

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE EL HASSAN BIN TALAL

NATO IN THE WANA REGION: *SUPRANATIONAL SECURITY
AND THE ENERGY ELLIPSE*

NATO DEFENSE COLLEGE ROME

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Commandant, Generals, Members of the Directing Staff, Students of the NATO defence college, Dear guests,

As an Arabian citizen of the Roman province of Arabia i often express the sadness that all roads do not lead to Rome.

It's an honour to be here today, and I thank Lieutenant General Loeser for his warm invitation. The human dimensions of security, the importance of cultural understanding, and the wider ramifications of the security situation in the Middle East are topics very close to my heart.

It's wonderful to seeing them being taught and studied in such a collegiate atmosphere.

I believe the time has come to congratulate the Regional Cooperation Course for its prescience: by stressing academic endeavour and strategic thinking alongside respect and consensus building, and by bringing together civilians, officials and military officers from across the Mediterranean and the Broader Middle East, this programme is not only forward-thinking – it is also timely.

Many of you within the “Middle East” Faculty have been studying subjects which will equip you well for whatever the future brings – I've looked through the course overview and it's delightful to see the importance of intercultural understanding and respect being taught alongside ‘hard skills’ such as strategic analysis, trends in global affairs, threat

perception and the increasing role of 'cross-border' security issues.

I know you call it the "Middle East Faculty", but if i were to look to our part of the world from China and Japan, or Indonesia, we are actually the Middle West, and not the Middle East. So in terms of West-Asia and North-Africa the concept is basically are we not West-Asian, to the East Asians? Is Asian not the dividing line between the Euro Atlantic and Asia and if so is it going to continue to be a systemic, volatile, political rift or can it become a bridge?

In fact though "WANA" is still notional, having held two meetings thus far, ad personam, i am glad to say that we are interacting both with the Euro-Atlantic region and Escap region and the principals include participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus orientation, equity and inclusiveness, effectiveness and efficiency and last but not least accountability.

I know that we are far from achieving some of these objectives but it is better to have a context than not to have a context and to speak only of projects.

My argument today will be as follows: that security and cooperation in the Middle East are dependent on supranational energy security, peace between Israel and Palestine, and security-sector reform. First, we shall discuss the concept of "human security" and the role and history of

NATO in this region. Secondly I intend to renew calls (which I first made in 1991) for a Semi-Permanent Council for the Middle East modelled around the Council for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Bologna process.

Thirdly I will explain what I regard as the main existential threats to the region: water shortage, energy security, forced migration, and the extent to these concerns and many others besides are dependent upon lasting peace between Israel and Palestine.

Fourthly, and finally, I will argue for entrenched security-sector reform, particularly in regard to critical infrastructure and energy, to improve the carrying-capacity of states and prevent the incubation of unrest.

In essence therefore, everything said today can be broadly categorised within the three baskets of the 1975 Helsinki Act: namely International Relations, Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation, and Human Rights.

ON HUMAN SECURITY

But to begin with let's address the topic of Human Security, and the peculiarities of a region which has been a major recipient of the best and worst globalization has had to offer since Roman times.

Perhaps because of its insuperable difficulties has acquired an increasingly rich alphabet soup in attempts to define it: MENA (Middle East and North Africa), NANE (North Africa

and Near East), ROMENACA (Middle East, North Africa and Central Asia), WANA (West Asia and North Africa), “the Greater Middle East¹” and there are probably many more.

The acronyms come and go while the problems faced by the individuals within this region, howsoever defined, can sometimes seem immutable. The Middle East is currently enduring at least two wars, and over the past decade has witnessed more displaced human beings than at any other time in human history.

In an April 2010 White Paper entitled the “Battle of the Narratives” the Near East South Asia Centre for Strategic Studies asks why of 606 militants catalogued in Sinjar, an Iraqi town near the Syrian border, almost 19% came from a single town called Darnah – population 50,000 - which lies along the Mediterranean coast of Libya.

