many of the countries of Southern and Eastern Europe and had a varying presence in virtually all the newly Protestant lands.

2. The Anglican and Lutheran state churches in England and many of the German and Scandinavian lands, where an Anglican or Lutheran state church had been established.

3. The various churches and sects of the Protestant Reformation, which exercised power in Geneva, Holland, and Scotland and had a varying presence in most of Western Europe.

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1 Joseph Bergin, *The Making of the French Episcopate 1589-1661*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 51.

Against this background, it must be added that religious and political pluralism were concepts that were dimly perceived, if perceived at all throughout most of Europe. To adhere to a religious persuasion that was not that of the monarch was considered treasonous. The field was ripe for the growth of sectarianism. Wars of religion ensued in France, Germany, England, Scotland, and Ireland.

13.3 ENGLAND 1535 TO THE PRESENT DAY: THE DECLINE OF SECTARIANISM

In England, the Anglican Church has established a reputation as a moderate institution. It was not founded as such. It is true that what John Henry Newman was to call the 'via media of the Anglican Church' was established in a spirit of compromise, born of a desire to devise a form of the Christian religion around which the maximum number of Englishmen could congregate. Those who could not so congregate were persecuted with the full rigour of the law.

Two Acts of Parliament were passed in 1559 that made it, to put it mildly, difficult to be both a loyal Catholic and a loyal subject of the Queen. The Act of Supremacy abolished Papal authority over the Church in England and imposed an oath obliging any person taking public or church office to swear allegiance to the monarch as 'the only supreme governor of this realm.' Most Catholics would have had no difficulty in accepting that as an expression of the Queen's secular authority, but the next phrase defined this authority as being 'as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or clauses.' Some Catholics sought to equivocate on the oath by declaring that it could not be a sin to swear an invalid oath, but for men of conscience the situation was impossible.

It was possible for Catholics to avoid the oath, simply by being elsewhere when it was administered, or avoiding any kind of office that required the oath to be taken. The oath was supported, however, by an Act of Uniformity, passed in the same year, which instituted a progressive scale of penalties to be imposed on those failing to attend Anglican services or found to be attending Catholic ones. These began with a fine of one shilling, but could end in a charge of High Treason.

The Act of Uniformity made Mass an illegal form of worship and restored the 1552 Book of Common Prayer. It was deliberately vague about the significance of Holy Communion. The thought that Christian doctrine could be formulated by compromises in Parliament would have been anathema to any devout Catholic who would recognise an Apostolic continuity with the faith of the early fathers of the Church.

The matter was eloquently expressed by the Catholic martyr Edmund Campion in his speech from the dock after he was condemned to death: "In condemning us, you condemn your own ancestors. You condemn all the ancient Bishops and Kings. You condemn all that was once the glory of England."

A century-long orgy of destruction was taking place: nothing less than the sixteenth century equivalent of Mao Tse-tung's 'Cultural Revolution.' England had been a Catholic country for a thousand years. Now the 'Elizabethan Settlement' sought to revive the work that had been begun in the reign of Edward VI: to abolish all trace of Catholicism from the fabric of English life. The stone Altars that expressed the Sacrifice of the Mass were broken up and replaced by Communion Tables that represented the new theology. Rood screens and reredoses were demolished: altarpieces and vestments burnt, wall paintings whitewashed over, stained glass smashed, and chalices melted down. At New College, Oxford, the magnificent stained glass only survived to posterity because the Fellows claimed they had no money to replace it. The great processions on the Feast of Corpus Christi, with their Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, were banned — as were the many local festivals in honour of the patronal saint. An entire culture was lost. Whereas, Catholic Europe has a rich heritage of medieval art, in Britain, it is all but gone.

Equally devastating was the destruction of the social system that had brought dignity to all men. Historically, the Church had provided an educational system of surprising universality: the surest path into the echelons of society for young men from poorer backgrounds was through her hierarchy. The monastic system had provided sustenance to the poor and the destitute in their needs. Now the resources of these philanthropic communities were plundered for the avarice of the rich and powerful. The number of people living in abject poverty was increasing. Thus it became necessary to enact no less than five Poor Laws between 1563 and 1601, detailing the treatment of the impoverished.

The question has to be asked concerning the motivation of the Elizabethan authorities in inflicting such traumas on the English people. Without a doubt there was a strong and sincere Protestant party within the nation, who must have regarded their ideology as an idea whose time had come. The more extreme variety of this manifestation — the Puritans — at best saw Elizabeth's Settlement as an interim stage towards the rule of the Saints. In their millennium there would be no Bishops and a congregational system of church government. Ironically, it was this party that ultimately represented the greatest threat to the survival of the monarchy and the Catholic party, which was to be amongst its most loyal supporters.

It was not only Roman Catholics who felt the weight of the law against religious dissent. In April 1594, the Congregationalists — John Perry, Henry Barrow, and John Greenwood — were hanged on charges of 'devising and circulating seditious books.' The books in question were written by Robert Brown, whose name was synonymous with Separatism.[2] All three of the condemned were Cambridge scholars.

It was the intricate tie-up between theology and governance that sealed the fate of the Cambridge scholars. Separatism was a belief in the separation of Church and State. It was thereby a denial of the monarch's supremacy concerning matters of faith and doctrine. On 11 May 1593, what the Privy Council called "divers lewd

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2   William Shakespeare was familiar with Brown's persona. 'I had as lief be a Brownist as a politician,' Sir Andrew Aguecheek declares in *Twelfth Night*.

and mutinous libels," intended to inflame opinion against Protestant refugees from France and Holland, had been posted on the walls of the Dutch church at Austin Friars[3] and ere in the city of London. Through a strange set of coincidences, suspicion fell on the playwright, Christopher Marlowe. The authorities raided the lodgings that Marlowe had previously shared with his fellow playwright, Thomas Kyd. Nothing was found to link either man with the posters, but the investigator uncovered what was described as "Vile heretical conceits denying the eternal deity of Jesus Christ found among the papers of Thomas Kydd prisoner." The Commissioners investigating the affair were authorised to put to the torture those who "..refuse to confess the truth… and by the extremity thereof to be used at such times and as often as you shall think fit, draw them to discover their knowledge concerning the said libels." When interrogated, Kyd claimed that the papers must have been "shuffled with some of mine (unbeknown to me) by some occasion or writing two years since." In other words, they belonged to Marlowe. A warrant was issued for his arrest on May 18. He appeared before the Privy Council two days later. The charge he faced was tantamount to treason. The Queen's authority derived from her being divinely ordained of Christ. To deny His divinity was to deny her authority.[4]

A greater challenge to that authority came in the same year. A pamphlet was printed in Antwerp entitled, *A Conference About the Next Succession to the Crown of England*. The name of the author was given as R. Doleman, undoubtedly a pseudonym for an exiled Catholic, most probably the Jesuit controversialist, Robert Persons.[5]

The tract opens by defending the thesis that it is within the power of 'the commonwealth' to depose its monarch or to decline the accession of an heir who met with disapproval. This extends the Catholic belief that a monarch who falls short of the requirements of the Faith may be deposed by the will of the Church. It vests such authority in the will of the people. "Propinquity of blood or blood alone, without other circumstances, is not sufficient to be preferred to a crowne … A body ciuil may have diuers heades, by accession, and is not bound euer to one, as a body natural is."

Despite being clearly a piece of Catholic polemic, *A Conference About the Next Succession to the Crown of England* was invoked by the Parliamentary attorneys to justify the deposition of Charles I in 1649. The pamphlet stands in revolutionary contrast to the developing Anglican doctrine of non-resistance, expressed in the *Homily on Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion* of 1569. Its provisos are those of "A Church by Law Established." The rebellion of subjects against their prince was in every circumstance a grievous sin.

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3   The Dutch and French Calvinists were unique in being permitted freedom of worship. This was not a decision taken in the name of religious freedom. Rather it reflected a desire on the part of the authorities to encourage the artisan skills that they possessed. Nevertheless, since it broke with the principle that all should be members of the Church of England, it may be regarded as a step on the road to freedom of worship.

4   Nicholas Fogg, *Hidden Shakespeare* (Stroud: Amberley, 2012), p.126.

5   Peter Holmes, "The Authorship and Early Reception of A Conference About the Next Succession to the Crown of England," *Historical Journal* 23, no. 2 (1980): 415-429.

> Kings and Princes, as well the evil as the good,
> do reign by God's ordinance, and… subjects
> are bound to obey them.

Passive obedience was the attitude to be adopted by the subject towards the unlawful commands of his prince. He was not bound to assist in their execution, but he must not resist them by force. This is expressed in the homily, where the authority of King David ('Good David') is invoked:

- **The demand** What shall we then do to an evil, to an unkind prince, an enemy to us, hated of God, hurtful to the commonwealth &c.

- **The answer** Lay no violent hand upon him, saith good David, but let him live until God appoint and work his end, either by natural death, or in war by lawful enemies, not by traitorous subjects.

Ultimately, the Elizabethan Religious Settlement did not work. It was to be challenged increasingly by the vibrant force of Puritanism, both within and without the Church of England. Elizabeth's successor, James I, who, as James VI was King of Scotland, had been brought up as a Presbyterian, a denomination he had come to dislike intensely. Once removed from the narrow vision and restrictive attitudes of the Kirk, James found the theology of the Church of England deeply appealing, particularly those doctrines that gave him an exalted status as 'the Lord's Anointed.' Thus his main religious contentions when he became King of England were with the Puritan elements in the Church. He had been on the throne but a few months when he was presented with a petition asking that such "outward badges of Popish errours," as absolution, wedding rings, the term 'priest' and the wearing of the surplice be banned. He was resolute in his defence of the Episcopal Bench, that the Puritans sought to abolish. "No Bishop, no King," he told them. "When I mean to live under a presbytery, I will go to Scotland again."

Nevertheless, it was to be the force of Puritanism that was to prevail, albeit relatively briefly. Following the Civil Wars, sparked initially by the attempt of James successor and heir, Charles I, to impose episcopacy on the Scottish Church, the monarchy was overthrown, the King executed, the episcopacy abolished and 'the Rule of the Saints' instituted. This was preceded by a series of debates within the Army ('The Putney Debates') in which political and religious liberty was freely invoked. John Saltmarsh, a Chaplain in General Fairfax's army, argued strongly for religious toleration and liberty of conscience.

> Let there be free debates and open conferences and communication,
> for all and of all sorts that will, concerning difference in spirituals;
> still allowing the state to secure all tumults or disturbances. Where
> doors are not shut, there will be no breaking them open. So where
> debates are free there is a way of vent and evacuation, the stopping
> of which hath caused more troubles in states than anything; for
> where there is much new wine in old bottles the working will be
> such as the parable speaks on.[6]

The protagonists of the Putney debates emphasized the concepts of popular sovereignty, extended suffrage, equality before the law, and religious tolerance. The faction led by Oliver Cromwell disagreed with these sentiments in that they gave too much freedom to the people. They considered that the vote should only be extended to landowners. Thus the Republic that they established proved no friend of liberty. Penal laws against Catholics were extended and Cromwell exercised his rule through a rump of co-religionists ('Independents') before instituting governance through a system of military districts with himself as Commander.

With the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, it was time for those who had supported the parliamentary cause in the Civil Wars to suffer. Four crucial pieces of legislation, known collectively as the Clarendon Code, were passed by the Restoration Parliament. They were designed to restore the hegemony of Church and State that had existed before the rebellion and to suppress dissent from these actions.

The Corporation Act of 1661 required all municipal officials to take Anglican communion. The effect of this act was to exclude dissentients from public office. This legislation was not rescinded until 1828.

The Act of Uniformity of 1662 made the use of the Book of Common Prayer compulsory in religious services. More than 2,000 clergy refused to comply with this and were forced to resign their livings. Clearly the existence of such a large body of dissenters constituted a considerable challenge to the desired status quo. Two further pieces of legislation were passed in an attempt to isolate them. The Conventicle Act of 1664 forbade meetings for unauthorized worship of more than five people who were not members of the same household. "An Act for restraining Non-Conformists from inhabiting in Corporations" was introduced in 1665. This became known as the "Five Mile Act." It forbade clergymen from coming within five miles of incorporated towns or from a parish from which they had been expelled, unless they swore an oath never to resist the king, or attempt to alter the government of Church or State. The latter involved swearing to obey the 1662 prayer book. Thousands of ministers were further deprived under this Act.

The instinct of Charles II was for religious toleration and, to this end, he issued a Royal Declaration of Indulgence in 1672. Parliament forced him to withdraw it, however, and instituted instead the Test Act of 1673. This required anyone entering public office to take communion in the Church of England and to sign a declaration denying the Roman Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation. Thus in theory, at least, membership of Parliament or corporations, the armed

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6   John Saltmarsh, *The Smoke in the Temple* (printed by Ruth Raworth for London: G. Calvert, 1646).

forces, the universities, the judiciary, and many other institutions was restricted to practicing adherents of the Church of England.

Ironically, the very existence of the Clarendon Code and the Test Acts was a tacit recognition that there were bodies of worshippers who did not conform to the Church of England. Religious pluralism was officially sanctioned by the attempts to control and suppress it. Sectarianism became a feature of English life and took an increasingly political form as attempts were made to rescind the repressive measures. Indeed the two great historical political parties, the Tories and the Liberals, were founded on the bedrock of this struggle; the former as defenders of the Established Church, and the latter as advocates of Disestablishment and the Nonconformist cause.

There is little doubt that the regular changes of religious viewpoint in England's rulers produced a flexibility of adherence in many subjects that could verge on schizophrenia. Over the course of 12 reigns or interregnums in the two centuries following Henry VIII's break with Rome, Englishmen had lived with an Established Church in its High and Low forms, revived Catholicism, the Divine Right of Kings, the Rule of the Saints, and Latitudinarianism. Many became skilled at adopting to the changes with alacrity and to their advantage. This is well expressed in the satirical song about the prelate who will remain Vicar of Bray no matter what changes in religious emphasis there may be. The first verse goes:

> In good King Charles's golden days,
> When Loyalty no harm meant;
> A Zealous High-Church man I was,
> And so I gain'd Preferment.
> Unto my Flock I daily Preach'd,
> Kings are by God appointed,
> And Damn'd are those who dare resist,
> Or touch the Lord's Anointed.
> And this is law, I will maintain
> Unto my Dying Day, Sir.
> That whatsoever King may reign,
> I will be the Vicar of Bray, Sir!

A long period of Latitudinarianism dominated the eighteenth century Church of England. This was followed first by the Evangelical Revival and the growth of Methodism and the Anglo-Catholic Revival represented by the Oxford Movement. Each of these aroused great enthusiasm amongst its adherents and great hostility amongst its opponents. As the Church of England lost its position as the sole officially recognized religious institution, so it was torn apart by internal controversies. Its emergence as a kind of umbrella organisation, sheltering all the different factions and parties within it stands in direct contrast to its origins as the purveyor of officially sanctioned religion. It may have been a reaction to the centuries of internal strife, but it represents a manifestation of the decline of sectarianism, not only in the Church — in the nation as a whole.

13.4   THE VESTIGES OF SECTARIANISM — GLASGOW 2013

Scotland is generally considered to have had a history of religious enthusiasm stronger than that of England. In the sixteenth century, it was one of the few countries in Europe to officially embrace Calvinism. The National Covenant of 1581 denounced Roman Catholic doctrines in inflammatory terms. The Covenant was revived in 1638 in response to Charles I's attempts to impose change on the Kirk and led directly to the Civil Wars in the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Immigration from Ireland following the potato famine of 1845 exacerbated anti-Catholic feeling amongst Protestant Scots. Sectarianism grew as an expression of this in a way that did not exist in most other places in Great Britain. In 1923, the Church of Scotland produced a highly controversial (and since repudiated) report entitled *The Menace of the Irish Race to our Scottish Nationality*. It accused the largely immigrant Roman Catholic population of subverting Presbyterian values and of causing drunkenness, crime, and financial imprudence.[7]

In the late nineteenth century, the codification and growth in popularity of association football led to leading clubs being associated with the sectarian divide. Although this was to a lesser extent the case with the Edinburgh Clubs, Heart of Midlothian (Protestant) and Hibernian, which was founded in 1875 by Irish immigrants, support for the clubs is no longer much based on ethnicity or religion.

The sectarian divide continues in Glasgow, although perhaps not as intensely as in previous years. The two leading clubs, Celtic and Rangers, represent the Protestant and Catholic communities respectively. This reflected the parallel tensions in Northern Ireland and, historically, a political divide: Rangers' supporters tending to vote Unionist (Conservative) and Celtic ones, Labour, although this issue is now far from clear-cut, particularly with the rise in strength of the Scottish Nationalist Party. Until relatively recently, Rangers had a policy of never signing a Roman Catholic. Given the number of players that now come to Britain from Catholic countries such as Brazil, Italy, and Spain, the club recognised that it was creating a huge disadvantage for itself in maintaining this policy and has rescinded the ban. The two clubs are known collectively as 'The Old Firm,' an ironic reference to their financial interdependence, despite their mutual hostility.

Disorders amongst fans have continued into recent years. Opposing fans fought an on-pitch battle in the aftermath of Celtic's 1-0 victory in the 1980 Scottish Cup Final. This remains one of the worst invasions of a football pitch ever reported, and was instrumental in alcohol being banned from football grounds in Scotland. It was reportedly the first time since the General Strike of 1926 that the Glasgow police had been ordered to draw their batons.[8]

There was serious disorder during an Old Firm match played in May 1999 at Celtic Park. Several objects were thrown by Celtic fans, one of which struck the referee, forcing the game to be stopped while he received medical treatment. At least

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7   Duncan B. Forrester, "Ecclesia Scoticana - Established, Free, or National?" in *Theology*, 80-89.
8   Kevin McCarra, "Firm Enemies - Rangers and Celtic, 1909-2009," *The Guardian*, 18 May 2009.

four Celtic fans invaded the field of play to confront him during the game and more missiles were thrown at players on the pitch after the game.[9] Since the events of that day, Old Firm matches have normally been played in the early afternoon and the possibility of an Old Firm title decider has been deliberately avoided.[10]

An activist group that monitors sectarian activity in Glasgow has reported that on Old Firm weekends, violent attacks increase nine-fold over normal levels.[11] An increase in domestic abuse can also be attributed to Old Firm fixtures. Strathclyde Police have adopted a policy of targeting known offenders in advance of Old Firm matches and this has led to a 25 percent fall in reported incidents.[12] A freedom of information request found that Strathclyde Police incurred costs of £2.4 million for the seven derbies played during the 2010-11 season, of which the clubs contributed only £0.2 million.[13]

In 2011, Rangers were fined £35,652 and their fans were banned from their next European away fixture, after singing sectarian songs in their Europa League away fixture against FC Eindhoven, a club situated in the predominantly Catholic area of The Netherlands.[14] In 2012, the club was expelled from the Scottish Premier League for financial irregularities. They took their place in Division Three, which they won with ease to begin their slow climb back to the top flight. It remains to be seen what effect their absence will have had on future Old Firm fixtures.

In June 2008, a survey into sectarianism amongst teenagers in Glasgow was published. It was funded by the British Academy. The study aimed to explore how young Glaswegians (aged 16-18) viewed their city; the issues that impacted on their lives and the extent to and ways in which sectarianism influenced them.[15] Qualitative case studies of a cross-section of seven voluntary organisations in some of the most socially deprived areas of Glasgow were conducted.

The survey concluded that, although the activity associated with gangs was not seen as sectarian in terms of promoting open religious bigotry, 'flashpoints' resulted in bigotry being occasionally used as a means of expressing aggression, particularly where alcohol was involved and in the immediate aftermath of an Old Firm game. Most youngsters were extremely influenced by football culture and the Old Firm rivalry, which often fostered memories of historic conflicts related to Northern Ireland.[16]

It is significant that, while the young people did not appear to have much interest in religion, they were conscious of issues related to religious division, which usually arose from football-related discussions with family or friends. Participation

9   "Rangers Make History out of Chaos," *BBC News*, 3 May 1999.
10   Ronnie MacKay "Old Firm is Set to Avoid Title Trouble," *The Scottish Sun*, 10 April 2010.
11   Stephanie France, "Campaigns: Public Awareness - Nil by Mouth fights bigots in Scotland," *PR Week*, 9 March 2001.
12   "Drop in Domestic Abuse Incidents on Old Firm Match Days," *BBC News*, 9 March 2010.
13   "Cost of Policing Old Firm Fixtures was almost £2.4M," *BBC News*, 22 July 2011.
14   "UEFA Fines Rangers and Bans Fans for One Away Game," *BBC Sports*, 28 April 2011.
15   Ross Deucher and Chris Holligan, *Territoriality and Sectarianism in Glasgow: A Qualitative Study* June 2008.
16   Ibid.

in Orange marches[17] and the singing of sectarian songs appeared popular amongst some youngsters. There was evidence to suggest that football bigotry is so much a part of life in Glasgow that it often goes unnoticed. The young people often viewed sectarian humour as harmless banter, and did not consider the impact of online sectarianism or the real meaning of the sectarian language they used. This illustrates that the use of sectarian language and humour may have become so deeply assimilated into these young people's social identity that it has become normalised. This supposition is supported by the fact that the small number of asylum seekers in the sample appeared to notice manifestations of sectarianism more than those who were native to the city. This suggests that sectarian language, crime and bigotry may have become so ingrained in people's minds that it takes a newcomer to really notice that it is there at all.[18]

The sectarian culture had an adverse effect on the young people's lives. Although the idea of 'restricted social space' was not as sharply defined as it tends to be in Northern Ireland, the associated feelings of fear undoubtedly restricted young people's potential for networking, limited their sense of trust and their chances of finding employment later in life.[19]

The publication of this study may have influenced the decision, announced on 27 September 2012, of the Scottish Government to establish an independent advisory group on tackling sectarianism. Its remit is to:

- Develop and analyse a body of empirical evidence to give Scottish Ministers robust and informed advice on the nature, extent and impact of sectarianism on modern Scottish life.

- Assess and monitor current practice to tackle sectarianism and advise Ministers on potential improvements and priorities for public support.

It may be significant that the findings of the survey on the religious commitment of young people shows parallels with the situation where much more serious sectarian violence has occurred than that in Glasgow. The break-up of Yugoslavia in the 1990s, and the civil wars in the Balkans that followed, were tinged with sectarianism. Croats and Slovenes have traditionally been Catholic; Serbs and Macedonians are Orthodox; and many Bosnians and most Kosovans are Muslim. Despite low religious practice, the various groups were marked by their religious affiliation in these conflicts. It would appear that religion is a peg on which to hang sectarian violence long after it has ceased to be the catalyst for the violence itself.

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17   The marches that traditionally take place in Northern Ireland and other places on July 12 to commemorate the victory of William of Orange over the Catholic King James II at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. Irish republican marches use a similar format to memorialize various historical events of Irish republicanism. These include the Wolfe Tone Rebellion of 1798 and the hunger strike in 1981. Each side accuses the other of supporting paramilitary organisations such as the Ulster Defence Force (UDF) and the Irish Republican Army (IRA).
18   Deucher and Holligan, *Territoriality*.
19   Ibid.

Sadly, it is not only in Glasgow that association football provokes institutionalised sectarian violence. In a way that is reminiscent of Britain in the 1970s, violence has become a feature of football in Italy, but there is a difference. Much of the violence in Italy is politically motivated. In 2005, the Italian police carried out a survey of this phenomenon. The supporters of 42 of Italy's 128 professional clubs were motivated by deep political partisanship: 27 were described as fascist, 15 as communist.

Livorno is known as 'The Communist Club'. Its fans do not take scarves to games — they go wrapped in banners and t-shirts bearing the image of Che Guevara. When the team's supporters travel to right-wing Lazio, the pre-match banter turns, not to marking or to team formation, but to revolutions and dictators — and that inevitably translates to the terraces. Hardcore Lazio fans have been known to unfurl flags bearing fascist symbols and Nazi flags with swastikas. Paolo di Canio[20] was notorious for raising his arm in a fascist salute when he was a Lazio player. As a result of his appointment as manager of Sunderland FC, the former British Foreign Secretary, David Milliband, resigned from the Board of the club. In October 2012, Lazio was fined £32,500 by UEFA, the sport's governing body, for the improper conduct of their fans during a Europa League match with Tottenham Hotspur after loud monkey chanting was directed at three black Spurs players. Other teams that have been fined for similar incidents include FC Porto and the Bulgarian, Croatian, Macedonian, Russian, Serbian, Slovakian, and Spanish national sides.[21]

In December 2012, a group of fans of the St. Petersburg club, Zenit, published a manifesto calling for sexual minorities and non-Europeans to be kept out of the club

> Even within Russian football, which is notorious for entrenched racism, extreme nationalism and neo-Nazi elements, Zenit have a particularly bad reputation. Former managers have complained they were prohibited from hiring black players and there has never been a player of African origin in the squad.[22]

Nor is appalling behaviour at football matches restricted to incidents in Europe; far from it. On 1 February 2012, a huge riot occurred in Port Said between supporters of the local team, *Al-Masry* and those of *Al-Ahly*, from Cairo. After many incidents before and during the match, thousands of fans ran onto the pitch at the final whistle. In the ensuing melees, 79 people were killed and over 1,000 injured. In the aftermath, many accusations were made. Almost inevitably, the events of the 'Arab Spring' were cited. It was said that the police had done nothing to prevent or control the riot in the hope of demonstrating the chaos that would ensue if the Mubarak regime fell. It was also pointed out that *Al-Ahly* supporters had been prominent in the protests in Tahrir Square. Mahmoud Kamel, an *Al-Masry* fan, stated that the cause of the catastrophe was political chanting by a group of *Al-Ahly* supporters

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20   Christian Fraser, "The Politics of Football in Italy," *BBC News*, Italy, 27 February 2007.
21   "How UEFA Has Dealt with Racism Compared to Other Issues," *Daily Telegraph*, 10 April 2013.
22   "Zenit St Petersburg Fans Want Black and Gay Players Excluded," *BBC Sport Football*, 18 December 2012.

known as the 'Ultras,' who played a prominent part in the 18-day uprising that brought an end to Hosni Mubarak's rule. Undoubtedly, the frustration of those living in the Suez Canal area at their perceived alienation from the mainstream of Egyptian life may also have been a motivation for the behaviour of the fans from Port Said.[23]

The authorities acted aggressively to reassert their power and to placate the demands of the *Al-Ahly* supporters for judicial retribution. On 26 January 2013, 21 of those arrested in the riot were sentenced to death.[24] The verdict led to further rioting in both cities. The *Al-Ahly* Ultras celebrated the verdict with a demonstration at the Ministry of the Interior, lauding the sentences and demanding the trial of the police officers involved in the disaster.[25] They moved their demonstration to the Ministry of Interior headquarters to show their demands of prosecuting the officers, resulting in clashes with the police. Police shot tear gas in order to disperse them.

In Port Said, people saw the verdict as a political decision. Clashes erupted with the security forces as protestors against the sentences attempted to storm the prison where those condemned were being held. Two police officers and 20 civilians were killed and over 250 injured.[26]

Further riots occurred on March 9, when the appeal court in Cairo upheld the death sentences. It also announced verdicts on the other 52 defendants in the case, with 24 receiving prison sentences, including two senior police officers each of whom received 15 years. The remaining 28 were acquitted, including seven police officers.

"Twenty-five years for someone helping to carry the dead outside the stadium," said Mohamed Ataya, a football fan describing the case of his friend, convicted on Saturday. "What we need now is to separate from the rest of the country." Hundreds gathered outside the local government headquarters after the verdict carrying flags that called for an independent republic of Port Said.[27]

Slogans demanding regional autonomy featured strongly in the unrest that followed. This is another example of football becoming a vehicle for political movements that would otherwise be denied a voice. As Hani Awad put it, "Under the former regime, public space was closed off from politics, so these [football] associations proved useful in mobilizing crowds that political parties could not reach."[28]

Tayyip Erdoğan, Turkey's Islamic and authoritarian Prime Minister, himself a former semi-professional footballer, is well aware of the political power

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23   Howard Amos, "Liverpool head to Zenit St Petersburg Fearing Racism May Read its Head," *The Guardian*, 13 February 2013.

24   "Unrest in Egypt over Port Said Football Riot Sentences,"*BBC News*, 9 March 2013.

25   "Ahly, Ultras Ahlawy Hail Port Said Court Ruling," *Ahram Online*, 26 January 2013.

