



Pugwash

N E W S L E T T E R

*issued by the Council of the Pugwash
Conferences on Science and World Affairs
Nobel Peace Prize 1995*



56th Pugwash Conference, Cairo, Egypt, October 2006

Volume 43 ▪ Number 2 ▪ December 2006

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TO THE PUGWASH COMMUNITY:	1	
56th Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs:		
<i>A Region in Transition: Peace and Reform in the Middle East</i>		
Cairo, Egypt, 11–15 November 2006		
CONFERENCE STATEMENT of the Pugwash Council (in English and Arabic).....	3	
MESSAGES OF WELCOME: Mohamed Kadry Said and M.S. Swaminathan	14	
CONFERENCE SCHEDULE AND WORKING GROUPS.....	16	
OPENING SPEECH: H.E. Ahmed Aboul Gheit, Minister of Foreign Affairs	18	
KEYNOTE ADDRESS: Amr Mousa, Secretary General, League of Arab States.....	20	
<i>Prospects of Peace, Change and Regional Cooperation in the Middle East</i>		
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, M.S. Swaminathan.....	23	
56TH PUGWASH CONFERENCE WORKING GROUP REPORTS.....	29	
LIST OF PARTICIPANTS	44	
<u>REPORTS ON RECENT PUGWASH WORKSHOPS</u>		
<i>Pugwash Meeting no.319</i>	50	
3rd Bariloche Regional Pugwash Workshop		
Bariloche, Argentina, 26-27 May 2006		
<i>Pugwash Meeting no. 321</i>	59	
Pugwash Netherlands Workshop on New Challenges to Human Security:		
Wageningen, Netherlands, 16-18 June 2006		
<i>Pugwash meeting no. 323</i>	64	
25th Workshop of the Pugwash Study Group on the Implementation of the Chemical and Biological Weapons Conventions: <i>Towards a Successful Outcome for the Sixth Review Conference</i>		
Geneva, Switzerland, 18-19 November 2006		
<u>SPECIAL SECTION:</u>		71
<i>Islam and the West: The Sacred Realm—Domain of New Threats and Challenges</i>		
By Bas de Gaay Fortman, from the 56th Pugwash Conference, Cairo, Egypt		
<u>NATIONAL PUGWASH GRUOPS</u>		
German Pugwash Report	79	
<u>REPORT FROM INTERNATIONAL STUDENT/YOUNG PUGWASH</u>		80
<u>OBITUARIES:</u> Amnon Pazy, Alvin Weinberg		84
Members of the Pugwash Council		85
Calendar of Future Meetings		Inside back cover

Pugwash

Volume 43 ■ Number 2
December 2006

Editor:
Jeffrey Boutwell

Research Assistant:
Erin Blankenship

Design and Layout:
Anne Read

Printing:
Cardinal Press
Fredericksburg, Virginia

COVER: Temple of Queen
Hatshepsut, Luxor, Egypt

Photo: Jeffrey Boutwell

To the Pugwash Community

The Nuclear Threat on the 50th Anniversary of the Pugwash Conferences

The year 2007 marks the 50th anniversary of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs. Little could the original 21 participants at the July 1957 meeting in Pugwash, Nova Scotia have imagined that, fifty years later, the Pugwash organization would have convened over 320 workshops, symposia and conferences on major security issues, have national groups and representatives in more than 50 countries around the world, and have been honored with the 1995 Nobel Peace Prize.

Little could they also have imagined how the threat posed by nuclear weapons would be so radically changed by global events, for both better and worse. It certainly would have defied their imagination to know that the US and Soviet Union managed to survive three more decades of the Cold War without ever using nuclear weapons, despite stockpiles that rose from 5,000 in 1957 to more than 70,000 by the mid-1980s. Also, beginning with Presidents Reagan and Gorbachev, the first two US and Soviet leaders who could envision a nuclear weapons-free world, the US and USSR (then Russia) have substantially reduced their nuclear forces—by almost two-thirds—to some 36,000 today.

Of course, 36,000 warheads (11,000 of these are on operational, short-alert status) remains an absurdly high number, out of all proportion to any security threat the US or Russia might face. Moreover, there exist about 1,000 nuclear warheads in the arsenals of the seven other existing nuclear weapons states (China, UK, France, Israel, India, Pakistan, and North Korea), most of whom reside in conflict-prone areas of the world.

Then there is the post-9/11 world of international terror threats and scenarios for terrorist use of nuclear weapons that are likely beyond imagining for our original Pugwash participants of 1957.

While all of the above should greatly concentrate the mind of the international community in moving forcefully to reduce and eliminate nuclear weapons, sadly this has

not been the case. The failure of the 2005 NPT Review Conference, concern over nuclear activities in North Korea and Iran, what to do about Israel, India and Pakistan being non-NPT states, and only modest success towards controlling and eliminating excess fissile material all over the world, all point to the work that remains to be done to achieve a world free of nuclear weapons.

Yet, there have been recent successes. Libya was persuaded to give up its nuclear weapons program and rejoin the international community. In late 2006, the Six-Party talks on North Korea achieved a long-awaited breakthrough that holds out the prospect of North Korea abandoning its nuclear weapons program. And international diplomacy continues to seek a resolution of ambiguities in the Iranian nuclear program.

Perhaps more significantly, new voices are being added to those advocating the reduction *and* elimination of nuclear weapons. In a noteworthy editorial published on 4 January 2007, a bipartisan group consisting of George Schultz, Henry Kissinger, William Perry and Sam Nunn forcefully advocated—for the first time for each of them—the case for the total elimination of nuclear weapons. It is not stretching the imagination to say that for Joseph Rotblat, who espoused a nuclear-weapons-free world from the very first days of Pugwash, the thought of being joined by four stalwarts of the US foreign policy establishment would have come as welcome, and perhaps shocking, news indeed.

It will be to that end—to laying out concrete steps that can be taken in the near future to achieving the elimination of nuclear weapons—that Pugwash will celebrate its 50th anniversary in July 2007 with a workshop on *Revitalizing Nuclear Disarmament* held at Cyrus Eaton's Thinker's Lodge in Pugwash, Nova Scotia. Twenty-five international specialists will work together in the joint Pugwash-Middle Power Initiative workshop to propose substantive policy recommendations that can reinvigorate the international movement toward faster reductions and the ultimate elimination of all nuclear weapons.

56th and 57th Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs

The Pugwash community would like to warmly acknowledge the efforts of Mohamed Kadry Said and all his colleagues in the Egyptian Pugwash Group for their superb efforts in organizing the *56th Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs—A Region in Transition: Peace and Reform in the Middle East*, that was held in Cairo, Egypt from 10-15 November 2006. The conference was marked by a stimulating array of plenary and panel sessions on topics ranging from *WMD in the Middle East* to *The Prospects for Iraq* and *The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process to Islam and the West* (full coverage of which can be found on pp. 3–49).

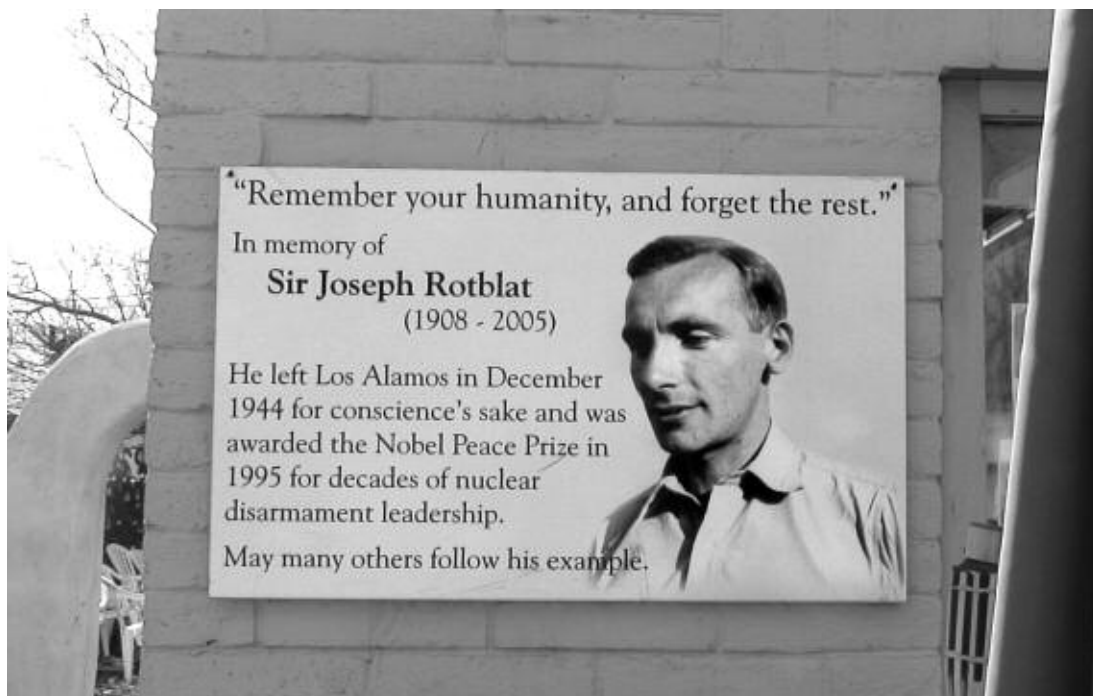
In October 2007, Pugwash will continue its commemoration of its 50th anniversary with the 57th Pugwash Conference, *Prospects for Disarmament, Dialogue and Cooperation in the Mediterranean Region*, taking place in

Bari, Italy. Various national Pugwash groups will also be holding commemorative events to both celebrate the origins of the Pugwash Conferences in July 1957 and to help mobilize policymakers and the public toward the common goal of eliminating nuclear weapons as the most catastrophic threat facing humanity.

Acknowledgments

For continued support of the *Pugwash Newsletter* and the Pugwash Conferences, we are grateful to the Italian National Research Council, the German Research Society, the Russian Academy of Sciences, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Ploughshares Fund, and the Ford Foundation (the latter especially for its support of the Cairo conference).

Jeffrey Boutwell, Editor



Tribute to Jo Rotblat, Cloud Cliff Bakery and Café, Santa Fe, NM.
(WITH PERMISSION OF WILLEM MALTEN)

56th Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs *A Region in Transition: Peace and Reform in the Middle East*

18 November 2006, Cairo, Egypt

CONFERENCE STATEMENT OF THE PUGWASH COUNCIL

The Pugwash Council, meeting during the 56th Pugwash Conference held in Cairo, Egypt, from 10-15 November 2006, expresses its grave concern over the escalating violence in the Middle East, which tragically has grown more pervasive and deadly in recent months.

The war between Israel and Hezbollah in Lebanon, the upward spiral of violence between Israelis and Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank, and the violent insurgency and sectarian fighting in Iraq, have produced a humanitarian tragedy of nearly unprecedented proportions for the region, with civilians the overwhelming victims. Coupled with the ongoing insurgency in Afghanistan and the continued threat posed by terrorism to regional states and the international community, the picture is bleak indeed.

Also of concern is the nuclear factor in the region—the presence of Israeli nuclear weapons and uncertainty over Iran's nuclear program. Increased tension in Northeast Asia and the recent nuclear test by the DPRK have introduced new security challenges in that part of the world.

The nuclear non-proliferation regime is under stress from other areas as well—by the failure of the NPT Review Conference in 2005, the

demonstrable lack of progress by the major nuclear weapons states in reducing and eliminating their weapons, and the ever-present threat of terrorist acquisition of nuclear materials.

In a global world order skewed by the dictates of the “international war on terrorism”, where unilateralism and disdain for collective security are used to trump the rule of law and multi-lateral approaches to meeting basic human security needs, the risk of conflict escalating out of control, to include the possible use of nuclear weapons, remains high.

The Urgency of the Middle East Crisis

The Pugwash Council believes immediate steps are needed to prevent even more violence that could spread throughout the region, and that the Middle East crisis must be dealt with in a comprehensive manner by the international community.

More than three years of sectarian, political and terrorist violence in Iraq have claimed at least 150,000 Iraqi lives, as well as the deaths and wounding of thousands of coalition and Iraqi military and security personnel. The decades-long Israeli-Palestinian conflict is intensifying, especially in and around Gaza, with civilians the overwhelming victims.

And the ‘summer war’ between Israel and Lebanon witnessed the indiscriminate use of violence and weaponry against civilians, by both sides. Civilians are also suffering in the resurgence of violence in Afghanistan, and in continued sporadic outbreak of terrorist acts in the region.

The region is witnessing a massive failure of political will to deal with these inter-related crises. The Pugwash Council calls on the international community to help jump start the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, with the 2002 Arab peace initiative a positive starting point. We also urge direct talks between the United States and Iran and Syria that could lower threat perceptions and increase regional stability. In Iraq, political dialogue between the Iraqi parties is needed at the same time as foreign influences are greatly reduced. Two crucial imperatives in all these discussions will be the need to include all legitimate and duly elected parties in the talks, and the related need to avoid long-standing double standards in how all parties are treated.

Especially worrisome in a region plagued by rising religious, sectarian and political strife is the nuclear question. We urge an early resolution between the international community and Iran over that country's nuclear program and the resumption of full

scope IAEA and Additional Protocol safeguards.

Pugwash continues to advocate the goal of a Middle East free of weapons of mass destruction, while recognizing that improved regional stability and a lessening of hostile rhetoric and threat perceptions are necessary to move in that direction. In the interim, we urge those Middle East states that have not yet signed and/or ratified the Chemical and Biological Weapons conventions to do so at the earliest opportunity.

Strengthening Nuclear Non-Proliferation

The nuclear test carried out by the DPRK in October 2006 presents an additional challenge to the entire framework of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation regime. The Pugwash Council believes that a combination of Six-Party negotiations and direct US-DPRK talks are needed to reduce tensions in the region, provide security assurances that can reduce incentives to acquire nuclear weapons, and pave the way for the DPRK to return to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as soon as possible.

Action to reinvigorate the non-proliferation regime must also be taken by the five initial nuclear-weapons states (US, Russia, UK, France and China). We call for early entry into force of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and the start of negotiations for a verifiable Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty. The Pugwash Council also recommends the following:

- The US and Russia should go well beyond the Moscow Treaty and implement deep cuts in their nuclear weapons, to levels in the hundreds, instead of the absurd

number of 10,000+ weapons that currently exist in each country.

- All nuclear weapons states should move immediately to the de-alerting of their nuclear forces and the adoption of nuclear no-first-use policies.
- As the UK Trident nuclear weapons system is nearing the end of its operational life, the UK government has a unique opportunity to lead the way towards the total abolition of nuclear weapons. The Pugwash Council strongly recommends that the UK decides not to renew, renovate or replace its nuclear weapons.
- The US and NATO should complete the withdrawal of all US tactical nuclear weapons based in Europe, while Russia should greatly reduce the tactical nuclear weapons based on its territory.
- Given recent policies of the US government to more seriously investigate the feasibility of space weapons, the time is now to preserve space as a weapons-free sanctuary as we approach the 40th anniversary in 2007 of the Outer Space Treaty.
- And most urgently, there remains the need for rapid action to control and/or eliminate the still substantial stockpiles and sources of highly enriched uranium (HEU) around the world that could provide the means for a catastrophic terrorist nuclear attack.

Renewed interest in civilian nuclear power, driven by concerns over global climate change, high oil prices, and the need for diversified energy sources, brings with it serious concerns over the proliferation rami-

fications of building a new generation of nuclear power plants and enrichment and reprocessing facilities. Preventing plutonium-based fuel cycles is of special importance. Options for the multilateral control of nuclear fuel cycles could also help strengthen the barrier between civil and military nuclear programs.

Controversy over the proposed US-India nuclear cooperation agreement is especially instructive in this regard. While the sharing of best practices and proliferation-resistant technologies is desirable, the precedent of nuclear cooperation between an initial nuclear weapons state such as the US and a non-member of the NPT could undermine future non-proliferation efforts.

Additionally, the Pugwash Council believes that constructive work should be started by like-minded States to identify the legal, political and technical requirements for the global elimination of nuclear weapons. As recommended by the Middle Powers Initiative, these efforts would be a contribution to the NPT process and could provide the framework for eventual negotiations for a Nuclear Weapons Convention prohibiting and eliminating such weapons.

The ultimate goal is to declare nuclear weapons illegal and immoral and move toward their total elimination. To repeat our message from the Pugwash Conference in Hiroshima in July 2005—as long as nuclear weapons exist, they will one day be used.

An Alliance of Civilizations

Meeting in Cairo, we are acutely aware of how a concept such as the “clash of civilizations” can both over-simplify and polarize debate over international security.

Given deep religious and political fissures running through the Arab/Islamic world and the West, simplistic notions of a Manichean “clash of civilizations” prevent the emergence of vitally needed cooperative solutions for resolving the world’s major political and security challenges.

As is painfully apparent by the failure of unilateral military solutions to solve what are fundamentally political problems—whether by the US and UK in Iraq or by Israel in Lebanon and the Gaza Strip—the international community needs a decisive new approach to the many long-standing issues in need of political resolution in the Middle East, including the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; stability for Lebanon; an end to the tragic political, sectarian and terrorist violence in Iraq; engagement with Syria and Iran in promoting regional security cooperation; securing Afghanistan’s future in the face of the recent upsurge of Taliban-inspired violence; and generally promoting the growth of democratic governance and civil society throughout the region.

Broad promotion of human security, no less than the fight against terrorism in all its aspects, must depend on the rule of law, multilateral cooperation, the principles of equity and compromise, and respect for democratic processes. Also needed is the realization that the nation state in today’s world—no matter how big and militarily powerful—can only be effective when it works through regional and international organizations and frameworks to promote the security of its citizens.

In that regard, the Pugwash Council welcomes the election of the new United Nations Secretary Gen-

eral, Ban Ki-moon, who will take office in January 2007 and who will need renewed support from all quarters in promoting the reforms and efficiencies necessary in the UN for it to deal effectively with the broad range of security and societal challenges facing us.

These challenges, of course, extend far beyond the Middle East. From central Asia to the Far East, and throughout African and Latin America, civil and sectarian violence and instability present major challenges to the international community.

A recent major Pugwash initiative on the Kashmir conflict, for example, is one area where there is reason for hope that a transformation can occur in Indian-Pakistani relations that will reduce the likelihood of future conflict. Pugwash has also been recently involved in efforts to promote regional peacekeeping in East Africa and in strengthening the capabilities of the African Union for conflict mediation and peacekeeping.

Elsewhere, in the Caucasus and central Asia as an example, effective cooperation among regional and international organizations presents the best chance for resolving conflicts, rather than unilateral action, pre-emption, or excessive use of military force. New modes of cooperation are needed between NATO and the CSTO (Collective Security Treaty Organization), as well as between the European Union and NATO, regarding potential cooperation in peace support and in any future crisis.

More broadly, genuine human security will only be possible if the international community aggressively addresses its fundamental components, most notably equitable access to food, water, healthcare, education,

and economic opportunity. Given the challenges posed by global climate change and the HIV/AIDS pandemic, concerted international action and increased resources targeted on these problems are needed as well.

When judged by the objectives of the UN Millennium Development Goals announced in 2000, the tragic reality is that human security for the world’s peoples is woefully deficient. The majority of world’s population is confronted daily with unacceptable deprivations in their access to basic human necessities. While the promise of new technologies and the sustainable use of resources offers hope, such benefits will depend on a basic Pugwash credo: that scientists remember their responsibility regarding the beneficial applications of their work in promoting true human security for all individuals, and to carry that message to the public, governments, and international institutions.



At the 56th Pugwash Conference in Cairo, the above and other themes were addressed by speakers including: His Excellency Ahmed Abul Gheit (Foreign Minister of Egypt), Amr Mousa (Secretary General, League of Arab States) and Hamid Ansari and Aly El-Samman, who jointly gave the Dorothy Hodgkin Memorial Lecture with their conversation on Islam and the West, with a response from Alexey Vasilyev of Russia.

Conference participants also were greeted by IAEA Director General, Mohamed El Baradei, via a video message. Other conference speakers included Amb. Mohammed Shaker and Gen. (ret.) Mohamed Kadry Said of Egyptian Pugwash, and Prof. M.S. Swaminathan of India and Prof.

Paolo Cotta-Ramusino of Italy, the President and Secretary General, respectively, of Pugwash.

The conference also included a wide array of panel discussions on Middle East security, nuclear disarmament, and Kashmir (see www.pugwash.org for a full list of conference events). Pugwash is grateful to the Ford Foundation, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, the Ploughshares Fund, the Embassies of Denmark and Norway, the Al-Ahram Center, and the Government of Egypt, for their support of the conference.

This 56th Pugwash Conference in Cairo was the first since the death, in August 2005, of the organization's co-founder and past President, Sir Joseph

Rotblat, who shared the Nobel Peace Prize with Pugwash in 1995. During the conference there was a special tribute to Sir Joseph, including the screening of a short video with excerpts from the memorial meeting that was held in London in December 2005 at the Royal Society.

It is in memory of Jo's unflagging optimism and faith in humanity that the Pugwash Council calls on the governments and the peoples of the world to accept the tremendous diversity in religious faith and political persuasion that exists in the international community in order to work together constructively to resolve conflict and improve the human condition, for all.



The 56th Pugwash Conference, A Region in Transition: Peace and Reform in the Middle East, was attended by more than 180 participants from over 40 countries, including 30 International Student/Young Pugwash participants, and was held at the Conrad Cairo Hotel in Cairo.

Contact:

Dr. Jeffrey Boutwell,
Executive Director
Pugwash Conferences on
Science and World Affairs
1111 19th Street, NW Suite 1200
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 1-202-478-3440
Email: pugwashdc@aol.com



Muhammed Ali Mosque of the Saladin Citadel of Cairo.

CONFERENCE STATEMENT OF THE PUGWASH COUNCIL
(in Arabic)

مؤتمر الباجواش السادس والخمسون
للعلوم والشؤون الدولية

إقليم في طور التحول: السلام والإصلاح
في الشرق الأوسط

15-11 نوفمبر/تشرين الثاني 2006، القاهرة، مصر

بيان مؤتمر مجلس منظمة الباجواش

18 نوفمبر/تشرين الثاني 2006

إن مجلس منظمة الباجواش في مؤتمره السادس والخمسين المنعقد في القاهرة، مصر، في الفترة من 10-15 نوفمبر/تشرين الثاني 2006، يعبر عن قلقه البالغ إزاء العنف المتزايد في الشرق الأوسط، والذي تصاعد بصورة مأساوية في الشهور الأخيرة ليصبح أكثر اتساعا وحصدا لأرواح الضحايا.

لقد أدت الحرب بين إسرائيل وحزب الله في لبنان، ومسلسل العنف المتصاعد بين الإسرائيليين والفلسطينيين في غزة والضفة الغربية، والتمرد العنيف والصراع الطائفي في العراق، إلى مأساة إنسانية في المنطقة ربما لم يسبق لها مثيل، وكان المدنيون بالدرجة الأولى هم أكثر الضحايا. ومع اقتران كل ذلك بالتمرد الجاري في أفغانستان والتهديد المستمر الذي يشكله الإرهاب بالنسبة للدول الإقليمية والمجتمع الدولي، فإن الصورة تبدو في الحقيقة أكثر كآبة.

ومما يبعث على القلق أيضا ذلك العامل النووي في المنطقة - ممثلا في وجود الأسلحة النووية الإسرائيلية والشكوك حول برنامج إيران النووي. ولقد أضاف التوتر المتزايد في شمال شرق آسيا والتجربة النووية الأخيرة لجمهورية كوريا الديمقراطية الشعبية تحديات أمنية جديدة في ذلك الجزء من العالم.

ويعاني نظام منع انتشار الأسلحة النووية من ضغوط أخرى إضافية- مثل فشل مؤتمر مراجعة معاهدة منع انتشار الأسلحة النووية في 2005، وعدم اتخاذ الدول الرئيسية المالكة للأسلحة النووية لأية خطوات محسوسة لتخفيض أسلحتها والتخلص منها، والخطر القائم على الدوام من احتمال حصول الإرهابيين على المواد النووية.