Asking “*what turns a disgruntled viewer of cable news into a suicide bomber*” the publication quotes a West Point counterterrorism expert who concludes that “the dynamics are very, very local.”²

As Alastair Cooke points out, this is a region in which a car accident (in the case of the first Intifada) and a cinema fire (in the case of the Iranian Revolution) unleashed consequences no one could ever have foreseen.

¹ Defined here to include the area stretching from Arab northeast Africa all the way to Pakistan and Afghanistan, and including the Gulf

² Brian Fishman in The Near East South Asia Centre for Strategic Studies White Paper April 2010, Battle of the Narratives: Why Al Qaeda wins, pp7

“Security” it so often seems to me, almost always begins and ends with the human being.

With a population similar to the United States, the Middle East has over twice as many active personnel involved in military service - when reserves, para-military and foreign troops are included – making it by far the most militarised region in the world³. Out of the worlds top 10 largest military spenders as a proportion of GDP seven are from the Middle East, and cumulative spending on military in the region is set to double in the following decade.

Just two months ago, in September, the US announced a 60 billion dollar arms deal with Saudi Arabia, spread over ten years. It’s likely that other regional powers will match this expenditure with more of their own.

It’s an ironic paradox – the extent to which the financial and human resources of this region are diverted toward this hypermarket of destruction, and yet nowhere else is insecurity such a physical and psychological fact of life.

The term “human security” was coined to shift the focus away from the State, from giant arms deals and geopolitics, towards the individual. It realises that freedom from fear and want are not only essential aspects of human dignity – a concept the ambience of war values cheaply – but also an essential component of any lasting peace.

³ Ibid pp30

It is my hope that a more holistic approach to Security will one day come to an area which stretches from Marrakesh to Bangladesh, from Casablanca to Calcutta, and that many of you gathered here today will be involved in providing it. As Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen observed last year when i met him in Edinburgh at the Royal Society of Scotland, he said that, and i quote, *“NATO remains the only international organization that produces and exports security.”*

NATO OPERATIONS IN THE REGION

NATO intervened for the first time outside in traditional sphere of operations in 1995, in Bosnia, after four years of hesitation and debate⁴.

During the Gulf War NATO assisted deployments from the United States and committed itself to the territorial integrity of Turkey, but no one could ever have guessed that a decade later the alliance would be sending over 10,000 troops to Afghanistan, training Iraqi military forces in Baghdad and spearheading politico-military cooperation with the Gulf Cooperation Council?

The face of NATO is changing. Over the past several years a once entirely “North-Atlantic” institution has:

- invoked its Article 5 defense clause for the first time ever, following the September 11 attacks in the United States;

⁴ NATOs Growing Role in the Greater Middle East, Phillip Gordon, 63 Emirates Lecture Series, pp 1

- deployed a peacekeeping force of nearly 130,000 troops to Afghanistan and committed to expand that mission geographically (to the south)
- launched a 9 million euro training operation for Iraqi forces involving contributions from all 26 NATO members;
- created the NATO Response Force (NRF), a grouping of some 20,000 forces and equipment that can be called together at short notice and deployed anywhere around the world;
- deployed the NRF in an earthquake relief operation in Pakistan;
- established an air-bridge⁵ to supply soldiers from the African Union (AU) to a peacekeeping mission in Sudan;
- launched the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative (ICI) to develop its political and military relations with members of the GCC;
- expanded its Mediterranean Dialogue (MD) to facilitate political dialogue with Middle Eastern countries including Egypt;
- enlarged the scope of political discussions in the North Atlantic Council to include briefings on a range of Middle Eastern and global issues; and

⁵ Ibid, pp2

- established a Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear Response (CBRNR) team to help deal with possible weapons of mass destruction contingencies⁶.

Cyrus Vants, Secretary of Defence of the United States, that wise man, said the “time has come to stop talking about the Mediterranean as a soft underbelly of NATO, or of Europe, and to start talking about building bridges.”

Despite this even the most cursory search on NATO will reveal headlines such as “Let Europe be Europe⁷,” “Time to get real⁸,” “Will NATO ever fight again⁹” and “Don’t go back¹⁰.” In a special report for the Council of Foreign Relations James M. Goldgeier observes that: “If the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation did not exist today, the United States would not seek to create it.”