26   "Clashes in Port Said Leave At Least 22 Dead and 250 Injured,' *Ahram Online*, 26 January 2013.

27   Patrick Kingsley, "Egyptian Court Confirms Death Sentences for Port Said Football Rioters," *The Guardian*, 9 March 2013.

28   Hani Awad, "The Port Said Uprising: The Emergence of Regionalism in the Absence of Unity," *Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies*, (Qatar) April 2013.

of a football crowd. In June 2013, supporters of the three, normally rival, clubs in Istanbul united to foment the protests in Taksim Square.

"Normally we are enemies, but now we are brothers," one Fenerbahçe fan said, surrounded by Beşiktaş and Galatasaray supporters. Another man said: "This is about more than football, it's about our country, and we are against Erdoğan."[29]

Erdoğan's response was typically robust. He banned the chanting of political slogans at football matches and obliged clubs to make spectators sign a pledge to abide by the law.

It would appear from the above that association football might be described as "war by other means," but this would not be entirely accurate. In 1969, after a play-off in a World Cup qualifying fixture that had been preceded by two matches troubled by crowd violence, El Salvador broke off diplomatic ties with Honduras, stating that its government had "not taken any effective measures to punish these crimes which constitute genocide, nor has it given assurances of indemnification or reparations for the damages caused to Salvadorans."[30] On July 14, the Salavadorian army invaded Honduras. The Organization of American States moved rapidly to negotiate a cease-fire on the night of July 18. This took effect on July 20, but a peace treaty between the two nations was not signed until 1980.

As is frequently the case, football was the catalyst for the conflict rather than the cause. Although Honduras is five times the size of El Salvador, its population was half the size. From the 1940s, Salvadorians began migrating to Honduras in large numbers. By 1969, 200,000 of them were living there, constituting over 20 percent of the peasant population.[31]

In 1961, the United Fruit Company banded together with other large companies to create the National Federation of Farmers and Livestock-Farmers, of Honduras which pressured the government to protect the property rights of wealthy landowners.[32] In 1962, Honduras enacted a new land law. Fully enforced by 1967, this law allowed the government and municipalities to sequester land occupied by Salvadoran immigrants, and redistributed it to Hondurans. The land was taken from both immigrant farmers and squatters regardless of their claims to ownership or immigration status. This led to thousands of Salvadoran labourers to be expelled from Honduras, including both migrant workers and longer-term settlers. This rise in tensions is what led to the military conflict.

Thus in the wider context, it may be said that football reflects sectarian divides rather than creates them. It is clear that occasions like the Old Firm fixtures and the Orange marches are catalysts for sectarianism and the associated violence that they may provoke. The Nobel Peace Laureate, John Hume, has suggested that to

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29   "Turkish Voices Back Erdogan Against Protests," BBC News, 13 June 2013. *www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-22861286*

30   Thomas P. Anderson, *The War of the Dispossessed: Honduras and El Salvador 1969* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981).

31   Alison Acker, *Honduras: The Making of a Banana Republic* (Toronto: South End Press, 1998).

32   Anderson, *The War of the Dispossessed.*

ban such activities would provoke more trouble than it was worth. Instead the object should be to deritualise them. The example of Guy Fawkes Day in England springs to mind. Once the occasion for violent anti-Catholic riotous behaviour, it is now a harmless annual lighting of a bonfire and the letting off of a few fireworks. Many people probably now have only a vague idea of what it commemorates. Worthy as this aim may be, however, it is difficult to speculate how it may be achieved in the real world.

Clearly the game of association football is not in itself provocative of sectarian and racist violence and offensive behaviour. Twenty-two men (and women) frequently kick footballs about in virtually every part of the world without unfortunate consequences. It is the game's misfortune that it has become the vehicle for such behaviour. Research suggests that this is the case. An audit from the Crown Office in 2006 found that of 532 cases of religiously-aggravated crimes in Scotland between January 2004 and June 2005, 33 percent of them were related to football. With the passing of the Offensive Behaviour at Football and Threatening Communications (Scotland) Act 2012, this figure has fallen dramatically. In 2012/13, 13,687 cases were reported with a religious aggravation under section 74 of the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2003. This was a 24 percent decrease compared to 2011-12. The statistics indicate that legislation can provide some solutions to the problems of social abuse, although, in the same period, charges related to conduct derogatory towards Islam rose from 2.2 percent to 11.6 percent of the total.[33]

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, in many cases, the management of certain football clubs is as enmeshed in the culture of abuse as the fans. Sectarianism may be seen as providing a club's historic dynamic. This certainly applied to Celtic and Rangers in the past, but, in fairness, both clubs have made considerable efforts to overcome this heritage.

Working alongside the Scottish Parliament, church groups, and community organisations, the Old Firm has endeavoured to clamp down on sectarian songs, inflammatory flag-waving, and troublesome supporters, using increased levels of policing and surveillance.[34]

Both Celtic and Rangers have launched campaigns to stamp out sectarian violence. Celtic's *Bhoys Against Bigotry* campaign has attempted to reduce the connection between the Old Firm and sectarianism. Rangers *Pride Over Prejudice* campaign was launched in 2003. The campaign aimed to promote social inclusion, urged fans to wear traditional Rangers colours, and avoid offensive songs, banners and salutes. The *Wee Blue Book* containing a list of acceptable songs was published and distributed to 50,000 supporters in August 2007.

The controlling bodies of World Football have frequently denied that problems existed, or that, if they did, the game itself was more important. In November 2011, FIFA's Swiss President, Sepp Blatter, insisted that racism on the

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33   Amy Goulding and Ben Cavenagh, (2013) "Religiously Aggravated Offending in Scotland," *Scottish Government Social Research*.

34   "Who's Getting Cuffed Today?" *Sunday Herald*, 24 April 2005.

pitch was non-existent and that any issues could be resolved by a handshake. He claimed later that his comments had been misinterpreted.

Following the death of a policeman during a riot between Roma and Lazio supporters, the President of the Italian Football League, Antonio Matarrese, claimed that the death was "just part of this huge football movement. …This is among Italy's most important industries," he was reported as saying, "and needs to continue. The show must go on."[35]

In one sense, Matarrese was correct. Football is indeed a multibillion-dollar industry worldwide. Vast sums are paid for TV and advertising rights and, in this sense indeed, the show must go on. The sums paid out by clubs for offences against common decency are trivial in a world where multimillions can change hands to secure the services of a single footballer and clubs are owned by high-profile billionaires. The English FA set a more appropriate tone recently when it suspended Chelsea captain John Terry for four matches and fined him £220,000 for racially abusing Queens Park Rangers defender, Anton Ferdinand. FIFA has also decided to get tough. Jeffrey Webb, from the Cayman Islands and a Vice-President of the organisation, has been asked to formulate a new sanctions regime, with relegation for teams and even exclusion from competitions such as the World Cup are now under consideration.[36]

13.5 CHRISTIANITY, THE NATURAL LAW AND THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

It is clear that, despite the foregoing, it may be considered that in most areas, religious sectarians such as Protestants and Catholics now co-exist peaceably. It may well be that Christianity ultimately contains an anti-sectarian dynamic. Unlike the other "Religions of the Book," Judaism and Islam, its gospels contain few precise rules of conduct. Indeed its founder made a clear division between the sacred and the secular. "My Kingdom is not of this world." Such a division is the basis of the concept of Natural Law on which many Western concepts of democracy and communal and individual freedoms are based, consciously or unconsciously.

The philosopher most associated with Natural Law theory is St. Thomas Aquinas, who in his *Summa Theologica* defined it as "nothing else than the rational creature's participation in the eternal law." To put it simply, this means that God's purpose (the Natural Law) can be discerned by all men of good will, not just Christians, or as John Milton put it; "Just are the ways of God, And justifiable to men."

The preamble to the American Declaration of Independence is firmly based on Natural Law.

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35   Staff and Agencies, "Call to Lift Ban as Italy Buries Policeman," *The Guardian*, 5 February 2007.
36   "Webb's Anti-racism Task Force gets Tough with Sanction Demands," *www.insideworldfootball.com*, 29 May 2013.

> When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands that have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and Nature's God entitle them that they should declare the causes that impel them to the separation.
>
> We hold these truths to be self-evident…

Natural Law entails a philosophical dualism of principles that enables men of God and men of goodwill to share the ideals of a liberal society. It is the foundation of the convenient myth of the Social Contract, another basis of a democratic society. It is also incompatible with sectarianism.

The Social Contract may be defined as a hypothetical agreement between members of a society to surrender certain freedoms, rights, and privileges in return for the provisions from the ruling authority that will protect other freedoms, rights, and privileges. In return, the ruling authority is also restricted in its powers. In essence such 'freedoms' as *habeas corpus* and freedom of speech and expression owe their origins to this convenient myth, but in its implicit acknowledgement of the equality of all before the law, it is an ideal that is the converse of sectarianism. In fact, although its origins may be mythical, it is true that, in mature societies, the government and governed tacitly accept such provisions.

The Social Contract demonstrates that democracy is more than a matter of voting. Indeed, the building of even-handed institutions, constitutional systems, and inherent freedoms is even more vital because, without them, the electoral process becomes a sham. There may be lessons to be learnt in this context about the failure of much-lauded events like the Arab Spring.

13.6   LINES ON THE MAP

While, through a long historical process, sectarian conflict has diminished in Europe (although it is still rife in areas like the former Yugoslavia and parts of the former Soviet Union), it is still a serious factor in much of what has been loosely termed the 'Third World'. Much of Africa is divided on tribal lines; a tension that was exacerbated by the division of the continent by the colonial powers, that paid no heed to such divisions. Similarly, during the Great War, the Middle East was divided into French and British spheres of influence under the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1915-16. That it took no heed of ethnic, tribal, or religious divisions is amply demonstrated by the number of international boundaries that are simply straight lines. "I should like to draw a line from the 'e' in Acre to the last "k" in

Kirkuk," Sir Mark Sykes supposedly stated at the meeting of the British War Cabinet on 15 December 1915. Whether the anecdote is true or not, it certainly expresses the attitude that led to the disastrous divisions[37] that still haunt the region.

It is not so widely realised that much of the Arab world is similarly divided. The recent (and continuing) conflict in Libya had a strong tribal element. The political risk consultancy, Stratfor, estimates that the country has up to 140 different tribes, of which as many as 30 have political significance.[38]

Historically, Libya was never a united country. As far back as Roman times, the littoral consisted of two provinces: Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. The interior was constituted as a third area, the Fezzan. It was not until 1934 that the Italian colonists united these disparate elements into one political entity. Following the overthrow of the monarchy in 1969, Muammar al-Gaddafi both mastered and exploited Libya's tribal divisions during his 42-year rule. On first seizing power, he attempted to subvert the tribal structures because he wanted to institute social and economic change and he rightly perceived that the conservative tribal leaders would oppose modernisation. In this he had some success. Considerable advances were made in the area of women's rights. Polygamy was restricted. Using threats of violence, awarding economic privileges, and exploiting family loyalties to divide and rule, he ensured that tensions between rival groups persisted. As so often happens in such circumstances, it was Gaddafi's own tribe — the Qadhadhfa, based around the Sirte region, who benefited the most from his rule, making up the core elements of the 'regime protection units.' In a society of many tribes, the overall ruler will favour his own above the others because tribal ties mean that he can rely on their loyalty. The Gadhadhfa tribe is relatively small, however, which meant that, to maintain his ascendency, Gaddafi had to build a tribal coalition. His early policies of pan-Arabism meant the marginalisation of the Berber tribes in the west of the country, although his later policies of pan-Africanism saw some measure of rehabilitation.

With the dawning of the so-called 'Arab Spring,' the elaborate formula for national unity that Gaddafi had created could not survive. With the help of NATO powers, he was overthrown by his enemies within the country. As with other Arab nations, the fall of a dictator has not brought peace or an end to sectarianism. Indeed, it may be said that the 'Arab Spring' has exposed many divisions — religious, tribal, ethnic, and political, that previously existed under the surface and of which the outside world was largely unaware. It also has to be said that active intervention by outside powers has not improved the situation in a single case. Even humanitarian aid may be suspect. People giving money to help refugees in Syria are inadvertently supporting terrorism, said William Shawcross, Chairman of the U.K. Charity Commission. "A lot of money is raised that goes to Syria, some of it undoubtedly goes to extremist groups … It is very hard for all organisations to determine that."[39]

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37   League of Nations, *Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom… to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Palestine and Trans-Jordan for the Year 1937.*

38   Peter Apps, "Factbox: Libya's Tribal, Cultural Divisions," *Reuters*, 25 August 2011.

39   Christopher Hope, "Charity millions 'going to Syrian terror groups," *Daily Telegraph*, October 4, 2013. Three days later, the Charity Commission put out a statement that the quote from William Shawcross had been taken out of context, but no details were given (Institute of Fundraising website, October 7, 2013).

Peter Clarke, a former head of anti-terrorism at the Metropolitan Police who sits on the Board of the Commission, said that donations could fall into the wrong hands once the money arrived in Syria or surrounding countries. "Once you get into these very difficult, dangerous areas it is hugely difficult for charities to track the final destination of their funds. It is one of these 'fog of war' issues where stuff can be diverted."[40] He said it was also possible for terrorists to set up fake charities in donor countries to attract funds.

Syria's so-called moderate or mainstream-armed opposition has had few wins lately. Two and a half years into the war, the common ground staked out at the start is now a bitterly contested field of competing interests that seriously imperil the opposition's reason for taking up arms in the first place. More than 1,000 units now make up the anti-Assad forces, and while many can still unite behind the stated common cause of ousting the president, many others show no such discipline or even a will to work towards a pluralistic, democratic society if, or when, the Syrian leader falls. Things are no less complex on the regime side. The standing Syrian military has been supplemented by a home defence force, the clout of Hezbollah and a large number of Shia fighters from outside Syria who have increasingly taken positions at the vanguard of the fighting.[41]

In 2013, northern Syria saw a steady and significant shift in the groups lining up against the regime and in the influence that they bring to the battle. Every month since the beginning of Ramadan in July 2012, jihadist groups have increased in numbers and prominence. The regime has lost significant ground here that it is unable to retake.

Jabhat al-Nusra was the standard bearer of the early days of the jihadist insurgency, and by November 2012 it was either jointly leading operations with mainstream groups, or taking the outright lead on many of the battles fought for the north.

By early 2013, its ranks had been swelled by foreign jihadists who had flocked to Syria — many of them through Turkey. The foreigners called themselves Jaish al-Muhajireen wal-Ansar[42], and by March had started to form their own units in the Aleppo and Idlib countryside, as well as in the Jebel al-Krud plateau north of Latakia and in Eastern Syria, where the oil fields proved attractive, as did the corridor to Anbar in Iraq, where a rejuvenated al-Qaeda insurgency is again wreaking havoc.

In May, the potency of Iraq's born-again jihad made its way to Syria, with a group loyal to the leader of the Islamic State of Iraq, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, breaking away from al-Nusra and later subsuming the group in much of the north. The new group, which calls itself the Islamic State of Iraq in Syria, has taken a more hardline stance than even al-Nusra, clashing with units aligned to the FSA and attempting to impose its will on the societies that now reluctantly host its members. All the while,

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40   Ibid.
41   "Iraqi Kurdistan Opens New Camps for Syrian Refugees," *Support Kurds in Syria*, 20 September 2013.
42   Ghaith Abdul-Ahad, "Syria: the Foreign Fighters Joining the War Against Bashar al-Assad," *The Guardian*, 23 September 2012.

mainstream units in the north have repeated the refrain that they cannot fight al-Qaeda at the same time as they are struggling to defeat the regime. In central Syria, jihadist groups do not have the same presence. The war around the cities of Homs and Hama is by and large a standoff between FSA units, who are armed by a military council that reports to the Turkey-based Syrian civil opposition, and a regime that is slowly gaining ground with the help of its powerful backers.

Syria's Alawite minority communities are nearly all in the centre of the country. So too are Shia and Christian villages, which have remained loyal to Assad. The battle here matters greatly to the regime and to its key patron, Iran, with both determined to make sure that the heartland retains a contiguous link to the north-west coast and to the capital, Damascus, no matter what happens in the rest of the country.

13.7   PERSECUTED AND FORGOTTEN — THE CHRISTIAN MINORITY

Christians are the most significant non-Islamic minority group in the Middle East. Their numbers in most countries have fallen drastically in the years since World War II. It is difficult to quantify this decline, because most countries in the region have no form of official census. According to a Vatican estimate, the percentage of Christians in the region has fallen from 20 percent a century ago to 5 percent today.[43] Some of this decline is due to emigration. Arab Christians tend to be the best-educated group within their wider communities and many have traditional ties with the wider Christian world through the Orthodox and Catholic churches. Being better-educated means that Christians tend to have a lower than average birth rate.

Nevertheless, the instability that has pervaded the Middle East in the years since World War II has been a major factor in the decline in the Christian population. The process began in 1948 with the uprooting of some 80 percent of Palestinians from their historic homeland in what became the state of Israel. Christians shared in what became known as the *Nakba*, or catastrophe. According to official British Mandate estimates, Palestine's Christian population in 1922 comprised 9.5 percent of the total population. Today, they comprise less than 4 percent of all Palestinians living in historic Palestine.[44] It is estimated that there are around one million Palestinian Christians worldwide, of which some two-thirds now live in the Diaspora. Both Bethlehem and Nazareth, once overwhelmingly Christian, now have Muslim majorities. About three-quarters of Bethlehem Christians live abroad, and more Palestinian Christians live in Sydney than Jerusalem, where Christians now comprise just 2.5 percent of the population.[45]

Christians in the Middle East tend to share in the general depravations and difficulties endured by the population as a whole, with the addition of extra problems

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43   "Rome crisis talks on Middle Eastern Christians," *BBC News Middle East*, 10 October 2010.
44   *www.cia.govlibrary/publications/the-world-factbook*
45   Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, "Number of Christians Living in Jerusalem Drops to only 2% of the Populations from 20% in 1948, *Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem 2009*.

arising from attitudes to their faith. Palestinian Christians in historic Palestine live within three different jurisdictions, the state of Israel, the area of the Palestinian Authority, and Hamas-controlled Gaza.

Israel defines itself as a 'Jewish State,' although, in certain contexts, this definition can be imprecise. According to the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, the country has total population of just over eight million as of 29 December 2013: 75.2 percent of these are defined as Jewish, 20.6 percent as Arabs and the remaining 4.2 percent as 'others.'[46] The fact that the nation categorises itself in relation to one sectarian grouping, when up to a quarter of the population does not associate itself with that grouping, demonstrates that in this instance at least, it has more in common with the Islamist fundamentalist regimes of the region rather than the liberal Western democracies with which it likes to compare itself. Although Israel has broad laws that forbid discrimination by both government and non-governmental agencies, there are indications that these are not enforced as rigorously as might be required. On the other hand, it has to be said that organisations that research and publish evidence of such discrimination, such as Adalah, the legal centre for Arab minority rights in Israel, are comparatively free to pursue their mission.[47]

One of the biggest threats to Palestinian Christians, both in Israel and on the West Bank, comes from militant and violent Jews, in many cases synonymous, but not entirely so, with the settler population. There are well-documented examples of Christian religious sites being vandalised and slogans such as "Death to Christians" and "We'll crucify you" being daubed upon them. In February 2012, Fr. Pierbattista Pizzaballa, Custodian of the Holy Places, asked the Israeli President, Shimon Peres, to help put an end to such vandalism. Mr. Peres' office responded that he was treating the allegations "very seriously" and that he was working on the matter personally.[48]

The continuing problems caused by the West Bank Barrier and other restrictions on movement around the West Bank are further factors in Christian emigration. The Christian population of Bethlehem, which was around 85 percent in 1948, had shrunk to around 40 percent by 1998.[49] It is estimated that, since the Second Intifada of 2000, by 2005, 10 percent of the Christian population had left the city.[50] A statistical analysis of this exodus cited lack of economic and educational opportunity, especially due to the Christians' middle-class status and higher education.[51]

Palestinians are being pressurised in terms of living space by the Israeli settler movement and the demands of the Israeli state. Christians are no exceptions to this process. Much of the land to build the barrier between Jerusalem and Bethlehem has been taken from 58 Christian families.[52]

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46   "Israel's Population Reaches More than 8 Million Ahead of year's End," *Jerusalem Post*, 29 December 2013.
47   For details of Adalah's allegations that over 50 Israeli laws discriminate against Palestinian citizens of Israel see *www.adalah.org*
48   "Catholics ask Peres to Help End Attacks," *Associated Press*, 27 February 2012.
49   Andrea Pacini *Socio-Political and Community Dynamics of Arab Christians in Jordan, Israel, and the Autonomous Palestinian Territories*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).
50   Jim Temple, "Christians Disappearing in the Birthplace of Jesus," *Voice of America* 24 December 2005.
51   Leonard Marsh, "Palestinian Christianity - A Study in Religion and Politics," *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church* 5, no 2 (July 2005):147-166.
52   Harriet Sherwood, "William Hague Intervenes over West Bank Barrier," *The Guardian*, 4 October 2012.

Relations between Christians and Muslims in both Israel itself and in the West Bank appear to be good, although there may be some pressures from Islamic fundamentalists. In the Hamas-controlled Gaza Strip, the picture is different. There are, at the most, no more than 2,000 Christians in the area out of a total population of some 1.5 million. There are numerous reports that this tiny minority is facing considerable pressures.

A not-too-often realised issue in terms of the ancient Christian communities of the Middle East, is that many of them represent an ethnicity as well as a religion. The largest Christian community is the Copts, who are concentrated mainly in Egypt. There are no census returns, but it is estimated that they may constitute some 10 percent of the population.[53] The people of Egypt before the Arab conquest identified themselves and their language in Greek as *Aigyptios* (Arabic *qibt*, Westernised as 'Copt'); when Egyptian Muslims ceased to call themselves *Aigyptioi*, the term became the distinctive name of the Christian minority.[54] Coptic is the liturgical language of the Church a development of the language spoken by the later Pharaohs.

In Iraq (and in what is now a considerable Diaspora), the liturgical language of the Church of the Chaldeans is Syriac, a linguistic descendant of Aramaic, the language spoken by Jesus and his disciples. The Melkite Church, concentrated largely in Syria, although in full communion with Rome, follows the Byzantine rite liturgically. It is a claim frequently made by Maronite Christians, who are mainly concentrated in Lebonon, that they are the descendants of the ancient Phoenicians, who have retained their identity under Byzantine, Ottoman and Arab authorities.

It may be a problem for Christian communities in several Arab countries that, in as much they have been involved in the political processes, given the restrictive opportunities, they have tended to support the secular authoritarian regimes that governed several countries with significant Christian minorities. If the alternative is a fundamentalist Islamic government, that is unacceptable to them. As a result, Christians have tended to be targeted by such fundamentalists. On 8 September 2013, the ancient Christian town of Maaloula, regarded as an exemplary place of peaceful co-existence for centuries, was targeted by FSA units and members of the jihadist al-Nusra Front. It was reported that three people had been shot by the rebels, six kidnapped, and that Christian religious sites had been desecrated.[55] On 22 October 2013, it was reported that rebels had stormed Sadad, another Christian town. "After rebels stormed the town yesterday, they entered the main square and spoke to us on loudspeakers, telling us to stay inside. They killed anyone found in the streets," said a resident named Elias, speaking by phone.[56] Later, unconfirmed reports stated that 45 Christians had been massacred.

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53   US Department of State, "Egypt 2012 International Religious Freedom Report: Religious Demography," 20 May 2013.
54   Coptic Orthodox Church, *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*: 2007.
55   Jeremy Bowen, "Syria Crisis: fierce Battle in Christian Town Maaloula," *BBC News Middle East*, 11 September 2013.
56   "Islamist rebels Fight Army for Christian Town in Syria," *Reuters*, 22 October 2013.

In the aftermath of the Anglo-U.S. invasion of Iraq 10 years ago, Christians were targeted by jihadist groups as an alien minority, accused of being in league with the West. In October 2010, gunmen attacked the Our Lady of Salvation Syrian Catholic Cathedral in Baghdad, killing 56 worshippers.[57]

In Egypt, Coptic and other Christian groups have long complained of discrimination, and such incidents as forced marriages of Christian women to Muslims, following their forcible abduction. Following the overthrow of President Morsi in July 2013, the fury of the Muslim Brotherhood turned on Christians, who were blamed for participating in his downfall. Immediately following the violent dispersal of the Muslim Brotherhood sit-ins in Cairo on August 14, crowds of men attacked at least 42 churches, burning or damaging 37, as well as dozens of other Christian religious institutions in the governorates of Minya, Fayum, Giza, Suez, Sohag, Bani Suef, and North Sinai.[58] Human Rights Watch has verified that at least three Coptic Christians and one Muslim were killed as a result of sectarian attacks in Dalga, Minya City, and Cairo.

"For weeks, everyone could see these attacks coming, with Muslim Brotherhood members accusing Coptic Christians of a role in Mohammad Morsi's ouster, but the authorities did little or nothing to prevent them," said Joe Stork, acting Middle East director at Human Rights Watch. "Now dozens of churches are smouldering ruins, and Christians throughout the country are hiding in their homes, afraid for their very lives."[59]

Three people, including a girl aged eight, died when gunmen on motorcycles opened fire on a wedding party outside a Coptic Christian church in Cairo.[60]

Given its scale, it may be found disturbing that the persecution of Christians in the Middle East and elsewhere has received comparatively little attention in the Western world. A reason for the paralysis has been suggested by the veteran French commentator, Régis Debray, who observes that anti-Christian persecution falls squarely into the political blind spot of the West. The victims, he argues, are "too Christian" to excite the Left, "too foreign" to interest the Right.[61]

The overall situation with regard to discrimination and sectarianism in many Middle Eastern societies may be summed up in a depressing comment made to the author of this paper about the eminent and much-admired politician and scholar, Hanan Ashrawi. "People ask me why she is not the leader of the Palestinians. I have to reply that she's a woman, she's not tribal and she's a Christian."

57   Jim Muir, "Christian Areas targeted in Deadly Baghdad Attacks," *BBC News Middle East*, 10 November 2010.
58   "The 'Almost Unremarked' Tragedy of Christians Persecuted in the Middle East," *Daily Telegraph*, 25 August 2013.
59   Human Rights Watch, "Egypt: Mass Attacks on Churches," 22 August 2013.
        http://www.hrw.org/news/2013/08/21/egypt-mass-attacks-churches
60   "Egyptian Gunmen Open Fire on Coptic Christian Wedding in Cairo," *BBC News Middle East*, 21 October 2013.
61   John L Allen, *The Global War on Christians* (New York: Random House, 2013).

13.8   ISRAEL — ARE THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES THE KEY TO PEACE?

It is well known that Israel's religious parties constitute a significant political force: a vital bloc of around 20 seats in the 120-member Knesset. These are the *haredim*, the most conservative group of Orthodox Jews. *Haredi* Judaism is not an institutionally cohesive or homogeneous group, but is comprised of a diversity of spiritual and cultural orientations. The attitude of many of these groups towards Zionism is ambivalent. Many *haredim* regard the concept of Israel as a spiritual rather than a material state. Nevertheless the religious parties have skilfully exploited their political position to secure exemptions from national service for religious students and gain large subsidies for their schools and academies, and for their traditionally larger than average families. All this has made them extremely unpopular with many Isrealis who see them as not bearing the full burdens of citizenship. There are two such parties. United Torah Judaism aims to speak for Ashkenazi religious Jews and Shas, for the Sephardic religious Jews. Both differ greatly from the Jewish Homeland Party of Naftali Bennett that champions, amongst others, the religiously-motivated settlers of the West Bank, with their aggressive brand of nationalism.

The party that made the most impact at the last Israeli General Election was the Yesh Atid Party of Yair Lapid, a clever journalist who exploited the unpopularity of the *haredim* to campaign on a platform to restrict their privileges. As a result he became the kingmaker in the Israeli Government, taking the office of Finance Minister and starting to fulfil his programme. The *haredim* parties have found themselves outside government for the first time in decades. Their fury is turned not only on Lakid but on Bennett, who is supporting the curtailing of their privileges from inside the government. In response, the *haredim* have threatened to support a settlement freeze, but also to boycott the products of the settlements.

In an article in *The Guardian* of 26 April 2013, Jonathan Freedland raises an intriguing possibility: that these sectarian parties may become the architects of the final emergence of a two-state nation.