وفي ظل نظام عالمي تجرّفه إملءات "الحرب الدولية على الإرهاب"، وتستخدم فيه سياسات أحادية الجانب دون أي اكتراث بفكرة الأمن الجماعي بهدف التلاعب بأحكام القانون والجهود متعددة الأطراف التي ترمي إلى تلبية الاحتياجات الأمنية الإنسانية الأساسية، فإن هناك مخاطر كبيرة من تصاعد النزاعات وخروجها عن السيطرة، بل واحتمال التلويح باستعمال الأسلحة النووية.

الضرورة الملحة لمعالجة أزمة الشرق الأوسط

يعتقد مجلس منظمة الباجواش أنه لا بد من اتخاذ خطوات فورية لمنع موجات أكبر من العنف يمكن أن تمتد إلى كافة أنحاء المنطقة، وأنه يجب التعامل مع أزمة الشرق الأوسط بنظرة شاملة من قبل المجتمع الدولي.

لقد مرت أكثر من ثلاث سنوات من العنف الإرهابي والسياسي والطائفي في العراق تسببت في إزهاق 150,000 على الأقل من أرواح العراقيين، بالإضافة إلى الوفيات وجرح الآلاف من قوات التحالف والجيش العراقي ورجال الأمن. إن النزاع الإسرائيلي الفلسطيني الذي امتد لعقود طويلة يزداد ضراوة، خصوصا في غزة ومن حولها، والمدنيون في هذا النزاع هم أكثر الضحايا. وقد شهدت 'حرب الصيف' بين إسرائيل ولبنان استعمالا عشوائيا للعنف والأسلحة بلا تمييز ضد المدنيين من كلا الجانبين. كما يعاني المدنيون أيضا من عودة العنف من جديد إلى أفغانستان، ومن تفشي الأعمال الإرهابية المتفرقة بشكل مستمر في المنطقة.

إن المنطقة تشهد فشلا ذريعا للإرادة السياسية في تعاملها مع هذه الأزمات المرتبطة بعضها ببعض. ويهيب مجلس الباجواش بالمجتمع الدولي أن يساعد في إعادة تنشيط عملية السلام الإسرائيلية الفلسطينية، مع اعتبار المبادرة العربية للسلام في 2002 كنقطة بداية إيجابية. ونحن أيضا نحث على إجراء محادثات مباشرة بين الولايات المتحدة وإيران وسوريا من شأنها أن تقلل من المخاطر المحتملة وأن تزيد من الاستقرار في المنطقة. وفي العراق، فإن المطلوب هو إجراء حوار سياسي بين الأطراف العراقية مع تقليص النفوذ الأجنبي بدرجة كبيرة في نفس الوقت. إن هناك عاملين سيكون لهما أولوية حاسمة في كل هذه المناقشات وهما ضرورة إشراك كل الأطراف الشرعية والمنتخبة انتخابا حرا في المحادثات، وما يرتبط بذلك من ضرورة تجنب المعايير المزدوجة التي استُخدمت طويلا في كيفية التعامل مع جميع الأطراف.

وتثير المسألة النووية بشكل خاص القلق في منطقة الشرق الأوسط التي ابتليت بالنزاع السياسي والطائفي والديني المتصاعد. ولذلك فنحن نلح على ضرورة التوصل إلى قرار مُبكر بين المجتمع الدولي وإيران بشأن برنامجها النووي، والعودة إلى التعاون الكامل مع الوكالة الدولية للطاقة الذرية، والضمانات التي يكفلها البروتوكول الإضافي.

ويواصل مجلس منظمة الباجواش تأييده للدعوة إلى شرق أوسط خال من أسلحة الدمار الشامل، بينما يقرّ، بأن تحسين الاستقرار في المنطقة والتقليل من اللهجة العدائية بين الأطراف، وإزالة الإحساس بالخطر، هي أمور ضرورية للتحرك في ذلك الاتجاه. وفي أثناء ذلك، فنحن نناشد دول الشرق الأوسط التي لم توقع أو تصدّق حتى الآن على اتفاقيات الأسلحة الكيميائية والبيولوجية أن تفعل ذلك في أقرب فرصة.

دعم سياسة منع انتشار الأسلحة النووية

تمثل التجربة النووية التي أجرتها جمهورية كوريا الديمقراطية الشعبية في أكتوبر/تشرين الأول 2006 تحدياً إضافياً إلى مجمل نظام منع انتشار الأسلحة النووية. ويعتقد مجلس منظمة الباجواش بأن الربط بين مفاوضات الدول الست والمحادثات المباشرة بين الولايات المتحدة وجمهورية كوريا الديمقراطية الشعبية من شأنه خفض حدة التوتر في المنطقة، وتوفير ضمانات الأمن التي يمكنها أن تقلل من الدوافع للحصول على أسلحة نووية، وتمهيد الطريق أمام كوريا الشمالية حتى تعود إلى معاهدة منع انتشار الأسلحة النووية بأسرع ما يمكن.

كما أنه لابد من تحرك لتنشيط نظام منع انتشار الأسلحة النووية من قِبَل الدول الخمس الأولى المالكة للأسلحة النووية (الولايات المتحدة، وروسيا، والمملكة المتحدة، وفرنسا، والصين). ونحن ندعو إلى أن تدخل معاهدة الحظر الشامل للتجارب النووية مبكراً إلى حيز التنفيذ، وأن تبدأ المفاوضات بشأن معاهدة وقف إنتاج المواد الانشطارية مع قابليتها لإجراء عمليات للتحقق. ويوصي أيضاً مجلس منظمة الباجواش بما يلي:

- يجب أن تذهب الولايات المتحدة وروسيا إلى ما هو أبعد من معاهدة موسكو، وأن تُحدِثا تخفيضات كبيرة في أسلحتهم النووية، إلى مستوى المئات، بدلا من العدد المغالى فيه الذي يتجاوز الـ 10,000 من الأسلحة توجد حالياً في كل دولة منهما.
- على كل الدول المالكة للأسلحة النووية أن تتحرك فوراً إلى وضع قواتهم النووية في حالة عدم الاستعداد، وتبني سياسات عدم البدء في استعمال الأسلحة النووية.
- لما كان نظام التسليح البريطاني النووي ترايدنت Trident يقترب من نهاية خدمته العملية، فإن أمام الحكومة البريطانية فرصة فريدة لأخذ زمام المبادرة نحو الإلغاء الكلي للأسلحة النووية. ويوصي مجلس منظمة الباجواش بقوة بأن تقرر المملكة المتحدة أن لا تجدد، أو تصلح أو تستبدل أسلحتها النووية.

- يجب على الولايات المتحدة ومنظمة حلف شمال الأطلسي أن تكمل سحب كل الأسلحة النووية التكتيكية الأمريكية من قواعدها في أوروبا، بينما يجب على روسيا أن تخفض بدرجة كبيرة تلك الأسلحة النووية التكتيكية المتمركزة على أرضها.
- وبالنظر إلى السياسات الأخيرة للحكومة الأمريكية الرامية إلى عمل دراسات أكثر جدية حول جدوى أسلحة الفضاء، فالآن هو الوقت المناسب لتقرير أن نحتفظ بالفضاء حرماً مقدساً خالياً من الأسلحة ونحن نقترح في 2007 من الذكرى الأربعين لمعاهدة الفضاء الخارجي.
- ويبقى الأمر الأكثر إلحاحاً ضرورة التحرك السريع للسيطرة على المخزون الاحتياطي الذي لا يزال كبيراً من اليورانيوم عالي التخصيب، ومصادره المختلفة حول العالم، أو إزالة كل ذلك، حيث أنه يمكن أن يوفر وسيلة متاحة لهجوم نووي إرهابي مأساوي.

إن الاهتمام المتجدد بالطاقة النووية المدنية، مدفوعاً بالخوف من تغير المناخ العالمي، وأسعار النفط العالية، والحاجة إلى مصادر متنوعة من الطاقة، يجلب معه قلقاً شديداً حول عواقب انتشار بناء جيل جديد من محطات الطاقة النووية ومصانع التخصيب وإعادة التدوير. ويعتبر منع دورات الوقود القائمة على البلوتونيوم ذا أهمية خاصة. كما أن وجود خيارات للسيطرة متعددة الأطراف على دورات الوقود النووي يمكن أيضاً أن يساعد على توسيع الهوة بين البرامج النووية المدنية والعسكرية.

ويطرح الخلاف حول الاتفاق المقترح للتعاون النووي بين الهند والولايات المتحدة الأمريكية دلالات خاصة في هذا الشأن. وبينما يكون من المرغوب فيه المشاركة بأفضل الخبرات والتكنولوجيات المقيدة للانتشار، فإن سابقة التعاون النووي بين دولة أولى مالكة للأسلحة النووية مثل الولايات المتحدة، ودولة ليست عضواً في معاهدة منع انتشار الأسلحة النووية يمكن أن يقوّض الجهود المستقبلية على طريق منع الانتشار.

إضافة إلى ذلك، يعتقد مجلس منظمة الباجواش بأن العمل البناء يجب أن يبدأ من قبل الدول المتفقة في الرأي لتحديد المتطلبات التقنية والسياسية والقانونية لإزالة الأسلحة النووية على مستوى العالم. وطبقاً لما أوصت به مبادرة القوى المتوسطة، فستكون هذه الجهود بمثابة دعم لمعاهدة منع انتشار الأسلحة النووية، ويمكن أن تمثل إطاراً للمفاوضات النهائية الخاصة باتفاقية منع وإزالة هذه الأسلحة.

إن الهدف النهائي هو الإعلان بأن الأسلحة النووية غير شرعية ولا أخلاقية ولا بد من التحرك نحو إزالتها كلياً. وتكراراً لرسالتنا الصادرة من مؤتمر الباجواش في هيروشيما في يوليو/تموز 2005 - نعود فنقول مادامت هناك أسلحة نووية، فإنها سوف تُستخدم يوماً ما.

تحالف الحضارات

وباجتماعنا في القاهرة، فنحن ندرك بوضوح تام كيف يمكن لمفهوم مثل "صراع الحضارات" أن يجر إلى تسطيح واستقطاب مناقشات حول الأمن الدولي.

ومع افتراض وجود تصدعات دينية وسياسية عميقة بين العالم العربي / الإسلامي والغرب، فإن أفكارا تبسيطية يطلقها البعض حول "صراع الحضارات" كفيلة بحجب ظهور الحلول التعاونية وهي حلول حيوية مطلوبة للتصدي للتحديات السياسية والأمنية الرئيسية التي تعصف بالعالم.

وكما هو ظاهر بصورة تثير الألم من فشل الحلول العسكرية الأحادية الجانب في حل مشكلات هي في جوهرها سياسية - سواء من قِبَل الولايات المتحدة والمملكة المتحدة في العراق أو من قِبَل إسرائيل في لبنان وقطاع غزة - فإن المجتمع الدولي بحاجة إلى نظرة جديدة حاسمة إلى العديد من القضايا التي ظلت طويلا في انتظار القرار السياسي في الشرق الأوسط، ممثلة في النزاع الإسرائيلي الفلسطيني؛ والاستقرار في لبنان؛ والوصول إلى نهاية للعنف السياسي المأساوي والطائفي والإرهابي في العراق؛ ودعوة سوريا وإيران لدعم التعاون الأمني الإقليمي؛ وضمن مستقبل أفغانستان في مواجهة موجة العنف الأخيرة ومن ورائها طالبان؛ وبصفة عامة تشجيع نمو حكومات ديمقراطية ومجتمع مدني ديمقراطي في كافة أنحاء المنطقة.

إن تعزيز الأمن الإنساني بمعناه الواسع، وما يقتضيه من معارك ضد الإرهاب في كل جوانبه، يجب أن يعتمد على حكم القانون، والتعاون المتعدد الأطراف، ومبادئ العدالة، والحلول الوسط، واحترام العملية الديمقراطية. والمطلوب أيضا إدراك أن الدولة القومية في عالم اليوم - مهما كانت كبيرة وقوية عسكريا - لا يمكنها أن تكون فعالة إلا إذا عملت من خلال المنظمات الإقليمية والدولية ومن خلال أطرٍ للعمل لتعزيز أمن مواطنيها.

وفي هذا الخصوص، يرحب مجلس منظمة الباجواش بانتخاب الأمين العام الجديد للأمم المتحدة، بان كي-موون Ban Ki-moon، الذي سيتولى منصبه في يناير/ كانون الثاني 2007 والذي سوف يحتاج دعما متجدداً من كل المسؤولين في الترويج للإصلاحات والكفاءات الضرورية في الأمم المتحدة حتى تتمكن من التعامل بصورة فعالة مع الحجم الكبير من التحديات الأمنية والاجتماعية التي تواجهنا.

وهذه التحديات، بالطبع، تمتد إلى أبعد كثيرا مما وراء الشرق الأوسط. من وسط آسيا إلى الشرق الأقصى، وفي كافة أنحاء أفريقيا وأمريكا اللاتينية، حيث يمثل العنف المدني والطائفي وعدم الاستقرار تحديات رئيسية في مواجهة المجتمع الدولي.

وهناك مبادرة أخيرة رئيسية لمنظمة الباجواش حول النزاع في كشمير، على سبيل المثال، وهي واحدة من المناطق التي يوجد فيها سبب للأمل في تحول يمكن أن يحدث في العلاقات الهندية الباكستانية وتخفيفي معه احتمالات النزاع في المستقبل. كما شاركت منظمة الباجواش مؤخرًا في الجهود لتعزيز حفظ السلام الإقليمي في شرق أفريقيا، وفي دعم قدرات الاتحاد الأفريقي في أعمال الوساطة لحل النزاعات وحفظ السلام.

وفي مكان آخر، في القوقاز ووسط آسيا كمثل، يقدم التعاون الفعال بين المنظمات الإقليمية والدولية أفضل فرصة لحل النزاعات، بدلا من العمل الأحادي الجانب، والضربات الاستباقية، أو الاستعمال المفرط للقوة العسكرية. إن أنماطا جديدة للتعاون ينبغي استحداثها بين منظمة حلف شمال الأطلسي ومنظمة معاهدة الأمن الجماعي، بالإضافة إلى ما بين الاتحاد الأوربي ومنظمة حلف شمال الأطلسي، فيما يختص بإمكانيات التعاون في دعم السلام وفي مواجهة أية أزمة مستقبلية.

وبنظرة أكثر اتساعاً، فإن الأمن الإنساني الحقيقي سوف يكون ممكنا فقط إذا ما اتجه المجتمع الدولي بإصرار إلى توفير حاجات الإنسان الأساسية، وبشكل خاص تكافؤ إمكانيات الحصول على الغذاء، والماء، والرعاية الصحية، والتعليم، والفرص الاقتصادية. وبفرض وجود تحديات يفرضها التغيير المناخي الكوني وتفشي فيروس نقص المناعة ووباء الإيدز، فسيكون من المطلوب وجود تحرك دولي منسق ومصادر تمويل متزايدة تستهدف هذه المشاكل.

وبالنظر إلى أهداف خطط التنمية الألفية للأمم المتحدة التي أعلنت في 2000، فسوف تتكشف الحقيقة المأساوية لتدهور الأمن الإنساني لشعوب العالم بصورة كئيبة ومحنة. فأغلبية سكان العالم يواجهون كل يوم بمعوقات لا يرضى بها أحد تحريمهم من التحصل على الضرورات الإنسانية الأساسية. وبينما ينشأ بريق من الأمل في التقنيات الجديدة الواعدة والاستعمال المستدام لمصادر الثروة، فإن مثل هذه الفوائد ستعتمد على عقيدة أساسية في وجدان منظمة الباجواش؛ وهي أن على العلماء تذكر مسؤولياتهم إزاء التطبيقات المفيدة لأعمالهم في تعزيز الأمن الإنساني الحقيقي لكل الأفراد، وإيصال تلك الرسالة إلى الجمهور، والحكومات، والمؤسسات الدولية.

وفي مؤتمر الباجواش السادس والخمسين في القاهرة، نوقشت الموضوعات المذكورة أعلاه، كما تحدث آخرون في موضوعات أخرى، وكان من بين المتحدثين كل من السادة: أحمد أبو الغيط (وزير خارجية مصر)، وعمرو موسى (أمين عام جامعة الدول العربية)، وحامد الأنصاري (من الهند)، وعلى السمان (من مصر)، وقد قَدَّم الأخيران معا محاضرة دوروثي هوجكن Dorothy Hodgkin

التذكارية عن "الإسلام والغرب"، وتلا ذلك ردّ من قِبَل أليكسي فاسيليف Alexey Vasilyev من روسيا.

كما تلقى المشاركون في المؤتمر أيضا رسالة فيديو مصورة من قِبَل المدير العام للوكالة الدولية للطاقة الذرية، محمد البرادعي. وكان من بين المتحدثين في المؤتمر السفير محمد شاكر واللواء المتقاعد د./ محمد قدرى سعيد من الباجواش المصري، والأستاذ إم. إس . سوامناتان M.S. Swaminathan من الهند، والأستاذ باولو كوتا-راموسينو Paolo Cotta-Ramusino، من إيطاليا، الرئيس والأمين العام، على التوالي، لمنظمة الباجواش.

وقد شهد المؤتمر أيضا عددا كبيرا من حلقات النقاش حول أمن الشرق الأوسط، ونزع السلاح النووي، وكشمير (انظر موقع www.pugwash.org لاستعراض قائمة كاملة بأحداث المؤتمر).

وتقدّم منظمة الباجواش خالص الشكر لمؤسسة فورد Ford Foundation ، وفريدريش إيبرت ستفتونج Friedrich Ebert Stiftung، وسفارات الدانمارك والنرويج، ومركز الأهرام للدراسات السياسية والاستراتيجية، وحكومة مصر، لدعمهم المؤتمر.

هذا المؤتمر السادس والخمسون لمنظمة الباجواش في القاهرة هو الأول منذ رحيل السير جوزيف روتبلات Sir Joseph Rotblat، في أغسطس/آب 2005 أحد المؤسسين للمنظمة ورئيسها السابق، والذي حصل مشاركة مع منظمة الباجواش على جائزة نوبل للسلام في 1995. وقد أقيم له تكريم خاص أثناء المؤتمر، شمل عرض فيديو قصير لمقتطفات من الحفل التذكاري الذي عقد في لندن في ديسمبر/كانون الأول 2005 في الجمعية الملكية.

وفي ذكرى السير جوزيف روتبلات بتفاؤله الذي لم ينقطع أبدا، وإيمانه بالإنسانية، فإن مجلس منظمة الباجواش يدعو الحكومات وشعوب العالم لقبول مبدأ التنوع الكبير في الإيمان بالأديان، والتوجهات السياسية كيفما وُجِدَتْ في المجتمع الدولي، لكي نعمل معاً بشكل بناء من أجل حل النزاعات وتحسين الأحوال الإنسانية، لكل البشر.

حضر مؤتمر الباجواش السادس والخمسون، إقليم في طور التحول: السلام والإصلاح في الشرق الأوسط، أكثر من 180 مشاركا ينتمون إلى أكثر من 40 بلدا، ويشمل ذلك العدد 30 مشاركا من المنظمة الدولية لطلاب وشباب الباجواش، وقد انعقد المؤتمر بالقاهرة في فندق كونراد القاهرة Conrad Cairo Hotel.

56th Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs *A Region in Transition: Peace and Reform in the Middle East*

MESSAGE OF WELCOME

MOHAMED KADRY SAID

I would like to begin with expressing my great happiness for our presence here today and for opening together the 56th Pugwash Annual Conference, “*A Region in Transition: Peace and Reform in the Middle East*”.

Ever since I joined the Pugwash Council in 2002, I have been dreaming about hosting this conference here by the shores of the Nile. And today, this dream has finally come true, and there was no way this could have happened without the decision of the Pugwash Council, the enthusiasm of all participants who showed up today, and the massive support of the Egyptian Government and many other institutions to which I express deep gratitude.

Having this conference in this particular time, and under this very title, is a brave response to all the difficult transforming conditions facing today the whole world in general and the Middle East in Particular. It shows that the Pugwash is always there to assume its responsibilities in the right place and the right time. I am proud that this room hosts today friends from 45 countries, international organizations and non-governmental institutions; they have all

thankfully responded to our invitation despite the distance, the barriers and borders. I wish you enjoy your presence in Egypt, *the Mother of the World* as many call it, and I look forward for your positive and constructive participation during the conference sessions.

The Organization Committee (OC) has exerted all possible efforts for this conference to come out in the most successful manner. However, we do express our sincere apologies for any difficulties that some of you might have encountered; and we especially apologize for any problems that occurred to some of you with Egypt’ entry visa. Our conference will start today and it will proceed until next Wednesday night. During this time, all members of the Organization committee will be happy to help you and work on any problem you might face during the conference. There will always be an OC member guiding you to work groups, to meals and to all social occasions. We have also prepared a *Computer Room* with internet access in an attempt to make life easier for all of you. I hope you cooperate with us in following security regulations and the time agenda of the conference.

Finally, I would like to express my deep and sincere gratitude to all the foundations and institutions that supported us financially and morally. I would like to thank here the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Al-Ahram Foundation, Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, Ford Foundation, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, the Danish Embassy, the Norwegian Embassy, the Light and Sound Company. It would have been impossible to host this conference without the support of these organizations.

I wish also to thank the Pugwash President, its Secretary General, its Executive Director and administration for the unlimited support they given to us.

I will not forget at the end to express how much I admire all the work done by the Organization Committee members and the crew that helped me with all dedication.

Once more, I hope you all have a successful conference and a happy stay in Egypt.

Mohamed Kadry Said
Maj.Gen.(ret.) Dr.
Head of the Organization Committee
Pugwash Council Member

MESSAGE OF WELCOME

PROF M S SWAMINATHAN

May I add my words of welcome, as President of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, to all the distinguished participants who have gathered here from 45 countries, bound by a common determination to work for a world free of weapons of mass destruction in general, and nuclear weapons in particular. I wish to express our sincere gratitude to the Government of Egypt and to Pugwash Council Member, General Mohamed Kadry Said and his wonderful team of organizers for their untiring efforts to make this important conference a memorable and valuable experience.

Nobel Laureate Naguib Mahfouz referred to the uniqueness of this region in the following words.

“I am the son of two civilizations that at a certain age in history formed a happy marriage. The first of these, seven thousand years old is the Pharaonic civilization; the second, one thousand four hundred years old, is the Islamic civilization”.

Referring to the growing violence in the human heart, Naguib Mahfouz said, “The real malady is fear of life, not of death”.

We miss today Nobel Laureate Naguib Mahfouz and Nobel Laureate Jo Rotblat. They both will remain eternally as affirming flames in the midst of the sea of despair we see around us and guide us to the right path.

This region is rich in both Cultural and Biological diversity. Agriculture was born in this region with the domestication of wheat and barley nearly 10,000 years ago. The fer-

tile crescent region has been an agricultural paradise. Personally, I am happy to be back in Cairo and Egypt since my association with this great country started nearly 40 years ago. I was associated with the setting up of the Egypt National Rice Research Institute at Sakha. Also I have been associated as a Trustee with the famous Bibliotheca Alexandrina, which has been restored to its pristine glory thanks to the vision and efforts of Her Excellency Madam Suzanne Mubarak, the First Lady of Egypt and Dr. Ismail Seregeldin the Librarian, who was recently honored in my

.....

Referring to the growing violence

in the human heart, Naguib

Mahfouz said, “The real malady

is fear of life, not of death”.

.....

country with the prestigious Jannalal Bajaj Award for spreading the Gandhian values of peace and harmony in this region.

2006 marks the centenary of the birth of the non-violence movement initiated by Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa in 1906. All the major achievements of humankind during the 20th Century, like the end of colonial rule in my country and elsewhere, the end of apartheid, Martin Luther King’s Civil Rights Movement, Corazon Aquino’s EDSA revolution in the Philippines leading to the end of Marcos’ dictatorship, the end of the Cold War and the break-up of the Berlin Wall have all been accomplished through the non-

violent pathway of bringing about the desired change. In contrast, violence has always bred violence.

In the beginning of the 21st Century not only this region but the whole world is in a state of transition in terms of ecology, economics, ethics, equity and political discourse. Many of the problems of this region have their roots elsewhere and cannot be viewed in isolation. The challenge before us is the fostering of a culture of conversation and consensus building, in the place of confrontation and conflict. I am confident that this conference which has also the participation of a large number of young people who have to become the torch bearers of peace and harmony, will contribute in a small way to peace and progress in this region so rich in history, art, culture and music.