Suffice to say there seems to be some scepticism about the alliance’s role in the region: as one official put it “NATO supply has consistently been greater than NATO demand in most Mediterranean Dialogue Countries¹¹.”

Originally founded for the purpose of defending Western Europe against the Soviet threat, NATO is a security alliance

⁶ NATOs Growing Role in the Greater Middle East, Phillip Gordon, 63 Emirates Lecture Series, pp 2

⁷ Andrew J. Bachevich in “Let Europe Be Europe”, Foreign Policy.com, March April 2010

⁸ Stephen M. Walt in Ibid, Thursday March 4th 2010

⁹ Robert Haddick in Weekly Column from Small Wars Journal, reprinted in Foreign Policy.com, May 21st 2010

¹⁰ On Economist.com July 2010

¹¹ Alberto Bin in The NATO and Mediterranean Dialogue at a Crossroads by Pierre Razoux, pp3

that will ultimately only survive if it deals with the current security challenges faced by its members. As it happens, most of those challenges are in the Middle East.

NATO does realise this – for more than a decade the alliance has sought to increase its interaction with the governments and peoples of the region.

In 1994, the Alliance launched a “Mediterranean Dialogue” (MD) with Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia and Jordan. Discussions have centered around defense planning and budgeting, civil–military relations, the democratic control of armed forces, WMD proliferation, civil emergency planning and humanitarian relief.

The MD dialogue has been criticized for failing to address the key security issues in the region, while it’s been said that Arab-Israeli differences have prevented the countries involved from moving the dialogue forward. As far as the Eastern-Mediterranean Black Sea region is concerned – the Adriatic and Aegean “sea of seas” - Russian military action in Georgia and tensions over the independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia are in themselves ample reason for a discursive relationship, and in any case the dialogue has seen significant projects closer to home.

We have spoken of a MDialigue – Algeria, Eqypt, Israel, Mauritius (Mauritania), Morocco, Tunisia and Jordan – but I want to say once again that those who refuse to participate

because Israel is participating... many know very well that they are talking to the Israeli's under the radar. Those of us who are talking to Israel above the parapet, are attacked alongside Israel. Why? Because we try to stabilise a situation by setting a precedent which many of us hope will be followed, on the basis of firm and clear principles.

But i do want to say that the Palestinian Israeli particularity should not prevent us from developing a vision for the West-Asia region. You mention interoperability. I would mention interconnectedness and say that we cannot continue ad-hoc talking about Israel and Palestine today. Instead of the minutiae of domestic politics what we need to talk about is the region.

Unlike NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP) with Central and East European countries, the MD has never been linked to potential NATO accession for its participants, but has instead focused on understanding the security concerns of countries such as Jordan, building trust in the alliance, and demonstrating the merits of working within the context of the Dialogue.

I'm happy that my tiny country has assisted with the elimination of Explosive Remnants of War (ERW), but I also wonder about the other side (Israel) who were also expected to do something along such lines. I believe in Defence

Colleges they call it a two sided exercise with troops – one hand cannot clap on its own.

Of course almost a decade later, in June 2004, NATO launched the Istanbul Initiative (ICI) – the first formal relationship between NATO and the Arab states of the Gulf. NATO began by offering ICI membership to the countries of the GCC (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates), with the offer being accepted by Bahrain, Qatar and Kuwait in 2004, and the UAE in 2005.

In some ways similar to the MD, the ICI is designed to expand dialogue and to provide a forum for practical cooperation between NATO and the countries of the Gulf region. But it also has a more pronounced military component: at the Istanbul summit, the allies agreed to help train Iraqi military forces both within and outside of Iraq.

Both the MD and ICI will only advance as far as their participants – and NATO members – are prepared to take them. They are, however, potential steps toward greater NATO interaction with a number of states in a region where NATO itself is clearly becoming more involved.