> Ultra-orthodox Jews were historically ambivalent, if not outright hostile, towards Zionism itself, many regarding it as a blasphemous pre-emption of God's will for Jews to organise their own return to Zion when 'the ingathering of the exiles' was the sole mandate of the Almighty. Given that attitude to Israel proper, they have no great attachment to the settlement project. Plenty of rabbinic sages have indeed ruled that, if a genuine peace were on offer, Israelis would have a religious duty to give up territory — because even the holiest land is not holier than the sanctity of life. Besides, strict Judaism includes the injunction *lo lehitgarot ba-umota*, a prohibition against 'taunting the non-Jewish nations,' pursuing a course that antagonises the world — which the post-1967 occupation so clearly does.
>
> The pragmatic truth is that if a dove-ish Israeli government, even one committed to ending the occupation, were to give the haredim what they want military exemption and serious funding — the ultra-religious parties

would be likely to give it their blessing. That may be hard for the Israeli left to swallow. 'Liberal Israel has to make its choice,' says Daniel Levy, who runs the Middle East programme for the European Council on Foreign Relations. 'What's more important: having the haredim serve in the army or a two-state solution?'[62]

13.9   ISLAM'S VERSIONS OF SECTARIANISM

There are probably as many forms of Islam as there are of Christianity. In this context it is necessary to define the strands within Islam in a political sense. It should be remembered that Islam, like Christianity, is an extremely diverse religion: a mix of ethnicities, languages, and cultural traditions. The division and friction between Sunni and Shi'a is now well known in the West, if generally imperfectly understood, if not baffling, to most. Yet the diversity goes well beyond this.

There is almost an A to Z of the Islamic world and its minorities. The *Alawite* sect in Syria has been much in the news recently. An estimated 20 percent of Albanian Muslims are members of the *Bektashi* sect, that represents a fusion of Islamic, Christian, and pagan elements. *Bektashis* hold that all religions are paths to God, reject many prevailing Islamic practices, and conduct their liturgies in the Albanian language rather than Arabic. Copts are, of course, a Christian minority concentrated mainly in Egypt. The Druze keep the tenets of their faith secret and very few details are known. There are *Huwalas*. *Ismaelis* believe that numbers have a religious meaning and have perhaps contributed to the superstition that seven is a lucky number: There are Jews and Kurds. Maturidism is a Sunni theological school named after its founder Abu Mansur al-Maturidi. It has an influential presence in Moslem scholarship in Turkey, the Balkans, Central Asia, China, India, Pakistan, and Eritrea. Unlike the school of al-Ash 'ari, which claimed that knowledge of God derives from revelation through the prophets, Maturidism argues that knowledge of God's existence can be derived through reason alone. It claims that, although humanity has a free will, God is still all-powerful and in control of history. It is humanity's ability to distinguish between good and evil that means that humanity is responsible for whatever good or evil actions are performed.[63] *Nizaris* are the largest branch of the *Ismaelis*. They are the only *Shi'ite* group to have their own temporal ruler in the rank of the Imamate. This is currently the Aga Khan IV. The *Uwaisi* order was founded 1,400 years ago in Yemen by the mystic, Uwais al-Qarni. *Qadariyya* was a movement in early Islam that held that man was endowed by Allah with free will. The mystical tradition of *Sufism* encompasses a wide variety of historic beliefs. *Twelvers* are amongst the best known of the Islamic sects in the West, even if their name is unfamiliar. As well as belief in the twelve imams who followed Muhammad, they also give great authority to the pronouncements of Islamic scholars or *ayatollahs*. *Salafism* is known in the West as *Wahhabism*, a term

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62   Jonathan Freedland, "Religious Fundamentalists Could Hold the Key to Middle East Peace," *The Guardian*, 26 April 2013.

63   For further details of Maturidism and other Schools of Islamic theology, see *www.islam.uga.edu/faith.html*

coined by the media after the seer who founded the movement in the eighteenth century, Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab. He was opposed to perceived *bi'lah* (accretions) like the celebration of Mawlid — the Prophet's birthday. *Wahhabism* sees a total identity between religion and civil government. There are *Yazidis* and *Zaidis*. There are Muslim sects that have formed fusions with Hindu and Buddhist beliefs. There is even an Islamic community that practices matriarchal rule, which goes against the patriarchal teachings that dominate mainstream Islam.

Yet the best-known division is that between the two major sects of Islam — Sunni and Shi'a. To the non-Muslim (and possibly to many Muslims), the difference is unfathomable. I do not propose to go into it. Suffice it to say that it is all based on who were the legitimate heirs to the Prophet and represents serious business to the adherents. The Imam Husayn Shrine at Karbala in Iraq, a holy place for Shi'as, has received the attention of suicide bombers on several occasions.

The relationship between Islam and democracy is strongly debated among the people who identify with the Islamic resurgence in the late twentieth century. Some of these Islamists believe that 'democracy' is a foreign concept that has been imposed by Westerners and secular reformers upon Muslim societies. They often argue that the concept of popular sovereignty denies the fundamental Islamic affirmation of the sovereignty of God and is, therefore, a form of idolatry. Many prominent Islamic intellectuals and groups, however, argue that Islam and democracy are compatible. Some extend the argument to affirm that under the conditions of the contemporary world, democracy can be considered a requirement of Islam.

It is also important not to fall into the 'evolutionary' trap: the idea that societies are moving through varying stages of development towards a common goal. There are significant cultural differences between Islam and the Christian ethic that has underpinned the development of political institutions in the West. It would appear that this is more fully realised amongst Muslims than amongst Western political strategists. The ill-judged attempt to impose a 'democratic' solution on post-war Iraq may be regarded as an extreme example of this failure of understanding.

The dominant schools of Islamic theology see a unified identity between religion and civic government. It is best exemplified in the immutability of Sharia Law, a *Weltanschaung* that precludes the concept of Natural Law on which many Western concepts of democracy and communal and individual freedoms are based, consciously or unconsciously.

In Islam, the term 'Natural Law' tends to refer to the natural world that Allah has created and the way it functions according to his will, rather than a philosophical system for rationally and intuitively discerning that will. In Islam there is no 'orthodox' tradition whereby pre-modern Muslims allowed modern Muslims to speak on behalf of the divine without recourse to scripture. The dominant Islamic

view is expressed in the *usul al-fiqh*, or legal theory, which holds that where there is no scripture on a matter, the issue is left in a state of legal suspension. This is the bedrock of Islamic Fundamentalism.

Many Muslims do argue that Islam and democracy are compatible. They can cite the Qur'an (42:38), which defines 'mutual consultation,' or *shura*, as one of the traits of the righteous. *Ijma*, or consensus, is another quality they find capable of democratic interpretation as is *baya*, an oath of loyalty, viewed as a social contract. The prevailing ethos tends to be consensual rather than confrontational. Some Muslims extend this to affirm that, in the contemporary world, democracy is a requirement of Islam.

Many of the interesting ideas on Islam and democracy come from the Muslim Diaspora in Europe and North America. This is to be expected. Unlike their contemporaries within many Muslim countries, they are obliged to re-examine their faith in terms of the society around them. With some this leads to the espousal of extreme fundamentalism: with others towards an attempt to seek rapprochement between conflicting value systems.

13.10   POSTSCRIPT

Finally, a word about Bahrain: while not wishing to play down difficulties, it is valuable to be positive and acknowledge the progress that has been made there.

"Nobody looks at religion here. There are Bahraini Christians here and there are 13 churches in Bahrain. It is an open society," So spoke Meir Nonoo, a member of Bahrain's tiny Jewish community on the noted tolerance existing-within this island state.[64] An indication of this is the fact that Christian and Jewish cemeteries were established as early as the 1900s.

Despite its much-publicised inter-communal difficulties, in terms of religious freedoms, Bahrain is actually more open than other states in the region. In February, 2012, after a visit by Queen Sabika to an interfaith conference in Paris, the government agreed to donate land for the building of a cathedral, a decision that has led to controversy in certain quarters.

Progress has also been made in the emancipation of women. Access to education has had a profound effect, reducing the percentage of illiterate women from 76 percent at independence in 1971 to 17 percent in 2001 and to 11.7 percent in 2006, statistics that are nevertheless still below world average.[65]

There can be little doubt that the Bahraini Government has a commit-ment to extending the role and the status of women. It must be of at least symbolic significance that the Supreme Council of Women is co-chaired by Queen Sabika. The process is having its effect in the field of employment. The number of women in Bahrain's labour force has increased from just over 5 percent in 1971 to 34.3

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64   "I Consider Myself a Bahrini Jewish Arab," *Washington Post*, 21 September 2005.
65   *Arab Bureau of Education for the Gulf States*, 19 December 2010.

percent of the total in 2009. This the highest rate in the Gulf Council Countries, and approximates to that of the European Union countries.[66]

A small number of highly educated women have found their way into the echelons of power. A businesswoman, Mona Yousuf Al Moayyed, became the first woman to be elected to the Board of the Bahraini Chamber of Commerce and Industry in 2005. A Bahraini women's rights activist, Haya bint Rashed Al-Kharifa, a lawyer, became the third woman to be President of the UN General Assembly on 6 September 2006. On the same day, Bahrain's first woman judge was appointed. In 2008, Houda Nonoo was appointed ambassador to the United States making her the first Jewish ambassador of any Arab country. In 2011, Alice Samaan, a Christian woman was appointed ambassador to the U.K.

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66   The World Bank (2012) "Labor Force Participation Rate, Female, Bahrain."

CHAPTER 14

The Dynamics of Arab Uprisings and Middle Eastern Geopolitics

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14.1   INTRODUCTION

"The political landscape of the Arab world," writes Andrea Dessi, "has been dramatically transformed by the events of 2011."[1] This analysis is certainly correct. After half a century of authoritarian politics and lack of proper development, Syria, Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, and Libya have embarked on a difficult course to create pluralistic societies according to good governance and the rule of law. The Arab world is still at the inception of a long and difficult process. Furthermore, these uprisings are not only internal affairs, but also impact global politics and consequently transform the traditional balance of Middle Eastern hegemony in the Middle East and other regions, including the U.S., Russia, Europe, and the Far East.

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[1]   Andrea Dessì, "A New Dawn for Political Islam?" *Reset Doc*, 10 February 2012. *http://www.resetdoc.org/story/00000021899*

14.2   DYNAMICS

14.2.1 Latest Developments

The Middle East has been going through a vicious cycle of confrontation and appeasement, revolution and counter-revolution, and progress and dislocation on an unprecedented level, and has in one way or another dragged in directly and indirectly several regional and international powers. Palestinian-Israeli negative developments are widening the scope of the confrontation between the Israeli government and Hamas in Gaza and the Palestinian Authority.

As Raghida Dergham points out, the discourse adopted by Hezbollah against the forces of the Lebanese opposition in 2013 has carried the danger of worsening the internal situation in Lebanon and perhaps also the external confrontation with Israel, as this was considered the only option left to stop the fall of its ally, the Syrian regime, into the opposition's hand.[2] Russia's Foreign Minister Lavrov expressed to the meeting with the Foreign Ministers of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) the total support of President Putin to the regimes in Damascus and the Islamic Republic of Iran. Meanwhile, the formation of the Syrian National Coalition, made up of the numerous Syrian opposition groups supported by Arab, European and American states, was created as a new framework and an important development in the relationship of the Arab-European-American alliance with Syria. Dergham believes, "Such a development could place the relationship with Russia and China on a new track that would lead to major understandings being reached, but could also place this relationship on a track of political and strategic confrontations."[3]

No doubt, Washington is still central to the developments that are going on in the Middle East. An alliance of the Syrian opposition was Obama's objective and a main aim of his policy, while standing against arming Syrian opposition in order topple President Assad. Recognizing the Syrian National Coalition as the sole legitimate representative of the Syrian people has not however changed the dynamics of the Syrian conflict. President Obama has been suspicious of having extremist elements as the opposition and it has made him cautious about arming an opposition that would harm Americans or be detrimental to global security. The secular opposition is not well armed or structured, giving the impression that armed Jihadist elements lead the opposition.

Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu said that Israel faces a serious challenge in Syria due to the rise of global jihadist forces.[4] Meanwhile Syrian troops had moved into the disengagement zone in order to pursue the extremist jihadist forces. Now, the Golan Heights has become the frontline again after a calm that lasted for decades.

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2   Raghida Dergham, "Israeli Escalation Could Drag the United States in," *Huffington Post*, 16 November 2012.
3   Ibid.
4   Ibid.

Moscow has become a partisan to the internal conflict by siding completely with the Syrian regime. French President Hollande declared that: "Paris would look at the question of arming the Syrian National Council (SNC) once it had created a transitional government."[5] Britain is less inclined to support the armament of the opposition, but it has been heading in that direction — by justifying the political agenda to the Arab countries that will be arming it, specifically by Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. Indeed, the global support for Syria has taken a clear political and humanitarian stance, yet military support remains weak. However, the real test, to arm the 'secular' opposition has become a duty for Western countries pledging to support the opposition to confront the war machine of the state, has so far failed. Western powers have not been able to secure safe zones or no-fly zones because they require direct military intervention by the North Atlantic Alliance (NATO).

There are reports that Tehran has provided the Syrian regime with military and financial support, along with Iranian, Iraqi, and Lebanese fighters.[6] The axis of Resistance that includes the regime in Damascus alongside Moscow and Tehran, along with Hezbollah, opted for escalating the crisis to neighboring countries, in particular Lebanon and Jordan. Iraq is suffering as well. Meanwhile, there are Gulf, Arab, European, and American, attempts to corner the Assad regime, not just by weakening from within, but also by pushing its Russian and Chinese allies to change their positions on Syria. However, Russia and China have not agreed to any new resolution from the UN Security Council that would weaken the Syrian regime.

The implications of these developments are serious, writes Raghida Dergham, and it is worth quoting her analysis at length:

> Russia, as it seems, will not back down on maintaining Bashar Al-Assad as one of the pillars of the process of political transition. This will most likely lead to a fourth veto that will start a Cold War and a period of lukewarm and rigid relations between the Gulf countries and Russia, as well as China, if it too were to wield a fourth veto. Yet this will neither be sufficient nor will it represent the end of the road. Indeed, the new European-American-Arab movement will require an agenda agreed upon for the steps that will follow, including the details of the consequences and practical measures that would result from continued Russian-Chinese defiance. To be sure, the confrontation has entered a new phase, and there is no going back on such a course, unless the features of understandings were to emerge although they are not today in the offing. In truth, Washington is at the forefront of both choices.
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> The other confrontation that has entered a dark tunnel also requires care from the United States with the utmost caution. The Palestinian-Israeli issue had relatively taken the back seat for the past two years, but this does not negate the danger of an eruption of this unnatural situation. Israel carrying out the assassination of the General Commander of the Izz Ad-Din Al-Qassam Brigades, the military wing of the Hamas movement,

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5   John Irish, "France says will study arming Syria rebels once government formed," *Reuters*, 13 November 2012. *http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/11/13/us-syria-crisis-weapons-idUSBRE8AC0Y520121113*

6   Jonathan Saul and Parisa Hafezi, "Iran boosts military support in Syria to bolster Assad," *Reuters*, 21 February 2014.

> Ahmed Jaabari, represents a decision to escalate and provoke, the political and military aims of which include Israeli electoral considerations, the prestige of the Israeli army's military deterrent force, testing new Israeli weapons, driving the Palestinian Authority into a position of weakness so as to accuse it of having lost the ability to lead, and dragging Hamas into a confrontation. Israel's leadership may have in mind to provoke a limited and restricted confrontation that it would be able to rein in. Yet in times like those being witnessed by the region, such a method is extremely dangerous and may not be containable. It could even drag the United States into getting implicated where it does not wish to.[7]

The U.S. President has committed himself to a peaceful end but the concerns of the Palestinians of paying the price, delays, and threats have increased. President Abbas has been forced to back down on his request for the status of observer state resolution at the UN General Assembly, as long as he obtains a serious American vision roadmap leading to the two-state solution.

The U.S. Administration will not be able to intensify pressures to the extent of dissolving the Palestinian Authority (PA), with what this would entail in terms of chaos and of the dissolution of the PA's security commitments towards Israel under the Oslo Accord. Yet this Administration is not, at the moment, likely to put forward a new vision or promise. Thus the U.S. President might find himself facing a new reality, one that involves defiance and confrontation with both the Palestinian and Israeli sides, as the latter moves forward with illegal settlement-building, assassinations and bombings, while the former is divided between Hamas, which fires rockets, and the Palestinian Authority, which will establish the observer state — a state that has the right to hold to account and prosecute at the International Criminal Court (ICC) Israel for committing war crimes on occupied Palestinian soil.

The Middle East is headed towards a difficult phase that needs world attention to stop deterioration, because time now seems to favour extremist elements and the rise of conflict.

14.2.2 Islamism and Uprisings

Many analysts had predicted that the post-revolutionary Egyptian parliament would be divided between the Muslim Brotherhood's (Freedom and Justice) and ex-Mubarak people, but this view has not materialized. The biggest surprise of the elections has been the strong standing of the conservative Salafi Al-Nour party. Part of the Islamist Alliance, Al-Nour has emerged as Egypt's second largest party in parliament with 124 seats (24.3 percent), making it second to the Muslim Brotherhood, which ran as part of the Democratic Alliance and gained 235 seats (47.2 percent).

The victory of Islamist parties in Egypt's parliamentary elections has been matched by similar victories in other countries. In Tunisia the moderate Islamist

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7   Dergham, "Israeli."

Al-Nahda party won more than 37 percent of votes during the first free Tunisian elections, while the Islamist Party of Justice and Development (PJD) scored a majority of seats in Morocco. In Libya, where tensions and political violence have increased, no precise date has been set for the post-Gaddafi elections but free voting will presumably lead to a victory for Libya's Islamist parties. In Algeria, several Islamist parties have been negotiating to set up a united front. Turning to Syria and Yemen, two countries with yet unclear futures, various kinds of political Islam have emerged as the primary political currents.

Many viewed these victories as a vindication of the warnings issued from many centres, analysts, and politicians that the 'Arab Spring' would be no more than an Islamic resurgence. Reactions that emanated from Washington and certain European capitals showed acceptance of Islamist parties and the need to recognize their genuine political stances. For instance, the Obama Administration established high-level contacts with some of the most important Islamist parties, all formations of the Muslim Brotherhood.[8] This has been a welcomed development and has represented a step in the right direction as compared to the West's previous refusal to engage with even moderate Islamist movements. This policy shift can be attributed to both real politics — where major Western hegemonic powers do not want to appear anti-democratic and an acceptance that the Islamism exposed by such parties as the Freedom and Just in Egypt or Al-Nahdaal-Nahda in Tunisia is a far cry from the more uncompromising, violent, and deeply anti-Western Islamist currents present in the Arab world during the early 90s. Both Al-Nahda and Freedom have called for adopting democratic constitutions, social justice, and free market economics as well as the protection of personal freedom, popular sovereignty, and the rule of law.

Islamist Uprisings

In many respects, however, the victory of Islamist parties in many Arab countries has led to more conservatism, but politics is now weaved between Islam and democracy, whether positive or negative. For decades various kinds of Islamism had been greatly repressed by Arab dictatorships and now we are going through the same cycle again and again.

14.2.3 Salafi-Ikhwani Divide

While the most conservative strands of Islamic activism, especially the Salafi and Wahhabi ones, refuse to accept democratic politics and see democracy as un-Islamic. Other in the moderate movements of the various Muslim Brotherhood offshoots have accepted democratic norms as the practical means of attaining power. The long-

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8   Dessì, "A New Dawn."

standing slogan "Islam is the solution,"[9] the banner of Muslim Brotherhood, might have been appropriate to the Brotherhood before becoming the leading political force in many Arab countries, but they have had to deal with tangible policies such as the economy and the pace of socio-political reforms. The basic problem facing these Islamist parties will be that of developing classical Islamic principles to meet the pressing necessities of the modern world.

After deposing of the Mubarak regime, the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood witnessed revival where the movement was set up 83 years ago and subsequently spread throughout the Arab world. In particular Gulf governments fear the call for change and reform, by Gulf Muslim Brotherhood groups and by entering a temporary alliance with liberals and moderates. These alliances would then splinter once the Brotherhood feels empowered enough to stand on its own.

From the moderate al-Nahda party in Tunisia led by Rashid al-Ghannoushi, who is following in the footsteps of the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) in Turkey, to groups in the Kingdom of Jordan that enjoy strong ties with the Gulf States that are also witnessing an emboldening of Muslim Brotherhood rhetoric. The group's leader in Jordan called for a transformation of Jordanian monarchy into a constitutional monarchy.

However, the Muslim Brotherhood could not succeed in penetrating Saudi Arabia, due to ideological competition and the internal dynamics of the kingdom. The Saudi ruling family enjoys a strong relationship with the clergy from which it draws legitimacy. During the Arab Spring, this relationship was strengthened when a large amount of the US$130 billion benefits package that the Saudi King announced was marked for appeasing the clergy.[10]

While Kuwait's laws do not permit the establishment of political parties, informal political blocs play similar important roles. The Kuwaiti branch of the Muslim Brotherhood is the strongest in the Gulf and possibly the branch that coordinates the Brotherhood activities in the Gulf. Its bloc in Kuwait's National Assembly is known as the Islamic Constitutional Movement.

The Muslim Brotherhood has been able to organize and initiate community support units, especially in poor countries such as Egypt and Jordan, and in the Gaza Strip.[11] However, it is less successful in the wealthy Gulf States that have been able to provide important services and financial support to their citizens. Muslim Brotherhood members in the Gulf States are more likely to hide their affiliation in public. They do not use 'Ikhwan' but instead replace it with 'Islah' (reform) in their literature and its recognizable symbol.

The Gulf Muslim Brotherhood is suffering from community backlash because of its presumed relations to organized foreign groups. In the midst of this staring contest it is the Gulf citizens who are left seeking clarity.

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9   Ibid.
10   "Saudi Arabia distributes $130 billion," *Persian Gulf Fund*.
           http://persiangulffund.com/saudi-arabia-distributes-130-billion
11   Sultan Sooud Al-Qassemi, "Muslim Brotherhood in the Gulf: An Attempt To Steal the Show," *Huffington Post*, 10 May 2011. *http://www.huffingtonpost.com/sultan-sooud-alqassemi/muslim-brotherhood-in-the_b_859602.html?view=print&comm_ref=false*

The Gulf States, according to Sultan Sooud Al-Qassemi, today have altered their strategies towards the Muslim Brotherhood movement by upgrading its perceived threat from the individual and local level to possible Gulf-wide religious, political, and social dangers.[12] Meanwhile by continuing to proceed with gradual reforms and citizen empowerment, they have reduced the Muslim Brotherhood's opportunity to carry the mantle of legitimate public empowerment and reform. However, it is at the risk of alienating the Brethren and pushing them to further radicalism, both religious and political.

14.2.4 Sunni-Shiite Divide

Edward Luttwak, a prominent analyst of geo-politics, writes, "The last decade has been marked by the rise of the Shiites in the Middle East. Through the bullet and the ballot box, Shiite parties have risen to power from Baghdad to Beirut — thereby extending Iran's reach into the heart of the Arab world. Sunni rulers have viewed with much anxiety the new 'Shiite crescent' that extends from Iran all the way to Lebanon."[13]

In this context, the initial uprising in Syria becomes more regional rather than local, aiming at weakening the Shiite ascendancy through removing al-Assad's regime and installing a Sunni government. Instead, Syria had entered a ferocious and long civil war that shattered the country's economy. However, it seems that the regional Sunni major powers' proxy offensive has not been successful and al-Assad is still in power and the Shiite crescent is scoring major gains.

With the 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq, Shiite empowerment in the Middle East began, allowing Iran, not only to strengthen its ruling theocracy, but also its hegemony over 'Twelver' Shiites across the Arab world. Most importantly, the Iraqi Shiites now control the Iraq state, after a long history of marginalization by the Ottoman Empire and later by subsequent Arab regimes, including that of Saddam Hussein, who initiated a deadly war against Iran in 1980.

The U.S. invasion of Iraq lead to a confessional democratic system dominated mostly by Shiite powers, with a natural affinity for the fellow Shiites of Iran.

In Lebanon, while the Shiite population similarly has been as numerous as the Christians and the Sunnis, they were weaker politically. Today, it has been empowered by Hezbollah, which has become the hegemonic party in Lebanese politics; its armed militia is stronger than the national army.

Then there is the case of Syria, where the Sunni majority is ruled by a nominally secular regime run by Alwai Muslims, backed by non-Muslim minorities. The current regime of Syria has been a strategic outpost to Iran due to its readiness to act along Iranian political interests — thereby connecting Iran, Iraq, and southern Lebanon into a contiguous 'Shiite Crescent.' For ultra-conservative

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12   Al-Qassemi, "Muslim Brotherhood."
13   Edward Luttwak, "Revenge of the Sunnis," *Foreign Policy*.
        http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/12/07/revenge_of_the_sunnis

Sunni, Saudi Arabia — along with Qatar, Kuwait, Bahrain, and the United Arab Emirates has been very antagonistic to the Shiite advance and has worked on fueling religious differences as a political instrument.[14]

Turkey

The Hamas victory in the Palestinian elections in 2006 and the AKP regime's control of Turkey under Prime Minister Erdogan, Istanbul turned into the center for Global Muslim Brotherhood political activities worldwide, including efforts to undermine the influence of Israel domination of Palestinian political life. Since then until the dispatch of the Gaza flotilla, Istanbul has held over fifteen conferences for the Global Muslim Brotherhood that centred on Palestine while others addressed the topic of supporting the rise of the Brethren in the dynamics of the Arab spring.[15]

Turkey hoped for a central geo-strategic and economic regional role throughout the Islamic world. Turkey's evolving response to the uprisings of the Arab Spring is in line with its NATO and European Union allies, who did not appreciate the previous Turkish 'zero problems with the neighbors' policy, that indulged Syria and its ally Iran.

While Turkey and its Western allies have hoped that the successes of Turkey in transitioning from Islamist roots to a sort of Muslim model of Christian Democracy, and in creating a successful economy might become a modern model to Arab Islamist parties coming to power. When touring Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya, three states where Islamists came to power, Erdogan marketed Turkey's model of a secularly Islamic state as a shield that defended the beliefs of all, especially Islamist groups.

Turkey seemed for a period to be recalculating a neo-Ottomanism under the guise of Islamism, while the nationalist groups in the Arab world were not very happy with such a move by the Turks, for historical reasons. Still they all have shared institutional and legal commonalities as well as cultural affinities.

Al-Nahda Islamist party has publicly embraced the Turkish AKP as a model; and Ankra hoped that it would be possible in the years to come to start such parties in the Arab world and beyond. But this seems to be failing because it has revived memories of Ottoman domination and also the inability of the Islamist groups to withstand the counterattacks.

Because the AKP is the outcome of several failed Islamist parties, centre-right elements, and nationalists, goes to show that Islamism can be synthesized with secular principles, and that there is a middle way between the extremes of nationalist despotism and Islamic radicalism. The AKP projects itself as that Middle East: It respects religion and is run by pious Muslims, but it does not call for a theocratic

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14   Luttwack, "Revenge."
15   See for example "Istanbul Philanthropy Conference Feastures Many Muslim Brotherhood Participants,
        U.S. Government to Participate" posted in the Global Muslim Brotherhood Daily Watch,
        <http://www.globalmbwatch.com/2008/03/12/istanbul-philanthropy-conference-
        feature-many-muslim-brotherhood-participants-us-government-to-participate/>

state. It creates space for Islamists to come to the center of society. However, and unfortunately, Erdogan's weakening hegemony and his dictatorial behavior along with the clash with the Golan Islamic movement is threatening that model, as well as Turkey's unity and stability. All of this will have great repercussions on other moderate Islamist movements in the Arab world and the moderate model of Islamism.

The conflict in Syria has taken on an early sectarian twist as many have claimed it is a revolution against the minority Alawite rule of the Assads carried out by Sunni Islamists. The mainly Sunni AKPs naturally sympathized with Syria's Sunni community. The Turks used the Syrian revolution to flex their muscles and extend their geostrategic interests, and tried to tip the balance in Syria by providing Islamic groups with all kinds of material and political support.