The task is big; the challenges are daunting and the obstacles are many, but in my view, the Pugwash philosophy is similar to the one expressed by Nobel Laureate Mother Teresa, when she said, “My work may be a drop in the ocean, but the ocean would be less without that drop”.

May this conference end by adding several drops to the ocean of peace and everlasting happiness in this beautiful region of the Blue Nile.

Prof M S Swaminathan
President
Pugwash Conferences on
Science and World Affairs

56th Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs
A Region in Transition: Peace and Reform in the Middle East

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE / WORKING GROUPS

Saturday 11 November

- from 07:00 Breakfast in the Conrad C Room (on the lobby level)
- 08:30 Registration outside of the Nile Room (Plenary Hall)
- 09:00–9:20 **PLENARY SESSION 1: Introduction & Welcome [Open]**
 Mohammed Shaker, Mohamed Kadry Said, Paolo Cotta Ramusino, MS Swaminathan
- 09:30–10:15 **PLENARY SESSION 2: Opening Speech [Open]**
 Chair: Marie Muller
H.E. Ahmed Aboul Gheit, Minister of Foreign Affairs
- 10:30–11:15 **PLENARY SESSION 3: Keynote Address [Open]**
Prospects of Peace, Change and Regional Cooperation in the Middle East
 Chair: Abdel Monem Said
Amr Mousa, Secretary General, League of Arab States
- 11:15–11:45 Coffee break outside the Plenary Hall
- 11:45–13:00 **PLENARY SESSION 4 [Closed]**
 Chair: Gabriel Baramki
 Report of the Secretary General Paolo Cotta-Ramusino
- 13:00–13:30 **Remembering Jo Rotblat**, including film by Isabel Pisano [Open]
 Chair: Jeffrey Boutwell
- 13:30–13:45 Recorded message from Dr. Mohamed El-Baradei
- 13:45–15:00 Buffet lunch in the BBQ area on the 3rd floor
- 15:00–16:45 **PLENARY SESSION 5 : Panel Session [Closed]**
Middle East Security Frameworks and Democratic Developments
 Chair: Charlotta Sparre
 Panelists: Mohamed Abdulla Al-Rumaihi (Qatar), Mohamed Kadry Said (Egypt), Riad Malki (Palestine)
- 16:45–17:30 Coffee break outside the plenary session
- 17:30–18:30 *Working groups meet in parallel sessions*

- 19:15 Leave the hotel (lower level “grouping” door) at 19:15 sharp for the “Diplomatic Club”
- 20:00 Reception hosted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the “Diplomatic Club” in Tahrir Square. Speech by Naela Gabr, Short Response by MS Swaminathan

Sunday 12 November

- from 07:00 Breakfast in the Conrad C Room (on the lobby level)
- 09:00–11:00 **PLENARY SESSION 6: Panel Session [Closed]**
Prospects for Iraq
 Chair: Amb. Abdel Raouf El-Reedy
 Panelists: Ibrahim Bahr Alolom (Iraq), Steven Miller (USA), Mahmood Vaezi (Iran)
- 11:00–11:45 Coffee break outside the Plenary Hall
- 11:45–13:30 *Working groups meet in parallel sessions*
- 13:30–15:00 Buffet lunch in the BBQ area on the 3rd floor
- 15:00–16:45 *Working groups meet in parallel sessions*
- 16:45–17:15 Coffee break outside the working group sessions
- 17:15–19:00 *Working groups meet in parallel sessions*
- 20:00 Dinner in the Nile Room
- Evening Meeting of PC with National Groups in Cleopatra Room

Monday 13 November

- 09:00–11:15 **PLENARY SESSION 7: Panel Session [Closed]**
Lebanon, Palestine, Israel: how to re-start dialogue
 Chair: Steve Miller
 Riad Kahwaji (Lebanon), Riad Malki (Palestine), Ron Pundak (Israel), Samir Shawa (Gaza), Henry Siegman (USA)
- 11:15–11:45 Coffee break outside the Plenary Hall
- 11:45–13:30 **Dorothy Hodgkin Memorial Lecture [Open]**
 Chair: Paolo Cotta-Ramusino
Islam and the West: A Conversation between Hamid Ansari and Dr. Ali El Samman, with response by Alexey Vasiliev

56th Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs
A Region in Transition: Peace and Reform in the Middle East

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE / WORKING GROUPS, CONTINUED

13:30–14:30 Buffet lunch in the BBQ area on the 3rd floor
 14:30–16:00 *Working Groups meet in parallel sessions*
 16:30 Leave hotel for Sound and Light Show (**dress warmly**)
 18:30-19:30 Sound and Light Show
 20:00 Dinner at Mena House Hotel

Tuesday 14 November

09:00–11:30 **PLENARY SESSION 8: Panel Session [Closed]**
Peace Process in Kashmir: Lessons Learned
 Chair: **Amitabh Mattoo**
Sajad Lone (India), Mirwaiz Umar Farooq (India), Talat Masood (Pakistan), Mehbooba Mufti (India), Nirmal Singh (India)

11:30–12:00 Coffee Break outside the Plenary Hall

12:00-13:15 **PLENARY SESSION 9: Panel Session [Closed]**
Nuclear Power, Security and Nonproliferation
 Chair: **Tom Cochran**
Aly Islam (Egypt) / Bozorgmehr Ziaran (Iran)

13:15-14:15 Buffet lunch in the BBQ area on the 3rd floor

14:30 Leave hotel for the Egyptian Museum

20:00 Conference Banquet in the Nile Room at Conrad Hotel **with Lecture by Zahi Hawass: Recent Discoveries on the Pyramids and the Valley of the Kings (Moderator: Mohamed Kadry Said)**

Wednesday 15 November

9:00–11:00 **PLENARY SESSION 10: Panel Session [Closed]**
WMD in the Middle East
 Chair: TBA
Wa'el Al-Assad (Jordan), Emily Landau (Israel), Saideh Lotfian (Iran)

11:00-11:30 Coffee break outside the Plenary Hall

11:30-12:30 **PLENARY SESSION 11: Presidential Address, MS Swaminathan**
 Chair: **Francesco Calogero [Open]**

12:30-13:30 Buffet lunch in the BBQ area on the 3rd floor

14:00- 16:00 **PLENARY SESSION 12: Panel Session [Open]**
The Next Agenda for Nuclear Disarmament
 Chair: **Amb. Mohamed Shaker Sergei Batsanov (Russia), Rebecca Johnson (UK), Sverre Lodgaard (Norway), Carlos Sersale di Cerisano (Argentina)**

16:00–16:30 Coffee break outside the Plenary Hall

16:30–19:00 **Reports from the WG and the IYSP Conference**
 Chair: **Goetz Neuneck**

19:00–19:30 **Closing of the Conference**

20:00 Dinner in the Nile Room

Evening Meeting of PC with ISYP in Isis & Nefertiti rooms

Thursday 16 November

PC Meeting and departure of participants

WORKING GROUPS

1. Nuclear Non Proliferation and Nuclear Disarmament
2. WMD in the Middle East and the establishment of WMD-free zone(s)
3. Prospects for the Peace Process in the Middle East
4. Islam and the West
5. Governance, Democracy and Reforms in the Middle East
6. Non-Military Threats to Security

ROOM

- Nile 3
 Nile 2
 Nile 1
 Nefertiti
 Isis
 Cleopatra

56th Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs *A Region in Transition: Peace and Reform in the Middle East*

ADDRESS

H.E. AHMED ABOUL GHEIT
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Egypt

I would like at the outset to express our pleasure and extend our welcome to the Pugwash Movement for convening its 56th annual Conference in Egypt.

I wish to seize this opportunity to express Egypt's appreciation for the role assumed by the Pugwash Movement and its Executive Committee in their efforts towards non-proliferation of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, as well as their role in maintaining international peace and security.

The efforts of Pugwash since its establishment in 1957 have been a source of appreciation and admiration by members of the international community and all international and regional organizations and institutions. The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the Pugwash Conferences in 1995 was a coronation of the Movement's efforts over the past fifty years.

Your conference this year

addresses the challenges of peace and reform in the Middle East. As you know, the Middle East region is going through a delicate phase, which calls for the mobilization of the efforts of the entire international community towards resuming the peace process. The international community should move ahead steadily to achieve the goal we have long been striving for, namely establishing just and lasting peace in the region. This in turn requires addressing the core conflict in the region: The Arab-Israeli conflict. The Palestinian people are still suffering under the yoke of a brutal occupation that kills their elderly people, men, women and children, and deprives them of the basics of a decent life.

The choice of Egypt as the venue for the Pugwash Conference has great significance. It was Egypt who led the course of peace in the Middle East. It was Egypt who had realized

more than two decades ago that the piling of arms and the use of military force would not resolve conflicts. It was Egypt who had realized that negotiations were the only way to attain the cherished peace.

Inspired by this conviction, Egypt has spared no effort to achieve comprehensive and lasting peace between Arab countries and Israel, and to strive for building confidence between the Palestinians and the Israelis in order to pave the way for the resumption of negotiations. Egypt also invites the influenced international powers, the United Nations and the Quartet to shoulder their responsibilities, fairly and squarely.

Besides her leading role in achieving peace in the Middle East, Egypt is making rapid strides in the reform process undertaken by the region. Egypt assumes a special responsibility in advancing modernization efforts in the Middle East. She has set an example of positive interaction with international variables and of comprehensive reform at political, economic and social levels. In the field of economic reform, the liberalization of the Egyptian economy has removed many obstacles that had stood in the past against the achievement of prosperity and overall economic development. The efforts towards economic development have been linked up with a persistent drive in the domain of political and economic reforms with a view to entrenching democ-



Cairo and the Nile River.

racy, enhancing respect for human rights, and fairly distributing the benefits of development.

As you are aware, the Middle East region has recently seen several reform initiatives. We deem it necessary that such initiatives should heed the views of the peoples of the Middle East who place the Palestinian issue at the peak of their priorities. The continuation of occupation and the absence of progress towards establishing an independent Palestinian state feed the feelings of despair and injustice vis-à-vis the double standards of the international community. Such feelings provide a fertile ground for breeding extremist thoughts, which pull the strings of the despicable terrorism. The reform efforts in the region cannot succeed under continued occupation or through constant threats to use military force. We equally believe that the success of the reform process is organically linked to the success of the development process based on a comprehensive national perception of the challenges faced by each society according to its economic and social conditions, and its cultural specificities.

Egypt is looking forward to a Middle East free from all threats to its stability and progress; a Middle East free from the occupation by one country of another; a Middle East where all peoples enjoy their independence within safe boundaries; a Middle East immune to political terrorism, religious extremism and ethnic chauvinism; a Middle East in which there is no place for nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction, and no room for military ideologies that specify a role for those weapons which threaten humanity as a whole. Such is the Middle East for which Egypt is working with her partners.

In the field of disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation, Egypt has been keen on setting an example of a responsible state that abides by the rules of international legitimacy. Egypt has thus acceded to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in the early eighties. She still spares no pains to achieve its universality, especially in the Middle East where all its countries have adhered to the NPT with the exception of one country. Such an anomaly undermines the credibility of the Treaty and obliges Egypt and the other Arab countries to make the NPT universality in the Middle East a central issue in the NPT Review process.

Egypt has also been at the forefront in presenting a number of initiatives related to the Middle East such as the initiative which she co-sponsored with Iran at the United Nations in 1974 on making the Middle East a zone free from nuclear weapons. President Hosni Mubarak launched an initiative in 1990 on the establishment in the Middle East of a zone free from all weapons of mass destruction. Despite the numerous international efforts in the fields of disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation, it is indeed regrettable that those efforts have stalled because nuclear powers have shirked their responsibilities by not taking serious steps towards nuclear disarmament and by their continued reliance on nuclear weapons as part of their security ideology. Such a situation adversely affects that non-proliferation regime and encourages other countries to seek possession of nuclear weapons to safeguard their security.

I am confident that the proceedings of this Conference will witness objective, profound and enlightened

discussions of various international and regional issues. I am equally certain that those discussions and deliberations will contribute to advancing new and creative ideas and insights, which can be built upon in order to address the transitional phase through which the international community in general and the Middle East in particular are passing. I hope that the outcome of the Conference will once again signal the perils of nuclear proliferation in the Middle East as well as ways and means of coping with them without infringing upon the legitimate rights of non-nuclear states to benefit from the peaceful applications of atomic energy. I hope that the outcome will also contribute to projecting the necessity for resolving the regional problems, in the context of regional and international cooperation that aims at confirming the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to establish their independent state; the attainment of Iraq's independence, and stability in Lebanon. There is a dire need to liberate the Middle East from the practices of coercion and occupation so that the region can forge ahead towards a new phase of its history, characterized by a comprehensive renaissance to be implemented by governments, hand in hand with an enlightened civil society aware of the value of its responsibilities.

I wish you every success and reiterate our sincere welcome to you in Egypt, hoping that you will have the opportunity, during your stay in our ancient city, Cairo, to visit some of its tourist and religious landmarks and to feel the harmony between its age-old history, its ambitious present and its promising future.

56th Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs
A Region in Transition: Peace and Reform in the Middle East

**PROSPECTS OF PEACE, CHANGE AND
REGIONAL COOPERATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST**

H.E. AMRE MOUSSA

Secretary General of the League of Arab States

It gives me pleasure today to stand among a distinguished gathering of international and regional experts concerned with international peace and security and disarmament issues. I also would like to express my sincere thanks to the *Pugwash Conference on Sciences and World Affairs* for holding this annual conference for the first time in the Middle East region and for inviting the League of Arab States to participate in this annual event. It also gives me the opportunity to listen to your comments and also to interact with this distinguished audience about the current issues not only in the Middle East but also the global and international situation.

The global challenges that have been created are raising a lot of difficulties for us in the Middle East and in many other regions around the world. I must say that thinking of how to address such an expert audience in matters of peace and disarmament, in matters pertaining to international relation and regional politics I prepared some notes which I will try to go through as quickly as I can in order to allow enough time for interactive discussion.

The world today is facing challenges emanating from serious policies and I will numerate some of them.

First is the vision that considered the victory in the Cold War as the end of history. If this is the end it

would be catastrophic indeed. History never ends. On the Contrary, we see dynamic changes, we are witnessing what I may call and others also may call Intifada against the post Cold War, the post-9/11 neo-conservative policies. Many of their theories are being seriously and successfully challenged.

The second point is the principle of the use of force in international relations. As we have seen in the recent years the use of force was used based on systematically fabricated information not innocent from bellicose considerations. Mounting world wide opposition to such policy has become too strong to ignore.

The third point concerns the issue of globalization as a new framework for international relations or international interaction. This is a drastic and in my opinion a welcomed development, save for that it discounts many of the interests of the developing nations and not enough attention is given to their views. Many of the developing societies see in globalization an attempt to subjugate them to concepts that run counter to their interests and which do not command international consensus. This led to an increasingly confused world and a general concern about the status of international relations.

The fourth point deals with terrorism which no doubt is the enemy of progress and is a plague that must

be condemned and combated. But the peril lies in that it acquired a loose definition thus became prey to subjective political considerations.

The fifth point deals with the prevalence of policies based on double standards: partiality to injustice and foreign military occupation and other negative trends. Calling for democracy, insisting on democracy then rejecting its outcome when it does not conform to one side's needs or interests. Calling for free trade and concurrently applying protection laws. Preaching human rights and adopting laws that decidedly curtail civil liberties. These policies based on double standards are creating real havoc in international relations.

The following point is about abandoning or discarding principles of international law, in international relations and attempting to submit those principles to political whims and interests.

Last but not least the clash of civilizations, which is just an euphemism for confrontation between the West and Islam.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

This is in my view some of what we, the international community, do experience at this very critical stage, which makes it all the more difficult to entertain the possibility of creating a stable world order in the foreseeable future—an order based on the respect of international law, attaining

a just regional peace, let alone building societies on solid pillars of democracy, respect of human rights, ensuring good governance and executing national and regional development programs.

If such a situation is not properly and quickly addressed and read-dressed the world may suffer a general state of chaos...a globally violent and angry one...

Mr. Chairman

Distinguished audience,

The Pugwash Conference this time is taking place in the heart of the Middle East and the center of the Arab world. This region is in major turmoil. I am afraid I am stating the obvious, it is also the truth. Yes, it has been in trouble since the colonial era, through the two world wars and the cold war, but never has it been in such an extremely threatening situation, thanks, if the expression is correct, to the ill-perceived policies concerning in particular the following points:

One, is the policy concerning Iraq which made it the example not to follow and which helped unleash a very destructive sectarian confrontation that does not seem to abate, at least in the foreseeable future, with negative repercussions, regional and international.

The second is the policy concerning Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict which became so biased as to hand over to one party to the conflict the whole file of the settlement in the Middle East in order for her to determine the fate of the peace process, ie. To kill it.

The policy concerning regional security, in particular the nuclear file ...to address the Iranian file while ignoring and ensure ignoring the Israeli nuclear file. An untenable and unconvincing policy indeed.

The policy pertaining to the so called clash of civilizations which adopted the Arab and Muslim worlds as the prime target thus rousing angry emotions and confusion on all sides.

Let alone the confusion and instability reigning in Darfur/Sudan and in Somalia as well as other perils in different parts of the Middle East region.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I move now to another priority issue in the Middle East. Reform in the Arab world is a must. It is a priority item on the agenda of the Arab League. We are taking it seriously. However, the present discourse on reform and change in the region has become similar to a culture of jargon discourse. We are constantly subjugated to a plethora of terms: the broader Middle East, the greater Middle East, neighborhood policy, moderate states, rogue states, the Troika, the Quartet...etc. Here I would like to comment: We really do not understand or appreciate the contents of such expressions or the policies behind them—of any honest approach of consensus building and result oriented policies rather than sedating ones.

Never the less, this does not suggest that the people of this region are unaware of the fact that they need to change, to develop their societies and to exercise positive self-criticism. We need to look forward and link up

with the 21st century and its fair requirements.

In addition to this, the agenda of the League of Arab States and collective Arab work is topped with an ever-mounting priority regarding reform and modernization: transparency, accountability, full respect of human rights and to follow a social, economic and human development process.

We are talking about, discussing, enacting, and adopting resolutions to guarantee active intercourse with governments to ensure reform of our societies. This has already been reflected in the basic document of Reform adopted by the 2004 Tunis Arab Summit based on a proposal from the Secretary General of the Arab League. Progress on its implementation may be slow in an area, turbulent in another, but there is no doubt that the wheel of change is in motion and it cannot be stopped.

I want to say that I sincerely benefited from the UNDP Arab human development reports and the deficits it outlined which have to be addressed efficiently. We have to, no matter what, continue the process of reform because no issue, no crisis should affect this process of reform and modernization of Arab societies.

Having said that, this process will not divert or affect our commitment to achieve a just solution to the Palestin-



Amr Mousa, Abdel Monem Said, Paolo Cotta-Ramusino.

ian problem and to end the Arab—Israeli conflict on the basis of Land for Peace. This is the point for stability and reform to progress in the region. We are concerned about attempts to stall these hopes. We have done all we can regarding the Arab Initiative of Beirut launched in 2002 in which we offered to end the Arab—Israeli conflict and normalize relations with Israel within the context of mutual comprehensive implementation of all obligations on both sides and reaching a settlement through political negotiations based on the relevant Security Council resolutions and on the principles agreed upon.

But this was—it seems—not enough for Israel's appetite which appears to be banking on what it sees in the infamously biased position to its favor, an opportunity to grab what it can.

Yes, of course Israel is seizing the opportunity and in the opinion of many in Israel peace is not in her interest and that when it succeeds in pushing away the possibilities of peace, it is in her benefit.

Not only does it depend totally on this biased policy, but it also thought in Tel Aviv and in other regions across the oceans that the Arab World is in a state of weakness and that Israel must seize this opportunity to impose on the Arabs whatever settlement, and that the Arabs will accept it to save face. I want to say here that the notion of a weak Arab world that would accept an imposed settlement is totally misled. A strong Arab world will not accept a lame settlement and a weak Arab world cannot afford to accept it either. Only a fair balanced settlement can gain approval and acceptability. Nobody can dare accept anything otherwise.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Amidst the increasing concern and the accumulating tension at the international and regional levels, in particular because of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the situation in Iraq, there remains an issue that concerns all of us relevant to nuclear armament, non proliferation and nuclear energy to which I alluded earlier in my introduction.

We look forward to a comprehensive approach to these issues on a regional basis through the proper handling of the nuclear file in the Middle East.

I believe that the present nuclear situation in the region will contribute to creating a state of polarization that cannot last for long. And from this podium I call for international support to the Arab initiative to transform the entire Middle East into a zone free of all weapons of mass destruction.

As for peaceful uses of nuclear energy, The Council of Ministers of the Arab League have called upon the Arab States to speed up their entry into the age of peaceful uses of nuclear energy under international monitoring as long as they have all acceded to the NPT and are abiding by its provisions.

I hope you will all agree that the present non-proliferation regime suffers from a legitimacy crisis stemming from the lack of political will. The stark example for this crisis is the efforts exerted by nuclear states to develop new generations of nuclear weapons which are in contradiction of their commitments towards disarmament within the NPT treaty.

Partial and selective approaches do not only represent a clear contradiction in international policies, but also weakens the prospects of success in containing and preventing a

nuclear arms race in the region and the world.

Finally, as the conference is also dealing with the issue of "Islam and the West", it is evident that there is need to define what is it that we really want to address, what is really the core issue of divergence. Is there a clash of civilizations or is it a clash with Islam? We have to diagnose the problem correctly in order to deal with it. But to move around in circles talking about clash of civilizations etc. will lead us no where.

The theory that emerged after the so-called war called the situation a clash of civilizations, I say that the current clash is between the West and Islam or I should say between the extreme wing in the west and the extreme wing on the other side. This led to a very shaky international situation and wars and bloodshed in the region and I believe that the Security Council has to come in at this stage.

The theory of the clash of civilizations has produced a situation threatening or constituting a threat to international peace and security and cannot be left to universities and symposiums. It has to be addressed and seriously debated in the Security Council or else it can get out of hand which seems to be happening.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

As you embark on your discussions over the next couple of days, these were some thoughts I wanted to share with you, which I hope will be useful contributions to the proceedings of this Conference and the common vision we aspire to and your willingness to engage one another in exchanging ideas in a spirit of frankness capable of enhancing regional and international dialogue and cooperation.

Thank you.

56th Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs
A Region in Transition: Peace and Reform in the Middle East

**A WORLD IN TRANSITION:
TOWARDS A BETTER COMMON PRESENT**

PROF M S SWAMINATHAN

President, Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs

At the World Climate Conference held in Nairobi, Mr. Kofi Annan referred to climate change induced by anthropogenic factors as the most serious among weapons of mass destruction. The Pugwash Movement has rightly included major non-nuclear threats to human security within its agenda. Extreme social and gender inequity, damage to basic life support systems like land, water, biodiversity and climate, as well as pandemics like HIV/AIDS have become important among such threats. At the same time, the nuclear peril has assumed an alarming dimension with the proliferation of Nuclear Weapons States and with the possibility of the emergence of nuclear weapon groups and individuals. It is therefore obvious that we must concentrate on the heartland of the Pugwash agenda and at the same time give due consideration to the other serious threats to peace and human wellbeing. In this address I shall briefly cover both aspects.

The World Commission on Environment and Development, popularly known as the Brundtland Commission, titled its report presented in 1989 as “Our Common Future” to stress that irrespective of political frontiers, our ecological fate is intertwined. In my presidential address at the IUCN (World Conservation

Union) general conference held in Perth, Australia in January 1990, I mentioned “There can be no happy common future, without a better common present”. For all of us, the present is a living reality. The future holds both threats and possibilities. If we ignore the present and allow the rich-poor, gender, genetic, digital and other divides to grow, there will be no peace. This is why the achievement of the UN Millennium Development Goals, particularly in the areas of hunger and poverty elimination and environment protection, are extremely important. UN MDG’s represent a Global Common Minimum programme for peace and security.