One positive recent development – with potential relevance for the Middle East – was the agreement at the 2002 Warsaw summit to create a NATO Response Force (NRF), which reached full operational capacity (25,000 troops) in June 2006. The idea behind the creation of the NRF was to give the Alliance a standing capability to respond quickly to crises anywhere around the world on short notice.

Today peacekeeping and counterterrorism in Afghanistan, training military forces in Iraq, humanitarian intervention in Sudan and political-security dialogue in the Gulf and North Africa are other examples of how the Alliance is engaging and becoming more involved in the region.

Now i am saddened by the fact that my family were massacred in Baghdad on the 14th of July 1958. I don't need to be taught about the character of certain peoples in our region. But i want to say that CENTO which existed in those days was an adjunct to NATO. But CENTO was one thing, like the proposed ICI, military cooperation and Baghdad Pact was quite another.

Is it possible that we can see an Istanbul Pact or a Mesopotamia Pact? To focus not on civilian surge as it is described in Afghanistan as an initiative which i am delighted to hear about, but to focus on post-war truth, reconciliation and reconstruction otherwise these gatherings become basically to prepare for the next war. And as Einstein once said it is difficult to "prepare for war and prevent war at the same time".

SEMI-PERMANENT COUNCIL

In words of Konrad Adenauer in the last speech before the German Parliament when he took off his spectacles, couldn't see anybody anymore, and he just said "God has placed limits on mans reason, but on his stupidity he has not."

I have been calling for some time now for the international community to address the Arab-Israeli conflict head on, with the establishment of a Semi-Permanent Conference for the Middle East, modelled along the lines of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Such a blueprint was set out in Article IV of the Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty, and in several papers and conferences since, but has never been acted upon¹².

We need a regional concept for human rights, prosperity and security. Nobody in this room is thinking more than the peoples of our region about the importance of changing the Middle-East process into a process with content.

At the moment the 1995 Euro-Mediterranean “Barcelona Process” – and here i’m not talking about pro-north or pro-west or pro-south – remains the only conceptually comprehensive framework to deal with security, economy and culture between the 12 partners invited by the EU 15.¹³

Any such process will should draw lessons from the past, and be mindful of history, but should not become a slave to it. The Arab League members – in addition to Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey and Israel – should act as partners, with the G2 and G8 as natural allies. As the Strategic Foresight Group have argued¹⁴ previous peace efforts have

¹² Like the Arctic Council it could focus on questions of environmental and energy security to begin with, so providing the cooperative framework through which to later address military risks. As in Northern Ireland, this conflict is as much a problem of disturbed and damaged relationships between communities as it is between States.

¹³ Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Israel, Palestinian Authority, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Malta, Cyprus.

¹⁴ Strategic Foresight Group, Inclusive Semi-Permanent Conference for the Middle East, pp13

often come to nothing because they have failed to be inclusive or perceived as “outside” efforts.

Such a conference would be a leap towards the new and no longer ad-hoc architecture of relations this region requires so badly. In 1950 Post War Europe Robert Schumann, the French Minister of Affairs, came up with the idea of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). He realised that pooling the coal and steel industries in Europe would prevent wars between neighbours. By creating a supranational market for coal and steel the ECSC used economic cooperation as an instrument of co-existence and prosperity. The development of the ECSC into a common market, from the EEC to the EC, to the EU, were all made on the basis of long term, negotiated, unanimous agreements.

If the Europeans started with coal and steel, why can't the Middle East do the same with Water and Energy? It is no secret that West Asia and North Africa comprise one of the most water-poor areas on the earth and that experts have been predicting for decades that future conflicts in the Middle East would be “water wars.”

WATER

By 2025 the Strategic Foresight Group estimate that three hundred million people in the Arab world will be living under conditions of what the UN defines as “*absolute water scarcity*” with about 500 cubic meters of water per person

per year. To put this in perspective, the US currently uses close to 70,000 cubic meters of water per person per year¹⁵.