Such a situation led the Turkish government to undertake a total repositioning on Syria. While Erdogan and his activist Foreign Minister, Ahmet Davutoglu, had worked hard to convince Bashar al-Assad of the necessity to lead change, they turned against him and supported his removal. Turkey has been central to Syria's main political and armed opposition, the SNC and Free Syrian Army, and departed from its former policy of shunning hostile positions against any of its neighbours.

The zero-problem policy with neighbours ended and was replaced by a multi-problem one. The novel policy pictured Turkey as the protector of the victimized people of the region, championing democratic reform and human rights. The realignment of Turkish foreign policy with the West, after being refused membership in the European Union, gave it an important role in setting NATO's policy towards Syria.

However, the Syrian conflict has been transformed into a sectarian war and negatively affected Turkey's policies with its neighbours and beyond in the Middle East. As the ferocious war rages on, diplomacy has been a total failure and no solution has yet been found to the unwanted violence.

Russia

Many have believed that the conflict in Syria will definitely lead to a revolution that will overthrow President Assad. But after three years of fighting, the Assad regime is still holding and actually regaining authority over many territories that were lost, and the conflict has turned into a proxy fight for larger powers in the region and amongst Russia and the U.S. For now, and after Syria agreed to give up its chemical weapons, Washington has no intention to arm Syrian opposition groups. Washington is also ruling out direct military intervention in this conflict.

Unlike Tunisia or Libya, writes Steven Erlanger of the *New York Times*, Syria has been "the linchpin of the old security order in the Middle East."[16] The

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16   Steven Erlanger, "Syrian Conflict Poses the Risk of Wider Strife," *The New York Times*, 25 February 2012. *http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/26/world/middleeast/syrian-conflict-poses-risk-of-regional-strife.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0*

Russians and Iranians have been able to extend their influence, as Assad governments have provided predictability to Washington and a stable border for Israel, despite support for Hezbollah in Lebanon and Hamas in the Palestinian territories.

But the bloody civil war in Syria, Erlanger assesses, has "upset that paradigm, placing the Russians and Americans and their respective allies on opposite sides. It is a conflict that has sharply escalated sectarian tensions between Shiites and Sunnis and between Iran and Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf nations. And it has left Israel hopeful that an enemy will fall, but deeply concerned about who might take control of his arsenal."[17]

Russia cannot accept the collapse of Assad, an act that would diminish its influence in the region and weaken its ally Iran. The collapse of the Resistance axis, made up of Iran, Syria, and Hezbollah, would constitute a heavy blow to Russia and a major victory to the U.S and Israel.

Iran

Washington, Europe, and the states of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf have wanted to weaken the influence of Iran by working to remove Assad. Syria is one of Iran's closest allies and an important element of Iranian foreign policy in the Middle East; and Syria is Iran's main channel to provide aid and weapons to Hezbollah, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad. Assad's collapse is thus a fatal blow to Iran, so it is giving Assad's government money, arms, and advice.[18]

The United States and Europe — with tenuous Russian and Chinese support — had isolated Iran economically and diplomatically in order to put limits on Iran's capabilities to build a nuclear weapon. The conflict in Syria complicates that delicate diplomacy, but a new Syrian government could be a greater blow to Iranian influence than any sanction the West has mustered.

Of the many crucial dynamics involved in the war in Syria, the Sunni-Shiite divide is employed in a deadly manner. Assad's government is dominated by the heretic offshoot of Shiite Islamic minority, Alawis. The Shiite Iranians are supporting the Syrian regime, while the Sunni Gulf States are supporting the opposition. However, extremist groups, like al-Qaida's al-Nusra Front and the more radical Islamic state in Iraq and the Levant, constitute the military force of the opposition, on the one hand, but led the opposition to lose international support on the other hand.

Sunni radicals are turning Syria into a base for international terrorism, with weapons and fighters trickling across the border from Iraq, Turkey, and Lebanon. The Assad government bolsters its credentials that it is fighting terrorists, and thus the U.S. and other Western states and now many Muslim states are starting to shun deeper entanglement or reverse their policies.

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17   Ibid.
18   Ibid.

14.3 IMPACTS

The strategic landscape of the Middle East has largely been transformed to a point of affecting great hegemonic powers (China, America, and Russia). Furthermore, regional hegemonic powers (Turkey, Iran, and Israel) have been trying to directly and indirectly extend their hegemony and influence. The region's development is forcing major powers to rethink their policies, including the formation of a new United Gulf policy, the emergence and fall of Islamists, and the success and failure of the Turkish model. Many more dynamics have been changing. Iran, for example, prevented the Syrian regime from collapsing by supporting Hezbollah's military intervention.

However, Hamas distanced itself from the Syrian regime and Iran, and supported the opposition. But now it is moving back to the original alliance with Iran. The peace process has reached a dead-end because of Israeli's continued expanding of settlements in the occupied West Bank and East Jerusalem.

Further, the war in Syria has triggered a volatile political and military environment in Iraq and Lebanon, especially because Arab Shiites are moving deeper into alliance with Iran influence as well as fighting a war against radical Islamists, both al-Qaeda and the ISIL. Across the Middle East, the dynamics of power are changing but the epicentre of change is still the tragic case of Syria. Oliver Roy, a French historian of the region, has put the case well: "Syria," he writes, "is almost the only country where the so-called Arab Spring could change the geostrategic concept of the region ... if the regime is toppled, we have a totally new landscape."[19]

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19   See Oliver Roy's quote in Steven Erlanger, "Syrian Conflict Poses the Risk of Wider Strife," *The New York Times*, 25 February 2012. *http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/26/world/middleeast/syrian-conflict-poses-risk-of-regional-strife.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0*

Introduction

JEAN CHRÉTIEN
Prime Minister of Canada (1993-2003)

In 2010, in *The Hiroshima Declaration* (see Appendix 3), the InterAction Council (IAC) called for a world free of nuclear weapons: "As long as anyone has nuclear weapons," the Council declared, "others will seek them." To reach zero, it is of course crucial not to make the current problem worse. Creating and expanding a robust non-proliferation regime has been among the Council's top priorities. At the IAC's 31st Annual Plenary Meeting in May 2013, we were fortunate to be briefed extensively by Yukiya Amano, Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). At this meeting in Bahrain, guided by Mr. Amano, the Council continued its long-time focus on issues of nuclear non-proliferation.

North Korea has featured prominently in the Council's non-proliferation agenda in recent years and in 2013 there was little good news to report. Kim Jong-un became leader of North Korea in April 2012, and some hoped that a change in leadership might result in a more conciliatory stance (as has occurred in Iran). But in December 2012, North Korea launched a satellite into space, and in February 2013, it carried out its third nuclear test, leading to further condemnation from the UN Security Council, who unanimously adopted a resolution to impose additional sanctions. China's foreign ministry, for example, issued a statement that the test disregarded "the common opposition of the international community." North Korea's rhetorical offensive also continued with barely a pause: the regime, for example, continued to threaten South Korea, Japan, and the United States with "enormous nuclear catastrophe."[1]

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[1]   Hyung-Jin Kim and Foster Klug, "Kim Jong-un boasts North Korea is stronger after 'eliminating factionalist filth,' warns of 'nuclear catastrophe'", *National Post*, 1 January 2014.

What to do about North Korea has perplexed policymakers for a long time. Alexander Zhebin, a Russian expert on North Korea, in his article "The Nuclear Problem on the Korean Peninsula: Searching for Solutions," makes the key point that security is the top priority of the North Korean regime, and hoping that economic incentives alone will be a key driver in moving Pyongyang is unrealistic. He concludes: "we certainly do not need a nuclear North Korea ... but calls for North Korea to return to the [Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty] would look more convincing if they were accompanied by definite multilateral commitments by the nuclear powers about her security and her rights to develop peaceful atoms under appropriate IAEA Safeguards." Nobuyasu Abe, in his article "Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula: A New Perspective," takes the realist stance that "all the countries concerned, including North Korea, want the Korean Peninsula to be denuclearized. The Six-Party Talks Declaration of September 2005 stated so ... The difference is whether a country is willing to pay a price for it." He concluded that "achieving a nuclear-free Korean Peninsula seems as elusive as ever." Meanwhile, North Korea still continues to threaten to make Seoul and Tokyo into fireballs, so the United States, South Korea and Japan, according to Mr. Abe, must continue to "take the emerging nuclear threat from North Korea very seriously."

If a change in leadership has not seemed to make much of a difference in North Korea, the opposite is true in Iran. In June 2013, Hassan Rouhani surprised many by winning the presidential election on a platform of ending Iran's international isolation. The Gulf state of Oman played a useful role in encouraging talks between Iranian and U.S. officials, and in November 2013, the interim Joint Plan of Action was announced between Iran and the six powers that have been in negotiations since 2006 (the United States, Britain, France, Russia, China, and Germany). Starting on 20 January 2014 — the implementation date of the agreement — for a period of six months during which Iran and the six powers will continue to negotiate on a comprehensive deal, Iran has agreed to freeze its production of enriched uranium, to halt the building of its heavy water reactor in Arak, and to provide the IAEA with additional information about its nuclear program. In exchange, the six powers agree to refrain from imposing new sanctions and to repatriate to Iran several billions of dollars in former oil sales proceeds that were locked in foreign accounts. An interim agreement is not a full agreement but it does change the momentum. Foreign Minister Khalid Bin Ahmed al Khalifa of the Kingdom of Bahrain, for example, stated that the interim agreement "removes fears from us, whether from Iran or any other state."[2] At a minimum, the Joint Plan of Action does allow the West and Iran, in the words of President Obama, "to chip away at the mistrust."[3]

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[2]   Kenneth Katzman and Paul K. Kerr, "Interim Agreement on Iran's Nuclear Program," Congressional Research Service, p 13, 11 December 2013. If Foreign Minister Khalid was cautiously supportive of the agreement, predictably Prime Minister Netanyahu of Israel was strongly opposed.

[3]   Ibid, p 18. No one can predict with certainty whether the interim agreement will lead to a full agreement: one of the dangers is that hawks in the U.S. congress are opposed to lifting the sanctions in Iran. President Obama has said he would veto any bill that sought to re-establish sanctions but a presidential veto can be overturned if approved by two-thirds of the Senate.

Chipping away at mistrust will be a necessary, though not sufficient condition, for one of the boldest ideas to emerge from the Bahrain Plenary Meeting of the IAC was the possibility of creating a zone free of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East. Rebecca Johnson, who contributed to the Council's *The Hiroshima Declaration* in 2010, provides details on what will be needed to accomplish such a worthy goal. "Security, peace, and disarmament are increasingly framed as humanitarian not just national issues," she writes. That is certainly the framework for *The Hiroshima Declaration*. She recognizes that "At root, nuclear issues in the Middle East highlight the gulf between NPT diplomacy and the security concerns and politics of the real world." Dr. Johnson writes persuasively about the benefits of a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East and the members of the InterAction Council still remain hopeful, as we stated in *The Hiroshima Declaration*, that not only will nuclear weapons be eliminated in this region, but eventually in the world as a whole. It may be a tall order, but in 2013 diplomacy showed that it still has some power.

Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula: A New Perspective

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Preamble

Every participant in the Six-Party Talks supports the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. Yet, the goal seems as elusive as ever. Why is that so? This article reviews what North Korea wants in return for denuclearization, what the Western Three (South Korea, Japan and the United States) want in return for their concessions, and what the pitfalls of the process of denuclearization might be. In reviewing the prospect the article also reviews the prospect of a Northeast Asia Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone.

15.1   INTRODUCTION

All the countries concerned, including North Korea, want the Korean Peninsula to be denuclearized. The Six-Party Talks declaration of September 2005[1] stated so. Security Council resolutions also said so without any Council member voting against.[2] The difference is whether a country is willing to pay a price for it. The United States, South Korea, and Japan (in this paper they are called 'The Three') take a variety of steps to induce or force North Korea to give up its nuclear weapons program. The U.S. at one time considered a military option to stop the program.

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1   *http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/n_korea/6party/joint0509.html* paragraph 1.
2   For example, resolution 2094 adopted unanimously on 7 March 2013.
           http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/2094(2013) paragraph 34.

They are prepared to offer considerable rewards for abandoning the nuclear weapons program. The other parties to the Six-Party Talks, China and Russia, even though they support the denuclearization, do not seem ready to pay too much of a cost or to use coercive measures. The difference stems from the different threat perception of North Korea. The Three are frequently threatened verbally by North Korea. It sounds so outrageous that many do not take it seriously any longer but North Korea still continues to threaten to make Seoul or Tokyo into a fireball. The latest development was 2010's South Korean experience of a number of provocative attacks. Thus, The Three take the emerging nuclear threat from North Korea very seriously.

Even though North Korea has agreed a number of times to give up its nuclear weapons program, or at least a part of it, the program has steadily been making progress. Why has the Six-Party Talks not stopped the North Korean nuclear program? Sceptics argue that North Korea did not really mean to give up its ambition to build up its 'nuclear deterrence' as it calls it now. But North Korea made tactical retreats from time to time when it thought it helped it duck the pressure upon it or win political or economic concessions from the other countries. The Three were lured into the illusion that North Korea intends to give up its nuclear program and provided a variety of economic assistance and concessions such as the U.S. de-listing of North Korea from the State Department's list of states sponsoring terrorism.[3]

Past history shows that there are not many instances of countries voluntarily giving up the idea to acquire nuclear weapons. Soon after the U.S. obtained nuclear weapons, it started to prevent other countries from them, but it failed to stop the Soviet Union and France. The Soviet Union tried to stop China from gaining nuclear weapons but it failed. Then came the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) in 1968. The initial success of NPT included Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Germany, Canada, Australia, Sweden, and Switzerland. In many cases, it was more the diplomatic intervention of the U.S. combined with the offer of security guarantee that moved those countries to accept the legal obligation of the NPT to forego the nuclear option. The countries in the Warsaw Pact may have felt they did not really have freedom to think about getting nuclear weapons for themselves. Early cases of failure were those of India and Israel. Neither of them signed the NPT and eventually they acquired nuclear weapons.

The period after the end of the Cold War has been a more volatile period for nuclear non-proliferation. The Iraqi case was an instance where use of military force was involved in stopping the acquisition of nuclear weapons. If it was not for the blunder to invade Kuwait, the Hussein regime in Iraq could have survived and might have gotten close to acquiring nuclear weapons. The Libyan case was another where intelligence and interdiction efforts triggered diplomatic pressure on the country to finally make it give up its nuclear weapons program. The South African case was a unique case involving a regime change in which a severely isolated white-supremacist regime that sought nuclear weapons for its protection was forced to change, and during the process came to a decision to give up its nuclear weapons.

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3   The U.S. Department of State announced the delisting on 11 October 2008.

For The Three who feel threatened by North Korean nuclear weapons, the primary question is how to denuclearize North Korea peacefully, i.e., without the recourse of the use of military forces. These countries realize that there may have to be some price to be paid for the North Korean abandonment of its nuclear option. But the price should not be so exorbitant as to make parliamentary approval of such a package almost impossible.

For South Korea, it is very much inconceivable to push for a military option to denuclearize North Korea. For Japan, it is in no position to propose a military option for the purpose of denuclearization, given its Constitution that "renounce(d) war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes."[4] Without the support of South Korea and Japan, the U.S. can hardly push for a military option.

15.2   WHAT DOES NORTH KOREA WANT?

15.2.1 Political Recognition

Then, if The Three should negotiate with North Korea for a voluntary deal to denuclearize itself, what would be the price for it? Political? Military? Or, economic? North Korea has insisted many times it wanted mutual recognition, establishment of diplomatic relations, and the conclusion of a peace treaty with the U.S. If all that North Korea wants is such political recognition, it would be easy for the U.S., but North Korea does not seem to be satisfied with only such political concessions.

15.2.2 Security Guarantee

It is often said that North Korea is seriously concerned about its regime survival and thus wants to win a security guarantee from the U.S. The U.S. did offer a security guarantee as early as 1994 when it signed the Agreed Framework with North Korea.[5] It repeated it in the 2005 Joint Declaration of the Six-Party Talks.[6] It is not clear if North Korea is satisfied with a mere documental commitment of non-aggression or non-use of force. The Three, for their part, have learned in other contexts that such an assurance has to be supported by some physical evidences.

Thus, it is not unexpected that when North Korea talks about denuclearization, it insists on the denuclearization of the Peninsula, i.e., both North and South Korea. As The Three seek firm verification of the dismantlement of North Korean nuclear facilities, North Korea may ask for reciprocal verification from South

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4   *http://www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/constitution_and_government_of_japan/constitution_e.html* Article 9.
5   "Agreed Framework between the United States of America and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea," 21 November 1994, paragraph III 1. *http://www.armscontrol.org/documents/af*
6   Ibid., paragraph I.

Korea. This is in a way already provided through the International Atomic Energy Agency's (IAEA) Comprehensive Safeguards and the Additional Protocol to it. For North Korea, if it resumes implementation of the IAEA Safeguards Agreement and concludes an Additional Protocol to it, there will be mutual verification based on equal legal obligations between North and South Korea.

North Korea has insisted it wants to verify non-existence of nuclear weapons in American bases in South Korea to prove denuclearization of the Peninsula. The U.S. has already withdrawn all tactical nuclear weapons from South Korea and has no intention to re-deploy them. So, there is not much substantive question in committing itself not to deploy nuclear weapons in South Korea. But the verification of it at each American military base in South Korea may become a problem. Similar questions may arise when the U.S. and Russia start negotiation of reduction or removal of non-strategic nuclear weapons between them, and either one of them starts insisting on its verification. Strategic reduction/removal is easier to verify. They very often verify destruction/removal of delivery vehicles which are bigger and exclusively prepared for strategic nuclear weapons. The verification of non-strategic nuclear weapons reduction/removal is more difficult because the delivery vehicles are smaller and very often dual purpose. Korean Peninsula denuclearization may learn from U.S.-Russian arms control exercise. Or, the Korean Peninsula may become a test case for the U.S.-Russian exercise.

The Three and North Korea may also agree on additional measures to strengthen the IAEA Safeguards verification. Taking an example from the U.S.-Russian arms control, they may agree on an Open Sky, agreement allowing mutual overflights of intelligence aircraft. They may mutually agree to allow soil, water, and air samples to be taken for radio-nuclide collection on an any-time, any-place basis.

Is the denuclearization of the Peninsula enough for North Korea? If North Korea is seriously concerned about a nuclear threat from the U.S., it should be concerned not only about land-based nuclear weapons potentially stationed in South Korea, but also about the U.S. naval vessels carrying nuclear weapons and long-range missiles stationed on the U.S. mainland. There is virtually no way to control naval vessels moving around the seas. And the U.S. Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM) are the subject of negotiations between the U.S. and Russia. Thus, when North Korea brings out these issues, it may spell the end of negotiations.

15.2.3 Give Up Extended Deterrence

North Korea from time to time demands that South Korea and Japan should renounce their protection under the American extended nuclear deterrence.[7] This may be a way to at least partially satisfy the concern about nuclear threats from naval vessels and ICBMs.

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[7] North Korea demanded South Korea to renounce the extended nuclear deterrence as early as in 1991 when the first North Korean nuclear crisis took place. Steven R. Weisman, "North Korea Adds Barriers to A-Plant Inspections," *New York Times*, 24 October 1991.

From South Korean and Japanese points of view, the extended nuclear deterrence is not only to meet the nuclear threat but also to meet the massive conventional threat and other non-conventional threats, i.e., chemical and biological threats. After a series of intensive exchanges of views between Japan and the U.S., the U.S. issued its Nuclear Posture Review in March 2010 setting a goal to achieve an international environment that enables the U.S. to adopt a policy that the sole purpose of nuclear weapons is to deter the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons by the other side.[8]

Application of this policy line to the Korean scene means working to reduce conventional forces amassed along the Korean Demilitarized Zone (DMZ), to bring North Korea to join the Chemical Weapons Convention under which it will be obliged to destroy all its chemical weapons, to ascertain that North Korea fully complies with the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention, and does not possess or deploy biological weapons. The Three are all parties to the Chemical and Biological Weapons Conventions. Thus, unlike possible conventional forces disengagement arrangements along the DMZ, North Korea may insist chemical and biological issues are a unilateral concession. None of them would be easy to achieve. But they have to be achieved if The Three are to seek a reduced role for nuclear weapons.

15.2.4 Economic Concessions

Given its desperate economic situation, North Korea, in the past, demanded economic concessions from The Three and is likely to do so in future negotiations as well. The Three have expressed their readiness to provide economic assistance in return for North Korean denuclearization. Past examples show that such assistance may include provision of nuclear power generating reactors or non-nuclear fuel for conventional power generation, food and agricultural assistance, and general economic development assistance.[9]

The appetite for such assistance, however, seems to have dwindled among The Three. This is due basically to the sense of disillusionment, in that North Korea did not fulfil the denuclearization commitment it made, but in return they were rewarded by the revelation of uranium enrichment activities, another way to make nuclear weapon material besides separating plutonium, and the nuclear explosive tests.

Added to this may be the economic difficulty experienced by each one of The Three. Japan, for example, promised major economic assistance to North Korea in its bilateral declaration with North Korea in 2002.[10] Some speculated it could go over US$10 billion at that time. That was when Japan was finally showing signs of recovery from the long economic stagnation it experienced during 1990s. Then

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8   *http://www.defense.gov/npr/docs/2010%20Nuclear%20Posture%20Review%20Report.pdf*
9   "Agreed Framework," op. cit. paragraph I.
10   "Japan-DPRK Pyongyang Declaration," 17 September 2002, paragraph 2.
         http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/n_korea/pmv0209/pyongyang.html

came the 2008 severe economic setback caused by the Lehman Shock. Thus, the administrations of The Three will have far greater difficulty today winning approval for any economic assistance package even if it was agreed upon in the Six-Party Talks or in any other framework.

15.3   WHAT THE THREE WANT FROM NORTH KOREA

In return for their offer of assistance The Three sought to gain a series of commitments from North Korea. First and foremost, it has been the abandonment of nuclear weapons program by North Korea. But, there have been other concessions sought by The Three as well.

15.3.1 Military Aspects; Denuclearization Plus

First, they were about military concessions regarding non-nuclear matters. Abandonment of chemical and biological weapons is important if The Three were to seek a reduced role for the extended nuclear deterrence over Japan and South Korea. Disengagement of conventional forces amassed along the DMZ is another proposal for de-escalation of the tension between the North and the South.

Very often those who were eager to achieve denuclearization tended to brush aside the other military aspects as unnecessary additional burdens on the negotiation with North Korea that makes the deal almost impossible to achieve. There is certainly that element and after all any grand bargain may only be realized by a step-by-step approach. If that is so, attempts should still be made to leave enough incentives for North Korea to continue to engage in the negotiations proceeding to the next stage. In that sense, The Three should not give all possible concession to North Korea in the first stage. They should not play all the cards on the first deal but retain some cards for a later deal.

In the *status quo ante* North Korean success in exploding nuclear devices, the massive conventional forces combined with chemical and biological threats were the mainstay of its deterrence vis-à-vis the U.S. and South Korea. Therefore, North Korea may resist giving up those means on top of giving up its nuclear weapons program. It may say, "We will be left with no tools of deterrence to stop Americans or South Koreans."

Disengagement along the DMZ is mutual. Therefore, it can be a stand-alone deal. But, North Korea may claim that as far as chemical and biological weapons are concerned, its side is the only one that is required to take dismantling actions, thereby substantially reducing their hands of deterrence even though for The Three it is only one step to come in line with the prevailing international *de*

facto standards. Realistically, in order to move North Korea in this direction The Three may have to provide additional incentives. If The Three can reduce the role for extended nuclear deterrence and promote the movement towards a nuclear free Korean Peninsula, this may be a cost worth paying. Indeed, the dismantlement of chemical, biological weapons, and the associated programs have to be strictly verified and made irreversible.

The new international environment emerging after Syria accepted the abandonment of its chemical arsenal in September 2013 provides a new perspective about the North Korean chemical weapons arsenal. Prior to the Syrian acceptance, the U.S. threatened military sanctions citing not the legal obligations of Syria under the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) to which Syria is not a party to, but a breach of international norm. Under the mounting pressure, Syria had to accept the dismantlement of chemical weapons. Thus, today the hurdle against the use of chemical weapons is higher than before and pressure on the countries possessing chemical weapons, even as a non-party to the CWC, to abandon them is higher. This may mean the rewards that may be given to the abandonment of chemical weapons may be smaller and may even become none in future. If that is so, North Korea might well be advised to agree to abandon chemical weapons soon when there is still some price for it.

15.3.2 Human Rights and Humanitarian Aspects

Again, those who are eager to achieve denuclearization of North Korea tend to dislike human rights and humanitarian issues as they are definitely detractions to their efforts, and the last thing North Korea wants to discuss at the Six-Party Talks. The North Korean delegates very often walked out of the negotiating room the moment any one of The Three raised the issue.

The issue, however, is an urgent issue that cannot be overlooked. **The United Nations Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea issued a first-ever comprehensive report on the serious human rights situation in North Korea with a series of recommendations for urgent action on 7 February 2014.**[11] There are three dimensions to this issue.

Japanese Dimension

For Japanese, the primary concern is the fate of those Japanese who were abducted more than thirty years ago for a variety of espionage purposes. Not only is it so bizarre and inhumane to suddenly abduct totally innocent young boys and girls and force them to teach espionage agents the Japanese language and customs, but

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11   "Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea," U.N. document; A/HRC/25/63, 7 February 2014.

to keep them for over thirty years is the ultimate in inhumanity. Not only do the abductees themselves suffer, but their family members also suffer from unimaginable torment. It especially draws tears from the Japanese when they hear that their parents are aging and fading away from the world without having had a chance to see their loved ones again. With such outrage in Japan, the Government of Japan will not be able to underwrite any economic deal that would involve a major Japanese contribution.[12]

South Korean Dimension

It is estimated that as many as 100 Japanese may have been abducted by North Korea, but the estimated number of South Korean abductees far exceeds that of the Japanese. By one estimate it reaches over 400. But in comparison to Japan, it seems to be of less concern in the South Korean political and media scenes. This may be due to the fact that South Korea has been exposed to so many outrageous acts from North Korea that the abduction issue alone cannot be a dominant issue. Certainly, South Korea has experienced the bombing of a passenger jet, a mass killing of Cabinet ministers, the sinking of a navy ship, and shelling of an island so far. And it is still under threat. The issue of family reunion also continues.

Even then, for the South Korean families, relatives, and nation as a whole, this is an issue that cannot be easily overlooked for the sake of striking a political deal over denuclearization. The issue is the same for South Koreans as it is for the Japanese. It is inhumane to keep the innocent abductees for such a long time and to keep them from reuniting with their families and loved ones.

North Korean Dimension

The suffering of those outside is terrible, but for those who are inside North Korea, it is beyond imagination. Sufferings from food shortage and malnutrition, deprivation of basic living needs, total denial of freedom of expression, and access to outside information to name a few. Experts say it is no comparison to the situation of what it was in East Germany. The worst comes when any North Korean is seen expressing any dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs. They are put in political concentration camps, re-education camps, and are subjected to torture and mistreatment. Quite a number die of various causes.

Even when they succeed in escaping from North Korea to Northeast China, they are under constant threat of arrest and deportation back to North Korea. Imagine what kind of treatment will be waiting for those who are deported. It is such an inhumane treatment of those who are clearly 'refugees' under the terms of the 1951 Refugee Convention.[13]

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12   Ibid.
13   *http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.html*

There are low-level efforts to assist the refugees in The Three but the efforts need to be re-invigorated to give hope to those who have risked their lives to seek freedom, and an opportunity to have full expression of their human potential. The governments of The Three should strengthen their efforts to persuade the Chinese and the other governments to offer full protection and assistance to those who sought refuge status and at the least, not to send them back to North Korea.

This is in a way reminiscent of the Solzhenitsyn Affair during the Cold War. The West considered the treatment of those who expressed reservation about the regime and those who wished to emigrate from the Soviet Union so outrageous, but in order to help the fate of those who were in desperate situations, the West from time to time struck a deal with the Soviet Union to win their release from the Gulag imprisonment. Such was the case of Solzhenitsyn. The Three might make an exception if necessary to strike such a deal with North Korea.