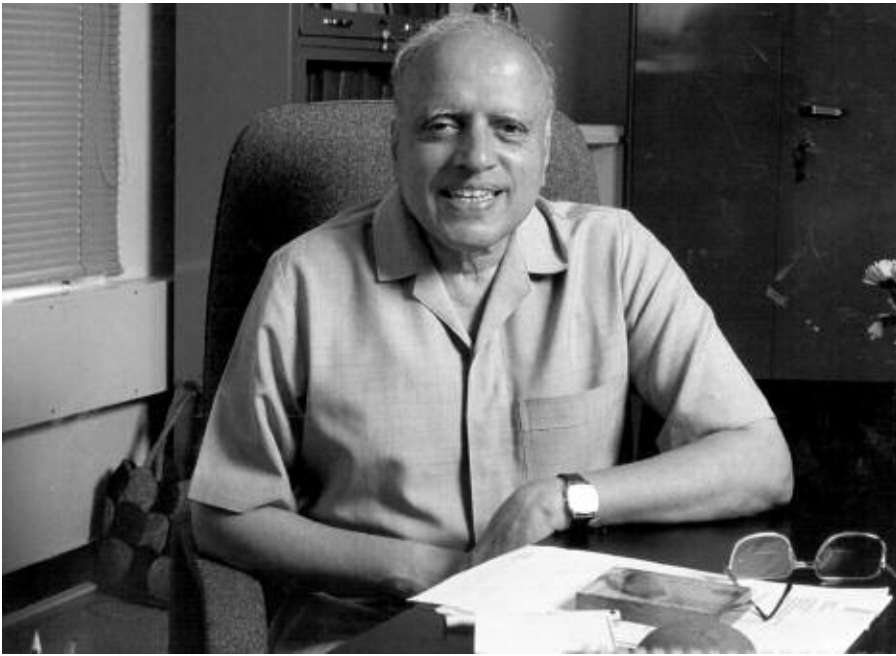
The major theme for the Cairo Conference is “Peace and Reform in the Middle East”. The following basic guiding principles have emerged from the discussion.

- There can be no peace without justice; confidence in fair play is essential for ending a hostile mind-set
- Fear of each other is the enemy of progress; creating the substrate conditions essential for building trust is the first step for meaningful dialogues
- Avoid double standards—partisanship is the root cause of distrust, and the enemy of progress; today big powers are adopting double standards in their dealings with

nations in the Middle East; this should end if peace is to prevail

- Promote understanding and appreciation of diversity and pluralism among human societies, particularly in the areas of religious and political beliefs
- **Just peace with Palestine is the cornerstone of peace in the Middle East.** A serious consideration of the Arab initiative launched in Beirut in 2002 may provide a basis for multi-stakeholder dialogues ending in an agreement which would mark a win-win situation for all the countries in the region, and which could lead to a new Global Political Order characterized by the replacement of fear with friendship.

This year represents the Centenary of Mahatma Gandhi’s movement for a peaceful resolution of conflicts. This movement known as *Satyagraha* (fight for truth and justice based on the principle of non-violence) began a century ago in South Africa when Gandhi was thrown out of a first class compartment outside the Pietermaritzburg Railway Station just because he did not have a white skin. When we look back over the 20th Century, some of the remarkable achievements of humankind came from the adoption of the principle of non-violence in the resolution of internal and external conflicts.



MS Swaminathan, President, Pugwash Conferences.

Some examples are:

- Freedom from colonial rule in the Indian sub-continent (M K Gandhi)
- End of Apartheid in South Africa (Nelson Mandela)
- US Civil Rights Movement (Martin Luther King)
- End of Marcos Dictatorship in the Philippines (Corazon Aquino)
- End of Cold War and Fall of Berlin Wall (M Gorbachev)

In contrast, violence has always bred violence. We see it now in the Middle East, in Afghanistan and in some parts of Africa. Violence has not solved any problem but spreads anger, hatred and the desire for revenge. How can the world get back to the principles of Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela and Mother Teresa in solving disputes? This is the real challenge of today. This is particularly a challenge for the Pugwash movement during its 50th Anniversary next year, when a major

effort should be made to stress the futility of wars in solving disputes. General Dwight D Eisenhower, a famous war leader, made the following remarks as President of the United States on August 16, 1953, “Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket signifies in the final sense, a theft from those who are hungry and are not fed, from those who are cold and are not clothed. The world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its labourers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children”. Quite often in history, men of war become the most ardent messengers of peace, since they know more than others that wars only lead to more wars.

In my address at Hiroshima last year, I had made a few suggestions for working towards a nuclear peril-free world. Based on the discussions at this conference, I would like to propose a road map for achieving this goal consisting of seven major steps:

- All nations with nuclear weapons should adopt a legally mandatory policy of “no first use”, by 2007
- Respect commitments to Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), ratify Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), conclude an equitable Fissile Materials Cut Off Treaty (FMCT), and end all research relating to the development of new nuclear weapons. Ensure that no nation sabotages the success of the NPT Review Conference of 2010
- Conclude a Nuclear Weapons Convention outlining a time frame for getting to Zero by 2020
- Avoid prospects for nuclear terrorism and adventurism by eliminating all unsecured nuclear fissile material and by implementing the concrete steps proposed by Pugwash for the elimination of highly enriched uranium; otherwise, there is risk of nuclear weapons individuals/ groups emerging in addition to nuclear weapons states
- Because of the multi-dimensional threats posed to human security by climate change, and the consequent need for reducing green house gas emissions, interest and investment in nuclear power plants are growing. The civilian uses of atomic energy are likely to grow. Hence, the UN may convene an International Conference on the Civilian Uses of Atomic Energy, with particular reference to nuclear power. Such a conference should develop an agreed Code of Conduct to ensure that the non-military use of nuclear fuels does not get abused, and to further strengthen safeguards and the inspection and monitoring capacity of IAEA, to prevent the unsecured production of fissile materials

- Democratic systems of governance are fast spreading in the world, which involve the holding of free and fair elections periodically. It would be useful to develop a Pugwash 50th Anniversary Appeal which calls upon all political parties in every country to include in their next election manifesto, a firm commitment to work for speedy nuclear disarmament and for the success of the 2010 NPT Review Conference. Public opinion ultimately shapes political action in democratic countries
- Introduce into school curricula information relating to the consequences of the use of nuclear weapons in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, so as to bring home the immediate and long term disastrous impact of a nuclear war. Without a nuclear peril literacy movement, the climate for eliminating nuclear weapons and ending nuclear proliferation cannot be generated. Enlist the support of the mass media in launching a sustained movement for public understanding of the grave perils ahead. "If you cannot, there lies before you the risk of universal death", to quote from the Russell-Einstein Manifesto.

Non-Nuclear Threats to Human Security

I would now like to refer briefly to Pugwash's role in fighting non-nuclear threats to human security. The first among them is hunger which affects now nearly one billion children, women and men in our planet. The Roman Philosopher Seneca, articulated the threat of hunger to human security in the following words "A hungry person listens neither to reason nor religion, nor is bent by any prayer". The pre-

sent US Defence Secretary, Robert Gates, mentioned in a talk at Des Moines on October 16, 2006 on the occasion of the World Food Day, that CIA monitors the status of crop production in different parts of the world, since potential hunger hot spots are breeding grounds for civilian unrest. Where hunger rules, peace cannot prevail. He thus included hunger and deprivation among the seeds of terrorism. (This talk was before he was designated as the Defence Secretary of USA and when he was President of the Texas A & M University).

Gandhi traced the roots of hunger to unemployment and the consequent lack of the purchasing power essential for economic access to balanced diet. He thus stressed the point, "where there is work, there is money and where there is money there is food". This relationship between hunger and employment is an exceedingly important one since the world is now witnessing job-less economic growth. Job-less growth is joy-less growth to the hungry. The Doha Round of Negotiations of the World Trade Agreement is being referred to as the development round. If this concept has to become operational, it is essential that a Livelihood Security Box is inserted in the agreement. Such a box should contain provisions for the imposition of quantitative restrictions on imports by countries where 50 percent or more of the population depend upon agriculture for their livelihood security, whenever there is clear evidence that such imports will destroy local jobs or livelihoods in rural areas. Import of food by predominantly agricultural countries will have the same impact as importing unemployment. Therefore, a livelihood security impact

assessment is essential in all development programmes particularly those relating to rural areas. The loss of livelihoods in villages leads to the unplanned migration of the asset-less poor to towns and cities resulting in the proliferation of urban slums. Urban slums again become the breeding grounds for violence, crime and spread of HIV/AIDS and other diseases. Therefore, agricultural prosperity is essential for peace and security in predominantly rural nations. For example in India, 70 percent of the population still remains in rural areas where the main occupation is crop and animal husbandry, fisheries, forestry, and agro-processing. In contrast, hardly 3 to 4 percent of the population depends on agriculture for their economic wellbeing in industrialized nations. Industrialized countries should hence view trade not merely in monetary terms but in its human dimension.

Another important threat to human security arises from the spread of invasive alien species. The SARS epidemic and the *avian influenza* caused by the H5N1 strain in poultry are recent examples of the harm that may arise from such invasive species. It has become important to ensure that every nation has a well developed biosecurity system. Sanitary and phytosanitary measures also need strengthening in developing countries. Biosecurity is also essential to safeguard innocent civilians who may become victims of bio-perils and harmful Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs). As far as GMOs are concerned, every nation has to develop a National Biotechnology Regulatory Authority capable of ensuring the safe and responsible use of genetic manipulation techniques at the molecular level. Such an Author-

ity should assure the public as well as the political leaders and mass media that risks and benefits are being measured in an objective and transparent manner. Molecular genetics provides uncommon opportunities for not only producing new vaccines and drugs, but also crops with built-in resistance to biotic and abiotic stresses. Therefore, developing countries in particular should take advantage of frontier technologies including biotechnology and information, and communication technology for the purpose of achieving accelerated food, nutrition, health and livelihood security.

Population rich but land hungry countries like China and India have no option except to produce more food grains and other agricultural commodities per units of land and water under conditions of diminishing per capita availability of arable land and irrigation water, and of expanding biotic and abiotic stresses. Such a challenge can be met only by harnessing the best in frontier technologies and blending them with traditional ecological prudence. Ecotechnologies for an Ever-green revolution should be the bottom line of the strategy to shape the future of food production. Conservation farming and green agriculture (i.e., agriculture based on ecotechnologies like integrated pest management, integrated nutrient supply, scientific land care and water management, etc.) are the pathways to an ever-green revolution.

Making Hunger History

- In 2001-03, there were 854 million undernourished people in the world—820 mn in the developing countries, 25 mn in the transition countries and 9 mn in the industrialized countries

- In the Asia and Pacific, the number of undernourished has reverted to an increasing trend over the latter part of the decade, although the prevalence has continued to decline. The Asia and Pacific has 68% of the developing world population and 64% of its undernourished
- In the near East, North Africa and Sub Saharan Africa, the number of undernourished have increased. The greatest challenge is in the Sub Saharan region with one in three people lacking access to sufficient food. (State of Food Insecurity in the World, 2006, FAO).

.....

It is the duty of every country

to make sure that at the

minimum the UN Millennium

Development Goal of reducing

hunger and poverty by half is

achieved by 2015.

.....

It is now possible to end hunger through concurrent attention to food availability, access and absorption in the body. The national strategy for making hunger history should pay attention to both food and non-food factors. Non-food factors like clean drinking water, environmental hygiene and primary education and health care are equally important. Lack of access to clean drinking water is a major cause of diarrhea and intestinal infections. But for the oral rehydration therapy, mortality of children from diarrhea will be high. It is the duty of every country to make sure that at the minimum the UN

Millennium Development Goal of reducing hunger and poverty by half is achieved by 2015.

Bridging the Divides

Starting with the industrial revolution in Europe triggered by the invention of the Steam Engine in 1780 by James Watt, technology has been an important factor in the rich-poor divide. If technology has enlarged economic, social and gender divides in the past, the challenge now is to enlist technology as an important instrument for achieving social and gender equity. If technology is to serve this purpose, access to it must be based on the principle of social inclusion. The *Antyodaya* or unto the last principle of Mahatma Gandhi is the pathway for inclusive economic growth. While Intellectual Property Rights are important for giving incentives for investment and innovation, we should ensure that discoveries of great importance to human food and health security are available to every one who will benefit from them. Access to such technologies should not be based only on the capacity of the individual to pay. There must be a provision in National Laws for compulsory licensing of rights in the case of drugs and crop and animal strains which are important for the poor.

Modern ICT is a powerful tool for bridging the gender and knowledge divides. Such technologies comprising the integrated use of the internet, cable TV, community radio and the cell phone should be brought to the service of the poor, on the principle of a last mile and last person connectivity. ICT can serve as the mother for ending all divides and hence it itself should not become one more of the divisive factors.

5th Pugwash Conference on HIV/AIDS

In recent years, the Pugwash movement has expanded its definition of threats to human security to include HIV/AIDS. Five conferences have been held so far to deliberate on the subject. The last one was held at the M S Swaminathan Research Foundation in Chennai, India in April 2006.

Some of the figures relating to the HIV/AIDS pandemic are frightening:

- Over 11000 new HIV infections occurred each day in 2005
- More than 95% are in low and middle income countries
- About 1500 are in children under 15 years of age
- About 10000 are in adults aged 15 years and older of whom:
 - over 50% are among women
 - over 40% are among young people (15-24)

The 5th Pugwash Conference on HIV/AIDS held at the M S Swaminathan Research Foundation, Chennai, India, from 7-9 April 2006 focused on the theme "Sharing of Experiences, What Works?". 52 participants from 8 countries participated.

Experts from "first wave" countries where the epidemic struck first and with great intensity (e.g. South Africa, Kenya and Uganda) and those from "second wave" countries where the epidemic threatens to spiral out of control (e.g. India) came together to exchange successful and replicable strategies for the prevention, management and mitigation of HIV and AIDS.

Based on the experience gained in Africa and India, the following basic requisites for success in control measures were identified:

- Political support and commitment
- Recognizing HIV as potential threat to development
- Discussing sexuality and behaviour openly
- "Coming out" reduces stigma
- Free supply anti-retroviral drugs to the needy

The recent tragic trial of five Bulgarian nurses and a Palestinian doctor in Libya on the suspicion of infecting children with HIV is an indication of the fear and emotion attached with this dreaded disease. Pugwash will have to introduce sanity and objectivity in dealing with this and the other serious health pandemics.

I mentioned earlier that climate change possess a great threat to human security.

The available data bring out the following scenario:

- All countries will be affected by climate change, but the poorest countries will suffer most
- Average temperatures could rise by 5° C from pre-industrial levels if climate change goes unchecked
- Warming of 3° or 4° C will result in many millions more people being flooded. By the middle of the century 200 million may be permanently displaced due to rising sea levels, and more frequent floods and drought
- Warming of 4° C or more is likely to seriously affect global food production
- Warming of 2° C could leave 15-40% species facing extinction

Economics of Climate Change: According to the calculation of Sir Nicholas Stern of UK (October 2006), the following will be the cost of containing damage to climate:

- Climate Change could cause the Global Economy almost \$7 trillion by 2050—equal to a 20% fall in growth—if no action is taken on green house emissions
- Taking action now could cost just 1%—\$350 billion—of Global GDP

Kyoto Protocol

- The Kyoto Protocol to the Framework Convention on Climate Change was negotiated by over 100 countries in December 1997
- The agreement would require 38 industrialised countries to reduce the emissions of six major greenhouse gases by 5.2 percent during the 2008-2012 period
- The Kyoto Protocol follows the 1992 Framework Convention on Climate Change, which established the objective of stabilizing atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases "at a level that would prevent dangerous interference with the climate system"

Unfortunately, the Kyoto Protocol is yet to be implemented in spite of the growing awareness of the dangers of inaction.

Carbon Trading

- Terrestrial carbon sequestration is a viable, readily available approach for offsetting fossil fuel emissions by enhancing the carbon stored in soils, vegetation and long-lived products
- Credits or offsets can come from reductions or removals (sequestration)

- The Structure of the carbon market system is being developed
- There are a number of uncertainties and risks associated with the carbon market at present. There is a need for a carbon trading system based on real, verifiable credits

Global warming and associated events like sea level rise and the more frequent occurrence of tsunamis necessitate anticipatory efforts in developing bioshields and genetic shields which can mitigate the impact of sea water inundation and temperature rise.

50th Anniversary of Pugwash

We are sorry we are missing Jo Rotblat at this meeting. I would like to quote a couple of sentences from his speech while accepting the Nobel Peace Prize along with Pugwash in December 1993.

“I do not believe that the people of the world would accept a policy that is inherently immoral and likely to end in catastrophe... We have to move forward from a now outdated security system based on nuclear deterrence and alliances, to one based on cooperation and allegiance to humankind”.

2007 marks the 50th Anniversary of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs initiated at a meeting held in Thinker’s Lodge, Pugwash village, Nova Scotia, Canada at the invitation of Sir Cyrus Eaton. The famous Russell-Einstein manifesto was commended to the inhabitants of Planet Earth on that occasion. I would like to suggest that the activities we may consider for commemorating the 50th Anniversary of this movement for a nuclear peril free world may include the following:

- A Nuclear Peril Free World constitutes the heartland of the Pugwash

Mission and hence we must redouble our efforts in the area

- Canadian Pugwash Group, Pugwash Peace Exchange and the Pugwash Park Commission will commemorate the 50th anniversary of Pugwash by organizing a workshop on Revitalising Nuclear Disarmament from July 5-7, 2007 at Thinkers Lodge, Pugwash. This provides an occasion for the issue of a **Pugwash Appeal** to all the political parties in the World and to all the members of the UN stressing the importance and urgency of universal and total nuclear disarmament
- Initiate a Strategic Planning Exercise to strengthen the catalytic role of Pugwash in promoting mutual trust and dialogue.
- Provide a platform for partnership among like-minded organizations leading to the birth of a global alliance for a World free of weapons of mass-destruction
- Promote a Media Coalition for a better public understanding of the perils of *status quo* in the resolution of chronic disputes, with priority going to justice to Palestine.
- Assist in establishing in association with Pugwash National Groups and International Student/ Young Pugwash a **Global College of Joseph Rotblat Fellows** who will become the torch bearers of the Pugwash mission
- In cooperation with UNESCO, get the Russell—Einstein Manifesto included in school text books all over the World.

The Secretary General of the United Nations Mr. Kofi Annan in a Guest Editorial in Science (7 March 2003) made the following significant remarks:

“But no bridge that science might build across the gaps between rich and poor is strong enough to withstand the force of violence and war. If science is to reach its full potential and draw on the great minds from every country, we must do more to end and prevent conflict. Scientists themselves have a key role to play here, too. The Pugwash Conference movement, launched by the Russell-Einstein Manifesto of 1955, brought Russian and Western scientists together for more than 40 years to develop common understandings of the dangers of nuclear war and ways of reducing them, and in recent years has constructed a strong dialogue between North and South on the problems of development. “Lab-to-lab” cooperation also helped to lay the groundwork for cooperative nuclear disarmament and arms control between Russia and the United States after the Cold War. Peace making and peace building should never be the exclusive preserve of diplomats and politicians”.

May I conclude by quoting Sir Joseph Rotblat, who was the very embodiment of the spirit and mission of Pugwash for 50 years.

“Let me remind you that the basic human value is life itself, the most important of human rights is the right to live. It is the duty of scientists to see to it that, through their work, life will not be put into peril, but will be made safe and its quality enhanced”.

Let us make 2007, which marks the Centenary of Gandhi’s Satyagraha, and the 50th Anniversary of Pugwash, a significant milestone in the quest for a world of peace and harmony within humankind, and between humankind and nature.

56th Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs
A Region in Transition: Peace and Reform in the Middle East

WORKING GROUP REPORTS

Working Group 1 Report

Co-Conveners: Francesco Calogero and Sergey Batsanov

Rapporteur: Bob van der Zwaan

Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Nuclear Disarmament

There was practically unanimous concern that the global nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament regime is in profoundly bad shape and faces its greatest crisis since the end of the Cold War, if not since the advent of the nuclear era. The 2005 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference has been an outspoken failure and little to virtually no progress has been achieved with regards to the many dimensions of the global nuclear arms control process. Particular concern was expressed about the fact that the debate on the advisability of having a nuclear weapons option seems to be re-opening in at least some of the non-nuclear weapon states.

Yet it was recognized that opportunities exist to revert to the process of stimulating both horizontal and vertical nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament. Among the openings available is notably the negotiation of a Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT). A view was expressed that at least some of the states that have already ratified the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) could consider a further step by announcing unilateral entry into force of the CTBT for them, on an individual basis, thus committing themselves to

behave as if the Treaty has already entered into force, and act according to all obligations the Treaty involves. The need to proceed energetically with thorough preparations for the next NPT Review Conference in 2010 with the view of ensuring its successful outcome was also stressed.

The group was reminded that the United States and Russia, still by far the two largest possessors of nuclear weapons, should lead the nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament process. Among the measures proposed for the renewal of the disarmament process, the view was expressed that the United States and Russia should, as first priorities, take their nuclear weapons off hair-trigger, eliminate the launch-on-warning option from their nuclear military strategies, implement a parallel decrease in operational readiness of their strategic forces, and openly exclude—along with other nuclear weapon states that have not yet done so—any first use of nuclear weaponry. There were calls on the United States and Russia to immediately start negotiating a new strategic arms reduction treaty that may significantly reduce the deployment of nuclear weapons. However, there were also comments to the effect that

in the current geopolitical situation a simple return to form and agenda of the superpower dialogue of the 1970s and 1980s was hardly possible, and that the latest negative developments in the area of outer space security would additionally complicate efforts to reduce their large numbers of nuclear weapons.

It was also suggested that, meanwhile, all other nuclear-weapon states should address the issue of their possession of both strategic and non-strategic nuclear weapons. The completion of the withdrawal of US nuclear weapons deployed in Europe and a reduction of tactical nuclear weapons in Russia could constitute valuable incremental steps towards more general and significant disarmament measures. The discussion in the United Kingdom concerning future options in light of the expected decommissioning of the current Trident system could be taken as an opportunity to raise public awareness regarding the inhumanity of nuclear weapons, and to consider the possibility for such a nuclear weapon's power to adjust to new security requirements and threats by reducing the reliance on nuclear weaponry or even by phasing them out completely, thus offering an example for other nuclear weapon states.

The group addressed the likelihood that non-state actors might not only aspire to destroy a major city in the world, but could do so easily by fabricating a crude nuclear explosive device when in the possession of a



Carlos Sersale di Cerisano, Rebecca Johnson, Mohamed Shaker, Sverre Lodgaard, Sergey Batsanov.

sufficient amount of fissile material, in particular highly enriched uranium. In order to prevent terrorist groups from exploding such a nuclear device in the near future, or alternatively a radioactive dispersal bomb, the need to deny them access to any fissile or radioactive material was emphasized, hence the urgent need to ensure that all this material be effectively accounted for and controlled on a global basis, that as much of highly enriched uranium be eliminated as quickly as possible, and that the use of highly enriched uranium in research and naval nuclear reactors be phased out.

The group discussed whether the recent US-India nuclear deal, which fundamentally transforms the relationship between these two countries, represents a challenge to the disarmament and non-proliferation regime, and could motivate other countries to proceed in their attempts to produce sensitive nuclear material and acquire nuclear weapons. Yet it was observed that with or without this deal, India would most likely proceed with the production of weapons-purpose fissile material anyway. Positive aspects of the US-India nuclear deal can be discerned as well, since India's civil nuclear plants, constituting about two thirds of its total number of nuclear facilities, would be brought

under international safeguards as performed by the IAEA.

It was noted that while states may have different views as to whether over the past two decades Iran has just failed to fully live up to its safeguards agreements with the IAEA or more broadly with its obligations under the NPT, the main objective should be to find a just and enduring solution, based on Iran's continued adherence to and compliance with the NPT. Several participants emphasized that possible penalties deriving from such failures should be commensurate with the violation committed, as well as applied consistently and in a non-discriminatory way. The need to avoid decisions that could undermine the credibility of the IAEA and the United Nations Security Council was emphasized. The complex security situation in the area, including the assumed possession of nuclear weapons by Israel, was also mentioned. While Iran's inalienable right to undertake peaceful nuclear activities was not questioned, a number of participants called for an immediate commencement of negotiations to address the concerns of all sides involved. Several participants held the view that Iran should be induced to temporarily suspend sensitive fuel-cycle-related activities such as ura-

nium enrichment, ratify the Additional Protocol, cooperate with its associated inspections, and to offer full cooperation with the IAEA. At the same time, a view was expressed that insisting on suspension of uranium enrichment activities as a precondition for negotiations may lead to a loss of time, and a more effective approach could be an agreement of Iran not to expand in any way, for the duration of negotiations, its current nuclear activities, and ensure that such a freeze could be verified by the IAEA. In any case, it is important to stimulate mutual confidence building in the region and to avoid any destabilizing action that may complicate the search for both short-term and long-term solutions, including any provocative and inflammatory rhetoric language.