The 1967 Six Day War has its origins in a water dispute between Israel and Syria over access to the Jordan River. A border dispute over a waterway was one of the main reasons that led to the Iran-Iraq war in the 1980s. Today Israel's confiscation of Palestinian water resources is a major impediment to the resolution of the Israeli-Palestine conflict. There have been tensions between Egypt and Sudan over access to the Nile, between Iran and Iraq over access to the Shatt al Arab, as well as between Turkey Syria and Iraq over the use of the water of the Tigris River. In 1975 war was narrowly averted between Iraq and Syria over the Euphrates, while today Turkey's plan to divert significant amounts of that river to rural Anatolia has alarmed Syria.

Meanwhile the Jordan River, one of the most complex and contested waterways in the world, has four tributaries originating in Syria, Lebanon, the Golan Heights and Lebanon respectively. Israel is alleged to have diverted 75% of water originating from that River.

Through such expert fora as the *WANA Forum* and the Mumbai-based *Strategic Foresight Group*¹⁶ for example, we in Jordan have been promoting the need for effective governance of our most vital trans-boundary resources.

¹⁵ Coping with water scarcity. Challenge of the twenty-first century. UN-Water, FAO. 2007

¹⁶ WANA 4 Sessions/**Strategic Foresight Group** (SFG):

http://www.strategicforesight.com/water_security_forum.htm

The region's crisis-hit riparian states must all be called on to participate as all the region's problems are, in vitally essential ways, inter-connected. Namely, Jordan, Palestine and Israel are dependent on the waters of the Jordan River and the Tiberius; Egypt and Sudan on Nile river water; Iran and Iraq over access to the Shatt al Arab; as well as Turkey, Syria and Iraq over the use of water from the Tigris (Strategic Foresight Group, 2008).

Only Supra-national mechanisms can truly address the trans-border challenges of carrying capacity. Whereas the centre of the Energy and Water Belt extends from the Central Asian Republics and down the Volga through Turkey to the Straits of Hormuz, oil flows cannot be safeguarded solely by military force guarding the ports of the Arabian/Persian Gulf. Pipeline infrastructure from East Asia through central Asia exits to Europe through Russia and Turkey.

The formation of a supra national body similar to the Arctic Council (which was funded by organizations such as Senator Lugar's Alaska Fund, and Paul Volker's proposal for an asymmetric Middle East Regional Development Bank) *could in this case be adapted to invest the returns of oil and gas into bridging the "Human Dignity Deficit" thus stabilizing the hinterland of manpower-dependent GCC (Gulf Cooperation Council) countries and their neighbours.*

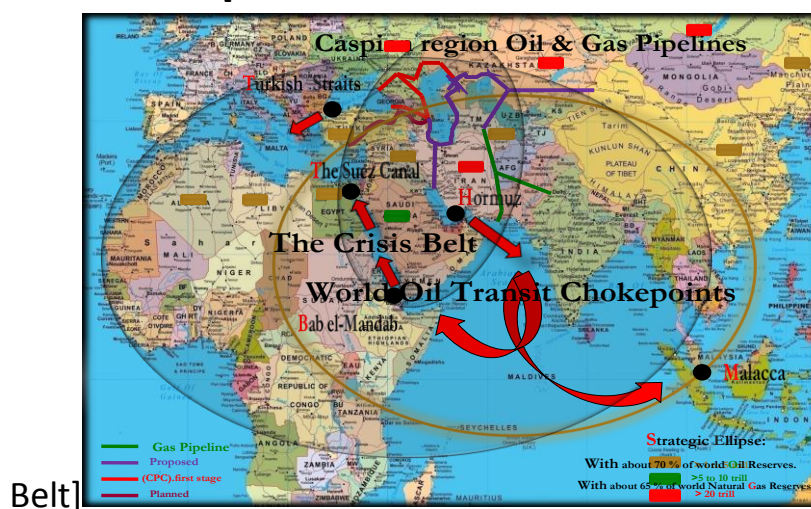
The sad thing is that we were aware of these issues 15 years ago, yet we have done so very little to solve them.

THE “ENERGY ELLIPSE”

This is a shame, because during this period the global fossil fuel producing areas mostly located within in the West-Africa-North-Africa region have come to create what I and others have dubbed the “energy ellipse.”