15.3.3 The Other Aspects; Behaving as a Normal State

It may not be as serious as the military aspect or the human right and humanitarian aspects, but the overall behaviour of North Korea is so much out of step with normal states around the world. For example, the state-involvement in manufacturing counterfeit dollars, fake commercial products, and the production and export of drugs. We have seen cases of countries lenient on these crimes but pursuing them as a matter of state policy is something totally out of step in the conduct of a civilized state. North Korea may think it is technically still in a legal state of war with the U.S., and thus is allowed to condone these crimes under international law in time of war. But it is bizarre to continue this after more than 60 years of *de facto* peace that has continued since the Armistice Agreement was signed. Conclusion of a peace treaty with North Korea may create a situation whereby it will lose such an excuse and will have to behave as a normal state in accordance with the twenty-first century code of international relationship.

15.4   WHAT SHOULD BE AVOIDED

A diplomatic solution through the Six-Party Talks or otherwise is definitely better than military confrontation or coercive measures. Therefore, the doors to a diplomatic solution should be kept open and attempts should be made to entice North Korea to such a solution. However, the history of nearly two decades of engagement with North Korea on the issue of denuclearization of the Peninsula has provided a number of lessons, and they must be kept in mind to avoid any repetition of mistakes and to bring about real solutions to the question.

15.4.1 Avoid a Partial Deal

There are basically two ways to make nuclear bombs. One is to use enriched uranium and the other is to use plutonium. The 1994 Agreed Framework did close the hole for the plutonium path but did not fully close the uranium path. Thus, while The Three worked to provide two light water reactors in return for the dismantlement of the graphite reactor, North Korea quietly started to work on the alternate path. A partial deal does not make a sense. It has to be avoided.

Plutonium production involves irradiation of uranium in a kind of nuclear reactor and separating plutonium from either spent fuel or irradiated uranium. It requires a number of facilities and leaves certain radioactive traces, hence it is easier to discover and keep track of. In contrast, uranium enrichment does not leave much of a trace, except for acquisition of uranium ore as source material, centrifuges, and a facility to house them. If a laser method to enrich uranium is developed, it would become even harder to uncover any hidden enrichment activities. The Three may cooperate to find ways to uncover and monitor such activities for the eventuality of North Korea agreeing to the cessation of the nuclear weapons program and the requirement rises to verify that no clandestine activities are undertaken.

15.4.2 Do Not Buy an Unverifiable Deal

One day North Korea may say it agrees to dismantle its nuclear weapons program. Wonderful! But, how do you verify it? Do you give all the rewards for such a commitment without verification? There may be a voice rising to give it a try. It may become difficult to insist on tough verification when the expectation rises and the pressure mounts to seize the opportunity to strike a deal.

There will be a great temptation to do so. But, it has to be resisted and every effort should be made to verify any deal unless there was a total change of political situation, as with the collapse of the Soviet Union, or regime change in South Africa, when the overall trust and confidence situation changed drastically. If a credible verification is not feasible, the deal would better be foregone, because the damage caused by hidden non-compliance can be even greater than the benefits that the deal may accrue.

15.4.3 Seek a Comprehensive Deal, or Leave some Leverage for Other Issues

Some argue that the denuclearization of North Korea will not take place unless there is a regime change or a total change of the body politics there. This may be true. Then it will be a lot easier to agree on a denuclearization deal, to implement,

monitor, and verify it. But, under the circumstances, a solution under the current regime in North Korea has to be sought and assume no major change there. Even then, a comprehensive deal involving not only denuclearization, but also human rights, humanitarian, and other issues should be sought. If a step-by-step approach has to be taken, some leverage should be left to make sure that the agreed steps are successfully implemented and the remaining issues are settled in the succeeding negotiations.

15.5   PROSPECT OF DENUCLEARIZATION

The history of the international efforts to stop the nuclearization of North Korea, starting from the U.S.-North Korean negotiations that led to the 1994 Agreed Framework until the Six-Party Talks, has shown that North Korea, either overtly or covertly, continued working on nuclear weapons development that led to the nuclear test explosions in 2006, 2009, and 2013. It is not that North Korea all of a sudden started its weapons program in 2002 when it admitted having a uranium enrichment program and completed the explosive device in four years, but that North Korea secretly continued to develop nuclear weapons while professing to implement the 1994 Agreed Framework.

North Korea, in fact, made it its national priority to gain nuclear weapons and devoted enormous resources out of its impoverished economy. Thus, from their point of view, it would be extremely difficult to make a decision to terminate its nuclear weapons program. It would take, perhaps, even a bigger decision than when Libya decided to give up its nuclear program in 2003. At the time, the Libyan program was still in its infancy and not progressing very well. North Korea, in comparison, has already succeeded in making a device that can explode. The latest fall of Muammar Gaddafi seems to have made the North Korean determination to hang on to its nuclear program even stronger for the sake of its regime's survival.[14]

If North Korea is to agree to renounce its nuclear program today, it would take a huge reward package to convince it that it would be better to take the package than to keep its nuclear program. Basically, this means giving North Korea everything that it wants. Under the severe economic and financial strains, none of The Three might be willing to offer such a major reward.

Thus, it would take a major policy change, or regime change in North Korea for it to make a decision to renounce its nuclear program. Many learned experts of North Korea say this is highly unlikely given the total isolation of North Korean people from outside information, and the firm grip of the ruling power structure. This may be true, but the cases of the Soviet Union and East Germany need to be remembered. In those days, too, many Sovietologists said that a regime change was unlikely.

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14   Andrei Lankov, "Pyongyang Looks for the Next Payoff; The lesson North Korean leaders learned from Libya is that there is no security without nuclear weapons." 27 September 2011. *http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052970204422404576594680013468562.html*

It might take some time for North Korea to realize that possession of nuclear weapons does not bring much benefit, but that it costs enormous additional resources to keep a robust survivable nuclear force. Having experienced a number of disappointments, none of The Three will be easily cajoled to give significant economic concessions to North Korea. With the efforts to strengthen their defence and deterrence The Three cannot be easily blackmailed to make contributions to North Korea. A recent trend is that the export market for North Korean nuclear and missile technology is shrinking.[15] In the meantime, it will take a major financial investment for North Korea to build up a ballistic missile force that can survive an enemy pre-emptive attack. It has to be either buried deep underground, made mobile or put under the sea.

15.6   A NEW PROSPECT OF A NORTHEAST ASIA NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE ZONE

The proposal to establish a Northeast Asia Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone has now gained a new perspective and possibility that is different from the past. The concept of a Northeast Asia Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone[16] used to be regarded by conservatives and realists as a naïve leftist idea that lacked balance and reality check. This is because the idea suggested for only Japan and the two Koreas to commit to legally denuclearize, while leaving the nuclear weapons of China and Russia untouched. This seemed to be one-sided from the Japanese point of view. The only thing that Japan was supposed to receive in return from China and Russia under this idea was 'negative security assurance,' i.e., commitment not to use nuclear weapons against Japan. Again, this is an idea that conservatives did not buy because there was a general mistrust about the concept of a mere verbal, or even written commitment not to use nuclear weapons. They preferred physical evidence of extended nuclear deterrence to such a non-verifiable commitment.

Now that North Korea has shown, however, to have nuclear devices that can explode, the scene has changed. For a Northeast Asia Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone to be achieved, North Korea has to dismantle its nuclear weapons program and the nuclear devices it has produced so far, and commit itself to denuclearize, while Japan and South Korea only have to legally confirm their non-nuclear statuses. So now the bargain may not be so bad from Japanese or South Korean perspectives. Therefore, at least theoretically, it is now an idea even the conservatives can endorse.

Indeed, for this Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone to materialize, North Korea has to decide to give up its nuclear program. Therefore, the chance or the difficulty of its realization is equal to that of denuclearizing North Korea. The zone, therefore,

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15   Joby Warrick, "How did North Korea Nearly put Itself Out of the Missile Business? It was Just too Good at Selling," *The Washington Post*, 19 September 2011. *http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/checkpoint-washington/post/how-did-north-korea-nearly-put-itself-out-of-the-missile-business-too-much-success/2011/09/19/gIQAi3YxeK_blog.html*

16   A draft is contained in the document prepared by a Japanese NGO, Peace Dept. *http://www.peacedepot.org/e-news/workingpaper1.pdf*

may be realized as a part of the package deal that may come out of the North Korean denuclearization negotiation.

15.7   WHAT MAY NEED TO BE MAINTAINED FOR THE TIME BEING; DEFENCE, DETERRENCE, AND NON-PROLIFERATION

Without any immediate prospect that North Korea will agree to dismantle its nuclear weapons program, The Three have to maintain their defence and deterrence capability to prevent North Korea from using its nuclear weapons or threatening the use of them. One of the means is to build a credible missile defence capability such as the U.S.-Japan joint development program of advanced theatre missile defence. In order to avoid being blackmailed or any damage, The Three have to maintain their robust conventional defence capability to fend off any North Korean provocation at sea, on land, in the air, or in non-conventional covert operations. As the military theorists say, offence has the advantage of being able to choose the place and means of attack. The defence has to be prepared on an anytime, any-place basis. So, this is a costly proposition at a time when The Three are faced with financial and economic difficulties, not an easy policy option to take. The Three, nevertheless, can maximize limited defence spending by improving their mutual cooperation through, for example, information exchange, higher interoperability, and joint exercises.

In the efforts to strengthen the defence and deterrence among The Three, the extent of such efforts has to be carefully calibrated so that they are not taken to be overly aggressive by the other side. This is a difficult operation but has to be done for the purpose of eventually achieving a denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and the achievement of a 'world without nuclear weapons' in the Northeast Asian context. Otherwise, North Korea will be alarmed and further harden its position.

Stopping the proliferation of nuclear weapons technology from North Korea, especially to terrorists and non-state actors, has become of great concern after 9/11. All efforts should be mobilized to prevent proliferation as much as possible. The Nuclear Security Summit, Proliferation Security Initiative, Container Security Initiative, Nuclear Suppliers Group all help. But, there is not really a silver bullet to prevent proliferation and to reduce the threat of nuclear terrorism. It has to take an accumulation of vigilance and tireless efforts to persevere with diverse steps to close the holes of proliferation.

15.8   CONCLUSION

Achieving a nuclear-free Korean Peninsula seems as elusive as ever. But for the people on both sides of the DMZ to live in peace and without fear of nuclear devastation, the goal of a denuclearized Korea cannot be given up. It is the goal that Japan totally supports. Officially, no one denies the goal. The question is at what price and how the goal is to be achieved. The question is how to balance the costs and how to install the process so that the end goal of denuclearization is sure to be achieved. Until the goal is achieved, and after the goal is achieved, peace has to be maintained. Thus, efforts have to be made to tackle non-nuclear aspects as well so that an environment is generated for the maintenance of peace. The defence and the deterrence to be maintained until the goal is achieved has to be good enough to keep the peace, but not excessive so as to intensify the perception of threat from the other side. This is another difficult balancing act to take but surely one that is worth taking.

The Necessity to Reduce and Eliminate Nuclear Threats and Weapons in the Middle East and Internationally

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16.1   INTRODUCTION

In 2010, the States Parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) committed to achieving and maintaining a more secure world free of nuclear weapons, as well as promoting negotiations on a zone free of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East (MEWMDFZ).[1] These objectives are also enshrined in one way or another in various consensus UN General Assembly (UNGA), and Security Council resolutions, which therefore cover the four states outside the NPT: Israel, India, Pakistan, and North Korea.

When I presented the first draft of this paper for the InterAction Council in May 2013, the NPT Preparatory Committee (PrepCom) meeting in Geneva had just finished. The United States and Iran had continued their tit for tat trading of diplomatic accusations, and Egypt had shocked the PrepCom by walking out in protest that the NPT-mandated 2012 Conference on the Middle East had not taken place and that no date was put on the calendar for 2013. While all sides had welcomed the U.S.-Russia New START Treaty, many countries complained that much more needed to be done to comply with nuclear disarmament obligations under the Treaty's Article VI. As they did at every NPT meeting, the nuclear-weapon states (NWS) claimed credit for past reductions but maintained that they would need

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1   2010 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, Final Document, NPT/CONF.2010/50 Volume I, Part I.

nuclear weapons as long as anyone else had them. Frustrated with the prevarications of the NWS and the regime's inability to engage the nuclear-armed states outside the NPT, 80 states co-sponsored a statement on the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons,[2] up from 16 at the 2012 PrepCom.[3]

At time of writing, there have been further important developments with impact on the international disarmament and non-proliferation agenda. Despite being boycotted by some of the nuclear-armed states (China, France, Israel, Russia, United Kingdom, and United States), in-depth multilateral discussions about nuclear disarmament took place in Geneva in an Open-Ended Working Group (OEWG) mandated by the UNGA. In contrast to the moribund Conference on Disarmament (CD), the OEWG discussed these issues with the Red Cross and speakers from various UN agencies, civil society experts, and governments, and considered different steps that could be taken, including humanitarian approaches and negotiations on a multilateral nuclear prohibition treaty to reinforce the non-proliferation regime and ban the use, deployment, production, and stockpiling of nuclear weapons, recognising the importance of reinforcing and achieving the NPT's obligation to eliminate all existing nuclear arsenals. Humanitarian disarmament arguments as well as support for the NPT characterised a special high-level meeting on nuclear disarmament held at the United Nations in September 2013, epitomised by the President of Austria's statement that "Nuclear weapons should be stigmatized, banned and eliminated before they abolish us."[4]

At the UN First Committee (Disarmament and International Security) meeting in October 2013, an unprecedented 125 governments co-sponsored the humanitarian disarmament statement, led this time by New Zealand.[5] Following this, the Red Cross and Red Crescent societies unanimously adopted a further resolution titled "Working towards the elimination of nuclear weapons," with a four-year action plan. With regard to the Middle East, the news was mixed. Following the election of President Hassan Rouhani, the first steps towards confidence-building on nuclear issues with Iran were taken when an interim agreement between Iran's new government and the EU3+3 (also known as the P5+1: France, Germany, the U.K., China, Russia, and the U.S.) was hammered out in November 2013. However, talks convened by the Finnish facilitator Jaakko Laajava in Glion, Switzerland, in

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2   Joint Statement on the Humanitarian Impact of Nuclear Weapons", delivered by Abdul Samad Minty, Permanent Representative of South Africa, on behalf of 80 states parties to the NPT, to the Second Preparatory Committee meeting of States Parties to the NPT, Geneva, 24 April 2013. *http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/images/documents/Disarmament-fora/npt/prepcom13/ statements/24April_SouthAfrica.pdf* .

3   "Joint statement on the humanitarian dimension of nuclear disarmament" delivered by Ambassador Benno Laggner of Switzerland on behalf of Austria, Chile, Costa Rica, Denmark, Holy See, Egypt, Indonesia, Ireland, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Philippines, South Africa, and Switzerland, to the First Preparatory Committee meeting of States Parties to the NPT, Vienna, 2 May 2012. Available at: *http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/disarmament-fora/npt/2012/statements*.

4   Federal President of Austria, Heinz Fischer, High Level Meeting of the UN General Assembly on Nuclear Disarmament, New York, 26 September 2013.

5   Joint Statement on the Humanitarian Consequences of Nuclear Weapons, delivered by Ambassador Dell Higgie (New Zealand) on behalf of 125 states, UN First Committee, 21 October 2013. Available at *http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/images/documents/Disarmament-fora/1com/1com13/ statements/21Oct_Joint.pdf*

October failed to agree on a date or modalities for the delayed Helsinki Conference on the Middle East.

Recent developments continue to demonstrate, as the IAC recognised in *The Hiroshima Declaration* (see Appendix 3 in this volume), that a different, humanitarian-centred approach is now being put at the centre of international nuclear debates. Four significant inter-related factors have contributed to these recent changes in disarmament discourse and strategy:

- the growing importance accorded to international humanitarian law (IHL) in relations among states, including treaties to prohibit various weapons systems that are disproportionate, inhumane, and incapable of discriminating between civilian and military targets or between civilian non-combatants and armed combatants.

- a heightened understanding of the worldwide humanitarian consequences of unleashing nuclear weapons, informed by a new generation of civil society actors and studies on the impact of even limited uses of nuclear weapons on the global environment, climate, agricultural, and food resources, as well as devastating the most closely affected regions;

- a weakening of faith in the efficacy of nuclear deterrence combined with the recognition that as long as proliferation and nuclear weapons modernisation programmes continue, nuclear weapons could be used in irrational scenarios (including terrorism by government or non-state actors), with potentially catastrophic consequences; and

- emerging recognition by non-nuclear-weapon states that they have rights, responsibilities, and high security stakes in nuclear decision-making, and that they must take the lead to transform the nuclear security calculus and achieve a ban on nuclear weapons.

This essay considers the background and implications of the changing political environment affecting the national and regional context within which governments make nuclear-related decisions, and considers some constructive approaches for making progress towards the long-standing and vital objective of prohibiting and eliminating nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction regionally and globally.

16.2   NPT OBLIGATIONS AND COMMITMENTS

In Article VI of the NPT, which entered into force in 1970, there is a clear obligation to pursue nuclear disarmament "in good faith." When the Cold War ended, aggregate numbers came down from over 50,000 warheads to around 17,000.[6] But this was not considered sufficient, as the NWS have continued to extend and modernise their arsenals, so non-implementation of Article VI continued to be a major area of contention at successive Review Conferences. Recognising that the vague wording of Article VI let the NWS off the hook, in 2000, the 'New Agenda Coalition' (NAC) of seven 'non-nuclear-weapon states' (NNWS)[7] led negotiations that achieved NPT consensus on a thirteen paragraph programme of disarmament, underscoring the NWS' "unequivocal undertaking to accomplish the total elimination of… [all] nuclear weapons."[8]

Despite agreeing to this, the NWS failed to live up to their commitments, and in the 2010 NPT Review Conference took the opportunity to roll the disarmament requirements back. Watered down and reduced to a couple of paragraphs amongst 64 'action points,' "Action 5" urged the NWS to continue reducing their arsenals, further diminish "the role and significance of nuclear weapons in all military and security concepts, doctrines and policies" and measures relating to preventing the use of nuclear weapons, lessening the danger of nuclear war, and further reduce the operational status of nuclear weapons systems, enhancing transparency and reducing the risks of accidental use, with a further requirement to report back in 2014.[9] Though many non-nuclear NPT parties have raised concerns that the nuclear disarmament requirements in the 2010 final document are generally weaker than the "13 Steps" adopted in 2000, it is important not to underestimate the changes in how the 2010 Review Conference framed the disarmament requirements, directly referencing for the first time the use of nuclear weapons, compliance with international humanitarian law, and the clear goal of achieving and maintaining a world without nuclear weapons.[10]

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6 SIPRI Yearbook 2013, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. *http://www.sipri.org*

7 The New Agenda Coalition (NAC) in 2000 comprised Brazil, Egypt, Ireland, Mexico, New Zealand, South Africa, and Sweden. The most comprehensive plan agreed by NPT states parties was negotiated primarily between the P5 nuclear-weapon states and the New Agenda Coalition and adopted by the 2000 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, Final Document, 20 May 2000, New York, NPT/CONF.2000/28 Part I. The commitments, dubbed 'the thirteen steps', were largely ignored by the nuclear-weapon states for the next ten years and then renegotiated in a much weaker form in the 2010 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, Final Document, Volume I, NPT/CONF.2010/50 Volume I, Part I.For this history of how the 'Thirteen Steps' were achieved, see Rebecca Johnson, 'The 2000 NPT Review Conference: A Delicate, Hard-Won Compromise', *Disarmament Diplomacy* 46 (May 2000), pp 2-21; and Rebecca Johnson, 'Towards Nuclear Disarmament' in W.Huntley, K.Mizumoto and M.Kurosawa (eds.), *Nuclear Disarmament in the Twenty-First Century*, Hiroshima Peace Institute, 2004.

8 2000 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, Final Document, adopted 20 May 2000, New York, NPT/CONF.2000/28 (Part I).

9 2010 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, Final Document, NPT/CONF.2010/50 Volume I, Part I, Action 5.

10 For example, the NPT 2010 Final Document framed the actions in the context that "all States need to make special efforts to establish the necessary framework to achieve and maintain a world without nuclear weapons", and expressed "deep concern at the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of

For years the NWS resisted calls for nuclear disarmament, but in 1994 were finally induced to negotiate a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), though they endowed it with a pernicious Achilles heel in Article XIV, which imposed absurdly high entry into force requirements. Consequently, the CTBT has not yet entered into full legal force, despite having more than 180 signatories, of whom over 160 have fully ratified.[11] Nowadays, instead of blatantly resisting, the NWS now find it more useful to pay lip service to a 'step by step process.' Challenged by NPT states in 2005 and 2010 over their failure to implement the agreed 'thirteen steps' the NWS response was to weaken the steps and complain that the machinery or conditions are not conducive for the kind of steps or process that would constitute genuine disarmament in the eyes of the majority of NNWS.

The current strategy is to insist that until the Conference on Disarmament (CD) — which has been paralysed for 18 years — concludes the fissile materials (cut-off) treaty for which it adopted a negotiating mandate in 1995, no further multilateral steps can be attempted. Such a treaty has been promoted since 1946, but its political and disarmament value has diminished, and its purpose and viability have repeatedly been called into question during the long years of CD impasse, as some states argue that the question of whether existing stockpiles should be included in a fissile material treaty must be determined before negotiations can get underway. With regard to weapons reductions, Britain, France, and China say "you first" to the U.S. and Russia, who are not making much progress with further bilateral agreements as they continue to maintain and modernise several thousand long range and theatre nuclear weapons. India and Pakistan are caught up in an arms race, refusing to slow down unless the other side does so first. India, which was once a Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) champion of nuclear disarmament, now argues that the P5 — especially China — must reduce first. The 'Disarmament Game' these days shunts responsibility from one to another. As long as governments of the nuclear-armed states can point to the size of another nuclear arsenal they behave as though this is a reason and excuse for not moving forward with qualitative and quantitative disarmament steps, including ones previously agreed and adopted by NPT review conferences.[12] Rigidity over certain kinds of sequencing bedevils the processes of nuclear disarmament.

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any use of nuclear weapons and reaffirms the need for all States at all times to comply with applicable international law, including international humanitarian law". 2010 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, Final Document, NPT/CONF.2010/50 Volume I, Part I.

11   Rebecca Johnson, *Embedding the CTBT in norms, law and practice*, (UNA-UK, London, 2013). For latest figures on signatures and ratifications, see CTBTO website *http://www.ctbto.org*. For history and background on the CTBT see Rebecca Johnson, *Unfinished Business: the Negotiation of the CTBT and the End of Nuclear Testing*, United Nations, 2009.

12   The NPT was useful in signing up most of the world (185 of its states parties joined as non-nuclear-weapon states) and developing a variety of additional procedures and agreements for nuclear monitoring, safe guards and export controls. Iran is the most recent to cause concern for manipulating the Article IV nuclear energy provision. Concerns about the unintended consequences of both Article IV and Article VI, are underpinned by science and history: almost all the nuclear-armed states developed their weapons capabilities through nuclear energy programmes.

British leaders have publicly argued that the NPT gives the U.K. the "right" to modernise its Trident nuclear weapons system, France maintains that Article VI justifies holding on to nuclear weapons until there is general and complete disarmament, while China refuses to halt upgrading its nuclear arsenal until "the two largest arsenals" are brought down to a comparable size. Since North Korea pulled out of the NPT in 2003, conducted some nuclear tests and declared itself a 'nuclear power,' British and American leaders now cite even the possibility of a nuclear weapon in the hands of this small despotic regime as their justification for blocking and delaying disarmament initiatives. India cites China, Pakistan cites India, and so it continues into the ancient political rivalries of the Middle East. Not only does the NPT no longer have the tools or political credibility to provide solutions for preventing proliferation and achieving disarmament; as the world moved on, the NPT has become part of the obstacle course, adding more problems than it resolves. In some ways, nuclear weapons have been reduced to a sideshow in international politics, but they remain a threat that could destroy the world as we know it.

16.3   REGIONAL CHALLENGES

One reason why disarmament was less hard fought by the non-nuclear NPT parties in 2010 was because the NAM had decided to prioritise the League of Arab States' proposal for a conference and process to implement the 1995 Resolution on the Middle East.[13] This commitment was adopted as the centrepiece of the 2010 Review Conference, building on Article VII, which encourages States to establish regional nuclear-weapon-free zones (NWFZ).

After being put on the international agenda by Egypt and Iran in 1974, the objective of a NWFZ in the Middle East has been an important factor in the policies of the League of Arab States (LAS). In 1990, following Saddam Hussein's use of chemical weapons in the Iran-Iraq war, and in the context of negotiations on the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC), Egypt widened the concept by proposing a WMD-free zone for the region. An annual resolution advocating this objective has continued to receive consensus from the UNGA, though more specific resolutions tend to be opposed by at least the U.S. and Israel. A Weapons of Mass Destruction Free Zone (WMDFZ) for the Middle East has become a mainstream objective, prioritised in the NPT regime through the 1995 Resolution on the Middle East, that was adopted as part of a package of decisions underpinning the indefinite extension of the NPT in 1995. From then on, the Arab States have pushed hard in the NPT and other international fora for this resolution to be implemented. The Arab League's proposal for a regional conference and special coordinator on this issue became the centrepiece of the 2010 NPT Review Conference. After tense negotiations that

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13   Egypt was the prime mover in this strategy, and coordinated both the NAM and the NAC at the 2010 NPT Conference. See Rebecca Johnson, Tim Caughley and John Borrie, *Decline or Transform: Nuclear disarmament and security beyond the NPT Review Process* (London: Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy, 2012).

even involved U.S. Vice President Joe Biden, the Arab League won most of what they had proposed, with modifications that included an independent 'facilitator' appointed by the UN Secretary General and NPT depositaries (U.S., U.K., and Russia). The 2010 Middle East action plan enshrined the commitment not only to convene a regional conference in 2012, but to a ***process*** of engagement to take the issue forward.

As we enter 2014, there has been no conference, and the process appears stalled. The basic elements for a zone are generally understood if not agreed, including the geographic boundaries, basic obligations, and requirements for verification and implementation. Though negotiations would undoubtedly be difficult, the legal and technical issues are not obstacles to progress. That lies in domestic and regional politics, combined with out-dated rhetoric that may play to nationalist public galleries but which impede actual efforts to find disarmament and security solutions.

At root, nuclear issues in the Middle East highlight the gulf between NPT diplomacy and the security concerns and politics of the real world. Nuclear policies have high salience in the Middle East although (or because) all states except Israel have over time acceded to the NPT as NNWS. Israel, which is believed to have manufactured some 60-100 nuclear weapons while remaining outside the NPT, maintains a policy of nuclear ambiguity or opacity.[14] Iran, which over three decades developed significant fuel cycle capabilities including uranium enrichment to 19.5 percent,[15] has remained a state party to the NPT, claiming that its nuclear programme is justified under Article IV, which enshrined an "inalienable right" to nuclear energy for "peaceful purposes."

The 2013 election of President Hassan Rouhani in Iran has paved the way for some positive developments, including the November 2013 Joint Plan of Action hammered out between Iran and the EU3+3 representatives in Geneva. It is too early to gauge whether the six month 'interim' action plan will be implemented and extended in ways that transform nuclear threats, fears, and programmes in the region.[16]

In addition to concerns about the Israeli and Iranian nuclear programmes, there are some indications that Saudi Arabia and potentially others may be hedging their bets by developing nuclear facilities, citing energy or research programmes for "peaceful purposes." On the region's borders to the East, India and Pakistan became overtly nuclear armed after each conducted nuclear tests in May 1998. In the past 15 years they have pursued a regional nuclear arms race and are believed to possess around 100-120 warheads apiece. In addition, Turkey hosts some 60-70 U.S.

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14   Avner Cohen, *Israel and the Bomb*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).
15   It is generally recognised that for nuclear energy it is sufficient to enrich uranium only to 3.5-4 percent. Some states use fuel enriched to 20 percent for nuclear submarines. Nuclear weapons generally require 90 percent enriched uranium or plutonium to sustain the fission reactions at sufficient speeds to create an explosion.
16   Joint Plan of Action, Geneva 24 November 2013, agreed between Iran and the EU3+3 representatives (France, Germany, the UK and EU High Representative Baroness Ashton, plus China, Russia, the United States — also sometimes called P5+1).

air-launched theatre nuclear weapons at the Incirlik air base, one of several NATO members that have nuclear weapons on their territory despite being NNWS parties to the NPT. Although the Arab States continue to evoke the NPT in all their public utterances, it is increasingly recognised (at least in private) that workable solutions need to be sought beyond the NPT, and efforts need to be accelerated to reduce the role and salience of nuclear weapons globally as well as within the region.