A number of participants share the view that the recent nuclear test by the DPRK constitutes a serious set-back in global efforts to prevent nuclear proliferation. Still, it is believed that a renewal of negotiations in the 6-party framework is not only necessary but could generate a basis to come out of the present deadlock between the government of the DPRK and the other 6-party group members. It also has to be recognized that the DPRK faces multiple security threats, including but not limited to the absence of a formal peace agreement with the United States, and that the present US foreign policy and nuclear strategy are not beneficial for advancing a solution to the current impasse or allowing the establishment of a sustainable and peaceful co-existence between the DPRK and the United States. The DPRK should be given the confidence that its survival is not in any way under threat, and ought to be pro-

vided with adequate security guarantees to this effect, notably by the United States. In this context an idea was put forward that revisiting the lessons learned from the resolution of the 1962 Cuban Missile crisis could be useful. The commitment to denuclearize the Korean Peninsula should be adhered to, and the DPRK should agree to verifiably renounce once and for all the possession of nuclear weapons, as well as recommit itself to the NPT and Additional Protocol, in exchange for the provision of appropriate safety guarantees it desires.

It was noted that the civil use of nuclear energy continues to be severely troubled by the problems associated with radioactive waste, nuclear proliferation, and reactor accidents; further, many countries today, nuclear energy is experiencing unfavorable conditions in terms of economics and public acceptance. While nuclear power cannot constitute the panacea for the problem of climate change, it is increasingly considered as capable of contributing to the alleviation of this global challenge, while its use continues to be beneficial for providing national energy security and avoiding local air pollution. An increasingly likely renewed interest in the use of nuclear energy for the production of electricity and a declared intention by many countries to expand or initiate nuclear electricity production, necessitate further transparent and fair internationalization of both the front-end and back-end of the nuclear fuel cycle, as well as a renewed emphasis on risk reduction.

To this extent it was proposed that the role of the IAEA in providing extended guidance to national regulators should be strengthened, and a universal, mandatory international

regime of inspection be implemented. There is urgent need for a new nuclear regime and innovative approaches designed to take into account the technical, political, institutional, and legal dimensions of the entire nuclear fuel cycle, notably in order to reduce the risks associated with nuclear proliferation and terrorism.

While it may be difficult to demonstrate on the one hand, a direct and intrinsic correlation between a lack of progress in global disarmament efforts, and the proliferation of nuclear weapons on the other, devaluing the importance of possessing nuclear weapons is likely to stimulate world-wide nuclear non-proliferation efforts. Inversely, any increase in the

value attached to the possession of nuclear weapons in one of the nuclear weapon states is likely to stimulate the proliferation of nuclear weapon programs in other nations. Convinced that the world would be much safer without the continued existence of nuclear weapons, and that the presence today of excessive numbers of these weapons in the arsenals of several countries continues to impose an unacceptable threat to the survival of mankind, a number of participants reiterated that all states possessing nuclear weapons should commence planning for security without these weapons, and start outlawing them through a wide range of joint practical and incremental measures.

Working Group 2 Report

Co-Conveners: Wa'el Al Assad (Jordan) and Lynn Eden (USA)

Rapporteur: Arthur Petersen (Netherlands)

Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) in the Middle East and the Establishment of a WMD-Free Zone

The goal of a weapons of mass destruction (WMD) free zone in the Middle East has been repeatedly affirmed by all states involved as well as the international community at the highest political levels and has been included in many important documents. In the working group, we had participants from China, Czech Republic, Egypt, Finland, Germany, Greece, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, The Netherlands, Norway, South Africa, Sweden, Turkey, UK and USA; all participated as individuals and not as representatives of their countries. First, the present situation of WMDs in this region was reviewed and the history of attempts to promote a WMD-free zone was assessed. Subsequently, the

relationship between WMD-free zones and comprehensive security frameworks was evaluated. Finally, some concrete proposals for steps forward were put on the table.

Present situation of WMDs in the Middle East and risks for further proliferation

The non-proliferation regime is in great danger of eroding, particularly in the Middle East. This constitutes a considerable concern and the working group acknowledged that the different issues related to WMDs in the Middle East cannot be discussed in isolation of the region's political environment, security requirements, and threat perceptions. Given the entrenched positions of the different

parties, the approach that should now be taken is a step-by-step approach with elimination of WMDs from the Middle East as its ultimate goal.

Several countries in the Middle East (here defined as the Arab countries plus Israel and Iran) are known or suspected to possess or be developing nuclear, chemical and/or biological weapons. The lack of signature or ratification of particular arms-control agreements may serve as a first indicator for the possible presence of programmes related to Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs). In the working group, assessments were presented of the stages the various WMD-related programmes have reached. These presentations included programmes on the delivery of such weapons by means of missiles. Before the group entered into a discussion of the concrete steps that could be taken, particular attention was paid to the Israeli and Iranian nuclear files.

Israel is not a party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) nor the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention (BTWC), and has signed but not ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC). Based on an assessment by the Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Israel is estimated to have about 100-200 nuclear weapons (NWs). These weapons were developed in response to existential threats. Even though existential threats do not seem realistic at the moment, the Israeli leadership still wants to hold on to the weapon. Israel has not used its NWs as an instrument of coercion in its international relations, but this may change if Iran or other countries develop nuclear weapons too.

Iran is a state party to all three WMD treaties mentioned and is considered not to possess NWs. Still, the

Iranian nuclear programme is a cause of concern to the international community. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has not yet been able to fully clarify Iran's nuclear history. Since Iran's nuclear programme was discussed at the Pugwash Workshop on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament held in Amsterdam, June 7-8, 2006, there have been some further developments. Members of the Security Council are currently discussing a sanction resolution, since Iran is still continuing its enrichment activities. It deserves mentioning here that the Iranian nuclear programme currently being monitored by the IAEA is still in its early stages; if the number of cascades is not increased significantly, it will take several years before Iran would be capable of producing weapons-grade material in useful quantities. Furthermore, we must remember that Article IV of the NPT as well as its negotiating history clearly indicate that uranium enrichment is not banned from any nuclear programme as long as it is for peaceful purposes only and occurs within the framework of the NPT. Iran has not accepted enrichment suspension as a precondition for entering into negotiations with the international community. Some participants argued, however, that Iran somehow needs to regain the trust of the international community and that one way of doing this was to temporarily suspend its enrichment activities. The general opinion of the working group was that the United States and other countries should engage Iran diplomatically and politically to address international concerns that Iran has not fully clarified for the IAEA aspects of its nuclear history.

History of the attempts to promote WMD/NW-free zones in the Middle East

The positions regarding a WMD/NW-free zone in the Middle East seem to be deadlocked at the moment; they are as well known as they are entrenched, as was also reflected in some of the discussions of the working group. The original proposal for a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (NWFZ) in the Middle East was made by Iran, backed by Egypt, in 1974. In 1990, Egypt proposed to expand the proposal to establish a zone free of WMDs. In dealing with NWs, chemical weapons (CWs) and biological weapons (BW), we should retain the distinctions between these weapons. There is a significant difference in scale of mass destruction between NWs on the one hand and BWs and CWs on the other hand. Furthermore, these weapons have different international legal regimes associated with them. In this sense the establishment of a WMD-free zone can also be regarded as the end result of having all parties sign, ratify and adhere to the existing arms-control agreements.

The goal of a WMD-free zone in the Middle East has been affirmed by the Security Council, member states of the NPT and Israel. It has been a topic of discussion at countless conferences and seminars. The rhetoric, however, is far from the reality. Elsewhere in the world, NWFZs have been successfully negotiated and adopted, but the difference with such a zone for the Middle East is that the states in existing NWFZs did not possess or seek NWs and mainly wanted to keep other countries' NWs away from their own territories.

The current deadlock on negotiations towards a WMD-free zone in the Middle East is a direct result of

substantively different starting positions. The position of the Arab states is that Israel's nuclear capabilities are destabilising and their inclusion from the beginning in the negotiations is a precondition to peace and security in the region. Israel's position is that the establishment of peaceful relations, reconciliation, mutual recognition and good neighbourliness, and complementary conventional and non-conventional arms control measures constitute preconditions for establishing a NWFZ and achieving the vision of a WMD-free zone. These apparently polar opposite positions are what led to the breakdown in 1995 of the Arms Control and Regional Security (ACRS) talks within the Middle East Peace Process.

In general, it seems that the concept of a WMD-free zone was largely used by some of the parties involved for other political and diplomatic purposes. The question that lies ahead is whether all countries are really willing to deal with the problem in a serious fashion.

The relationship between WMD-free zones and comprehensive security frameworks

There are obvious connections between the achievement of comprehensive peace and security, on the one hand, and disarmament towards a WMD-free zone, on the other hand. This implies that the two objectives of a framework for peace and security and a WMD-free zone should be treated simultaneously. We should move from the entrenched positions that pose preconditions and 'think outside the box'. There was wide (though not unanimous) agreement among the working group participants that what is needed is a renewed effort in regional security

dialogue. There was less agreement on whether such a dialogue should start with 'soft security' issues in the beginning and progress towards WMDs later, or the 'hard security' issue of WMDs should also be discussed from the start, but it was clear that only a step-by-step approach would be feasible. It was proposed that one of the first steps to be taken is to constrain the rhetoric by political leaders, for example the rhetoric by Israeli politicians on settlement policies and by Iranian leaders on the legitimacy and right to existence of Israel. In cases where there seems to be wide public support for such statements within countries, leaders bear a special responsibility to engage in dialogue with leaders from adversarial states. For any progress to be made towards a WMD-free zone the perceptions of security by different parties in the Middle East will need to change. Recent developments with respect to nuclear programmes in the Middle East mean that indeed the security calculations made by the countries in the region may change.

Some steps forward towards a WMD-free zone in the Middle East

Instead of being little more than a rhetorical device, a WMD-free zone in the Middle East is an idea whose time has now come. For the first time a plausible argument can be made that it is in the direct security interest of *all* countries in the region, including Israel, to pursue this objective rather than trying to deal with the complexities, instability, risks and expense of multifaceted proliferation in the Middle East. Once this new calculation comes to be more widely accepted, then one of the key strategic conditions will be met, making it more possible to start real talks than

at any time since Iran and Egypt first proposed a NWFZ in the Middle East in 1974. Even so, negotiations will be tough and politically demanding, and no-one should be surprised if they take a long time and include set backs before there is any chance of success. In any case, preconditions need to be set aside.

The general feeling in the working group was that to reach agreement on new steps towards a WMD-free zone, new initiatives at different levels of diplomacy are direly needed. A Track II initiative was proposed under the name 'Council for Security Cooperation in the Middle East' (CSCoME, which would be pronounced 'sis-com'), modelled after the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP, which is pronounced 'sis-cap'). This initiative envisions a non-governmental process for multilateral security dialogue in the Middle East. The working group focused much of its discussion on the desirability of a Track I.5 initiative, sanctioned by governments and involving both governmental representatives and experts from non-governmental organisations. Potential sponsors of Track II and Track I.5 initiatives could be Japan, one or more of the Scandinavian countries, the New Agenda Coalition, or the Seven Nation Initiative. Also negotiations should begin—perhaps first starting with the relatively uncontentious issues—at the inter-governmental level (Track I). It is of utmost important to have a platform with seminars and workshops at some level of institutionalisation where the crucial issues related to WMDs can be discussed among the different parties involved.

So what are the steps that could be taken to make the region move closer

to the establishment of a WMD-free zone? Above all, the conditions need to be developed for such a zone and existing legal arrangements need to be strengthened. This can be done in three parallel ways, varying from relatively easy to relatively difficult:

(1) *Enhanced co-operation and Confidence and Security Building Measures (CSBMs)*: Enhanced co-operation between all parties in the region can be considered in the area of public health, including epidemiological surveillance, diagnostic measures, training and planning on preparedness, or in the areas of firefighting, earth quakes, landslides and water. It was proposed that within the mentioned frameworks for discussions more difficult issues can also be discussed. For instance, the participation in existing CSBMs of WMD treaties can be promoted and new CSBMs can be proposed that create more transparency on WMDs and deal with notification of materials, missiles and agents. Also the parties could participate in joint seminars on their military doctrines and the role that WMDs play in these. There could be mutual inspections of military exercises and visits to military headquarters. As other areas of co-operation that may require separate agreements it was proposed that Egypt and Israel develop a mutual environmental protection system to monitor leakages from nuclear facilities, and—even going further—that Egypt and Israel start a programme of mutual and reciprocal visits to nuclear sites within both countries.

(2) *Application and implementation of available agreements on non-proliferation and arms control*: All the parties involved in the African Nuclear Weapons Free Zone should be encouraged to ratify the Treaty of

Pelindaba. A proposal was made in the working group that Israel should declare that it will behave ‘as if’ it were a member of the NPT (this was France’s policy up to 1992, when it acceded to the Treaty) and should join the Nuclear Weapons States moratorium on the production of weapons-grade fissile material. National and international export controls on WMD and WMD-related items should be strengthened. It was proposed that all countries should be urged to sign and ratify the Additional Protocol to their safeguards agreements with the IAEA.

(3) *Negotiation of new agreements*: There is a continuing need for scientific and technical studies into the possibilities to further strengthen the IAEA safeguards system. Two examples of existing regional institutions—EURATOM and ABACC—were discussed and a Middle East Council for Controlling Atomic Energy (MECCAE) was proposed. Given the likely expansion of nuclear energy in the Middle East and the concerns that materials may be diverted into military programmes, regional agreements on the nuclear

fuel cycle are desirable. With respect to energy policies and agreements in the Middle East more in general, it was suggested that it would be more profitable and desirable for countries in the Middle East to invest in renewable energy instead of nuclear energy. With respect to the adoption of new agreements at the global level, all countries have a responsibility to sign and ratify the CTBT and to proceed with and conclude negotiations on a Fissile Materials Cutoff Treaty (FMCT) that bans the further production of weapons-grade fissile material and should include Israel and Iran (both countries agreed in 1998 on the mandate for the FMCT). Finally, ballistic missiles were identified to constitute an issue that should be dealt with by a regional treaty.

To conclude, all states within and without the Middle East should be urged to work towards the establishment of a zone free of Weapons of Mass Destruction and to enter into discussions regarding the modalities of such a zone within a comprehensive peace and security framework. Some specific steps can already be taken, as was outlined in this report.

Working Group 3 Report

Co-Convenors: Galia Golan (Israel) and Riad Malki (Palestine)

Rapporteur: Erzsébet Rózsa (Hungary)

Prospects for the Peace Process in the Middle East

[This Report was prepared by the Rapporteur as her summary of the working group discussions, and does not necessarily reflect the views of all working group participants.]

The working group had 5 sessions on the political repercussions of the war and the present opportunities for promoting peace and security in the region, the Palestinian situation, the Israeli situation and the Lebanese

situation respectively, and the role of the international community. On the whole the mood of the sessions was pessimistic although it became slightly less so by the end of the discussions.

General discussion of chances for peace

In recent months the situation in the Middle East in general and in the Israeli-Palestinian context in particular have been deteriorating fast. The embargo imposed on the PNA has had a very negative impact. The Arab states keep silent perhaps due to incapability, the Europeans are ignoring the conflict, and the Israeli-Palestinian issue ranks only about 6th or 7th on the Bush administration's agenda, its focus being increasingly Southwest Asia. While it is wrong to look at the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as the main cause of all the problems over the region, it does figure directly or indirectly in most issues.

Although the Arab peace initiative (2002 Beirut) is generally considered a solid foundation for negotiations by the Arab political elites, in the eyes of Israel and also of the Arab street it will not lead to a solution. The elements of peace are clear: the end of occupation including settlements; 1967 borders as basic lines; a fair solution to the Palestinian refugee problem and recognition of the right of return on the basis of international law and UN resolutions. The war between Israel and the Hezbollah may have created an opportunity in the sense that it put the Arab-Israeli conflict back on the international agenda. Some Israeli leaders, for the first time, say they might consider the Arab peace plan.

One of the biggest repercussions of the war is the disclosure of the division among the Arab countries between moderates (i.e. those trying to make peace) and non-committants. While there were differences among the Arab states in the past, they tended to show a unified profile on the Palestinian issue.

The Lebanon war has moved the Arab-Israeli confrontation to a new level: it proved that a military fight is no longer an answer and raised questions for Israel about its own military might.

The war demonstrated the linkage between the conflicts in the region, including the connection between the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and Lebanon-Syria-Iran. For some, the Palestinian issue is the core issue, but for others, like the US, the core issue is instead Iran, subordinating the Palestinian issue.

There was a perception that the Lebanese war did not leave much space for a new opening in the issue, since Israel's military was unable to succeed completely in its goals, leaving the Israeli leadership too weak to make any concessions toward peace.

The Bush administration has had 6 years of deeply established behaviour, rejecting Clinton's approach of being involved. The main effect of 9/11 was to push the USA and Israel closer to each other than ever before. In spite of the recent changes in the Congress, Bush will remain skeptical about the effects of diplomacy and will refuse to talk to „bad guys“. The Democratic Congress will not be enough to change Bush's set rules.

Discussion of the Palestinian scene

In January the elections in the Palestinian territories were free and democratic and went without any problems. People were enthusiastic and turned out in great numbers. However, the results were not accepted by either the US or Israel, or in the end by Europe. All aid was stopped which led first to the general strike by the 160 thousand

government employees, then to the breakdown of the government. Ghaza has become a prison. Unemployment reached 80%. Israel withholds some 500 million USD in VAT and taxes. Over 300 people, most of them women and children were killed. 46 thousand Palestinians applied for permission to expatriate from Ghaza and the West Bank yet only 10 thousand were granted it.

Hamas realized that it would be the first and last opportunity to form a working government unless they changed themselves. But there is also a realization among Fatah that this is the opportunity to come back to government. A national unity government, therefore, is a mutual interest of both and may become a mutual survival government, which could control further political processes in Palestine. The question was raised if such a national unity government means that future elections will be excluded.

It is as yet not clear who the members of the new government will be, but the candidates will not necessarily be party members. It is understood that Mahmoud Abbas must have received enough guarantee from the international community that in the case of a national unity government, the embargo would be lifted. It was concluded that the US/Israel/Europe have won this battle of wills, however, there was additionally much pressure from the inside, by President Abbas and the Palestinian people.

Hamas interprets the victory as God's will and a reflection of the will of the people. At the beginning they tried to minimize the effects of the international boycott by turning to Arab and Islamic countries to compensate for lost revenues, but



Samir Shawa, Henry Siegman, Steven Miller, Riad Kahwaji, Riad Malki.

when that was not a viable option they introduced a new tactic calling for sacrifices. While people were initially passionate about it, their seriously deteriorating living circumstances made them increasingly change their minds about Hamas' ability to govern. In the end the living conditions of the Palestinians will be the decision-makers over Hamas.

It was noted that while usually only Fatah is mentioned as an alternative to Hamas, the people who stayed away from the elections (out of the 1.8 million 1 million voted) mostly did so because they were frustrated by the options. The idea of an option like that taken by Sharon was raised, namely that Mahmoud Abbas with young and „clean” elements of Fatah and with the prisoners and Marwan Barghouti could form a new party in order to win the next elections.

The prisoners' document was there at the beginning of national unity negotiations, but Hamas amended the original ten points by adding three, so the end agreement reached differs in many aspects.

Israel has no prospects and no vision, the Israeli government is only concentrating on survival. The war was a deep shock for the population

and exposed the Israeli government's inability to defend its citizens from attacks both from Lebanon and Ghaza. Though, in spite of the lack of trust and the widening gap between the government and the population, the stock exchange is at its highest peak ever. It was assumed that the trauma of not being able to rely on the army may have been a factor in the use of force in Ghaza to regain confidence.

For some years now the Israeli public has supported a two-state solution: 60-70% would be ready to give up the settlements and 50% would be ready to share Jerusalem. Yet, because of the failure of the Oslo process and Camp David, the no-partner idea emerged, which led to unilateralism. With the elections this became a government policy, including the future unilateral delineation of the border.

The war in Lebanon changed the situation. The conclusion was that unilateralism (unilateral withdrawal) was dead: either because if withdrawal is completed without an agreement, there is no security guarantee; or because withdrawal as such is considered a mistake. But since Kadima was founded on unilateralism, now the government is left

without a policy. The logical first option for a government policy could be talking to Syria, yet this is unlikely in spite of the fact that even influential members of the Israeli government have raised the idea. At the moment the US would not support such a plan since it is unwilling to have pressure taken off Syria. The other option could be talking to the Palestinians, but it is not clear if Olmert wants to open any peace track at all. Nevertheless, the war demonstrated the regional implications of the conflict and, therefore, the preferred option could, should, be a comprehensive approach, including both Syria and the Palestinians, perhaps the Arab League Peace plan.

Discussion of the Lebanese and Syrian scene

In Lebanon the political situation is rapidly changing, tension is extremely high and there is a threat of a civil war. While it is a conciliatory democracy, the anti-Syrian camp has a less than 2/3 majority in the Parliament, but a 2/3 majority in the cabinet. The withdrawal of the Hezbollah and Amal ministers from the government is seen as a signal to Syria and later a possibility will be given for the ministers to come back.

The general assumption is that in the war the US/Israel/West faced the Hezbollah/Syria/Iran axis. Syria still has a lot of connections in Lebanon. Hezbollah, though established by Iran, has in the past years acted on its own. The Lebanese government has tried to move Hezbollah out of this axis. Hezbollah did not want to go to a full-scale war with Israel, it was preparing for a situation in which the US and Iran confront each other and then Hezbollah would act. Since Hezbollah has been increasingly

considered a Shiite political party, its aim was to reestablish its resistance movement identity. The capture and killing of Israeli soldiers fit into this pattern. Hezbollah wanted to repeat the 2004 soldier-prisoner exchange. After the war Hezbollah is exhausted and considers UNIFIL a force to protect them and give them the chance to pull out and re-group north of the Litani River. Yet, it is their biggest interest that the mandate of UNIFIL not be extended to become a peace enforcement force. If there is another war, it will most probably concentrate on the Bekaa Valley. However, rearming will not be easy: the sea and the air-space is under control, as are the borders. At the same time the Lebanese army is experiencing a boost in popularity. In the next few years 0.5 billion USD will be invested in the armament of the Lebanese army.

Hezbollah started a very successful campaign to regain popularity: they financially helped families to rebuild their houses, started a PR campaign claiming that God was on their side, justifying their war, and accused the Lebanese leadership of conspiracy with the US and Israel against the Shiites in Southern Lebanon.

Syria's priorities are regime security, gaining international legitimacy, a role for Syria in the region and the return of the Golan Heights, which would establish Bashar al-Asad as a leader. While the Syrian military intelligence has an interest in de-stabilizing Lebanon, there are circles that want to negotiate with the US; in this context even the idea of a roadmap was raised. There is a general desire in Syria to avoid—if possible—the disclosure of names involved in the Hariri killing.

Discussion of the international community

With regard to the role of the international community there was a general understanding that without strong, high level, comprehensive international involvement the conflict cannot be solved. Since the stage-by-stage approach has failed, rather a package deal should be pursued. As to the question of who constitutes the international community, the weakness of Europeans and their subordination to the US was mentioned. For Russia, which tries to reassert itself as an international player, the Middle East is a field for economic and military cooperation opportunities, though its own Muslim population offers other incentives. The role of the Arab League or the Arab countries as part of the international community was raised. The Arab countries could propose a regional conference with the participation of the Arab states, Israel

and the UNSC permanent members. Taking this idea further the possible role of the UN was raised in a complex manner: it was discussed that the UN should make up a commission which would organize and oversee an international conference, monitor the situation and the implementation on the ground, and mandate an international force.