Within this area are located approximately 70% of the world’s oil and 65% of the world’s natural gas reserves.

[SLIDE 1 HERE: The Crisis

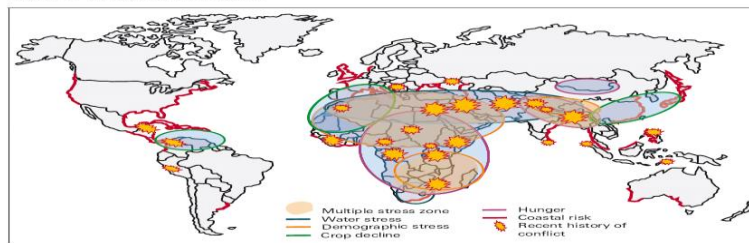


You will notice that the ‘energy ellipse’ corresponds fairly closely with a “crisis belt” comprised of sub areas marked by social and economic conflict. What is striking is that all roads – and I might add – all pipelines, lead away from the energy producing areas towards the industrialised regions.

In their wisdom the Japanese Parliament said in 1988 that ‘you cannot defend oil at the point of export with any number of forces, unless you stabilise the human resource rich hinterland.’

[SLIDE 2 HERE: Multiple Stress Zones]

Figure 2. Multiple stress zones.



The Royal Society

New Frontiers in Science Diplomacy | January 2010 | 13

The following graphic is from a reliable source – the British Royal Society – so it’s not Jordanian propaganda. While oil and gas have been pumped and redistributed to industrialised countries, there have often been few advantages for the rural poor, residing in the shadows of the wells and their rigs. Indeed, the energy-dependent development needs of peoples residing in the hinterlands have as often been neglected – from the Arabian deserts to the Russian steppes, to the South American forests.

Unsurprisingly, these are areas which have also known violent, protracted civil conflict, and there are many other areas that could be named, where a sense of deprivation and

hopelessness has gone hand in hand with a belief in having unfairly lost resources and with them, opportunities.

It has been said that, “meeting the inter-linked global challenges of poverty reduction, social justice and environmental sustainability is the great moral and political imperative of our time”.¹⁷ Science can help.

SCIENCE DIPLOMACY

Science will be critical in providing us with the tools and knowledge to address these great challenges. Traditional and Cultural Science diplomacy is the tool for moving us, on a global policy scale, towards a new politics of innovation, and ultimately, greater human security.

It is becoming realistic to anticipate that in the emerging post-carbon era, the future benefits from ‘virtual sunshine,’ that is to say, concentrated solar power (CSP) sources produced in the Arabian deserts, will no longer perpetuate the social hardships and imbalances witnessed with our global dependence on fossil fuels.

On 28th November 2007, I had the pleasure of presenting to the European Parliament as President of the Club of Rome *DESERTEC Concept for Energy, Water and Climate Security*, a joint initiative with the Club of Rome, which is promoting an integrated concept for energy, water and climate security

¹⁷ Steps Centre (Social, Technological and Environmental Pathways to Sustainability) 2010. “Innovation, Sustainability, Development: A New Manifesto.” Brighton, UK: University of Sussex

based on technology for storing and transporting solar power from deserts.¹⁸

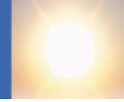
This project which is based on studies by the German Aerospace Centre (DLR) will introduce the option of clean energy cooperation between a technology belt and a sun belt.

For the first time in history, energy goods can be produced from the sun in sufficient quantities to have strong implications for the good of all humanity. We are speaking of energy availability on demand with the potential to become a Public Good in the truest sense.

[SLIDE 5 HERE: The DESERTEC Concept]

¹⁸ <http://www.desertec.org>

The DESERTEC Concept in general



- Make use of renewable, mainly solar, energy from the deserts, the biggest energy resource available on earth
- More than 90 % of the world's population are living in areas that are less than 3,000 km away from deserts and thus could be supplied with solar power
- Holistic approach
 - Integration of renewable energy and transmission grids
 - Socio-economic developments
 - Extensions to water supply, growing biomass etc.
- The DESERTEC concept supports EU and MENA government initiatives on energy and climate protection (such as Mediterranean Solar Plan)

DESERTEC is not only addressing the technological and operational aspects of harvesting solar power from our deserts and securing the interconnection between the electricity grids of Europe, West Asia and North Africa, but it is also seeking to develop the necessary political momentum to usher in the post-carbon era more efficiently and equitably.