Israeli opinion about nuclear weapons and regional security is more divided than is generally acknowledged. There is little open debate, but when the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) and the Israeli Disarmament Movement organised meetings with Hibakusha from Hiroshima and Nagasaki and brought Dr. Ira Helfand, Boston-based author of the "Nuclear Famine" reports, to speak in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, they received unusually high public turnout and media interest, provoking discussions in unexpected places. Though the meetings were ostensibly to raise awareness about the humanitarian consequences of all nuclear weapons, they inevitably raised questions about the utility and role of Israel's nuclear forces. Though fear of Iran developing nuclear capabilities is high, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has been relatively isolated in his dismissal of the November 2013 Joint Plan of Action with Iran as a "historic mistake." Senior military and foreign affairs officials gave a cautious welcome to the EU3+3 deal as providing significant impediments to Iran's nuclear programme and a preferable approach to military force.[17]

With regard to Israel's own nuclear posture, the dominant position is that regional security, recognition and normalisation have to be established before nuclear weapons can be addressed. This "after you" attitude comes up against Arab views that Palestinian human rights, refugees, and the ongoing Occupation need to be resolved before there can be peace with Israel. The default position for most Arab States has been that Israel has to get rid of its nuclear weapons and join the NPT as a NNWS party as a precondition for others to accede to other treaties such as the CWC and the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention (BWC). The use of chemical weapons in the Syrian war has brought such linkages into question as Syria is propelled into acceding to the CWC and agreeing to have inspectors oversee the removal and destruction of its chemical weapons arsenal. Efforts need to be pursued to take all aspects of disarmament forward, notwithstanding the upheavals generated through internal and regional conflicts and other developments linked with the 2011 events characterised as an Arab Spring or Awakening. These may open up opportunities or they may further complicate nuclear disarmament prospects in the region.

Diplomatic attention for now is still focussed on trying to convene the Helsinki Conference, at least before 2015. Israel — still supported by the U.S., though the political strength of that relationship appears to be weakened by recent developments — remains reluctant to commit to anything that might lead to negotiations. Iran appears wary even though its diplomats continue to express official support. To avoid becoming derailed and deadlocked with recriminations

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17   Raphael Ahren, Labor MK: Compared to strike, deal is 'far superior', *Times of Israel*, 24 November 2013. *http://bit.ly/17HESDj*

about the lack of a regional WMDFZ Conference — and while continuing to work on bringing all states together around the same table — there is growing interest in establishing some kind of Helsinki-type process for the Middle East. As with the Helsinki process at the height of the Cold War, a possible approach might be to establish three tracks of negotiations on inter-related themes that could be pursued regionally at government level and/or with civil society representatives to develop ideas and pave the way towards a WMD free zone in the Middle East.[18]

If such a proposal were to gain traction, a possible division of issues could be along the following lines:

- **Track 1** might focus on laying groundwork and preparing the way for a WMDFZ, dealing with technical and political issues relating to fissile materials production, fuel cycle technologies, missile programmes, adherence to and implementation of the various WMD-related treaties and Security Council resolutions, and a timetable for Israel to put its nuclear facilities progressively under International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards.

- **Track 2** could address principles for mutual security, human rights, and humanitarian issues, including refugees.

- **Track 3** could build confidence and understanding between all parties by focusing on 'soft' issues where there are more obviously common interests, such as shared resources like water, economic, scientific, technological, and environmental cooperation, and various kinds of cultural and educational exchanges.

Setting up such a process of talks would be challenging, and the devil — as always — would be in the detail. Given current levels of hostility and rivalry between some key countries, and internal instability and/or intransigent leaders, even talks aimed at agreeing on the modalities for such a process could well flounder, as have the consultations and discussions that Ambassador Laajava initiated to try and get preliminary agreement to hold the planned Helsinki Conference.

16.4   LOOKING TOWARDS 2015

While recognising that nuclear disarmament will continue to be an important factor for many states as they look toward the 2015 NPT Review Conference, the meeting's success or failure could hinge on whether the promised Helsinki Conference takes

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18   If the issues in each track are grouped appropriately, having three tracks lessens the risks of becoming as deadlocked as binary negotiations, such as the 1991-95 Arms Control and Regional Security (ACRS) twin track working group talks involving Israel, Egypt and twelve other Arab states, Palestinian representatives and others.

place, and whether it establishes a constructive process to lay the groundwork for a zone free of nuclear and other WMD in the Middle East. In considering possible ways forward, there are lessons to be learned from the Helsinki process as well as other NWFZ negotiations, particularly those that established zones in Latin America (the 1967 Tlatelolco Treaty) and Africa (the 1996 Pelindaba Treaty).

Humanitarian as well as strategic concerns led to the prohibition of biological and chemical weapons through the BWC and CWC. Humanitarian and human security approaches are now leading efforts to ban and eliminate nuclear weapons. Power, economic, and security relations among states are being transformed in the twenty-first century, most notably through the haemorrhaging of U.S./Western economic, moral-democratic, and military credibility since the ill-conceived "war(s) on terrorism" and near collapse of several economies due to financial mismanagement and banking scandals. Other nations are gaining in economic confidence and taking more responsibility to support international legal and treaty regimes, while some appear bent on weakening such regimes. Viewing security as more interdependent than twentieth century military-derived concepts, more governments are questioning international structures that privilege the few to the detriment of the majority. They are also less inclined to accept the 'authority' and vetoes wielded by certain states that seek to control institutions such as the United Nations, Conference on Disarmament, and NPT.

Security, peace, environmental destruction, human rights and disarmament are increasingly framed as humanitarian — not just national — issues. When considering how best to implement long-standing disarmament and non-proliferation obligations, inspiration is being sought from more successful multilateral fora and processes, including recent treaty processes that have banned landmines and cluster munitions. The objectives are to develop processes that take everyone's security into account and are open to all to negotiate. Framing the weapons as humanitarian problems rather than military assets, the cluster munitions and landmines negotiations were led by self-selected majorities of states rather than historically determined members of a cold war forum. Treating the security concerns and rights of all countries as equal, such approaches help to offset the coercive imposition of a few dominant states' military-industrial interests.[19] The resulting prohibition treaties have entered into force (unlike the CTBT, which was concluded by the 66-member CD in 1996 using established negotiating processes). Though work remains to accomplish the total elimination of landmines and cluster munitions, as well as biological and chemical weapons, the treaties have greatly accelerated and facilitated their stigmatisation and removal from deployment.

The protection of civilians and the role of women as agents of change are also being brought to the fore, regionally as well as internationally. In this regard, engaging the different perceptions and experiences of women and other traditionally marginalised peoples in negotiations on regional and global peace and security, as required under United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and other UNGA

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19   Rebecca Johnson, Tim Caughley and John Borrie, *Decline or Transform: Nuclear disarmament and security beyond the NPT Review Process* (London: Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy, 2012).

and Security Council measures will be a test of how effective and sustainable future negotiations and arrangements will be.[20]

Although the Helsinki Process and previous treaties offer examples that might be useful, nothing from the past can be simply reproduced. The point is to analyse what lessons might usefully be applied to dealing with today's regional and international disarmament and security challenges. Perceptions of nuclear possession and doctrines are being reframed to challenge the ways in which nuclear weapons are coveted for status or as a means of regional and global power projection. Governments that retain or seek nuclear weapons are no longer being allowed to hide behind deterrence theories, as if this conferred some magical and failsafe security to nuclear weapons possessors and their allies.[21] The 'step by step' processes for nuclear arms control that have been promoted and adopted over years of NPT meetings have had little impact on the nuclear policies, modernisation and programmes of the nuclear-armed states. The humanitarian approaches now being pursued are shaking up the status quo and causing all governments — and peoples — to reconsider their options and recognise that nuclear weapons are security liabilities not assets.

As begun by the March 2013 Oslo Conference on the Humanitarian Impacts of Nuclear Weapons[22] and continued in 2014 when Mexico hosts a follow-up Conference in Nayarit, nuclear free governments and civil society are raising greater awareness of the regional and global "catastrophic humanitarian consequences" if nuclear weapons are used, even in what might be termed a "limited" regional context, whether in the Middle East or a neighbouring region, such as South Asia or Europe.[23] Whether it is successful in the near term in establishing negotiations

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20   There is considerable literature on the importance of involving women in peace and security negotiations. See especially the website *http://www.womenwarpeace.org*

21   Ward Wilson, Five Myths about Nuclear Weapons, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2012.

22   In his short summary at the end of the Oslo Confernce, Norwegian Foreign Minister, Espen Barth Eide, noted (among other things) "The effects of a nuclear weapon detonation, irrespective of cause, will not be constrained by national borders, and will affect states and people in significant ways, regionally as well as globally." Chair's summary, Oslo Conference on the Humanitarian Impacts of
Nuclear Weapons, 5 March 2013. See also Rebecca Johnson, 'The fetishists of nuclear power projection have had their day', *openDemocracy*, 8 March 2013. *http://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/rebecca-johnson/ fetishists-of-nuclear-power-projection-have-had-their-day*.

23   See , for example, "Working towards the elimination of nuclear weapons", Resolution adopted by the Council of Delegates of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, Geneva, 26 November 2011. EN CD/11/R1; Ira Helfand, "Nuclear Famine: Two Billion People at Risk", IPPNW, 2013 (updated from 2012); Rebecca Johnson, 'Unacceptable Risks: UK-relevant reports on the humanitarian consequences of nuclear weapons"; Richard Moyes, Philip Webber and Greg Crowther, *Humanitarian consequences: Short case study of the direct humanitarian impacts from a single nuclear weapon detonation on Manchester*, UK. Article 36, February 2013; Frank Boulton, *Blood Transfusion Services in the wake of the humanitarian and health crisis following multiple detonations of nuclear weapons*, Medact, February 2013; John Ainslie, *If Britain Fired Trident: The humanitarian catastrophe that one Trident-armed UK nuclear submarine could cause if used against Moscow*, Scottish CND February 2013; Philip Webber, *The climatic impacts and humanitarian problems from the use of the UK's nuclear weapons*, Scientists for Global Responsibility, February 2013 (revised from SGR Winter 2008); Owen B. Toon, Richard P. Turco, Alan Robock, Charles Badeen, Luke Oman and Georgiy L. Stenchikov, "Atmospheric effects and societal consequences of regional scale nuclear conflicts and acts of individual nuclear terrorism"; also Alan Robock, Luke Oman, Georgiy L. Stenchikov, Owen B. Toon, Charles Badeen and Richard P. Turco (2007) "Climate consequences of regional nuclear conflicts", *Atmospheric Chemistry and Physics*. 7:2003-2012.

and bringing into force a comprehensive nuclear ban treaty or not, the humanitarian approach is already changing the ways in which nuclear weapons and disarmament options are perceived, and that will undoubtedly feed into regional and international calculations in the run-up to the 2015 NPT Review Conference and beyond.

16.5 APPENDIX: TRADITIONAL VERSUS HUMANITARIAN APPROACHES

The following table graphically highlights the differences between the status quo arms control assumptions and approaches, and ways in which a humanitarian approach could free up different options and resources for achieving the goal that both approaches say they share: peace and security in a world free of nuclear weapons.

ARMS CONTROL AND NON-PROLIFERATION APPROACH (STATUS QUO REINFORCING)	HUMANITARIAN DISARMAMENT APPROACH (GAME-CHANGING)
Proliferation is bad but can be managed.	Proliferation is bad and is not being safely managed.
Nuclear disarmament issues are of primary national security interest only for the states that have nuclear weapons.	Nuclear weapons are a major human and global security issue, and nuclear disarmament is everyone's responsibility and in everyone's interests.
Status quo possession of nuclear weapons is stabilising, and proliferation is not affected by the actions and policies of recognised NWS.	The high value accorded to possessing nuclear weapons is a salient proliferation driver.
Nuclear weapons are by definition deterrents.	Deterrence is not a property or attribute of a weapon, but a complex, multifaceted relationship and process among potential adversaries, requiring accurate and effective communications and interpretations of information, intentions and cultural implications.
Nuclear deterrence requires doctrines and operations for use and deployment including scenarios and operations to demonstrate a readiness to fire and an ability to deliver "unacceptable loss." These operations create greater humanitarian threats, risks and instabilities than other deterrence tools.	The role of nuclear weapons in deterrence is questionable, unproven and unprovable. Threatening "unacceptable loss" is inhumane and will not deter non-state or many state adversaries. Other states' actions and intentions may be miscalculated or misinterpreted.
Nuclear deterrence ensures that responsible states can extend security to their allies and have freedom of action where necessary.	The illusions of deterrence lead nuclear-armed states to take more risks and think they can project regional or international power ("punch above their weight"), which is dangerous and destabilising.

ARMS CONTROL AND NON-PROLIFERATION APPROACH (STATUS QUO REINFORCING)	HUMANITARIAN DISARMAMENT APPROACH (GAME-CHANGING)
It is not necessary to consider the consequences of nuclear detonations because nuclear deterrence will ensure that these nuclear weapons will not be used.	It is important to recognise that the humanitarian consequences on nuclear detonations will be catastrophic. Deterrence has failed in history and will undoubtedly fail again, with or without the presence of nuclear weapons, so it is important not to deploy weapons that are unsurvivable when deterrence fails.
Nuclear deterrence is not necessary for non-nuclear countries, unless they are in alliance with nuclear-armed states, but the existence of nuclear weapons and deterrence in 'responsible' hands provides global stability.	If nuclear deterrence worked as theorised, every state should have the right to nuclear weapons of their own. That would of course be a recipe for instability, insecurity and humanitarian disaster.
Proliferation is best stemmed by tightening nuclear security procedures and controls, especially on non-nuclear-weapon states in regions of concern.	Halting proliferation requires preventing the acquisition, modernisation, and spread of nuclear weapons and stigmatising nuclear as well as other WMD as inhumane, and their use as pariah/ha'aram.
The NPT's role is to limit proliferation and enable the 'recognised' nuclear-weapon states to manage this high value and important weapon while stopping its spread to others.	The NPT's core security objective is to accelerate the elimination of all nuclear weapons through a universally applicable nuclear prohibition treaty that will change the legal and political context of nuclear decision-making.
Realism, nuclear trade, and regulation dictate that if certain states acquire nuclear weapons outside the NPT then the international community should accommodate them.	Accommodating the nuclear interests of nuclear armed states — whether in or out of the NPT — just perpetuates instability, dangers, and proliferation incentives.
The NWS should continue to talk about step by step reductions in the context of the NPT while maintaining infrastructure and options for the current nuclear-armed states to keep modernizing and rearming.	The nuclear-free governments must take the lead to achieve a global treaty that will ban the use, deployment, production, stockpiling, and transporting of nuclear weapons and require their total elimination. This will give us stronger tools to stop proliferation, close down nuclear programmes and bases, and hold our governments accountable.
More regional NWFZ have to be established before a global treaty can be considered.	Regional and international nuclear problems are interconnected. International initiatives to ban nuclear weapons will reinforce and accelerate strategies to conclude further NWFZ.

ARMS CONTROL AND NON-PROLIFERATION APPROACH (STATUS QUO REINFORCING)	HUMANITARIAN DISARMAMENT APPROACH (GAME-CHANGING)
Next steps must be focussed on incremental reductions plus counter-proliferation and "nuclear security" approaches to prevent nuclear weapons being acquired by new or "bad" actors.	Next steps should delegitimise nuclear weapons use and doctrines of threatened use (including nuclear deterrence) and create clear legal obligations to prohibit and eliminate the weapons.
Working towards a comprehensive nuclear ban treaty will undermine and distract from the NPT, the Conference on Disarmament, and other established fora.	Working towards and achieving a nuclear ban treaty will help to fulfil the aims and objectives enshrined in the NPT, just as the 1996 Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) reinforced and fulfilled the 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT).
You cannot put the nuclear genie back into the bottle.	Nuclear weapons can be legally prohibited, politically neutralised, and physically eliminated, because they are inhumane, useless, and contrary to humanity's interests and survival.

The Nuclear Problem on the Korean Peninsula: Searching for Solutions

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17.1   ABSTRACT

The emphasis on economic gains that will get the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), if it complies with its obligations to give up its nuclear ambitions, seems ungrounded. Moreover, such an approach leads us away from the problem's core. Pyongyang's negative reaction to Seoul's several economic incentives, including Lee Myung-bak's so-called 'De-Nuke, Openness, 3,000' proposal testified that for the DPRK, economic gains are not a decisive factor. While paying due attention to economic aspects of the settlement, it is necessary to keep in mind that the nuclear problem was caused by a security crisis on the Korean peninsula. For the North Korean regime security is the top priority. It is important to secure the DPRK's return to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and ensure non-nuclear status for the Korean peninsula. At the same time, it is necessary to provide the DPRK with certain security guarantees, as well as remove obstacles for more active participation of the international community to assist North Korea in coping with her economic problems. The DPRK is trying to normalize relations with the U.S. because through such an achievement she hopes to get security guarantees, or at least, to create such a security environment, under which it will be much more difficult for the U.S. to use force against the DPRK. In addition, the process of economic integration and globalization in Northeast Asia can be utilized for

promoting a sense of security among the North Korean leadership. It is highly likely that a consistent engagement policy aimed at deeper involvement of the DPRK in globalization and cooperation processes in Northeast Asia may bring about positive changes in Pyongyang's international behaviour. Only such a course can convince North Korea's leaders that the international community has chosen the road leading to the DPRK's peaceful gradual integration into the existing international political and economic order instead of forcing on the country a regime change scenario.

17.2   INTRODUCTION

The main conclusion that could be drawn from the events on the Korean peninsula at the beginning of 2013 is that the priority given to the pressure and sanctions approach to North Korea's nuclear and missile issues has proven to be wrong. The policy has failed to achieve the aims its supporters, first of all the U.S. and its allies, had declared — the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. On the contrary, when faced with such an attitude, North Korea, between the years of 2006 and 2013, conducted three nuclear tests, after three unsuccessful attempts launched a satellite, and has become a *de facto* nuclear power.

What are the causes of the current situation? One of them is suspension of a multilateral dialogue on non-proliferation and security on the peninsula and in Northeast Asia as a whole. The Six-Party Talks, held over the period of 2003 to 2008, for all their shortcomings, provided more or less stable channels of communication. This kept the participants hopeful of reaching a compromise and encouraged them to exercise a certain restraint.

The author also argues that economic inducements are not sufficient to make North Korea give up her nuclear ambitions. At the same time, the paper suggests that the realization of multilateral economic projects in Northeast Asia could provide us with new opportunities to solve the nuclear problem and to eliminate the last remnants of the 'Cold War' in the region.

17.3   NORTH KOREA'S NUCLEAR OPTION: SECURITY COMES FIRST

The unfortunate fate of the so-called U.S.-North Korea 'Leap Day Deal' reached in February of 2012 has proven once again that the habitual emphasis made by many experts and the majority of media on economic benefits that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) would get if it gave up its nuclear ambitions was wishful thinking. Moreover, the approach leads us away from the essence of the problem.

Economic gains are not a decisive argument for North Korea's leaders. Soon after the Six-Party Talks started, Seoul proposed to supply Pyongyang with electricity equivalent of two light water reactors (LWR) in case they were constructed by Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO). The North Koreans did not agree. The same fate overtook Lee Myung-bak's 'Denuclearization, Openness, 3,000' proposal and other similar and seemingly attractive bites.

Paying attention to the economic aspects of settlement, it is necessary to remember that the nuclear problem on the Korean peninsula was caused, first of all, by security crises in the area. Economic factors matter, too, but security considerations were certainly at the forefront for North Korea's leaders. The nuclear problem emerged at the beginning of the 1990s as North Korea's reaction to the drastic deterioration of her security situation caused by two major international developments.

The first development was the USSR's dissolution and *de facto* unilateral abrogation of the bilateral military-political alliance treaty of 1961 between Moscow and Pyongyang by a new Russian leadership, and drastic re-orientation of Moscow's foreign policy towards the West in general, and South Korea in particular. The second factor was unilateral use of force by the U.S. and other NATO member states with the purpose of regime change in a number of sovereign countries in Europe and Asia.

For the DPRK after the U.S.-led invasions in Yugoslavia and in Iraq, and especially after the events in Libya, security is the top priority. Pyongyang is trying to normalize relations with the U.S. because through this it hopes to get guarantees of its survival, or at least, to create such conditions under which it will be much more difficult for the U.S. to use force against North Korea.

It is significant that even some U.S. experts have come to recognize that it is the failure of the international community, especially the U.S. and its allies in Asia, to take into account North Korea's real security concerns that led to the current situation.[1]

World history provides us with some examples of when states have pushed for such a choice because of real or imaginary threats. In the 1970s South Korea, frightened by the prospect that sudden rapprochement between the U.S. and China would deprive her of the American shield, made an attempt to acquire nuclear weapons. These ambitions were curbed only after Washington re-confirmed its security guarantees to Seoul.

Some experts, when analyzing reasons for the Agreed Framework's collapse, deliberately or not, prefer to ignore the fact that the Agreed Framework, along with economic inducements, contained a number of U.S. political obligations to North Korea, including promises to provide it with 'formal assurances' that the U.S. will not use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against North Korea, and will move to "full normalization of political and economic relations" with North Korea.[2]

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1   Muthiah Alagappa, "North Korea test Asian security," *The Asia Times*, 13 February 2013.
2   See the text of the Agreed Framework in *KCNA* Pyongyang dispatch, 22 October 1994.

The U.S. has definitely failed to deliver on these particular pledges, thus seriously undermining the process of confidence building on the peninsula that had been started by the implementation of the Agreed Framework.

Nowadays some people in the U.S. are inclined to put off such normalization until after the DPRK satisfies American demands, not only concerning nuclear issue, but also those about reduction of conventional armaments, liquidation of stocks of chemical and bacteriological weapons, human rights, export of narcotics, and counterfeit money printed in the DPRK.

In view of such a position by the U.S., the negotiations, from North Korea's point of view, are losing steam because even full satisfaction of U.S. demands on the non-proliferation agenda would not allow Pyongyang to achieve the main objective — for the sake of which North Korea agreed to participate in these negotiations — better security as a result of normalization of relations with the United States.

North Korea's missile launches and nuclear tests are nothing more than a clear signal of Pyongyang's frustration with Washington's stubborn refusal to work seriously to achieve a mutually acceptable compromise and the United States' incessant resorting to pressure, sanctions, and demonizing the DPRK's leadership.

17.4   DPRK: HEIGHT OF DOUBLE STANDARDS

Being unsure of the People's Republic of China's (PRC) security guarantees and deprived of them by Russia, and considering the U.S.'s unwillingness to deal with her security concerns seriously, North Korea committed itself to addressing its security according to the 'Indian model.' Such a choice was partly provoked by the U.S., which concluded the so-called nuclear deal with India in 2006, in violation of both the U.S. and international laws governing the non-proliferation regime.

Pyongyang also did not leave unnoticed that during the period between 1998 and 2012, India and Pakistan conducted more than 120 test launches of missiles (including about 80 ballistic), some of which could carry a nuclear warhead. At the time, the U.S. dismissed any worries concerning the Indian launches. However, at the beginning of 2013, a number of bloody incidents on the border between India and Pakistan made even *The New York Times* concede that: "one of the likeliest flash points for a nuclear war is the enduring conflict between India and Pakistan, which have scores of nuclear weapons."[3] But nobody requested the UN Security Council (UNSC) be convened and it seems that no one is going to demand such a meeting. This is to say nothing of the taboo imposed by the U.S. on any discussions concerning Israel's nuclear weapons.

During the same period the DPRK has made a total of four attempts to launch satellites (the first three in 1998, 2009, and 2012 all failed). They all happened to be worthy of UNSC resolutions or presidential statements. In this regard, the DPRK Foreign Ministry said that the world, in its history, has witnessed more than

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3   Editorial, "Another Face-Off for Nuclear-Armed Rivals," *The New York Times*, 16 January 2013.

2,000 nuclear tests and more than 6,000 satellite launches, but none of them, except those performed in North Korea, were subjects of discussion at the UNSC.

Against this background, the UN Security Council's condemnation of the launch of the satellite by the DPRK looked, at least in the eyes of the North Koreans, like obvious discrimination. The launch was made in compliance with all international rules governing such cases. It was not surprising that the North Koreans flatly rejected the resolution as an apogee of the application of double standards.[4]

It was hardly worth voting for the resolution, depriving the country that acceded to the Treaty on the use of outer space for peaceful purposes and other relevant conventions, of the right to launch satellites. The ban on North Korea's launches 'using ballistic technologies' imposed by the UN Security Council is tantamount to banning her from having any missiles at all; that is, leaving her defenceless. At a time when all the neighbouring countries are armed with rockets and launching satellites (including its main rival — South Korea), this measure was clearly unfair.

Those who are at least slightly versed in North Korean politics and the psychology of the leadership of this country understood that such an approach would be rejected in Pyongyang as another attempt by 'big countries,' that in the past often ordered the Koreans how to live, to install over her a trusteeship in kind. The UNSC may punish the country, but it should not at the same time have her humiliated.

Pyongyang's behaviour after the satellite launch and the third nuclear test shows that in the foreseeable future, all of us have to deal with a *de facto* nuclear North Korea. The realities of modern international relations are unlikely to encourage the North Korean leaders to give up their nuclear missile deterrent.

Some experts in the U.S. call to recognize these realities and learn to co-exist with a nuclear North Korea. They do not believe that such an option will cause a 'domino effect' and the nuclear armament of Japan and South Korea. Fearful of losing control over their junior partners, the U.S. has already stepped up against such developments and confirmed their security obligations to these countries by sending B-52s and B-2s to fly over South Korea. The latter move was clearly excessive and caused a strong reaction from Pyongyang.

While the Western media painted some of North Korea's moves as 'provocative' and 'aggressive,' the world's largest manoeuvres involving more than 200,000 South Korean and U.S. troops were unfolding in the south of the peninsula. For the first time in their history, some of those 2012 drills included a simulation of pre-emptive strikes against North Korea, the landing and entry into its territory of 100,000 South Korean troops to 'stabilize' the situation there in case of 'regime collapse.' It is not that North Korean marines landed off the coast of California, or Florida, or North Korea conducted training bombers sorties in Mexico! The question is: who is provoking whom? And how would the U.S. react if somewhere close to Florida or California, someone would have arranged for several similar 'drills' and staged them annually, as is the case in Korea?

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4   DPRK Foreign Ministry Spokesman Blasts U.S.Double Standards over Satellite Launch Issue. *Korean Central News Agency*. 2 February 2013.

17.5   THE SIX-PARTY TALKS: IMMEDIATE PROSPECTS

Experts talk about a number of reasons that caused the now almost five-year suspension period in the Six-Party Talks. One can mention the Obama administration's passivity disguised as 'strategic patience,' Lee Myung-bak's ambitions (rejected by North Korea) to play a leading role in solving the nuclear issue, inter-Korean incidents in 2010, Kim Jong-Il's illness and sudden death. But none of the talks' participating states officially renounce the very idea of their resumption.

For the Six-Party Talks to be restarted, a key issue must be resolved during preliminary discussions: *who*, *when*, and *what* should be undertaken in line with the principle of 'commitment for commitment, action for action,' confirmed in the Beijing Joint statement on 19 September 2005. An attempt to find answers to at least some of those questions undertaken by the U.S. and the DPRK on a bilateral track and announced on 29 February 2012, proved to be unsuccessful.

A major, and seemingly the most controversial problem the talks' participants will face sooner or later is the scope of inspections. The U.S. is going to insist on implementation of a rigorous and intrusive verification regime, including short-notice challenge inspections of non-declared facilities.

Since the Highly Enriched Uranium (HEU) program is much easier to hide, after the 2010 revelation of the program's actual existence in North Korea, the U.S. hopes to legitimize its intention to conduct a total search of all 11-12,000 of North Korea's underground facilities. So far, the Pentagon's maps on this account are painfully incomplete. Exactly this circumstance, according to *The Atlantic Monthly*, remains a major obstacle (from the military/technical point of view) preventing an Iraqi-style solution for the North Korean nuclear problem.[5]

But attempts to impose on Pyongyang Iraqi-style inspections may be unacceptable to North Korea for many reasons, last but not least because of the fact that the DPRK, unlike Iraq, did not lose a war. Moreover, as North Koreans point out, and not without grounds, Iraq's experience proved that the country's consent to such inspections did not save it from the U.S. attack.[6]

Some analysts from The Heritage Foundation proposed a verification regime similar to the regimes of the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START), Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF), and Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) treaties. They also called for unrestricted International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) inspections throughout North Korea, to use special equipment, and go as far as demanding the DPRK submit geographic coordinates for all nuclear-related facilities.[7]

So a major obstacle to the realization of the 2005 Joint Statement will certainly be the problem of verification. The issue may happen to be a mine capable of blowing up any future agreement and the whole Six-Party process.