The exact mandate, form, functions and scope of such an international force is as yet unclear, but the Palestinian side would have no objection to accepting such a force as an interim measure. In fact, they have studied such an option carefully in the past two years. Israel for its part has already agreed to third party/international forces' involvement at the Refah cross-border point (Egyptians) and UNIFIL-2 (in Lebanon), though not on its own territory. This agreement could be an important precedent.

Working Group 4 Report

Co-Conveners: Claire Galez, Mahmood Vaezi

Rapporteur: Siddiq Wahid

Islam and the West

Preliminaries

As last year, the group was composed of a wide spectrum of people representing both Islam and the West. In addition, this year there were representatives from a diverse range of people from within the Islamic world. This enriched the discussion further.

The Group began by debating the appropriateness of the title for its deliberations; namely, the relations between "Islam and the West". The

primary objections to this terminology were: (i) that neither of the two entities is monolithic and so needed to be deconstructed (ii) that to posit Islam and the West as mutually exclusive was not correct as there is also the question of Islam *in* the West, (iii) that in recognition of the fact that there has been constructive contact between the two throughout history, the discussion should perhaps be confined to the relationship between "political Islam" and the

political leadership of the West and (iv) that the dichotomy is asymmetrical as one term represents a civilization and the other a geographic region.

After a brief discussion, Group members conceded that these were not mere semantic differences, that it was important to understand that the title had its limitations. So we proceeded with some key assumptions. These were: (a) that we should not confine ourselves to discussing only the definition and concede that the reference, broadly, meant the current climate of confrontation between “Islam” and the “West” and without prejudice to the positive contacts between the two; (b) that there was not only a debate *between* Islam and the West, but *within* Islam and *within* the West, and that the two debates are related; and (c) that it would be difficult to confine the discussion to only one segment of Islam or of the West.

Four key propositions, with views for and against them, dominated the agenda of the debate within this Group. These were as follows:

- That religion and State should be separated in the public realm
- That the confrontation between the two is one of a “clash of civilizations”
- That efforts to marginalize women further aggravates relations between the two
- That education was central and critical to bridging the gap that exists between Islam and the West

It might be pointed out that these four points were not stipulated *a priori*; they emerged from the discussions. Under these headings, however, the group discussed many other

related issues and ideas. I have attempted to include as many of these as possible in this Report.

Separation of Religion and State

There were three sets of opinions, cutting across denominational and geographic lines, on this issue. Some felt very strongly that the two must be separated, that the introduction of religion into the political arena had bred violence throughout history. Others felt that although this may be desirable, it was difficult to do practically and yet others argued that such a separation cannot be made and that Islam reserved the right to implement an Islamic State. This portion of the discussion was one that might be described as a discourse on “political Islam”. Otherwise put, it was a discussion on the right or wrong of politics using the idiom of religion.

The discussion heard mention of the concept of *ijtehad*, or contextual interpretation of laws and decrees and of the implications of the plurality of the Muslim *umma*, community, for a pan-Islamic Islamic “nation”. Briefly, the points made were: that the idea of *ijtehad* needed to be understood and used properly, that the geographically wide distribution of Islam over fourteen centuries made this evident, and that Islam came into the world with a bill of political rights, and so is a social force. During discussions on this issue, it was pointed out that rights did come with duties and that perhaps this was not being discussed enough. What, in other words, is meant by exercise of democracy? This was apropos of a discussion of the possibility of having “fundamentalist” groups gain power through the ballot. The point being made was that in such cases it was important to ensure that laws

exclude the possibility of the “end of democracy”.

One participant in the discussions posited the idea of giving space to “the sacred realm” in our lives. This, it was explained, is a reframing of the architectural distinction between private, public and sacred realms. It was mentioned that the latter could act as a bridge between the first two, although it was a distinct realm of its own. Discussion of this yielded that it implied an alliance of religions as such to come up with a solution to the increasingly antagonistic politics, and perceived or real threats to identity.

Clash of Civilizations or of Interests

The above discussion introduced the need for a “dialogue between civilizations”, a concept emanating from Iran and, after a ten year gap since its pronouncement, also from the author of the clash theory. A majority of the Group members felt that it was inappropriate to describe the confrontation between the West and Islam as one of a clash of civilizations; that a more helpful term might be one of a clash of interests, defined as the will to monopolize sources of energy. It was noted that both the “West” and “Islam” were undergoing internal change and that what was needed was a mutual recognition of this, which would enhance the “cultural dialogue”.

There was substantial discussion as to whether Islam was compatible with notions such as secularism and modernity. Several participants were at pains to argue that Islam was not against such notions. One participant cited the possibility of Islam having a “secular vision” and mentioned the works of Jamal ad-din Afghani as one Muslim reformer who could be

used as a starting point on this issue. Others argued that Islam was not in opposition to modernity and that it was more a question of oppressive apologists amongst the ruling class within Muslim societies who also contributed to the problem.

Several members pointed out that ultimately it was a clash of interests that was fueling the confrontation between Islam and the West. The Western powers, over the period of the better part of a century, had recognized the importance of oil and gas in the modern world. This was concentrated in the Middle East, Central Asia and other lands that are overwhelmingly Muslim. It was in the interest of the West that they continue to control these lands. Thus, it was argued, that the present climate was a consequence of political and economic injustices and must be addressed in that context.

Education

This morning I had the opportunity, and the privilege, to meet with The Grand Mufti of Egypt, Sheikh Ali Gom'a. Both of us agreed that one of the major problems facing the Muslim world was divisiveness and a lack of consensus on some of the basics of the religion. I asked him two questions in connection with it. (i) What is the cause of it? (ii) What could be done to remedy the situation? His answers to both questions were brief but assured: The cause was lack of education. The remedy was education.

This, I might report, was also the thrust of the argument in our Group. In a sense it was one of the threads, the other being gender issues which I shall discuss presently, that was repeated throughout our discussion. The Group was also of the opinion

that there was a degree of education that was also required in the West about Islam, and *vice versa*. There were many dimensions to this: the Muslim cleric needed to educate Western educated Muslims about the religion, the traditional Muslim needed to be educated about the world at large, the West needs education about Islam and so on.

Although we did not have time to discuss this question in its details, the members of the group discussed the need for the education of both Islam and the West, starting at the very beginning of a child's education. A "K through 12" approach was advocated by one member. There are models of this already being done in North America; these need to be studied, enhanced and used in other parts of the world. The point was also made that the use of traditional educational institutions and religious authorities was critical to countering the violent reactions to perceived or real political and economic injustices in the Islamic world.

Women in Islam

Similar to the question of education, awareness of gender imbalance also constituted a thread through the discussions. In this connection several specifics were discussed ranging from a discourse on the degree of veiling (ranging from a simple head scarf to the *hijab* to the *naqab*) to the criticality of educating young mothers. It was also pointed out that using various means, women continued to be marginalized in insidious and dangerous ways.

Several of the participants pointed out that many women were wearing the veil willingly, and were not necessarily forced to do so. However, what troubled them was that the

trend was to not permit women to have a choice in the matter and that there was an increased propensity to dictate to women what they could and could not do. For example, it was pointed out that much of this was happening for the first time in the history of Egypt and that there was a need to study as to why it was the case.

Other Topics of Discussion

The discussion was helped by the presentation of several papers and by way of concluding this report I would like to present brief summaries of the papers. They ranged from "case studies" on Islamicization in Pakistan and Somalia, the implications of this phenomenon and its linkages with violence. In both papers the thrust of the argument was that the United States' time worn policies that argued for civilizational superiority, the legitimacy of supporting dictators and unilateralism were a primary cause of the problems confronting these two countries.

The Group was presented a paper that analyzed the theoretical works of individuals such as the Muslim reformer Jamaladdin Afghani who has argued that Islam was severe in its strictures against violence, and the English writer Brunt, who argued against the imperial exploitation of religion to further its objectives. Both points, it was argued, needed to be explored in the context of the confrontation between Islam and the West.

The members of Group 4 also benefited from a paper on the importance, simultaneously, of a theoretical understanding of how dialogues between civilizations take place and the need for a set of practical principles to be employed if such a dia-

logue were, indeed, to take place. In the former case, there are two ways of exchange between civilizations: (i) that cultures and civilizations bordering each other have frontiers which allow a natural seepage of ideas and material culture; (ii) yet there is also a need for conscious exchange between neighboring civilizations to make conscious, methodical and scholarly endeavors to find mutual points of agreement. The paper concluded by endorsing the 1998 Tehran Declaration on the details of the principles for such a dialogue as the basis for fostering a culture of dialogue amongst the nations of the world.

Conclusions

The discussions did not seek to find a consensus. However they did entail several observations, *inter alia*, as to why the world seemed dangerously poised precisely, to “clash” rather than talk, fragment rather than unite.

- There is no hesitation to declare a will to power, its accumulation in quantity and quality, in the name of ‘national interest’
- Despite intense discussions about a ‘new world order’ following the collapse of the Soviet Union, that *mentality* has continued and indeed, may be what fuels the confrontation between Islam and the West

A start to correcting the mutual alienation of Islam and the West would be to work toward a greater understanding of the above trends and either neutralizing them or heading them off. Towards this too there were a few observations:

- Efforts must be made to prevent the exploitation or distortion of religion in political discourse
- Must improve the role of the media

in reporting on conflicts that could be interpreted as one between “Islam and the West”

- Need to find a solution to the Palestinian problem which is fraught with dangers in that direction.
- That there is a notion of a sort of ‘imperial imperative’ at work; this

notion needs to be questioned and debated if we are to have a true dialogue

- That this can be detected in campaigns of a kind of ‘demonization’ of the adversary that creates a phobia about them be it Islam, North Korea or China

Working Group 5 Report

Convener: Anissa Hassouna

Rapporteur: Kayhan Barzegar

Governance, Democracy and Reform in the Middle East

[This Report was prepared by the Rapporteur as his summary of the working group discussions, and does not necessarily reflect the views of all working group participants.]

Overview

Governance, democracy and reforms have a long background in the Middle East as this region served as the emerging hub of sophisticated governance systems, advanced ways of life, human rights and democracy to human civilizations. Yet despite the historical background, due to the existing cultural, religious and societal characteristics of Middle Eastern countries on the one hand and the continued interests of foreign powers which in turn brought about the complexities of the nature of power and politics in the region on the other, the process of reform and democratization have been delayed or often failed.

Throughout the past one hundred years the processes of democratization and reform have had ups and downs in the region but never stopped as people of the region have always expressed their will and interests in advancing democracy and reforms. The issue of advancing

democratization in the Middle East is a political, more than a cultural, religious or economic issue. At present, the region is undergoing a transition, with diverse national identities experiencing their own national ways of transformation according to their specific political, cultural and economic features. Because of its rich history, the region has the potential for advanced democratic activities and reform.

Generally speaking, in Group Five two basic assumptions were discussed on the internal and external factors which restricted the democratization process and reform in the Middle East:

Internal constraints

On the issue of domestic constraints, democratization, reforms and good governance are processes which require some initial prerequisites: a governments’ accountability and responsiveness in providing an open political atmosphere, transparency, diversity in the power structure, the

rotation of power, dealing with corruption, enhancing powerful middle-class and market-economy, establishing confidence-building among various political-cultural spectrums, building civil society and political institutions, human rights and women rights, culture of tolerance and equality, social and economic justice, etc., and generally the simultaneous application of political and economic developments are among the prerequisites of democratization process. In this sense, a lack or weakness of the abovementioned characteristics delayed attempts toward democratization in the past several years. Chief among them are government's irresponsibility in providing an appropriate atmosphere and the necessary grounds for holding comprehensive and fair elections.

External Factor

At the same time, because of continued foreign interests, the occurrence of wars and political crisis in the Middle East, efforts toward the democratization process in the region have been delayed or often failed during the past years. Accordingly, war in Iraq, Lebanon and the Gaza Strip empowered extremist activities, extended violent movements, provided the grounds for a new kind of conflict economy and most notably extended distrust among nations and states that contradict advancing democratic movements. The presence of foreign occupation forces is at best justifying violent activities in the region. As history demonstrates, no nation in the region accepted any foreign involvement in its internal affairs in the long-run. As the result of conducting war, preserving security and stability has become the first priority of the regional communities.

Undoubtedly, democratization and reform require a peaceful atmosphere based on mutual trust within the political-cultural spectrum, elites and masses, and governments and nations. Yet the lack of them is no excuse for not working towards political reform and respect of human rights.

Causes of Delay or Failure

- Although democracy has global features and values, the presence of diverse identities and their different demands and expectations from the democratization process requires applying specific approaches of advancing democracy in the Middle East.
- The existence of wars, crises and the subsequent grounds of mutual distrust have had harmful effects on the democratization process and reforms in the region.
- Establishing security and stability are the most prominent elements of democratization and reform in the region. The democratization process requires a peaceful and calm atmosphere.
- Given the traditional and religious nature of Middle Eastern communities, achieving democratization requires preserving a balance between demands and expectations of the traditional and modern segments of the communities.
- Imposed, immature, and directed democratization can lead to frustration; it also gives justification for a power structure detrimental to nascent democracies. The result has been disappointment, frustration, and indifference in taking part in future elections.
- Democratization requires simultaneous attention to political reforms

and economic development. The lack of a powerful middle class and a market economy will delay the process of democratization.

- Emphasizing human security issues in the region will help advance democracy and reform in the region. Accordingly, paying due attention to the demands and requirements of the masses is of great importance in this process.
- In the Arab world there are different models of democratization which must operate according to the cultural, societal, geographical and economic characteristics of each society.
- The role of the streets and winning the vote of the masses has a significant effect on the democratization process. This has been demonstrated in Lebanon, Palestine and the new Iraq.
- Democratization and reforms will only occur in an environment where powerful political structures and institutions coexist with NGOs and the private sectors.
- In many countries of the region the role of religion and ideology is increasing. The existence of conservative and fundamental foundations is considered one the main obstacles of democratization and reform. In case they do not get involved in the democratic process according to the agreed upon rules of criteria.
- On the issue of the new Iraq, although the process of democratic activities is moving slowly, given the past suppressing legacy of the Baathist regime, occurrence of new political developments accompanied by several elections is a milestone in Iraq's process of transformation.

Future Steps

- The promotion of democracy at the mass level in order to increase culture of tolerance, flexibility, reformation, and human development should have priority as it will balance different layers of societies and increase common interests among new generations.
- On the global scale, advancing democratic movements in the region requires the international community to support NGOs, the Middle-Class, private sectors and most importantly, integrating the region's economy into the world system.
- There should be a convergence between different regional and global perceptions of transformation and reforms; this requires establishing communication networks that illustrate diverse perspectives to empower the concept of collective interest.
- The role of the young generation and women in advancing democratic activities should be encouraged. Accordingly, plans to educate youngsters to create new conceptions of democratic cultures should be promoted in the region.
- Future discussions of elections and other political transformation processes should include representatives of most, if not all partners, concerned for more constructive debate and outcome.
- The Middle East civil society activists should adopt a more positive approach towards identifying the outlines of the model they think is in conformity with their culture yet not contradictory with the international basis of democracy.

Working Group 6 Report

Co-conveners: Marie Muller (South Africa) and MS Swaminathan (India)

Rapporteur: Christine Rovner (USA)

Non-Military Threats to Security

Human security encompasses a host of issues that together form the basis for guaranteeing each person safety at the societal, community and individual levels. Millions of people worldwide are affected by some form of human insecurity. Infectious and parasitic diseases annually kill 17 million people; 25 million people are internally-displaced persons, including 5 million in Sudan alone; 1 million people in Zambia's population of 11 million are HIV-positive; and only 2.3% of the fresh water on Earth is potable. The primary elements of economic, food, health, environment,

personal, community and political security all comprise the broader understanding of human security. This definition shifts the focus away from a state-centric and military-strategic emphasis on security to an interdisciplinary and people-centric approach that embraces notions like empowerment and participation.

The working group discussed various aspects of human security, focusing on the specific areas where Pugwash's diverse group of experts can make a difference. Drawing on a recent workshop held in the Netherlands, the notion of security was seen

as broadening in scope and deepening to include more levels of society, while involving more stakeholders in the process. The human security approach has been promoted by a number of trend-setting commissions: The International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, which promoted the "responsibility to protect;" the Ogata-Sen Committee; and the recent Human Security Commission. Three key elements will help us understand and expand the way that human security can be operationalized: *agency*, or including the victims and people at risk in the process; *discourse*, which provides the language for promoting a human security agenda; and *governance*, or designing more comprehensive forms of governance to deal with the issues at stake.

Science and ethics

Guidance with an ethical compass is integral to our work. Science in the 21st century will present diverse new threats as well as ethical dilemmas for scientists. Nanotechnology is a prime example of the conflict that science will face: although innovations offer us more powerful ways to live, travel, and communicate, detractors fear that the limited scope of knowledge of this field could cause new problems for humanity. Scientists historically have been wary of confronting uncertainties because of fear of public backlash. By extending science's outreach and increasing the public's participation in debates about the role of science and technology in society, scientists can develop effective ways to address these ethical issues. Pugwash can use its broad approach to bridge gaps to assess the societal and ethical consequences of research, and also ways to cooperate with existing ethics in science pro-

grams at UNESCO and ICSU.

Incorporating the study of ethical dilemmas into university curricula is an effective way to influence scientists in their formative years. In addition, publication of Pugwash's Dorothy Hodgkin Memorial Lecture series would offer young scientists a compass on social responsibility in science. Speaking up on the protection of whistleblowers is a specific way that Pugwash can help promote science and ethics in the wider society. Pugwash should also promote equal access to new technologies for all sectors of society so that socially responsible outcomes are available to everyone.

Health threats, including HIV/AIDS and nutrition

Human security is greatly shaken by the global phenomenon of HIV/AIDS. Following the international onset of the virus, we are now seeing the effects of HIV/AIDS on political, social and economic spheres in "first wave" countries in Africa; soon we will see the cumulative impact on these societies from the death toll on young people, child-rearing by grandparents, and a lost labor force.

Other epidemic diseases diminish human security globally, particularly malnutrition and diarrhea, which often contribute to the spread of other viruses. Malnutrition compromises drug therapies for HIV, raises the infection rate of tuberculosis, and reduces the survival rate from malaria. Diarrhea kills more children worldwide than malaria, HIV/AIDS, and tuberculosis combined. However, these other epidemic diseases are not properly addressed since they affect primarily the developing world and do not have a recognizable champion for their causes.

The human security impact of these diseases, particularly HIV/AIDS, cannot be understated. Police and military personnel are infected, which diminishes their forces and inhibits cooperative security efforts when HIV-positive personnel cannot work in other countries. Medical costs and lost productivity also contribute to a significant threat to economic security. Social security is compromised when affected individuals are cast out of their communities, realize discrimination, and leave behind young children who may be infected with HIV/AIDS themselves. Securitization, which elevates issues like HIV/AIDS into security threats, raises awareness among government leaders and the public, and also encourages civil society to take a role in defining the problem and finding effective solutions. Securitization's greater emphasis on human security threats can better integrate civil society into the security sector, but risks providing a government justification for their claim on national resources.

While education has helped reduce the spread of HIV somewhat, the "ABCs" promoted in Africa—Abstinence, Be faithful, Condomize—are not working to stem the epidemic. Governments and religious leaders are also undermining education efforts. Pugwash's diverse base of experts could help develop a new, effective language for HIV/AIDS education. In addition, gender inequalities must be addressed to combat, for example, the "machismo" mindset among promiscuous men.

Technological innovations offer us ways to discover correlations between health problems and economic, social, environmental, and other factors. Geographic Information Systems (GIS) can map disease outbreaks and

analyze their relationship to the other geographical factors around them to identify new threats and facilitate management of the problem. While correlation of this data does not necessarily determine causality, this system offers a way to discover other potentially related factors that should be investigated further. Pugwash's broad approach would help improve the identification of health problems and offer new research areas to correlate to health issues. However, this innovation requires weighing the risks and benefits—particularly in relation to privacy concerns—of collecting personal data for sharing in a collective database.

Other considerations including water resources, agri-biotech and food security

Water is already a source of international conflict and is the greatest resource at risk in the Middle East region. Inequity in water use worldwide was highlighted as a key source of tensions, and the need to strike a balance between different countries' approach to water use and conservation was noted. Although future conflicts loom, including unarmed disputes or clashes at the subnational level, water may be used effectively as a means of cooperation as well. Regional approaches to improve water security are needed, as well as comprehensive national efforts to harvest rainwater, develop desalination programs, and recycle water.

Supply, access, and demand all are issues that need to be solved for food security. Genetically-modified foods are not uniformly accepted by states, which causes problems for effective trade and food aid delivery around the world. Pugwash can make a useful contribution by making connections

between food security and conflict, for example by emphasizing that food should not be used for political coercion. However, in order to effectively raise awareness and identify emerging threats, more expertise within Pugwash is required as food security is a relatively new issue for the organization. Promoting access to the necessary technologies for developing countries can help them mitigate food, health and water security risks.

Conclusion

Pugwash has a successful history of making significant contributions on human security matters. A series of workshops organized by the South Africa chapter of Pugwash has broadened understanding of HIV/AIDS across nationalities and disciplines. The group's work assisted a research investigation that showed no correlation between low selenium intake and the occurrence of HIV/AIDS. In addition, the series has spurred a new project, now underway, to address gender issues endemic to the spread of HIV/AIDS. Another successful Pugwash series on intervention and sovereignty addressed the responsibility of governments and the international community to protect the human rights of

vulnerable populations. Pugwash should continue the study group on human security to incorporate the previous series' themes of intervention and sovereignty in light of the 2005 United Nations doctrine on the "responsibility to protect."

Human security issues require Pugwash's continued attention to identify emerging threats and potential solutions in these areas outside of the traditional security sphere. While this year the group focused on health, food and water issues, many other human security concerns can be addressed using Pugwash's broad and interdisciplinary approach. For future Pugwash conferences, we recommend that this working group's title and mission both reflect the key human security issues at play so that the group's work may be focused on useful, interdisciplinary dialogue. The group's call for papers should include topical issues and policy developments in human security, and the agenda should be shaped well in advance so that contributions from Pugwash members may be interlinked more easily. In this way, Pugwash's work will continue to demonstrate our commitment to address all aspects of global security.



Cairo Conference Participants.