The break with the exploitative energy policies and distribution perversions of the past which is now technically feasible, I would like to emphasize, is dependent upon and owes much to, successful inter-cultural dialogue.

MIGRATION AND THE UPROOTED

The present multilateral system has proven incapable of addressing the challenges of carrying capacity – be they human, natural or economic. In 2009¹⁹ and 2010²⁰ the WANA Forums [West-Asia-North-Africa] provided an opportunity for individuals from throughout the “third sphere”²¹ – the government, private sector and civil society – to examine subjects such as Social Cohesion, Carrying Capacity, Post-Conflict Reconstruction and the Environment in addition to a preliminary examination of the various categories of forced migration in our region.

Up until now, there has been no recognition of the inter-related nature of the various forms of migration, including IDPs²², stateless persons, rural nomadic peoples, refugees, asylum seekers and the many other categories of the uprooted which, more recently, have also included a variety of economic migrants and environmental refugees.

Who are the uprooted and how well are we addressing the rights of each group? How can we best ensure that any semantic deficits or prejudices we may hold do not hinder our determination to ensure that justice is done?

¹⁹ WANA Forum 2009 “WANA-Led Reconstruction & Recovery Expert Consultation” 25-26 October 2009, Amman Jordan

²⁰ WANA Forum 2010 “Pursuing Supranational Solutions to the Challenges of Carrying Capacity” 16-18 May 2010 <http://www.wanaforum.org/index.php>

²¹ The “Coalition for a global commons” refers to “the commons” as an autonomous and global matrix of interrelationships seeking solutions to problems where the **state, market and international corporations have proven ineffective, and of which FoEME and WANA are good examples.**

²² Internally displaced person

There are at least two essential prerequisites to formulating evidence-based responses to a variety of resource, social and other impacts of migration. First, in addition to a definition of “the uprooted” that is inclusive of the economic, political and security dimensions of the various people, and to current problems defining migrants, we also need tools that will enable us all to work with the same perceptions of realities, based on reliable evidence.

One such tool would be a data-base of all the geographical, political, economic and legal aspects of each migrant and of each host population – an “empirical database,” free from sticky fingers, and acquisitive ideologies, and vested interests, and centred around what my friend Professor Luther Brock of Germany has summarised as “Territoriality, Identity and Movement.”

This would be along the lines of the Open Society Archive initiative in Munich, now in Budapest, where everyone who dies in Eastern Europe is registered. I am in constant touch with John Shattuck the head of the central European university in this regard.

Rather than focus on the negative potentials or aspects of hosting the uprooted, the means of scaling up the carrying capacity of host areas must be found in order to provide a dignified existence – not just subsistence – for all.

THE PEACE PROCESS

Neither the 1991 Madrid Conference nor the 1993 Oslo Accords, the Gaza-Jericho agreement of 1994 nor the Arab Peace Initiative of 2002, the 2003 Roadmap for Peace or the Annapolis Conference of 2007 have brought peace to the Middle East.

Particularly with regard to the uprooted, the inter-linkages between social cohesion, environmental sustainability, economic well-being and capacities for dialogue that lead to a lasting peace are narrowing: the realities of demographics for both Palestinians and Israelis have created a shortened shelf-life for the peace process.