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5   Scott Stossel, "North Korea:The War Game," *The Atlantic Online*, July/August, 2005.
6   *Rossiiskaya Ggazeta*, 13 August 2003.
7   Bruce Klingner, "Confronting the North Korean Nuclear Threat," The Heritage Foundation. No.2023. 4 April 2007, p 5 and 9.

Under these conditions we can expect that North Korea will continue her course started in 2006, trying to solve the nuclear problem according to the 'India Model,' calling the U.S. and other participants of the Six-Party Talks to abandon double standards on nuclear and missile proliferation. This line was largely provoked by the actions of the U.S. itself, by signing the nuclear deal with India in 2006.

According to the DPRK Foreign Ministry's Memorandum of 21 April 2010, which can be regarded as North Korea's Nuclear Posture doctrine, Pyongyang intends to seek recognition of the country as a nuclear power. As such, Pyongyang is ready to join 'on an equal basis' international efforts to prevent nuclear proliferation and ensure the security of nuclear materials.[8]

The DPRK also confirmed her policy for space exploration. The country "resolutely and totally" rejected international condemnation of North Korea's sputnik/missile launch. North Korea promised to continue exercising the independent right to use space recognized by universally accepted international laws, which, according to Pyongyang are "above the UNSC resolutions."[9]

The policy became law at the North Korean Supreme People's Assembly (SPA) session held in April 2013. The ordinances of the SPA of the DPRK "On Consolidating the Position of Nuclear Weapons State for Self-Defence" and "On Adopting the DPRK Law on Developing Space" and the decision of the SPA "On Setting Up the DPRK State Space Development Bureau" were adopted at the session "with the approval of all deputies," reported Korean Central News Agency (KCNA), the North Korean government news outlet.[10]

Taking into consideration those circumstances as well as the domestic political situation both in the U.S., the (Republic of Kosovo) ROK, and other countries directly concerned, it is plausible to suggest that the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula in the short, and even medium term is unlikely. It would be more realistic to talk about preventing the proliferation by the DPRK of nuclear weapons and relevant technologies as well as missiles and their workmanship.

17.6   RUSSIA AND THE KOREAN PENINSULA NUCLEAR ISSUE

Moscow's position on the nuclear problem is determined by the vital national interests of Russia as well as by her responsibility as the UNSC permanent member and a nuclear power. The approach is based on two major assumptions.

First, any war on Russia's borders, to say nothing of one with the high possibility of using Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), will be a direct threat to her security. The security of Russia's Far Eastern regions and their population's lives depend directly on how events in Korea will evolve. In case of an armed conflict on the peninsula the radioactive clouds from dozens of Korean *Chernobyl*

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8   *Korean Central News Agency*. 10 April 2010.
9   "DPRK Refutes UNSC's 'Resolution' Pulling Up DPRK Over Its Satellite Launch," *Korean Central News Agency*, 23 January 2013.
10   "Seventh Session of 12th SPA of DPRK Held," *Korean Central News Agency*.1 April 2013.

or *Fukushima* disasters (many of South Korea's 24 atomic power plants could be destroyed by North Korea with conventional weapons), and streams of refugees would not reach the U.S. Pacific coast, but they would certainly reach Russia's Far East territory.

Second, in case of an armed conflict in Korea, Moscow could hardly expect the implementation of multilateral energy and transportation projects with which Russia links social and economic development of her Far Eastern region. Threat of a major conflict on the peninsula could sharply increase outflow of the population from the Russian Far East. If a war is unleashed, the demographic situation in the region could become catastrophic.

Russia believes that the Korean nation as a whole has come to understand what catastrophic consequences a new war in Korea could bring about, first of all, to the Koreans themselves. The radioactive contamination caused by the above mentioned possible destruction of several atomic power plants in South Korea, along with nuclear program facilities in the North, could turn the Korean peninsula into a place unsuitable for human beings to live on. Any responsible politician should not and could not exclude such a scenario in case of war. One should wonder where the Korean nation would settle in this case — in China, Russia, or maybe Japan?

The conclusion leaves room for a settlement through employing peaceful political means, by taking all aspects of the nuclear problem into consideration. On one hand, it is important to secure the North Korea's return to the NPT and generally to ensure the nuclear-free status of the Korean peninsula. But on the other hand, it is necessary to provide North Korea with security guarantees and to ensure normal conditions so it can overcome its current economic problems.

Russia believes it would be unproductive to isolate North Korea. Moscow is convinced that only the removal of mutual concerns in a 'package,' on the basis of a broad compromise, will make it possible to achieve the goals of the global community with regard to the situation on the Korean peninsula.[11]

Russia is not inclined to shift all responsibility for the situation onto North Korea. President Vladimir Putin in his article on foreign policy, published 27 February 2012, during the presidential election campaign, pointed out that "all this fervour around the nuclear programs of Iran and North Korea makes one wonder how the risks of nuclear weapons proliferation emerge and who is aggravating them. It seems that the more frequent cases of crude and even armed outside interference in the domestic affairs of countries may prompt authoritarian (and other) regimes to possess nuclear weapons. If I have the A-bomb in my pocket, nobody will touch me because it's more trouble than it is worth. And those who don't have the bomb might have to sit and wait for 'humanitarian intervention.'"[12]

According to Mr. Putin, "whether we like it or not, foreign interference suggests this train of thought. This is why the number of threshold countries that are one step away from 'military atom' technology, is growing rather than

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11   Official Spokesman for Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs Alexander Yakovenko Replies to Questions from Russian Media on North Korea Problems. 28 May 2003. *http://www.mid.ru*
12   Vladimir Putin, "Russia in the Changing World," *Moscow News*. 27 February 2012.

decreasing…It is essential to do everything we can to prevent any country from being tempted to get nuclear weapons. Non-proliferation campaigners must also change their conduct, especially those that are used to penalizing other countries by force, without letting the diplomats do their job. This was the case in Iraq — its problems have only become worse after an almost decade-long occupation."[13]

Russia believes that the Korean peninsula nuclear problem solution can be found only if legitimate security concerns of all states located in the region are taken into account. Any other approach is unlikely to get Russia's support. The peaceful settlement of the present situation is in the national interest of Russia. We do not need an arch of instability on the perimeter of our borders to reach up to the Russian Far East or more so — 'a hot war' directly on our borders.

17.7 MULTILATERAL ECONOMIC ENGAGEMENT AND PEACE PROCESS

Traditional political and military methods, which had been employed to solve the nuclear problem, have not brought about any tangible results so far. Certainly, North Korea has on several occasions agreed to suspend her military nuclear and missile programs, but failed to dismantle them. No major breakthrough is in sight. Trials of former Communist and Socialist parties, Politburo members, and ex-presidents in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East were a very convincing argument employed by those in North Korea who warned against rocking the boat, and instead called 'to share life and death with the Leader.' The miserable fate of Saddam Hussein, Muammar Gaddafi, and their generals was the most vivid warning to the North Korean leadership to stay united. Both sides — hardliners and reformers — have realized that any serious infighting or drastic policy change could destabilize the situation beyond their control.

Unless the North Korean elite is provided with clear guarantees of their personal safety, adequate social status, and a certain level of well being after unification, the North Korean leadership will stay united and remain very reluctant to open the country and abandon nuclear weapons.

A process of economic integration and globalization in Northeast Asia seems to provide us with new instruments for solving the task. Experience in dealing with North Korea shows that excessive pressure and coercion has led, in the majority of cases, to greater suspicion and hostility, while engagement and respect for certain positions shaped by history's legacies, has brought about cooperation and compromise. It is highly likely that more active involvement of North Korea in globalization and cooperation processes in Northeast Asia may bring about positive changes in Pyongyang's international behaviour.

So truly inviting North Korea to participate in these processes can convince Pyongyang that the international community has taken a road that leads to North

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13   Ibid.

Korea's gradual and peaceful integration into existing international political and economic order instead of forcing the country into a regime change scenario.

That is why Russia disagrees with those advocating postponing practical implementation of multilateral economic cooperation projects until the nuclear problem in Korea is resolved.

17.8   CONCLUSION

The first lesson to be drawn from the serious aggravation of tension on the Korean peninsula in the beginning of 2013 is that the continuation of the course pursued so far by the U.S. and its allies, in the best of cases, ultimately will drive the situation into a dead end; at worst — is fraught with disaster and nuclear catastrophe right on Russia and China's borders.

The second lesson is that we have failed to calculate the degree of sustainability of that country, and her leaders' political will to ensure her sovereignty and independence at all costs. Sure, North Korea is not an easy partner to deal with. We in Russia know that better than anyone else. But, if the military option is excluded, any political solution will not be possible without certain compromises.

We certainly do not need a nuclear North Korea, or any similar situation, along our borders. But calls for North Korea to return to the NPT would look more convincing if they were accompanied by definite multilateral commitments by the nuclear powers about her security and her right to develop peaceful atoms under appropriate IAEA safeguards. In the meantime, North Korea is presented with quite a voluminous set of requirements along with very vague promises that are supposed to flesh out only after she completely disarms. Well, what is happening in the modern world with countries unable to defend themselves, we see almost every day.

North Korea's latest statements confirm that her priority remains a dialogue as the only way to improve relations with the United States in order to remove an external threat, and to get access to investments and assistance from the West. The latter is vitally important for North Korea since only then will it be possible to revive and modernize the country's economy. Without that, it will be very difficult for the regime to survive.

So the future of the Six-Party Talks and the solution of the nuclear problem will depend mainly on what choice is made by the U.S. — whether Washington limits its demands to North Korea to a non-proliferation agenda or continues to stick to a regime change scenario. In the latter case, North Korea is unlikely to give up its 'nuclear deterrent.'

The situation on the Korean peninsula can be resolved satisfactorily only if the legitimate security concerns of all states located in the region, including those of Russia, are taken into account. It is not possible in a modern world for a state to be safe if your neighbours feel insecure.

Final Communiqué

INTERACTION COUNCIL 31ST ANNUAL PLENARY MEETING

9-11 May 2013, Manama, Kingdom of Bahrain

PRESENT STATE OF THE WORLD

It has been over two years since Arab Spring uprisings spread throughout the Middle East. To date, 70,000 people have lost their lives in the ever-escalating Syrian Civil War. Nearly a million people have become refugees and have fled to neighboring Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey. The plight of the refugees is severe, with poor access to water, health care, and limited opportunities for education and recreation. The conflict has the potential to severely threaten stability in the region.

Elsewhere, fears of a Euro collapse have calmed. Capital markets have recovered, as stock market indices across the world pushed past levels not seen since before the start of the economic crisis. Politicians are finally recognizing the inequity of untaxed income in offshore accounts because it is clear that prosperity has not been shared evenly.

Despite the strength in the financial sector, unhealthy government finances and public debt levels constrain policy makers. Wealth is increasingly concentrated in the hands of the few. Around the world governments are faced with unprecedented levels of youth unemployment. But effective actions to address the problem have been limited. Unemployment in Europe and the Middle East threatens the productivity and hope of a generation, creating fertile grounds for dissatisfaction and unrest. Continued economic progress in Africa requires enhanced market access to the EU and other developed economies; it is essential to reducing unemployment and poverty.

Though it is true that international trade is the most successful way to elevate people out of poverty, corporations seeking profit in the developing world must do so responsibly and sustainably. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have guided the development agenda, reducing the number of people living in poverty by 50 percent and improving access to safe drinking water. However, the MDGs are limited as they are set at macroeconomic levels and do not take a comprehensive approach. The Post-2015 Development Agenda must address these shortcomings.

There are other successful examples of international cooperation. The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) secures the member States against threats, such as external aggression, terrorism, and other destabilizing acts. And, the Arms Trade Treaty, championed by Nobel Laureate Oscar Arias, was adopted overwhelmingly by the United Nations and now awaits ratification by states.

Unfortunately, there are other examples where international cooperation is failing. International law is being violated, trampled and discarded daily all over the globe. This goes both for human rights law and for international humanitarian law. Israel, for example, is expanding settlements. Venezuela has not honoured its commitments to many neighbouring governments.

Recommendations:

- Encourage governments to seek multilateral and sustained cooperation. It is vitally important for the world to become more just and humane.

- Encourage states to operate under the dictates of international law, created by the States themselves.

- There can be no lasting peace without justice and no justice without respect for rules. Therefore, states must respect and adhere to international law as provided for in the UN Charter, UN resolutions, treaties, conventions, and rules emanating from international courts.

- As the global Arms Trade Treaty, adopted by the UN General Assembly on 2 April 2013 opens for signatures on 3 June 2013 and will enter into force after its fiftieth ratification, all states are encouraged to sign and ratify the treaty without delay.

- Israel must conform to the 2004 Advisory Opinion by the International Court of Justice regarding the wall constructed on Occupied Palestinian Territories and comply with the 1949 Geneva Conventions.

- Israel must cease construction and expansion of new settlements in Palestinian territories and East Jerusalem.

- A matrix of settler-only roads and a network of checkpoints stifle economic and political life in the Palestinian territories. Pressure should be placed on Israel to remove the settlements and the infrastructure that supports them.

- Express concern that the government of Venezuela has not honoured the understanding given to the neighbouring governments of Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) in holding a recount of the election results with international observers, and express the hope that the democratic credentials of the country, including the rule of law and separations of powers between the executive and the judiciary, will be restored, and also urge that the rights of the Congress be respected.

- The international community should recognize the centrality of the African Union on issues of African development and encourage regional economic integration.

- Trade with investment is the most important factor for states seeking to reduce poverty and improve living standards of their people.

- In order for the Post-2015 Development Agenda to materialize, states should renew their commitments to finance development.

- The Post-2015 Development Agenda should take a comprehensive approach to development. It should address human security, domestic inequalities, equity and gender inequality, neglected tropical diseases, universal health coverage, and sustainability.

- The IAC calls on entities negotiating new economic partnerships, such as the EU and other development partners, to ensure market access for African exports consistent with the realization of the Millennium Development Goals and promotion of an agreed post-2015 agenda.

NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION

A nuclear weapon detonation, be it on purpose or accidentally, be it by a state or a non-state actor, will have catastrophic effects on humanity and the planet. The Cold War-era justifications for holding on to nuclear weapons are no longer valid for leaders who truly wish to ensure the safety of their peoples and the planet. The only way to avoid a nuclear weapons disaster is by eliminating all nuclear weapons.

The InterAction Council called for a world with zero nuclear weapons in its *Hiroshima Declaration* in 2010 and continues to remain committed to realizing its recommendations. It highlights especially the responsibility of states to pursue in good faith nuclear disarmament in accordance with article 6 of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT).

While the NPT has been regarded as the cornerstone of global nuclear security, it has come under increasing pressure. One of the most urgent steps to secure its continuance is to implement the Action Plan on the Middle East adopted by the NPT Review Conference in 2010. It calls for a conference on the Middle East and the initiation of a process to establish a zone free of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East. The conference will be hosted by Finland, but regrettably it has not yet taken place.

It is pressing to address the situations in Iran and North Korea. Iran's Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Ali Hosseini Khamenei, recently declared a fatwa on nuclear weapons, a window of opportunity may perhaps open for a diplomatic solution recognizing Iran's right to peaceful nuclear energy on the one hand and its obligations under the NPT regime on the other hand.

Regrettably, there is no immediate prospect that North Korea will abandon its nuclear weapons program as the state remains concerned with its own security. Peaceful denuclearization of North Korea remains the goal of the international community. A comprehensive diplomatic solution, rather than resorting to the use of force or other violent measures, must be sought.

Recommendations:

The InterAction Council reaffirms the recommendations on nuclear non-proliferation it endorsed in *The Hiroshima Declaration* on 19 April 2010 in Hiroshima. In addition, the Council recommends:

- The NPT 2010 Action Plan on the Middle East must be implemented without delay, by convening a conference on the Middle East and by triggering a process aimed at establishing a zone free from nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction. All states in the region, in particular Iran and Israel, are urged to participate in the conference.

- Compliment Finland on taking upon itself to organize the conference and urge like-minded states to lend political support to Finland in its endeavor.

- Furthermore, encourage states in the region to engage in preparatory meetings to build trust in creating a framework that will lead to a Middle East free from nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction.

- Urge Iran to fully implement its Safeguards Agreement and its other obligations and to engage with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to achieve concrete results on all outstanding substantive issues, as required in the binding resolutions of the IAEA Board of Governors and the mandatory Security Council resolutions.

- Urge Israel and other nuclear-armed states who are not yet party to the NPT to join the treaty.

- The IAEA and Iran should intensify their dialogue aimed at finalizing the structured approach document.

- Good faith offers should be made to Iran to help it develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes if Iran complies with its international obligations.

- Encourage fact-finding missions, including by members of the IAC, the IAEA, and qualified experts to travel to countries whose compliance with the non-proliferation treaty architecture is in question.

- The Six-Party talks must be resumed and North Korea should be induced to abandon its nuclear ambitions by a comprehensive deal with security guarantees and economic incentives and disincentives.

- North Korea must fully comply with its obligations under the relevant Security Council resolutions, to rejoin the NPT as a nuclear weapons free state, and fully cooperate with the IAEA.

- Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula must be based on respect and assurances and a comprehensive deal that ties in the reduction of conventional and chemical weapons, includes credible verification, and addresses humanitarian issues.

THE WATER-ENERGY NEXUS

Integration of economic, legal, and scientific perspectives is essential for leaders attempting to make better public policy decisions regarding the allocation and protection of natural resources. The water and energy landscapes of the twenty-first century are inextricably linked.

Advanced and developing economies are experiencing very different rates of growth. As manufacturing shifts to the developing world, the impact upon energy markets by developing nations changes the dynamics of the energy industry. Through technology transfers, mature economies can help developing nations use energy and water resources more efficiently. More efficient use of energy and water will place downward pressure on the price of global energy and improve agricultural productivity. However, the benefits of efficient energy and water use may be ultimately undermined by unmanaged population growth.

Existing technological innovations have the capacity to contribute to the diversity and sustainability of energy and water resources. The Red Sea-Dead Sea Canal project, for example, could not only save the Dead Sea from disappearing, it will create new water supplies in a desperately dry region. However, to date, there has been an insufficient creation of fiscal incentives such that we cannot rely solely on markets to manage energy and water use. There is still a great need for governments to create regulations that are the products of science rather than ideology.

There is a strong resistance in Europe and the United States to genetically modified organisms (GMO) that could improve crop yields with less water. Attitude change about some GMO is necessary.

It is presently anticipated that the Middle East and Africa will lose 25 percent of their water supplies due to climate change and population increases. Per capita water availability will drop in excess of 30 percent within the Middle East by 2025. Some countries may cease to exist as we know them today.

There are increasing challenges to find the water that we require to produce the food that we need. Water cannot be considered to be free any longer. Seventeen rivers no longer flow completely into the sea. To adequately meet today's demand for water — across agricultural, industrial, and personal uses — existing supplies need to increase by 40 percent. In addition, states must drop flawed policies around the use and development of biofuels as they are extremely short-sighted: food should never be used for fuel.

Recommendations:

The InterAction Council reaffirms the recommendations it endorsed during the 29th Plenary Session in Québec City, in 2011. In addition, the Council recommends:

- Food should never be used for fuel. It is immoral especially when food shortages and hunger still exists in parts of the world. Furthermore, the use of corn for biofuels is not as efficient as using other non-food crops.

- Hydraulic circumstances in North America are changing and public policy must take this into account now and in the future.

- Enhance public education campaigns making the public more aware of water issues and the need for resource conservation.

- Encourage dialogue between policy makers and scientists.

- Develop policies and write incentives that encourage private sector interest in this area.

- Encourage inclusive discussions among water use stakeholders including farmers, government, and others from the private sector.

- Recognize the overall responsibility of governments and create intergovernmental structures that operate across ministries of water, energy, and agriculture to ensure a transition from silo thinking to integrative systems and sustainability thinking.

- Encourage the development of site-specific technologies that not only conserve one resource, but act holistically and focus on efficiency across systems.

- Develop a strong local capacity for research and development in sustainability.

- Advocate for technology development and the use of renewable sources of energy. Advocate migration from traditional carbon fuels to alternative energy sources.

- Identify providers of Genetically Modified Organisms that are developing crops for the purpose of conservation.

- The IAC urges international support for the Red Sea-Dead Sea Canal project as a means of supplying new water resources and strengthening security in the Middle East region.

RELIGIOUS DIVIDE

In every part of the world, religious differences have been exploited in order to justify ambition and aggression and to control populations. Presently, well-funded propagandists broadcast hate and distort religious messages for the purpose of manipulating the hearts of the susceptible. The poor, the uneducated, and disenfranchised are in the front lines of every protest.

Even if the current impasse in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict were to be resolved, it would not herald the end of sectarian conflict in the Middle East. Though, resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict would deprive those seeking to exploit of one less tool with which to stoke the flames.

Pressure should be brought on Israel and its neighbours to break the impasse. Israel will not feel secure until its neighbors recognize its legitimacy. But before they do, Israel's neighbors expect to see a solution to the challenges faced by Palestinians such as illegal settlements and the infrastructure supporting them.

Concurrently, the situation in Syria reflects the many strains of sectarian conflict entrenched in the Middle East. Excessive and fanatical devotion to the doctrines of a religion, sect, or group threatens peace and order both within and between states. Israel's recent attacks on Syria will not contribute to peace and stability within the region and will probably do very little to help end the conflict.

There are some signs of hope. On 8 May 2013, U.S. Secretary of State, John Kerry and Russian Foreign Minister, Sergei Lavrov, jointly pledged to convene an international conference that will help guide Syria through political transition and put an end to the civil war. These problems are not intractable. The Americans and Russians are correct to recognize that the crisis in Syria calls for a political solution but they would be wise to remember that this conflict is in the Middle East. Western powers would be wisest to not tread heavily.

Recommendations:

- Encourage Russia and the United States in their efforts to convene an international conference aimed at ending the civil war in Syria and guiding the nation through political transition.

- Draw attention to and denounce media and funding sources that are spreading messages of hate. Citizens are free to listen, read, or view the media of their choice, but they also have the right to know when they are being manipulated.

- Encourage pre-conference exploratory dialogues among rivals and adversaries. Ensure these dialogues to be off the record and outside of public view.

- The Quartet should amend its conditions and open dialogue with Hamas by authorizing Tony Blair to speak directly with members of Hamas. The Quartet should develop and articulate clear strategies and principles for interaction with the Middle East.

- Encourage dialogue between the leaders of different faiths. It is important to stress the common ethical base of all world religions (do unto others as you would have done unto you) so that what unites members of different faiths becomes more important than what divides them.

- The InterAction Council initiative of a *Universal Declaration of Human Responsibilities* should be passed by the UN General Assembly as a complementary and supporting addition to the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The interfaith dialogue of King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia and the work of the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations should equally command wide support.

- Express deep concern about the reported Israeli air strikes in Syria, the Council concurs with UN Secretary General Ban-Ki Moon, and calls on all concerned sides to exercise maximum calm and restraint and to act with a sense of responsibility to avoid an escalation of the Syrian conflict.

- Recognize that the Inter-Agency Regional Response for Syrian Refugees has requested a total of US$1 billion to meet the humanitarian needs of the refugees, but to date only received 55 percent of the needed amount. As states recently pledged to donate US$1.5 billion to the response, they should meet their pledges and continue donating generously to alleviate the plight of the refugees.

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- H.E. Dr. Franz **Vranitzky**, Co-Chairman (former Chancellor), Austria
- H.E. Mr. Andreas **van Agt** (former Prime Minister), The Netherlands
- H.E. Mr. Bertie **Ahern** (former Prime Minister), Ireland
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Special Guests

- Prof. Nobuyasu **Abe**, Director, Centre for the Promotion of Disarmament and Non-proliferation, Japan Institute of International Affairs (Japan)
- H.E. Dr. Abdul-Hussain Bin **Ali Mirza**, Minister of Electricity and Water Affairs (Bahrain)
- H.E. Dr. Majid A. **Al-Moneef**, Secretary-General, Supreme Economic Council (Saudi Arabia)
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APPENDIX 2

A Universal Declaration of Human Responsibilities

PROPOSED BY THE INTERACTION COUNCIL

1 September 1997

INTRODUCTORY COMMENT

It is time to talk about human responsibilities

Globalization of the world economy is matched by global problems, and global problems demand global solutions on the basis of ideas, values and norms respected by all cultures and societies. Recognition of the equal and inalienable rights of all the people requires a foundation of freedom, justice and peace — but this also demands that rights and responsibilities be given equal importance to establish an ethical base so that all men and women can live peacefully together and fulfil their potential. A better social order both nationally and internationally cannot be achieved by laws, prescriptions and conventions alone, but needs a global ethic. Human aspirations for progress can only be realised by agreed values and standards applying to all people and institutions at all times.

Next year will be the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations. The anniversary would be an opportune time to adopt a Universal Declaration of Human Responsibilities, which would complement the Human Rights Declaration and strengthen it and help lead to a better world.

The following draft of human responsibilities seeks to bring freedom and responsibility into balance and to promote a move from the freedom of indifference to the freedom of involvement. If one person or government seeks to maximise freedom but does it at the expense of others, a larger number of people will suffer. If human beings maximise their freedom by plundering the natural resources of the earth, then future generations will suffer.

The initiative to draft a Universal Declaration of Human Responsibilities is not only a way of balancing freedom with responsibility, but also a means of reconciling ideologies, beliefs and political views that were deemed antagonistic in the past. The proposed declaration points out that the exclusive insistence on rights can lead to endless dispute and conflict, that religious groups in pressing for their own freedom have a duty to respect the freedom of others. The basic premise should be to aim at the greatest amount of freedom possible, but also to develop the fullest sense of responsibility that will allow that freedom itself to grow.

The InterAction Council has been working to draft a set of human ethical standards since 1987. But its work builds on the wisdom of religious leaders and sages down the ages who have warned that freedom without acceptance of responsibility can destroy the freedom itself, whereas when rights and responsibilities are balanced, then freedom is enhanced and a better world can be created.

The InterAction Council commends the following draft Declaration for your examination and support.

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RESPONSIBILITIES
(Proposed by the InterAction Council)

Preamble

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world and implies obligations or responsibilities,

whereas the exclusive insistence on rights can result in conflict, division, and endless dispute, and the neglect of human responsibilities can lead to lawlessness and chaos,

whereas the rule of law and the promotion of human rights depend on the readiness of men and women to act justly,

whereas global problems demand global solutions which can only be achieved through ideas, values, and norms respected by all cultures and societies,

whereas all people, to the best of their knowledge and ability, have a responsibility to foster a better social order, both at home and globally, a goal which cannot be achieved by laws, prescriptions, and conventions alone,

whereas human aspirations for progress and improvement can only be realized by agreed values and standards applying to all people and institutions at all times,

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Now, therefore,
The General Assembly

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proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Responsibilities as a common standard for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall contribute to the advancement of communities and to the enlightenment of all their members. We, the peoples of the world thus renew and reinforce commitments already proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: namely, the full acceptance of the dignity of all people; their inalienable freedom and equality, and their solidarity with one another. Awareness and acceptance of these responsibilities should be taught and promoted throughout the world.

A UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RESPONSIBILITIES

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES FOR HUMANITY

Article 1

Every person, regardless of gender, ethnic origin, social status, political opinion, language, age, nationality, or religion, **has a responsibility to treat all people in a humane way.**

Article 2

No person should lend support to any form of inhumane behavior, but all people have a responsibility to strive for the dignity and self-esteem of all others.

Article 3

No person, no group or organization, no state, no army or police stands above good and evil; all are subject to ethical standards. Everyone has a responsibility to promote good and to avoid evil in all things.

Article 4

All people, endowed with reason and conscience, must accept a responsibility to each and all, to families and communities, to races, nations, and religions in a spirit of solidarity: **What you do not wish to be done to yourself, do not do to others.**

NON-VIOLENCE AND RESPECT FOR LIFE

Article 5

Every person has a responsibility to **respect life**. No one has the right to injure, to torture or to kill another human person. This does not exclude the right of justified self-defense of individuals or communities.