Participants

Dr. Sadek **Abdelaal**, Founder and Chairman, PeaceDiatrics Society, Cairo, **Egypt**; Pediatrician, Cairo University, Children's Hospital

Gen. (ret.) Mansour **Abu Rashid**, Chairman, Amman Center for Peace and Development, Amman, Jordan

Amb. (ret.) Ochieng **Adala**, Member, Pugwash Council; Senior Program Officer, Africa Peace Forum (APFO), Nairobi, Kenya

Amb. Wa'el N. **Al-Assad**, Director, Disarmament & Multilateral Relations Department, League of Arab States, Cairo, **Egypt**

Dr. Adel Mohamed **Ali**, Lecturer in Nuclear Law and Nuclear Non-Proliferation, Nuclear Law and Nuclear Regulations Dept., National Center for Nuclear Safety and Radiological Control, Atomic Energy Authority of **Egypt**, Cairo

Mr. Mishal **Al-Kuwari**, Secretary to the Assistant Foreign Minister H.E. Mr. Mohamed Al-Rumaihi, **Oatar**

H.E. Mr. Mohammed **Al-Rumaihi**, Assistant Foreign Minister for Follow-up Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Doha, **Qatar**

Dr. Ibrahim **Bahr Alolom**, former Minister of Oil, Baghdad, **Iraq**

Dr. Athem **Alsabti**, Professor of Physics and Astronomy at the University of London Observatory / University College London; International Relations Officer for the **Iraqi** Academy of Science

Amb. Mohammad Hamid **Ansari**, Chairperson, National Commission for Minorities, New Delhi, **India**; Chairman, Working Group I of Prime Minister of India's Round Table on Jammu and Kashmir

Prof. Gabriel **Baramki**, Consultant to the **Palestinian** Ministry of Higher Education, Ramallah; President, Palestinian Council for Justice and Peace

Mrs. Haifa' **Baramki**, Freelance Consultant in Education & Management, Ramallah, **Palestine**; President of the

Participants continued

YWCA Ramallah Branch; Chairperson of the Board of Trustees of PANORAMA (Palestinian Center for the Dissemination of Democracy & Community Development)

Dr. Kayhan **Barzegar**, Assistant Professor of International Relations, Islamic Azad University (IAU), Science and Research Campus; Editor-in-chief, Journal of Law and Politics; Senior Research Fellow, Center for Scientific Research and Middle East Strategic Studies, Tehran;

Mr. Omar **Bashir** Mohamed, National Director, Somali Studies Center (SSC), Mogadishu, Somalia; and Team Leader, Center for Peacemaking and Conflict Studies, **Somalia**

Amb. Sergey **Batsanov**, Director, Geneva Office of International Pugwash; Member, Pugwash CBW Steering Committee; Senior Consultant, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF)

Dr. Jeffrey **Boutwell**, Executive Director, Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, Washington, DC, **USA**; Member, Pugwash Council

Dr. Adele **Buckley**, Chair, Canadian Pugwash Group; Vice President, Technology & Research, Ontario Centre for Environmental Technology Advancement (OCETA), Toronto, Ontario, **Canada**

Prof. Francesco **Calogero**, Member, Pugwash Council; Professor of Theoretical Physics, University of Rome "La Sapienza", Rome, **Italy**

Col. (ret.) Pierre **Canonne**, Member, Pugwash Council [formerly: Senior Lecturer, Disarmament and Arms Control, Univ. Marne-la-Vallés/Paris, **France**

Dr. Thomas B. **Cochran**, Director, Nuclear Program, Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC), Washington, DC, **USA**

Prof. Paolo **Cotta-Ramusino**, Secretary-General, Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs; Member,

Pugwash Executive Committee; Professor of Mathematical Physics, University of Milan, **Italy**

Dr. Parvin **Dadandish**, Researcher and Lecturer, International Relations University, Tehran, **Iran**

Ms. Merav **Datan**, Political Advisor, Mediterranean and Middle East, Greenpeace International

Ms. Nicola **Davies**, Peace & Disarmament Campaign Coordinator, Greenpeace International

Prof. Nola **Dippenaar**, Health Consultant (Health Insight), Pretoria, **South Africa**

Prof. Lynn **Eden**, Member, Pugwash Council; Associate Director for Research/Senior Research Scholar, Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC), Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies (FSI), Stanford University, Stanford, California; **USA**, Co-Chair U.S. Pugwash Group

Prof. Hassan El- **Hayawan**, Professor of Business Administration, Faculty of Commerce, Ain- Shams University, Cairo, **Egypt**; Board Member, Pugwash Egypt; Director, Marketing and Business Development, IT Ventures

Amb. Abdel Raouf El-**Reedy**, Cairo, **Egypt**

Dr. Amany El-**Taweel**, Senior Expert, Al-Ahram, Cairo, **Egypt**

Prof. Wimal **Epasinghe**, Advisor to the President of Sri Lanka on Scientific Affairs, Colombo, **Sri Lanka**

Prof. Emeritus. Yair **Evron**, Tel-Aviv University (TAU), **Israel**

Maj. General (Ret) Dr. Esmat **Ezz**, former Member, Pugwash Council; retired Professor, Military Medical Academy, Cairo, **Egypt**; and formerly: Director, Scientific Research Branch, Egyptian Armed Forces; Director, Technological Promotion System, Giza

Dr. Inas **Ezz**, Lecturer on Information Systems & Computing, Sadat Academy for Management Sciences, Cairo, **Egypt**; Visiting Research Fellow, Department of

Information Systems & Computing, Brunel University, Uxbridge Middlesex, **UK**

Dr. Nihal **Fahmy**, Adjunct Professor, American University in Cairo, **Egypt**

H.E. Mr. Abdulla **Fakhroo**, Minister Plen., Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Doha, **Qatar**

Mr. Mirwaiz Omar **Farooq**, Chair, All Parties Hurriet Conference (APHC), Srinagar, Jammu & Kashmir, **India**

Mrs. Maha **Fattah-Hassan**, Writer & Analyst, and Senior Columnist & Writer, Akhbar el Yom Newspapers, Cairo, **Egypt**; Member, Council on Foreign Relations

Dr. Eric T. **Ferguson**, Secretary of Pugwash **Netherlands**; Consultant on Energy and Development, MacFergus bv, Zeist, **Netherlands**

Prof. John **Finney**, Professor of Physics, Dept. of Physics and Astronomy, University College London, **UK**

Prof. Bastiaan (Bas) **de Gaay Fortman**, Chair in Political Economy of Human Rights, Faculty of Law, Utrecht University, Monsignor Willy Onclin Professor of Comparative Canon Law, Catholic University Louvain, and Emeritus Professor of Political Economy, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, **Netherlands**, **The Netherlands**

Prof. Georg **Frerks**, Professor of Conflict Prevention and Conflict Management, Centre for Conflict Studies, Utrecht University, **The Netherlands**; Professor of Disaster Studies, Wageningen University; Chairman, Pugwash **Nederland**

Ms. Claire **Galez**, Director, Centre for South Asian Studies (CSAS), Geneva, Switzerland; Research Associate, Centre for Asian Studies (Geneva University—GIIS/GIDS)

Prof. Galia **Golan-Gild PhD**, Professor of Government, Interdisciplinary Center (IDC), Herzliya, **Israel**; Professor Emerita, Department of Political Science, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Participants continued

Prof. Dr. rer. pol. **Tim Guldemann**, on leave from the Swiss Foreign Ministry, teaching at the University of Frankfurt, Germany, formerly: Swiss Ambassador in Tehran (1999-2004); Head of the OSCE Mission in Croatia, Ambassador (1997-99); Head of the OSCE Assistance Group in Chechnya, Ambassador (1996-97)

Amb. **Ahmed Haggag**, Secretary General of Africa Society, Cairo, **Egypt**; National Coordinator of Capacity Building in Human Rights (with the UNDP); Member: Egyptian National Council on Human Rights, Institute of African Studies, Cairo University, African Governance Institute, Dakar, Senegal; Advisor to the President of the Union of African Journalists

Prof. **Karen Hallberg**, Member, Pugwash Council; Professor of Physics, Balseiro Institute, Bariloche, **Argentina**; Research Fellow, National Council of Science and Technology, Centro Atomico Bariloche

Dr. **Tom Børsen Hansen**, External Lecturer, Center for the Philosophy of Nature and Science Studies, University of Copenhagen, **Denmark**; Member, Executive Committee, International Network of Engineers and Scientists for Global Responsibility (INES)

Dr. **David Harries**, Executive Director, Master of Arts Programme in Security and Defence Management and Policy, Royal Military College of **Canada**,

Mrs. **Anissa Hassouna**, Board Member & Treasurer, Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs (ECFA), Cairo, **Egypt**; Assistant General Manager, Misr Iran Development Bank; Treasurer, The Egyptian Pugwash Society for Science and International Affairs (under establishment)

Prof. **Robert Hinde**, former Royal Society Research Professor (now retired) [also formerly: Master, St. John's College, Cambridge, **UK**; Hon. Director, Medical Research Council (MRC) Unit on the Development & Integration of Behavior]

Prof. **Pervez Hoodbhoy**, Member, Pugwash Council; Professor of Nuclear Physics, Department of Physics, Quaid-e-

Azam University, Islamabad, **Pakistan**; Chairman of Mashal Books; independent documentary filmmaker for popularizing science in Pakistan; activist for peace and social reform; Member of Permanent Monitoring Panel on Terrorism of the World Federation of Scientists

Mr. **Paul Horsman**, Peaceful Energy Campaign Co-ordinator, Rainbow Warrior Middle East Project, Greenpeace International, Amsterdam, **Netherlands**

Mr. **Hou Hongyu**, Chinese People's Association for Peace and Disarmament (CPAPD), Beijing, **China**

Ahmed Ibrahim, Head of Defense and Security Division in the African Union (AU)

Mr. **Happymon Jacob**, Lecturer, Department of Strategic & Regional Studies, University of Jammu, J&K, **India**

Dr. **Rebecca E. Johnson**, Executive Director, The Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy, London, **UK**

Mr. **Jon Yong Jin**, Korean National Peace Committee (KNPC), Pyongyang City, **DPR Korea**

Dr. **Venance Journé**, Researcher, National Scientific Research Council (CNRS), Paris, **France**

Dr. **Riad Kajwaji**, Chief Executive Office, Institute for Near East & Gulf Military Analysis (INEGMA), Dubai, **UAE**

Gen. **Jehangir Karamat**, recently retired Ambassador of **Pakistan** to the United States; Member Advisory Council, Institute of Public Policy, Beaconhouse National University; Member, Board of Governors, Islamabad Institute of Policy Research

Ms. **Salome Katia**, Executive Secretary, The Great Lakes Parliamentary Forum on Peace—AMANI Forum, Nairobi, **Kenya**; Organizing Secretary, Women Educational Researchers of Kenya; Ph.D Candidate, University of South Africa

Dr. **Tadahiro Katsuta**, Researcher, Graduate Schools for Law and Politics, The University of Tokyo, **Japan**

Dr. **Ayman Khalil**, Center for Research on Arms Control and Security (CRACS), Amman, **Jordan**

Mr. **Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan**, Supreme-Head of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference; Ex-President/Prime Minister of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, **Pakistan**

Dr. **Mustafa Kibaroglu**, Associate Professor (non-proliferation, arms control & disarmament matters), Bilkent University, International Relations Department, Bilkent, Ankara, **Turkey**

Kim Il-Bong, Secretary-General, Korean National Peace Committee (KNPC), Pyongyang City, **DPR Korea**

Prof. **Yoshiko Kurita**, Professor of Middle Eastern History, Department of History, Faculty of Letters, Chiba University, **Japan**

Dr. **Emily Landau**, The Jaffee Center for Security Studies, Tel Aviv, **Israel**

Dr. **Francesco Lenci**, National Research Council (CNR) Research Director, Pisa, **Italy**; President-Elect (2003-05) and, starting September 2005, President of the European Society for Photobiology; Member (Elected), CNR General Scientific Council

Mr. **Li Guofu**, Senior Research Fellow, Director of Division for South Asia, Middle East and African Studies, China Institute of International Studies (CIIS), Beijing, **China**

Mr. **Sverre Lodgaard**, Director, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), Oslo, **Norway**

Mr. **Sajad Gani Lone**, Chairman, Jammu & Kashmir Peoples Conference, **Srinagar, J&K**

Prof. **Saideh Lotfian**, Member, Pugwash Council; Associate Professor of Political Science, and Associate Dean for Research, Faculty of Law and Political Science, University of Tehran, **Iran**

Dr. **Dmitry Makarov**, Executive Director, International Center for Strategic and Political Studies, Moscow, **Russia**

Participants continued

Dr. Riad **Malki**, Director General, Panorama, The Palestinian Center for the Dissemination of Democracy and Community Development, Ramallah, West Bank, **Palestine**

Amb .Miguel **Marin-Bosch**, Director, Mexico's Diplomatic Academy, Mexico D.F.; Member, Pugwash Council

Lt.-Gen. (ret.) Talat **Masood**, Independent Columnist, Commentator and Analyst, Islamabad, **Pakistan**

Prof. Jiri **Matousek**, Professor of Toxicology, Masaryk University Brno, Faculty of Science, EU Research Centre of Excellence for Environmental Chemistry and Ecotoxicology, Brno, **Czech Republic**

Prof. Amitabh **Mattoo**, Vice Chancellor, University of Jammu, Jammu, J&K, **India**

Prof. Alan H. **McGowan**, Chair, Science, Technology and Society Program, Eugene Lang College, New School University, New York, NY, **USA**; Chair (voluntary position), Student Pugwash **USA**

Acad. Jorma K. **Miettinen**, Academician and Emeritus Professor of Radiochemistry, University of Helsinki, **Finland**; Emeritus Professor of Military Science, Institute of Military Science; President, Finnish Pugwash Group

Dr. Steven **Miller**, Director, International Security Program, Center for Science & International Affairs (CSIA), Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, **USA**

Prof. Ramaranka Anderson **Mogotlane**, Vice Rector/Deputy Vice Chancellor, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, **South Africa**

Prof. Tim **Morrison**, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago, IL, **USA**

Amb. Abdel Rahman **Moussa**, Consultant to the Minister for International Cooperation, Cairo, **Egypt**

Dr. Robert **Mtonga**, Public Medical Practitioner & Peace Activist, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), Lusaka, **Zambia**

Hon. Mehbooba **Mufti**, Member of Parliament and President, Jammu and Kashmir Peoples Democratic Party

Prof. Marie **Muller**, Chair of the Pugwash Council; Dean, Faculty of Humanities, University of Pretoria, **South Africa**

Prof. Giuseppe **Nardulli**, Professor of Theoretical Physics, University of Bari, **Italy**

Ms. Carol **Naughton**, Coordinator WMD Awareness Programme (WMD AP), London, **UK**

Dr. Götz **Neuneck**, Physicist, and Member, Pugwash Council; Head of the "Interdisciplinary Research Group Disarmament, Arms Control and New Technologies", Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy (IFSH), Hamburg, **Germany**

Prof. **Nguyen Van Dao**, Chairman of the Scientific & Training Council, Vietnam National University, Hanoi, **Vietnam**

Dr. Alexander **Nikitin**, Member, Pugwash Council; Director, Center for Political and International Studies (CPIS), Moscow, **Russia**

Mr. Niu Qiang, Secretary General, Chinese People's Association for Peace and Disarmament (CPAPD), Beijing, **China**

Muhammad M. **Parray**, Chief Spokesperson of the Pradesh Congress Committee, **Jammu and Kashmir**,

Prof. Ashok **Parthasarathi**, Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, **India**; Member, Governing Board, The South Centre, Geneva

Mr. Matthias **Peitz**, Political Officer, European Commission Delegation to the State of Israel [formerly: Project Officer, Bertelsmann Foundation

Dr Arthur **Petersen**, Senior Policy Analyst and Director, Methodology & Modeling Program, Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency (MNP), Bilthoven, **The Netherlands**

Prof. Alan **Pisano**, Dept. of Engineering, Boston University, Massachusetts, **USA**

Prof. Sergei **Plekhanov**, Associate Professor, York University, Toronto, Ontario, **Canada**

Dr. Ron **Pundak**, Director-General, The Peres Center for Peace, Tel Aviv, **Israel**

Prof. Ramamurti **Rajaraman**, Emeritus Professor of Theoretical Physics, School of Physical Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, **India**

Mr. Ri Kang Jin, Korean National Peace Committee (KNPC), Pyongyang City, **DPR Korea**

Senator Douglas **Roche**, O.C., Member, Pugwash Council; Chairman, Middle Powers Initiative; Author, Lecturer; Member of the Senate of **Canada**

Mr. Roger **Roffey**, Research Director, Swedish Defence Research Agency (FOI), Stockholm; Member of the Board, Swedish Pugwash Group

Dr. Erzsébet N. **Rózsa**, Senior Researcher, Teleki Institute Center for Foreign Policy Studies, Budapest, **Hungary**; Professor at the Kodolányi János University College

Ms. Christine **Rovner**, Executive Director, Student Pugwash **USA**, Washington, DC

Ms. Nihal **Saad**, Senior Political Correspondent and Director of Political Programs, Nile TV Int'l, Cairo, **Egypt**

Mr. Nasser **Saghafi-Ameri**, Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy and International Relations Department (FPIRD), Center for Strategic Research, Tehran, **Iran**

Dr. Abdel Monem **Said**, Director, Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies (ACPSS), Al-Ahram Foundation, Cairo, **Egypt**

Maj.-Gen. (ret.) Dr. Mohamed Kadry **Said**, Member, Pugwash Council; Head of Military Studies Unit and Technology Advisor, Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, Al-Ahram Foundation, Cairo, **Egypt**

Prof. Mostafa-Elwi **Saif**, Professor of Political Science, Cairo University, Giza, **Egypt**

Participants continued



Panel Discussion: Peace Process in Kashmir.

Dr. Walter Scheuer, now retired [formerly: Senior Project Manager (1989-93), Invap S.E. (a government-owned, advanced technology company); Senior Researcher/Head of Department (1953-1989), **Argentine** Atomic Energy Commission]

Amb. Renato Carlos Sersale di Cerisano, Ambassador of the **Argentine** Republic to South Africa; Non-resident Ambassador to Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe and non-resident Ambassador-designate to Malawi, Mauritius and Mozambique (since March 2006) [formerly: Director of International Security, Nuclear and Space Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs]

Amb. Mohamed Shaker, Vice Chairman, **Egyptian** Council for Foreign Affairs (ECFA), Cairo, Egypt

Dr. El Sayed Shalaby, former Ambassador and currently Executive Director, **Egyptian** Council For Foreign Affairs (ECFA), Cairo, Egypt

Dr. Rifat Shannak, Amman, Jordan

Mr. Samir Shawa, Chairman, Alhani Cultural Foundation, Gaza City, **Palestine**

Mr. Henry Siegman, U.S./Middle East Project, Inc., New York, NY, **USA**

Dr. Nirmal Singh, BJP Representative, **Jammu**

Prof. Ivo Slaus, Member, Pugwash Council; Director, World Academy for South-east Europe Division; President, **Croatian** Pugwash

Prof. Fernando de Souza Barros, Member, Pugwash Council; Professor Emeritus, Physics Institute, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, **Brazil**;

Baroness Charlotta Sparre, Counsellor, **Swedish** Permanent Representation to the EU, Belgium, Brussels

Dr. Mark Byung-Moon Suh (**Germany/South Korea**), Member, Pugwash Council; Senior Researcher and Korea Coordinator, Free University of Berlin, Germany; President, Korean Pugwash Group

Dr. Olga Sukovic, Freelance Consultant on Security and Disarmament matters [formerly: Consultant, UN Department for Disarmament Affairs, New York; Scientific Adviser, Institute of International Politics and Economics, Belgrade, **Yugoslavia**

H.E. Ambassador Takaya Suto, Director, Center for the Promotion of Disarmament and Non-Proliferation, **Japan** Institute of International Affairs, Tokyo, Japan; Member, Japan-Arab Dialogue Forum

Dr. Tatsujiro Suzuki, Visiting Professor, Graduate School of Public Policy (GRASPP), The University of Tokyo; Senior Research Scientist, Socio-economic Research Center, Central Research Institute of Electric Power Industry (CRIEPI), Tokyo; Co-Founder, Peace Pledge, **Japan**

Prof. M.S. Swaminathan, President, Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs; Chairman, National Commission

on Farmers, Govt. of **India**; Chairman, MS Swaminathan Research Foundation, Chennai

Dr. Giancarlo Tenaglia, voluntary Staff Member, Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, Rome, **Italy**; Member, Italian Pugwash Group [formerly: Safety Engineer, Energy, Environment, & Technological Innovation Research Center (ENEA)]

Dr. Mahmoud Vaezi, Deputy of Foreign Policy Research, Center for Strategic Research, The Expediency Council, Tehran, **Iran** [formerly: Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs]

Prof. László Valki, Professor of International Law, Eötvös University, Budapest, Hungary; Head, NATO Information and Research Center at Eötvös University

Acad. Alexey Vasiliev, **Russian** Academy of Sciences (RAS) Corresponding Member; Director, Institute for African and Arab Studies, RAS; Editor-in-chief, *Asia and Africa Today* monthly magazine; Chief of foreign policy experts under Chairman of Council of Federation (Senate) of the Russian Parliament, Moscow

Mr. Péter Wagner, Research Fellow, NATO Information and Research Centre, Budapest, Hungary; Editor-in-chief, *Kül-Világ* journal [formerly: Ministry of Interior, Department for EU and NATO Coordination]

Prof. Siddiq Wahid, Vice Chancellor, Islamic University, Kashmir; Maharaja Gulab Singh Chair Professor, University of Jammu, Jammu, J&K State, **India**

Ms. Carin Atterling Wedar, Lector, Theological Faculty, University of Gothenburg; Secretary-General, Swedish Initiative for Peace, Security and International Relations (SIPSIR), Stockholm; Member, **Swedish** Pugwash Group

Dr. Detlev Wolter, Vice-President of the First Committee of the UN General Assembly; Political Counsellor, **German** Mission to the UN, New York, NY

Participants continued

Ms. Abeer **Yassin**, Researcher, Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies (ACPSS), Cairo, **Egypt**

Yu Kyong-Il, Secretary, Korean National Peace Committee (KNPC), Pyongyang City, **DPR Korea**

Dr. Nicholas **Zarimpas** (Greece), International Atomic Energy Association (IAEA), Vienna, **Austria**

Amb. Bozorgmehr **Ziaran**, Delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the OPCW, The Hague, The Netherlands, E-mail: ziaran@yahoo.com

Dr. Aharon **Zohar**, Senior Consultant on national planning to the National Planning Administration, and Head of the construction of 11 Bedouin new towns; Consultant, Regional and Environmental Planning, Carmei-Yosef, **Israel**

Dr. Bob van der **Zwaan**, Senior Scientific Researcher, Energy Research Center of the **Netherlands**

**INTERNATIONAL STUDENT /
YOUNG PUGWASH**

Mr. Almotaz **Abadi**, Engineer and Deputy Director, Palestinian Water Authority (PWA), Ramallah, West Bank, **Palestine**, MSc student, Birzeit University

Mr. Peter **Bebawy**, Cairo, **Egypt**

Mr. Adam John **Breasley**, International Network for Bioethics, Culture and Disability, Melbourne, **Australia**; also involved in Beyond Nuclear Initiative and 3CR Community Radio, Melbourne

Mr. László **Csicsmann**, **Hungary**

Ms. Aleksandra **Dzisiów-Szuszczkiewicz** (M.A.), PhD student, Department of Iranian Studies, Warsaw University

Dr. Inas **Ezz**, Lecturer on Information Systems & Computing, Sadat Academy for Management Sciences, Cairo, **Egypt**; Visiting Research Fellow, Department of Information Systems & Computing, Brunel University, Uxbridge Middlesex, **UK**

Dr. Antoinette **Hildering**, Title: Ph.D., LL.M., Director, MeerKeuze/Multiple-Choice, Arnhem, **The Netherlands**

Mr. Karim **Kadry**, Sales & Contracts Supervisor, Egyptian Drilling Company, Cairo, **Egypt**; Head, Egyptian Student Young Pugwash

Mr. Hussein **Karakra**, Head of Reinsurance Dept., Trust International Insurance Company, **Palestine**

Mr. Rian **Leith**, Lecturer in History, Department of Historical and Heritage Studies, Faculty of the Humanities, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, South Africa; Lecturer, Department of Journalism, Tshwane University of Technology; ISYP Board member (African Representative)

Mr. Eli **Lipetz**, Recent Graduate, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, **Canada**

Mr. Kareem **Madkour**, Development Engineer, Mentor Graphics, Cairo, **Egypt**; Msc Student Ain Sham University Faculty of Engineering

Ms. Kate **Marvel**, PhD Candidate, Dept. of Applied Mathematics and Theoretical Physics, Cambridge University, **UK**; Research Scholar, Trinity College Cambridge [formerly: Teaching Assistant and Researcher, African Institute for Mathematical Sciences; Researcher, Smoot Group, Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory]

Dr. Irna van der **Molen**, Senior Lecturer, Dept. Technology and Sustainable Development (T&SD), University of Twente, Enschede, **The Netherlands** [formerly: Researcher / junior consultant, Geoplan International (April 1996- May 1997); Researcher IDEM Consult (November 1993- April 1996)]

Miss Immaculate Dadiso **Motsi**, Assistant Junior Lecturer, University of Pretoria, South Africa; Research Assistant, Center for International Political Studies (CIPS)

Ms. Nermine **Mounir**, Project Coordinator, Dreamers of Tomorrow, Cairo, **Egypt**

Ms. Wakana **Mukai**, Doctorate Student, University of Tokyo Graduate Schools for Law and Politics, **Japan**

Ms. Salma **Nagy**, **Egypt**

Mr. Zohar **Navot**, **Israel**

Mr. Nagappan **Parasuraman**, Asian Board Member, International Student/Young Pugwash, Chennai, **India**; Research Assistant, M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation, Chennai, **India**

Mr. Juan Pablo **Pardo-Guerra**, Researcher, El Colegio de **Mexico** (PRO-CIENTEC); Chair of the Executive Board, International Student/Young Pugwash

Dr. Joeliën **Pretorius**, Lecturer, Department of Political Studies, University of Western Cape, Belville, South Africa

Mr. Noam **Rahmim**, Assistant to CEO, Institute for Counter-Terrorism, Tel-Aviv, **Israel**; TA assistant

Mr. Benjamin **Rusek**, Research Associate, Committee on International Security and Arms Control (CISAC), National Academy of Sciences, Washington, DC, **USA**

Ms. Sebnem **Udum**, **Turkey**

Ms. Ulrike **Wunderle**, PhD student, University of Tübingen, SFB "Kriegserfahrungen", **Germany**

Mr. Moeed **Yusuf**, Consultant, Economic Policy, Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Islamabad, **Pakistan**; Regular columnist (freelance), The Friday Times; Consultant, Asian Development Bank, Innovative Development Strategies, **Pakistan**; Visiting Faculty, Quaid-e-Azam University, **Pakistan**

STAFF

Claudia **Vaughn**, Jean **Egerton**, Sandy **Ionno** **Butcher**

Third Pugwash Workshop on Socio-Economic Inequity in Latin America *In Search of Equity with Development*

San Carlos de Bariloche, Argentina, 26–27 May 2006

Report

By Darío D'Atri and
Walter Scheuer

The Third Regional Workshop “Towards the Solution of Economic Inequity and its Social Consequences in Latin America” was held in San Carlos de Bariloche, Argentina, from May 26 to 28, 2006, within the framework of a Pugwash Study Group. This workshop continued the work begun at the two previous workshops of the same name, held in 2003 and 2004. It covered 7 sessions on the subjects listed in Appendix I at the end of this report.