- There are now approximately 7.6 million Israelis – both Jewish and Arab. As of July 2009, the total official number of Israeli settlers living in the occupied West Bank, among the territory's some 2.5 million Palestinians, was numbered at 516,569.
- Approximately 304,569 Israelis live in the 121 officially-recognized settlements in the West Bank, a further 192,000 Israelis live in settlements in East Jerusalem and over 20,000 live in settlements in the Golan Heights²³. The total land area of Israel (excluding the areas occupied in 1967) comprises 20,770 square kilometers.²⁴

²³ Wikipedia: Available at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israeli_settlement

²⁴ <http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Israel>

- In 1948, Palestinian refugees numbered 750,000.²⁵ In 1967, their numbers grew by around 280,000-350,000 additional refugees.²⁶ In 2010, the number of registered refugees with UNRWA stands at 4.766 million.²⁷ It is estimated that the entire Palestinian *Diaspora* could be around 10 million. The total land areas of the West Bank occupied after 1967 comprise 5,640 square kilometres.²⁸

The issue of Israeli settlements in the West Bank remains the most insurmountable obstacle to peace.

Here a very interesting resource is being provided by an Israeli peace movement known Shalom Achshav (Peace Now), also known as the 'APN Project' or 'Americans for Peace Now'. APN describes itself as "the most prominent American Jewish, Zionist Organisation working to achieve a comprehensive political settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict" and "the leading voice of American Jews who support Israel and know that only peace will ensure Israel's security, prosperity and continued viability as a Jewish, democratic state."

Using the Google maps platform APN has produced one of the most readily accessible and detailed repositories of

²⁵ "General Progress Report and Supplementary Report of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, Covering the Period from 11 December 1949 to 23 October 1950". United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine. 1950. Retrieved 2007-11-20.

²⁶ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palestinian_refugee#cite_note-18

²⁷ www.unrwa.org

²⁸ CIA World fact Book <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world.../we.html>

settlement activity in the West Bank anywhere. Each individual settlement has been mapped, in addition to data such as the year in which it was established and its current population. Using a 'layer selector' the map can be customized to show pre-selected information such as existing Israeli outposts, the areas of Israeli municipal jurisdiction, the built and planned locations of the West Bank barrier in addition to information on Jerusalem, the Old City, and Hebron.

[CLICK FOR HYPERLINK TO APN MAP](#)

Commentaire [U1]: <http://peacenow.org/map.php>

As you can see, it will self-evidently be very difficult, if not impossible, for Palestinian residents of an archipelago state to develop a thriving economy amidst the current rate of settlement.

Clearly a conceptual detour on the road map is badly needed.

Of the 4.766 million registered Palestinian refugees on UNRWA's records,²⁹ approximately 1.4 million³⁰ are languishing in camps, shackled to the past and to the mental limitations this places on their chances of building lives of hope and dignity.

Many of the camp dwellers were born without the necessary citizenship or status to entitle them to enjoy even the most basic human rights in their grand-parents' countries of exile.

²⁹ Palestinian Refugee Resource Net (PRRN), <http://prrn.mcgill.ca/background/index.htm>

³⁰ www.unrwa.org

For some families, this situation has continued for more than half a century, despite the fact that Article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaims nationality as a fundamental Human Right.³¹ And I would like to recall, in the words of former U.S. Chief Justice Earl Warren, that: *"Citizenship is a man's basic right, for it is nothing less than the right to have rights"*.³²

In a report entitled *"NATO 2020: Assured Security; Dynamic Engagement"* a team of experts observe that *"globalisation provides no sure remedy for international suspicions and rivalry."* It notes that the *"rapid, if uneven, growth in cross-border flows of goods, services, people, technology, ideas, customs, crimes and weapons"* will not *"necessarily make populations more inclined to live in peace."*

Since 1945 more than 90% of all wars have been fought in the developed world.³³ Human security composes of "freedom from want" and freedom from "fear." NATO expertise in capacity building, in the areas of critical infrastructure and energy, could contribute to both.

³¹ In: Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues. 1988. *Winning the Human Race?* London: Zed Books

³² Earl Warren was the 14th US Chief Justice. Among the Warren Court's most important decisions was the ruling that made racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional. Another was the "one-man one-vote" ruling that caused a major shift in legislative power from rural areas to cities.

³³ Charles W. Kegley and Eugene R. Wittkopf, *World Politics. Trends and Transformation*, p. 348, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999