Article 6

Disputes between states, groups or individuals should be resolved without violence. No government should tolerate or participate in acts of genocide or terrorism, nor should it abuse women, children, or any other civilians as instruments of war. Every citizen and public official has a responsibility to act in a peaceful, non-violent way.

Article 7

Every person is infinitely precious and must be protected unconditionally. The animals and the natural environment also demand protection. All people have a responsibility to protect the air, water and soil of the earth for the sake of present inhabitants and future generations.

JUSTICE AND SOLIDARITY

Article 8

Every person has a responsibility to behave with **integrity, honesty and fairness**. No person or group should rob or arbitrarily deprive any other person or group of their property.

Article 9

All people, given the necessary tools, have a responsibility to make serious efforts to overcome poverty, malnutrition, ignorance, and inequality. They should promote sustainable development all over the world in order to assure dignity, freedom, security and justice for all people.

Article 10

All people have a responsibility to develop their talents through diligent endeavor; they should have equal access to education and to meaningful work. Everyone should lend support to the needy, the disadvantaged, the disabled and to the victims of discrimination.

Article 11

All property and wealth must be used responsibly in accordance with justice and for the advancement of the human race. Economic and political power must not be handled as an instrument of domination, but in the service of economic justice and of the social order.

TRUTHFULNESS AND TOLERANCE

Article 12

Every person has a responsibility to **speak and act truthfully**. No one, however high or mighty, should speak lies. The right to privacy and to personal and professional confidentiality is to be respected. No one is obliged to tell all the truth to everyone all the time.

Article 13

No politicians, public servants, business leaders, scientists, writers or artists are exempt from general ethical standards, nor are physicians, lawyers and other professionals who have special duties to clients. Professional and other codes of ethics should reflect the priority of general standards such as those of truthfulness and fairness.

Article 14

The freedom of the media to inform the public and to criticize institutions of society and governmental actions, which is essential for a just society, must be used with responsibility and discretion. Freedom of the media carries a special responsibility for accurate and truthful reporting. Sensational reporting that degrades the human person or dignity must at all times be avoided.

Article 15

While religious freedom must be guaranteed, the representatives of religions have a special responsibility to avoid expressions of prejudice and acts of discrimination toward those of different beliefs. They should not incite or legitimize hatred, fanaticism and religious wars, but should foster tolerance and mutual respect between all people.

MUTUAL RESPECT AND PARTNERSHIP

Article 16

All men and all women have a responsibility **to show respect** to one another **and understanding** in their partnership. No one should subject another person to sexual exploitation or dependence. Rather, sexual partners should accept the responsibility of caring for each other's well-being.

Article 17

In all its cultural and religious varieties, marriage requires love, loyalty and forgiveness and should aim at guaranteeing security and mutual support.

Article 18

Sensible family planning is the responsibility of every couple. The relationship between parents and children should reflect mutual love, respect, appreciation and concern. No parents or other adults should exploit, abuse or maltreat children.

CONCLUSION

Article 19

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any state, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the responsibilities, rights and freedom set forth in this Declaration and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948.

A UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RESPONSIBILITIES

Report on the Conclusions and Recommendations
by a High-Level Expert Group Meeting, Vienna, Austria
(20-22 April 1997)

Chaired by Helmut Schmidt

It is time to talk about human responsibilities

The call by the InterAction Council for a Universal Declaration of Human Responsibilities is timely. Although traditionally we have spoken of human rights, and indeed the world has gone a long way in their international recognition and protection since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the United Nations in 1948, it is time now to initiate an equally important quest for the acceptance of human duties or obligations.

This emphasis of human obligations is necessary for several reasons. Of course, this idea is new only to some regions of the world; many societies have traditionally conceived of human relations in terms of obligations rather than rights. This is true, in general terms, for instance, for much of Eastern thought. While traditionally in the West, at least since the 17th Century age of enlightenment, the concepts of freedom and individuality have been emphasized, in the East, the notions of responsibility and community have prevailed. The fact that a Universal Declaration of Human Rights was drafted instead of a Universal Declaration of Human Duties undoubtedly reflects the philosophical and cultural background of the document's drafters who, as is known, represented the Western powers who emerged victorious from the Second World War.

The concept of human obligations also serves to balance the notions of freedom and responsibility: while rights relate more to freedom, obligations are associated with responsibility. Despite this distinction, freedom and responsibility are interdependent. Responsibility, as a moral quality, serves as a natural, voluntary check for freedom. In any society, freedom can never be exercised without limits. Thus, the more freedom we enjoy, the greater the responsibility we bear, toward others as well as ourselves. The more talents we possess, the bigger the responsibility we have to develop them to their fullest capacity. We must move away from the freedom of indifference towards the freedom of involvement.

The opposite is also true: as we develop our sense of responsibility, we increase our internal freedom by fortifying our moral character. When freedom presents us with different possibilities for action, including the choice to do right or wrong, a responsible moral character will ensure that the former will prevail.

Sadly, this relationship between freedom and responsibility is not always understood clearly. Some ideologies have placed greater importance on the concept of individual freedom, while others concentrate on an unquestioning commitment to the social group.

Without a proper balance, unrestricted freedom is as dangerous as imposed social responsibility. Great social injustices have resulted from extreme economic freedom and capitalist greed, while at the same time cruel oppression of people's basic liberties has been justified in the name of society's interests or communist ideals.

Either extreme is undesirable. At present, with the disappearance of the East-West conflict and the end of the Cold War, humankind seems closer to the desired balance between freedom and responsibility. We have struggled for freedom and rights. It is now time to foster responsibility and human obligations.

The InterAction Council believes that globalization of the world economy is matched by globalization of the world's problems. Because global interdependence demands that we must live with each other in harmony, human beings need rules and constraints. Ethics are the minimum standards that make a collective life possible. Without ethics and self-restraint that are their result, humankind would revert to the survival of the fittest. The world is in need of an ethical base on which to stand.

Recognizing this need, the InterAction Council began its search for universal ethical standards with a meeting of spiritual leaders and political leaders in March 1987 at La Civiltà Cattolica in Rome, Italy. The initiative was taken by the late Takeo Fukuda, former Prime Minister of Japan who founded the InterAction Council in 1983. Again in 1996, the Council requested a report by a high-level expert group on the subject of global ethical standards. The Council, at its Vancouver Plenary Meeting in May 1996, welcomed the report of this Group, which consisted of religious leaders from several faiths and experts drawn from across the globe. The findings of this report "In Search of Global Ethical Standards" demonstrated that the world faiths have much in common and the Council endorsed the recommendation that "in 1998, the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations should convene a conference to consider a Declaration of Human Obligations to complement the earlier crucial work on rights."

The initiative to draft a Universal Declaration of Human Responsibilities is not only a way of balancing freedom with responsibility, but also a means of reconciling ideologies and political views that were deemed antagonistic in the past. The basic premise, then, should be that humans deserve the greatest possible amount of freedom, but also should develop their sense of responsibility to its fullest in order to correctly administer their freedom.

This is hardly a new idea. Throughout the millennia prophets, saints and sages have implored mankind to take its responsibilities seriously. In our century, for example, Mahatma Gandhi preached on the seven social sins.

1. Politics without principles
2. Commerce without morality
3. Wealth without work
4. Education without character
5. Science without humanity
6. Pleasure without conscience
7. Worship without sacrifice

Globalization, however, has given new urgency to the teaching of Gandhi and other ethical leaders. Violence on our television screens is now transmitted by satellites across the planet. Speculation in far away financial markets can devastate local communities. The influence of private tycoons now approaches the power of governments and unlike elected politicians, there is no accountability for this private power except for their own personal sense of responsibility. Never has the world needed a declaration of human responsibilities more.

From Rights to Obligations

Because rights and duties are inextricably linked, the idea of a human right only makes sense if we acknowledge the duty of all people to respect it. Regardless of a particular society's values, human relations are universally based on the existence of both rights and duties.

There is no need for a complex system of ethics to guide human action. There is one ancient rule that, if truly followed, would ensure just human relations: the Golden Rule. In its negative form, the Golden Rule mandates that we not do to others what we do not wish be done to us. The positive form implies a more active and solitary role: Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.

Bearing in mind the Golden Rule, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights provides an ideal starting point from which to consider some of the main obligations that are a necessary complement to those rights.

- If we have a right to life, then we have the obligation to respect life.

- If we have a right to liberty, then we have the obligation to respect other people's liberty.

- If we have a right to security, then we have the obligation to create the conditions for every human being to enjoy human security.

- If we have a right to partake in our country's political process and elect our leaders, then we have the obligation to participate and ensure that the best leaders are chosen.

- If we have a right to work under just and favorable conditions to provide a decent standard of living for ourselves and our families, we also have the obligation to perform to the best of our capacities.

- If we have a right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, we also have the obligation to respect other's thoughts or religious principles.

- If we have a right to be educated, then we have the obligation to learn as much as our capabilities allow us and, where possible, share our knowledge and experience with others.

- If we have a right to benefit from the earth's bounty, then we have the obligation to respect, care for and restore the earth and its natural resources.

As human beings, we have unlimited potential for self-fulfilment. Thus we have the obligation to develop our physical, emotional, intellectual and spiritual capacities to their fullest. The importance of the concept of responsibility towards attaining self-realization cannot be overlooked.

* * * * * * * * * *

The expert-group, which was convened in Vienna in April 1997, worked on a declaration of human responsibilities. The results of this work were summarized and condensed by the three academic advisors; Prof. Thomas Axworthy, Prof. Kim Kyong-dong and Prof. Hans Küng. Prof. Küng provided a very helpful first draft as the starting point for the discussion. They made recommendations to Helmut Schmidt, who chaired the meeting, Andreas van Agt and Miguel de la Madrid. Oscar Arias, a member of the Council, who could not be present, contributed a welcome substantive paper.

The results of this work are contained in the draft proposal for the United Nations entitled "A Universal Declaration of Human Responsibilities." The group submits with pleasure the attached draft to the InterAction Council and the world community at large.

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- Keiko Atsumi

ENDORSEMENT OF THE DECLARATION

The proposed *Universal Declaration of Human Responsibilities* has the endorsement of the following individuals:

I. The InterAction Council Members

- **Helmut Schmidt** (Honorary Chairman) Former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany
- **Malcolm Fraser** (Chairman) Former Prime Minister of Australia
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- **Felipe Gonzalez Marquez** Former Prime Minister of Spain
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- **Selim Hoss** Former Prime Minister of Lebanon
- **Kenneth Kaunda** Former President of Zambia
- **Lee Kuan Yew** Former Prime Minister of Singapore
- **Kiichi Miyazawa** Former Prime Minister of Japan
- **Misael Pastrana Borrero** Former President of Colombia (deceased in August)
- **Shimon Peres** Former Prime Minister of Israel
- **Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo** Former Prime Minister of Portugal
- **Jose Sarney** Former President of Brazil
- **Shin Hyon Hwak** Former Prime Minister of the Republic of Korea
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- Richard v. Weizsäcker, former President of the Federal Republic of Germany
- Mahmoud Zakzouk, Minister of Religion, Egypt

III. Participants (in preparatory meetings in Vienna, Austria in March 1996 and April 1997) and special guests (at the 15th Plenary Session in Noordwijk, The Netherlands in June 1997)

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- Anna-Marie Aagaard, World Council of Churches
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High-Level Experts' Meeting
The Hiroshima Declaration:
A Plea for Zero Nuclear Weapons

INTERACTION COUNCIL

19 April 2010, Hiroshima, Japan

Humankind has the power to destroy itself through the catastrophic impacts of a nuclear war. Speaking from Hiroshima, in memory of those who fell and those who still suffer the lingering injuries of nuclear attack, the Interaction Council, which has consistently advocated nuclear disarmament since 1983, calls on leaders of the twenty-first century to respond and take the actions necessary for the survival of all humanity.

The threat of the use of nuclear weapons is as great as ever, but in a very different way, as new dangers are emerging. As long as anyone has nuclear weapons, others will seek them. Nuclear materials and technology are increasingly widespread and accessible. Smuggling of fissile materials has been extensive and many such materials remain inadequately secured. The know-how to make nuclear bombs is readily available. The danger of nuclear terrorism is very real. Nine countries now have nuclear weapons — not all have signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty and few have committed to no first use. A further 40 countries have the technological capacity to build nuclear weapons. The current non-proliferation regime is manifestly inadequate.

The history of the nuclear age is littered with broken promises and double standards but today there is reason to hope, and momentum for change. The United States and Russia have just signed an agreement to reduce their deployed strategic nuclear arsenals. While they have both argued for a global zero option, against the background of stalled negotiations, failure in disarmament, and unenforced treaties, the agreed verified and binding reduction is a significant advance. We congratulate Presidents Obama and Medvedev and urge them to continue on the path to disarmament.

The Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference that opens in less than 2 weeks in New York provides an important opportunity for breakthrough on the current nuclear logjam. With this in mind, the Council calls on the Review Conference to demonstrate determination to put in place an effective process to eliminate and outlaw nuclear weapons. The Australian and Japanese sponsored International Commission on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament has made useful recommendations on a package of measures for the Review Conference.

We urge all nations to support decisive action. The non-proliferation regime must be made universal and effective. Without substantial advances in disarmament and non-proliferation, more and more countries may gain nuclear weapons, increasing risks to everyone.

The Interaction Council urges the Review Conference to promote:

- A comprehensive nuclear treaty architecture aiming at the elimination of nuclear weapons.

- A resolution by the UN General Assembly and Security Council declaring that uses of nuclear weapons would constitute a crime against humanity.

In addition:

- Nuclear weapons states should commit to a no-first-use policy and not to use nuclear weapons in any conflict with a non-nuclear weapons state.
- Nuclear weapons should be taken off high alert.

- All nuclear weapons states should declare that they will not create new nuclear weapons capabilities, as the U.S. has done in the 2010 Nuclear Posture Review.

- Nations participating in defensive treaties that ultimately rely on nuclear weapons should start to define the nature of their alliances in a way that excludes any reliance on nuclear weapons.

The world is at a crossroads, but has the best opportunity in years to make real, effective and lasting change essential for survival of the human race and of our planet. There is momentum for change established by the recent agreement between Russia and the United States. But that momentum must build into an irreversible tide. In this endeavour every person, group and state has a responsibility for our common and shared future. If the principled and practical objectives proposed by the Interaction Council are adopted at the NPT Review Conference, it would be a substantial beginning and demonstrate that the leaders of today are aware of their profound responsibilities and determined to make the world safer and more secure for the children of tomorrow.

The following members, associate members, and special guests to the 28th Annual Meeting have endorsed the Hiroshima Declaration.

IAC Members

- H.E. Mr. Helmut **Schmidt**, Honorary Chairman (former Chancellor), Germany
- The Rt. Hon. Malcolm **Fraser**, Honorary Chairman (former Prime Minister), Australia
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- H.E. Mr. **Goh** Chok Tong (former Prime Minister), Republic of Singapore
- H.E. Mr. Seyyed Mohammad **Khātamī** (former President), Islamic Republic of Iran
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- H.E. Dr. Abdel Salam **Majali** (former Prime Minister), Jordan
- Sir James Fitz-Allen **Mitchell** (former Prime Minister), Saint Vincent and the Grenadines
- H.E. Mr. Benjamin William **Mkapa** (former President), Tanzania
- H.E. Mr. Tomiichi **Murayama** (former Prime Minister), Japan
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- H.E. Mr. Jerry John **Rawlings** (former Head of State), Republic of Ghana
- H.E. Mr. José **Sarney** (former President), Brazil
- H.E. Mr. **Tung** Chee Hwa (former Chief Executive), Hong Kong Administration
- H.E. Dr. Franz **Vranitzky** (former Chancellor), Austria

Associate Members

- H.E. Sheikh Abdul-Aziz Z. **Al-Quraishi**, former Governor of SAMA (Central Bank), Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
- Dr. Thomas **Axworthy**, Chair of the Centre for the Study of Democracy, Queen's University, Canada
- H.E. Mr. Jean André **François-Poncet**, President of the Senatorial Committee on Regional Planning, France
- Baroness **Jay**, Chairperson of the Overseas Development Institute, London, UK
- Dr. **Lee** Seung-yun, former Deputy-Prime Minister, Korea
- Mr. Seiken **Sugiura**, former Minister of Justice, Japan

Special Guests

- Dr. Tadatoshi **Akiba**, Mayor of the city of Hiroshima, Japan
- Dr. Abdulrahman H. **Al-Saeed**, Advisor — The Royal Court, President of Center for Specialized Studies, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
- Dr. Hans **Blix**, former Chairman of the UN Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission, Sweden
- H.E. Mr. Luiz Augusto **de Castro Neves**, Ambassador of Brazil to Japan, Brazil
- Mr. Sam **Nunn**, former US Senator and former Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, USA
- His Eminence Monshu Koshin **Ohtani**, past President of Japan Buddhist Federation, Monshu of Jodo Shinshu Hongwanji-ha, Japan
- Lord David **Owen**, (former Foreign Minister), United Kingdom
- H.E. Ambassador Alexander **Panov**, Rector of Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Russia
- Dr. **Shen** Dingli, Director of Center for American Studies, Executive Dean of Institute of International Studies, Fudan University, China
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Secretary-General

- Prof. Isamu Miyazaki, Secretary General of InterAction Council, former State Minister of Economic Planning Agency, Japan

The Global Water Crisis: Addressing an Urgent Security Issue

Chairmen's Report on the High-Level Expert Group Meeting

CHAIRED BY

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JEAN CHRÉTIEN
H. E. DR. FRANZ VRANITZKY
H. E. MR. OLUSEGUN OBASANJO

21-23 March 2011, Toronto, Canada

A hydraulic bomb has started to tick. Humankind lives on a planet covered by water, but more than 97 percent is salty and two percent is locked up in iced and snow. This leaves less than one percent to grow crops, cool power plants and supply drinking and bathing water for households. One of the great issues of the twenty-first century is how we will share this one percent amongst the increasing population. The InterAction Council, in collaboration with the Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation of Canada, convened a High-Level Expert Group Meeting in Toronto, Canada the 21 to 23 of March to look into water issues from the perspective of development, energy, technology, international law, public health, and conservation and environment.

URGENCY AND RISK

Multiple, cumulative and compounding problems with water supply and quality are converging on us globally. Humans are now the driving force behind the global hydrological cycle. Water demand, water availability and aging water infrastructure are on a collision course, which will be made worse by uncertainties associated with climate change.

Population growth is already colliding with finite water resources. Advances in technology, innovation, and best practices are being mocked and overshadowed by relentless population and economic growth. Water stress is expanding globally but especially at mid-latitudes. Despite critical need, investment in water management as a percentage of GDP has dropped by half in most countries since the late 1990s. The magnitude of the problem and the risks has been greatly underestimated. One billion people on Earth are without reliable supplies of water. More than two billion lack basic sanitation. A growing number of rivers do not make it to the sea. There is widespread surface and groundwater contamination that makes valuable water supplies unfit for other uses. Many water systems will collapse over time without urgently needed integration of water policy.

The jurisdictional fragmentation and institutional territoriality that have made it impossible to meaningfully restore critical flows of many of our most important rivers make responses to similar problems difficult to resolve, not just in North America but around the world. So far, talk relating to a willingness to cooperate about water has not led to effective action. Difficult reforms remain necessary based on integrated land and watershed management principals, rather than the fractured jurisdiction of artificial management units imposed by political boundaries. In such situations, even the most enlightened management practices cannot succeed because of ongoing political impasse.

There is a disturbing mismatch between investment in the form of aid and results. There is too often a focus on water treatment but not on providing basic services in the poorest places. No set of interventions underpins the attainment of the millennium development goals more critically than water, sanitation and hygiene. The world lags far behind on the sanitation target, which is predicted will be missed by over one billion people. Some 1.5 million child deaths occur annually. Some 88 percent of these deaths can be directly attributed to water-borne pathogens.

There is an inextricable link between water and food. Due to the link between health, nutrition, equity, gender equality, well-being and economic progress: water, sanitation and hygiene underlie not only the achievement of Millennium Development Goals but also overall long-term development.

Equitable water supply and quality problems are not just a problem in developing countries. In the United States, for example, concern over water supply is no longer confined to dry regions in the West and Southwest. Water availability is

already a national concern. The global water crisis has finally arrived in America. As a result, water, food and energy security are all threatened. The situation elsewhere in the world is often far worse.

In many parts of the world, economic development has been slow, as has been investment in science. Activities of government have been focused on continuity instead of ingenuity. While this has been changing slowly, there are many hotspots, which should cause us serious concern.

In many countries, national security has been historically defined by military security. We now realize that that is only one element in the human security equation. Water, food and nutrition, and energy security are as important as military security. There remains real potential for conflict over water.

The number of environmental migrants moving within their country and beyond their own borders in response to climate change and other impacts on water is expected to grow. The 24 million environmental migrants that were created in 2002 could increase tenfold by 2050. A change of terminology from "water wars" to "water point clashes" or "conflicts of use" will be essential to shift focus away from semantic arguments and towards practical solutions.

The consequences of our inability to manage the water-energy nexus could be grave. Global energy consumption will continue to rise, increasing perhaps by as much as 50 percent by 2030. This will put the energy sector into greater competition with other water users, which will likely impact regional energy reliability and energy security. The combination of more water users and more uses has altered the traditional ladder that helps elevate human economic development progress. Until our thinking about water and energy can be integrated, sustainability will continue to elude us.

We face a vacuum in international water leadership. New forms of hydro-diplomacy are desperately needed. Everyone knows what the problem is but political will, financial resources and good governance is widely lacking. Leaders and policy makers are inundated by "legislative congestion" but the fact remains that inactivity in the face of a growing global water crisis is unconscionable. Future generations will drink the very same water we drink. There is, therefore, huge urgency in creating the political will to address the root cause of the global water crisis.

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Growing populations, changing diets, increased urban, agricultural and industrial water demands and a growing understanding of nature's need for water decree the need to radically reform our attitudes toward water and how it is managed globally. Putting water on the global political agenda is critical not just to the need to feed nine billion people in 2050 with less agricultural water than we have today, but to

address the critical development challenge of doing this in a safe, sustainable way while protecting the livelihoods of the vast number of rural poor. In addressing water issues, we address economic and public health woes simultaneously and also go a long way in advancing capacity to adapt to climate change. In addressing water security issues, foundation for peace and well-being must be created.

Economics must be considered in all policy reform. Not all solutions are expensive. Quite the contrary. But a real global problem needs real funding. With an investment of only $20 billion a year we could have nearly 100 percent water supply coverage globally by 2025.

But money is not the only solution. In many countries major public institutions do not have the wherewithal to address water issues even if they had the money to do so. Outside help as well as financing are required to ensure that water quality and availability issues do not stall economic or social progress, or worse yet, result in further conflict in many parts of the world.

Regional cooperation is essential to achieving transboundary security and optimal levels of water and food and nutrition security. International examples suggest that watershed-scale management of water resources generates increased economic benefit for all within a regional context. It may be helpful to employ the same principles that generated cooperation over water to stimulate similar international cooperation over climate change. Globally relevant models exist. The Northwest Territories *Northern Waters, Northern Voices* water stewardship strategy demonstrates how the right of both people and nature to water can be a foundation of sustainable economic development.

An international yardstick of water security was created by the UN but many countries are not meeting these standards. The UN international water protocols should be supported and advanced. An example of real progress toward higher international standards of water management is the 1997 UN Watercourses Convention, which, unfortunately, was not ratified.

Another important example of successful international agreements over water management standards is the *European Union Water Framework Directive*. In this framework, water quality standards and parameters of aquatic ecosystem health are defined by the European Union. Individual nations are charged with meeting those standards by whatever means they feel will work best in local circumstances. In the EU model agricultural policy and water policy are linked.

The right to water is a powerful tool that can be used to focus attention and resources on improving access to water for those individuals and communities who currently endure the hardships imposed by the absence of safe water. The global food security issue shows it is related as much to lack of storage and transport as it is to actual food production. Improving these processes could contribute to water and food security.

Leaders must also address the issue of emerging unhealthy diets and its huge impacts on water security. It will also be important to explore the possible benefits of virtual water trade. Innovative thinking cannot only prevent crisis but can result in enhanced economic development and the improvement of living standards widely.

Public-private sector partnerships may be necessary to address the growing global water infrastructure deficit. The requirement for new energy sources will exacerbate water use and increase tensions over water security. Thus, it becomes crucial that the efficiency of water use in energy production is increased. Huge growth is projected in unconventional biofuels and substitutions. We should not be growing fuel where we should be growing food.

Water re-use is no longer an option. A revolution in water re-use technology is essential, if any meaningful level of sustainability is to be achieved. There is no choice but to employ wastewater and saline water in energy production. Government regulation can provide huge incentives for change. New laws can start the "ingenuity engine" and keep it running.

The setting of high standards can produce rapid change. When standards are set higher than they have ever been, it stimulates innovation in water conservation and treatment. This creates economic opportunity.

Revitalizing irrigation institutions, technology and practices will improve water productivity. However, water security is about human interaction with the environment with water as a mediator. Nature is a silent stakeholder in all water use dialogue. The value of ecosystem services may often exceed alternative human uses. It is essential to learn quickly how to invest in critical natural infrastructure nationally and globally; to explore the possibility of payments of environmental services; to ask whether farmers and others should be paid to provide ecosystems that urbanites don't have the space to provide or don't know how to duplicate adequately or reasonably through engineering means.

Science and water governance experience must be proactively linked to the political process. The failure to address the global water crisis is not a question of austerity but of priority.

RECOMMENDATIONS

From the above deliberations, the following recommendations have been put forward, which the Co-chairmen of the meeting urge the Council to consider and adopt:

1. Endorse and support the global aspiration to make the right to water implementable and enforceable through the rule of law.

2. Urge national governments and the international community to make linkages between climate change research/adaptation programs and water issues, which are inherently and fundamentally related.

3. Encourage national governments to stimulate private and public sector innovation to address the global water crisis and capitalize on the economic opportunities that arise from finding solutions to these complex challenges.

4. Urge governments to ensure that water is being valued appropriately and priced to reflect its full cost with provision for those in poverty.

5. Assert that where water supplies are threatened, water used to grow food should not be substituted for water to grow crops for biofuel production.

6. Encourage increased investment in urgently needed sanitation coverage and improved access to safe water supply globally.

7. Support the ratification of the UN Watercourses Convention and the development of the draft articles on transboundary aquifers.

8. Encourage the UN Security Council to focus specifically on water security.

9. Encourage the linking of agricultural and water policy with energy policy nationally and globally.

10. Support renewed national, international and global focus on monitoring hydrological processes and increased attention to mapping and monitoring of groundwater.

11. Support the reduction of freshwater use in electric power and transportation fuels development through technical innovation and improved water efficiency.

12. Encourage the development of materials and water treatment approaches to enable non-traditional water use in energy generation and refining.

13. Encourage the improvement of water availability assessment and energy and water systems analysis and decision tools.

14. Support the conservation of the world's intact freshwater ecosystems, the establishment of ecological sustainability boundaries, and investment in ecosystem restoration.

15. Support the creation of an international water institution or forum specifically focused on helping water-troubled countries resolve their problems within a global context, in which experts on science, law and policy collaborate directly with political leaders.

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- Tony **Maas**, Director, Freshwater Program, WWF-Canada (Canada)
- Hon. Michael **Miltenberger**, Minister of Environment and Natural Resources, Legislative Assembly of Northwest Territories (Canada)
- Ganesh **Pangare**, Regional Water and Wetlands Programme Coordinator, IUCN Asia Regional Office (Thailand)
- Dr. Fabrice **Renaud**, Head of Section, Institute for Environment and Human Security (Germany)
- Bob **Sandford**, EPCOR Chair of the Canadian Partnership Initiative in support of United Nations "Water for Life" Decade (Canada)
- Samyuktha **Varma**, Executive Officer to the DG, International Water Management Institute (Sri Lanka)
- Dr. Patricia **Wouters**, Director, UNESCO IHP-HELP Centre for Water Law, Policy and Science, University of Dundee (United Kingdom)
- Moneef R. **Zou'bi**, Director General, Islamic Academy of Science (Jordan)

I hope the ideas outlined in this book will provide food for thought to politicians, as well as policy practitioners alike, and contribute to the ongoing debate on the Middle East in particular, and help us all contribute more effectively to global peace and security.

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