Like the previous workshops, this one was organized by *Grupo Bariloche para Ciencia y Asuntos Mundiales (Grupo BACyAM)* and held thanks to the generous support of *Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs*, and the following businesses located in Bariloche: Centro del Copiado, Hayland Travel, Aerolíneas Argentinas (Bariloche branch) and Aerolínea LAN Argentina (Bariloche branch). Moreover, the *Subsecretary for Science, Technology and Development of the Ministry for Production of the Province of Rio Negro* has granted a subsidy at present in an advanced stage of implementation.

The workshop was attended by

19 participants, including one Brazilian, one Chilean, one Spaniard with extensive experience in Latin American affairs, one Peruvian, one Venezuelan and 14 Argentines, all specialists in different socio-economic and scientific-technological disciplines. Appendix II at the end of this report provides a mini curriculum vitae for each of them.

The meeting was held *in memoriam* of Joseph Rotblat, Nobel Peace Prize 1995 and co-founder of *Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs*, who died on August 31, 2005. Like thousands of other people around the world, the organizers of this workshop feel that the name Joseph Rotblat is a synonym of dignity, unlimited dedication to the cause of world peace, uncompromising intellectual honesty, lucidity, modesty, leadership, and many other qualities. In his memory, Karen Hallberg, as member of the *BACyAM Group* remarked:

“We are holding this meeting in memoriam of Sir Joseph Rotblat, one of the founders of the Pugwash Conferences and a man of Science and Peace. Jo was born in Warsaw in 1908 and died in London in 2005 after a life fully committed to nuclear disarmament and the social responsibility of science.

The crossroads in his life came up while he was one of the physicists working on the Manhattan Project at Los Alamos (USA). When it was clear

during WWII, that the Germans would not be able to make an atomic bomb, he was the only scientist who decided to quit the project based on moral reasons. On that occasion he said: *I knew a little bit more than other people about what was going on. So I knew that it would begin an arms race and that the hydrogen bomb would come in. And then, for the first time I became worried about the whole future of mankind.*

Since then his life was devoted to raise awareness of the consequences of scientific research and the social implications of technological developments, especially the enormous risk of nuclear weapons.

Together with several of the most prominent scientists of that time, in 1955 he signed the Russell-Einstein Manifesto which was the founding document of the Pugwash Conferences for Science and World Affairs. Its last paragraph reads: *There lies before us, if we choose, continual progress in happiness, knowledge, and wisdom. Shall we, instead, choose death, because we cannot forget our quarrels? We appeal as human beings to human beings: remember your humanity, and forget the rest. If you can do so, the way lies open to a new Paradise; if you cannot, there lies before you the risk of universal death.*

Ever since the first Pugwash conference held in 1957, Jo has been its moral and executive leader, which led

the Nobel Committee to award him, together with the Pugwash Conferences, the 1995 Nobel Peace Prize <for their efforts to diminish the part played by nuclear arms in international politics and, in the long run, to eliminate such arms>.

We hold this workshop in his memory with the conviction that the ideal of a peaceful world can only be achieved if it is based on the principle of equity and justice for all humankind.”

Within the framework of the workshop, the activities carried out for the general public and followed by extensive debate were (i) a round table on “*Prospects of political-economic models in Latin America, in the face of the new center-left forces taking power*”, with the participation of Aldo Ferrer, Jorge Katz, Bernardo Kosacoff, Francisco Sagasti and Beinusz Szmukler and (ii) a meeting on “*The new Latin American political map as from the governments of Chávez, Kirchner, Lula and Morales*”, with former congressman Mario Cafiero and Enrique Vila Planes as speakers. The first of these events was attended by about 140 people, and the second by about 90 people.

Introduction

The following text presents an overview of the issues dealt with during the workshop. The text does not reflect the personal opinions of the authors, but simply presents the issues that were discussed, the different points of view expressed and the proposals made. However, the way it was done and the final product are the exclusive responsibility of the authors. Further information about *Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs*, the Study Group, the



Bariloche meeting participants.

First and Second Regional Workshops, the *Grupo BACyAM* and the papers discussed during the workshop itself, as well as those contributed by people who were invited but unable to attend due to previous commitments, may be viewed at www.bacyam.com.ar.

The Third Regional Pugwash Workshop “*Towards the Solution of Economic Inequity and its Social Consequences in Latin America*” was held with one main objective: to work out a list of concrete proposals to complement the previous stages of diagnosis of the economic, social and institutional situation in Latin America (Regional Pugwash Workshops 1 and 2, held in Bariloche), and to provide viable, valid alternatives and paths towards solutions, in the face of the critical and daily worsening scenario of inequity and deficient income distribution that permeates the region.

The Final Report does not focus too much on the discussions regarding the changes which have occurred

in many Latin American countries between 2002 and 2006, along with major processes

of economic growth. It aims, rather, to offer a compendium of the interpretations and proposals presented by different participants with regard to the core of the debate: how to tackle the problem of inequity.

Finally, a list of the suggested solutions is given. These are recipes which, far from embodying a complete strategy for tackling inequity, aim to provide examples of possible actions that could be taken by governments, political parties, NGOs and other social and institutional organizations.

1. The blame and the ills

The fact that the three discussion workshops on socio-economic inequity in Latin America organized by *Grupo BACyAM* coincided historically with the downfall of the *Washington Consensus* and the neoliberal policies applied in the region during the 1990s, focused the debates

on the profound social and economic change brought on during democratic times by the consolidation of unbalanced, unfair patterns of wealth distribution.

The categorical diagnosis that was the outcome of the two previously held workshops is already known: during the 1990s, in most of the countries of the region arose a situation characterized by the failure of the ideal of “wealth trickling down”; too much confidence in the disciplinary role of the market; slower growth, with fiscal crisis and increasing external deficit; a drop in productive investment; weakening of the innovation system (foreign outsourcing or elimination of the capacity for generating technology at various levels); funding cuts and privatization of health and education; labour reforms that weakened the relations between capital and work in favor of capital; dismantling of the State; consolidation of oligopolic economies; disinvestment in infrastructure and national financial systems at the service of the concentration of wealth.

At the same time, the analysis carried out during the discussions held in Bariloche included a special point of attention regarding the “institutional problem”, i.e. the political and juridical framework in which it was possible to consolidate “pro-market reforms”, which currently, in some countries of the region, are undergoing thorough modifications whereas, in most of them, partial modifications which imply an intent by the government to moderate the mandates coming from the market are being implemented. In this regard it was pointed out that that institutional framework, defined largely by processes which concentrate decision-taking in the Executive Powers,

or even by direct, discretionary control of the Legislative and Judicial Powers, is essential in explaining why processes of concentration and socio-economic inequity which were formerly unthinkable have developed in such a short span of time, with most of them becoming structural.

The rapid concentration of wealth, it was said, came hand in hand with the access to power during the 90s of governments that were easily influenced by the doctrines summed up by the *Washington Consensus*. However, for this to happen, there had to be changes in the historical workings of the Latin American democracies, with an imbalance of power in favor of the executive organs and the uncritical support of the Legislative and Judicial Powers, functional to the neo-liberal or neo-conservative reforms.

Nevertheless, the participants in the latest meeting in Bariloche made a clear distinction between the time of the outcome of the nineties’ crisis, back in 2001 and 2002, and the current geopolitical situation in the major Latin American countries. Most of them are undergoing ambiguous political processes, although in most cases they include, with varying intensity, some attempts to revert the main economic, juridical and political lines that were consolidated during the nineties.

One of the key issues debated was the association between governability and viability and fiscal balance. During the 90s, the loss of governability was directly associated to the fiscal crisis. In contrast, for the last 3 or 4 years, the opposite has happened—there has been an increase in governability along with the recovery of economic command as a result of a healthy fiscal situation.

Far from a clear optimistic view, but certainly not as pessimistically as reflected by the Final Report on the First Workshop (Bariloche 2003), the participants in the Third Workshop placed most of the blame or responsibility on the governments of the region, as to smoothing the trend of blaming only the *Washington Consensus* and external conditioning for all the ills affecting Latin America.

2. New diagnosis—reserved and hopeful

As stated above, the debates in the framework of the Third Pugwash Regional Workshop focused on producing a list of recommendations that could be observed by governments and private institutions. This list arose from the prior analysis of current macroeconomic contexts of the Latin American economies. These economies show a clear trend towards primary production, in accordance with biased investments, which are low anyway, aimed at limiting Latin America to the role of provider of raw materials.

During the analysis, when the macroeconomic factors conditioning inequity were broken down, the group focused its attention on Argentina. This may have been partly due to the fact that the meeting was being held in Argentina, but the main reason was Argentina’s sorry record of increasing inequity since the mid-70s. It was pointed out that the difference between the wealthiest 10% of the population and the poorest 10% increased from 12 times in 1974 to 47 times in 2001 and 31 times in May 2006. It was stressed that this figure—which is but one of the scores of indicators outlining the complex scenario risen as a consequence of the inequitable distribution

of wealth—is scandalous to any external observer of social reality in Latin America. However, it was stated that this is merely a sample of the immediate, direct consequences of the mid-70s decision to abandon the incipient “welfare state” models and replace them with economic and institutional formats characterized by the State not taking charge of responsibilities, unrestricted trade liberalization and lack of long-term policies for economic growth accompanied by equitable development.

Moreover, it is not surprising that participants felt the need to do something about the huge black hole of social injustice, consolidated from the mid-70s, when each State, in its own time and following different patterns, entered into a process of continuous dismantlement, leaving aside its role in the economy, as well as its duty of ruling among sectors, and ignoring the most basic forms of social support and organization. Participants consequently included suggestions focusing explicitly on this issue.

Now, five years after the beginning of the end of the most controversial phase of the *Washington Consensus*, the professionals at the meeting in Bariloche found most of the main countries in Latin America and the Caribbean having populist center-left governments. To varying degrees, these governments seem to have common axes in policies that attempt to re-found the presence of the State by establishing criteria to moderate or assuage the harshest effects of the rule of market laws. Nevertheless, it was noted, these attempts are usually permeated with authoritarian decision-taking which, encouraged by the present fiscal circumstances of plentiful funding, aim more at consolidating clientelistic

political models, which tend to repeat patterns of inequality and concentration of power, rather than fight against them. In practice, it was said, governments like those of Brazil, Argentina or Venezuela, which used very different models for overcoming the crisis and putting an end to the neo-liberalism of the 1990s, have allocated a large part of the surplus resources to setting up programs of social welfare for the millions of inhabitants who live below the poverty and indigence lines, but they have advanced very little in implementing strategies for the sustained development of their economies.

The Pugwash regional workshops organized by *Grupo BACyAM* noted a situation that implies a substantial change in the position of these governments compared to what happened up to the seventies. The macroeconomic balance promoted by the *Washington Consensus* as the philosopher’s stone of the new economy, but which is in fact a rule of thumb in the oldest of economy books, is a prior condition which even the most populist or leftwing of current governments no longer deny.

Moreover, it was noted that fortunately, there is currently an awareness of the existence of a central problem consisting in the inefficiency of resource allocation. During the 90s in Latin America, public expenditure rose by 40%, in spite of which poverty and inequality increased. This points to the overbearing need for reform both of the State and of civil institutions, in order to enable more efficient resource allocation.

In addition, it was highlighted that because it is not realistic to think of models for the wealth distribution without macroeconomic sustainability, Latin America should try to work

out the answer to whether or not its comfortable macro situation is a bubble, and consequently, whether to keep current surplus as anti-cyclic funds, or to use it to generate more fair socio-economic conditions, or whether to seek a reasonable balance between the two alternatives. In this regard, it was pointed out that if over the next three or four years, Latin America does not take advantage of its current greater power of negotiation and movement provided by its comfortable macroeconomic situation, it runs the risk of losing the chance to launch programs for technological and scientific development, educational reform, tax reform, and reform of the relations with foreign investors.

From a strategic standpoint, in political terms, it was said that growth is unsustainable without a rapid process of redistributive investment to attend to the urgent needs of large sectors of society that do not have time to wait for processes of economic growth to become consolidated. Social inclusion is a tool for sustaining development and growth.

3. A window of opportunities

Beyond a certain pessimistic vision issuing from the diagnosis regarding the extent to which indicators of socio-economic inequity in Latin America have worsened, the overall tone of the debates at the Third Pugwash Regional Workshop was one of expectation, as a result of what its participants called a “window of opportunities” at which the region stands.

There are unprecedented situations of fiscal surplus due to increasing prices of raw materials, complemented by national contexts in which lessons have been learnt from the

financial crises of the 90s regarding the risks of economies being too open to financial capital and with a too overvalued currency.

At the same time, the current prevalent social consensus in Latin America, which rejects the negative social and economic changes caused by the sudden withdrawal of the State, creates a political atmosphere that encourages governors to take increasingly pragmatic decisions. This has a twofold consequence, which has both a positive and a negative side. On the one hand, Latin American governors seem to be more independent than they were 10 years ago regarding the policies inspired by orders from the International Monetary Fund, for example. On the other hand, decision-taking has become more markedly centered on the Executive Powers, leaving aside consensus and the role of political opposition.

The sum of these factors seems to create a potential scenario for change and transformation, even if it requires starting up a process of political consensus, which is not one of the strong points of many of the populist, center-left governments.

At the same time, taken as a whole, the governments in the region are acting in response to urgent situations, which seem to hide a dangerous inclination to consider the current international economic boom as a permanent scenario. At the Bariloche meeting, a warning was issued regarding the risks involved for Latin America in the event of an abrupt change of these circumstances (high commodity prices and interest rates that are still low), which could give rise to a crisis like the one that occurred in Latin America in 1982.

From a structural standpoint,

most governments have not yet learned to consider what might happen in the long term. Although they are aware of the changes that are beginning to become consolidated in the productive structures of their national economies, they do little or nothing to direct those transformations towards sustainable growth with equitable development.

4. Proposals for action against inequity suggested at the Third Pugwash Regional Workshop

In accordance with its agreed upon agenda, the debates at the Third Workshop produced an extensive set of proposals regarding the economic, social, institutional, and juridical profile of Latin America. The suggestions are based on a realistic view of the possibility of putting them into practice. Although some of them may sound as idealistic, they aim to generate viable structural changes which, let us acknowledge, are only beginning to arise in the minds of idealists.

The following is a summary of those proposals:

- To adopt a criterion of “macro-economy for equitable development”, in contrast to a “macro-economy for stability and for paying the foreign debt”, as a starting point for developing socio-economic programs which, within a frame of sustainable macro balance, aim at redistributing income and achieving social equity.
- To re-establish the essential role of the State as coordinator of this model of social organization, as provider of public goods and as regulator of fair, democratic labor and labor union relations, since without a “coordinating State” the preceding proposal is not feasible: allocating resources and determin-

ing priorities cannot be left in the hands of the market.

- To implement the development of socio-economic programs within a framework of international insertion, giving priority to fair, inclusive local growth, and avoiding the use of internationally successful models without first carefully adapting them to the range of local conditions.
- To apply juridical principles of equity and proportionality, particularly when implementing the necessary tax reforms, in order to make the tax collecting systems more efficient and fairer. This should include as a priority the introduction of both a tax on financial income and a system for controlling capital movement.
- To drop the erroneous assumption that social and economic inequity can be countered by means of policies that promote a culture of assistentialism, since this type of policy degrades the dignity of the people and keeps them in a permanent “under age” situation in their standing as citizens. On the contrary, to generate policies addressed to extensively include popular sectors of Latin American society, enabling them to take active part in designing programs, projects, productive units and mechanisms aimed at helping them overcome their situations of social exclusion.
- To encourage governments to promote processes for regional and international insertion, particularly Mercosur and the South American Union, based on conditions and strategies to guarantee fair trade among countries, the support and/or developing of programs for sustainable economic growth and

the care of the environment. In particular, to prioritize the development of internal potentials, whether national or Latin American (aiming at “being self-sufficient”).

- To speed up the elimination of mechanisms that condition national and regional policies through international financial organizations and globalized business enterprises, as well as to prevent the appearance or consolidation of new conditioning factors related to patents, trade, technology transfer and others.
- To denounce bilateral agreements that the USA wants different countries in the region to sign as a short-cut due to the failure of FTAA, because these agreements work against the balanced development of the region and hinder or ultimately block the horizontal relations between countries in the region.
- To allocate a large proportion of the greater resources obtained through tax reform to financing equitable redistribution programs. These programs should consider changing aberrant aspects of tax structures and of costs of services, which both benefit members of higher and middle social levels, to the disadvantage of the poorer ones.
- To recreate the role of the State to generate conditions that promote domestic savings, which, in Argentina, give rise to 90 % of capital accumulation (compared to 10 % generated from foreign investments). This would enable credit to be provided to SMEs and companies that are unable to access private financing systems, including credit management at subsidized rates for developing productive units.

- To set as targets for the economic programs, models of international insertion aiming at drastically increasing exportations per inhabitant. This implies: to redesign production models; to establish value chains; etc., and, in particular, to retrieve local cultural values in order to increase the basis of the exporting potential of Latin American nations; to introduce State policies aiming at increasing the added value of exports; and to improve and/or to develop public institutions appropriate for the establishment of a unified Latin American exporting system.
- To create the conditions of systemic competitiveness to generate the framework for a growth strategy.
- To promote the knowledge about the root and logic of foreign debts as a conditioning factor for Latin American societies, because there is a vested interest in hiding this knowledge from society.
- To use the juridical aspects of the foreign debt as the most efficient political tool for mobilization and struggle in order to eliminate foreign debt, which conditions socio-economic development in Latin America.
- To include the issue of foreign debts as a subject at all public universities in the region.
- To develop social plans to enable access to minimum packages of “meritorious goods and services”, which are a universal priority, such as potable water, education, electricity, justice, health, urban sanitation, safety and housing. Meritorious goods and services cannot be managed using market criteria if there is to be social equity.
- To introduce in the debate on social and economic inequity in Latin

America the situation of native peoples, both regarding the state of exclusion they live in and because of the different viewpoints they have for tackling issues such as that of social equity. In terms of sustainable development, it is essential to appreciate the excellent standpoints that most native peoples have for overcoming issues such as environmental disputes, thanks to their different understanding of the use of natural resources, private property, cooperative work, etc.

- To encourage greater compliance with the division of powers, in order to moderate extreme presidentialism by increasing the role of the Legislative and Judicial Powers and reducing the weight of emergency decrees or their equivalents.
- To recognize that the verticalism of the Executive Powers in most of Latin American countries, and the subordination of the Legislative and Judicial Powers, are caused mainly by the repetition, within their sphere of influence, of power structures intrinsic to the traditional patterns of political parties. These traditional patterns should be thoroughly improved by eliminating “blanket” ballots, redefining the way in which parties are funded, introducing mechanisms for effective citizen participation in defining each party’s government program, etc.
- To devise measures to ensure that judges at every instance have, at the highest level that can be demanded for their position, appropriate qualifications, honesty, sensitiveness to social issues, knowledge about the socio-economic, cultural and political situation of the area in which they act, as well as a strong, proven identification with national legisla-

tion and international agreements on human rights.

- To integrate the organs in charge of selecting judges and the external control of the Judicial Power in such a way as to prevent them from being dominated by political or economic power or by the judicial corporation.
- To set up a regional Latin American judicial institution, perhaps as successor of the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights, in order to enable a greater, speedier instrumentation of justice.
- To suppress the administrative instance in the Organization of American States for regional judicial procedures, in order to facilitate and accelerate the access of cases to the Inter-American Court.
- To promote better quality in the communication generated by governments regarding the actions of the different powers, and to implement measures to prevent the means by which those actions are made known from becoming a prize and punishment mechanism for the media, according to their political and ideological profile.
- To modify, in countries where it might be necessary, property laws governing the media, in order to revert and/or prevent media concentration and the ultimate subordination of information in media in the less developed regions.
- To foster democratic access to media ownership (cooperatives, radio stations and other means of community communication, etc.).
- To radically improve the quality of high schools in Latin American countries, in order to break the current vicious circle, in which only the high classes who are able to pay for good private high schools are

able to gain access to the best universities, which are public.

- To make political, economic and social ruling elites realize that there is a direct relationship between local scientific and technological knowledge and the socio-economic development of nations.
- To rise to the status of State policy, all those policies aimed at promoting scientific and technological research in Latin American countries, in order to prevent successive governments from changing them. In particular, to encourage large international private companies to transfer their investments in research and development from their headquarters to the Latin American branches, in order to take advantage of the lower costs and at the same time, encourage local scientific and technological growth.
- To encourage the creation of technical and university courses connected to productive processes, such as technical careers, engineering and similar curricula.
- To set up patronage schemes for scientific and technological development, similar to those already existing for cultural activities, based on tax benefits for those who make contributions.
- To plan the creation and gradual development of an integrated Latin American system for science, technology and innovation in order to, without diminishing existing or future national systems, aim at a high quality level and gradually even out the scientific, technological and innovative capacities among the countries in the region, initially focusing their activities on a few specific fields.

Appendix I: Agenda

Opening session:

- a. *Evolution of the neo-conservative model: crisis of the “Consensus of Washington”*
- b. *Analysis and perspectives of economic models in view of the arrival to power of center-left forces in Latin American countries.*

First session:

Comparative analysis of different economy legislations being applied in developed nations vs. those being applied in Latin America, including international regulations about commerce and patents. Particularly, effects on the scientific and technological fields.

Second session:

Brief diagnosis—with emphasis in the identification of specific factors, negative and positive—regarding some questions of socio economic iniquities in Latin America: present situation in areas of income distribution, unemployment and justice.

Third session:

Concrete and viable proposals aimed at reverting the conditions described above regarding questions of socio economic iniquities in Latin American in areas of income distribution, unemployment and justice.

Fourth session:

Concrete and viable proposals geared to introduce or modify in Latin American countries rules/proceedings/regulations to improve the level of their institutions, particularly the capabilities of their members, the fairness of their procedures and the efficiency in their functions.

Fifth session (a):

Concrete and viable proposals of ways to enhance the adoption or improvement of measures appropriate to reduce levels of corruption and political patronage in Latin America.

Fifth session (b):

Concrete and viable proposals of ways to enhance in Latin America the development of transparent and well informed grass-roots organizations and of communication channels between citizens and government.

Participants

1 - Buch, Tomás—Chemist and technologist. Consultant for a local advanced technology company. Writer on technology related social issues. Author of books and other publications on this and other topics. (Member, BACyAM Group and Pugwash Conferences)
buch@bariloche.com.ar;
tbuch@invap.com.ar

2 - Calvo, Cristina—Economist; specialized in economic sociology, governance and human development. Director, International and Institutional Area, Caritas Argentina. Full Member, Academic Council, “Federal Forum of Teachers and Researchers in Social Economy and Local Development”, Ministries of Social Development and of Economy. Coordinator, Forum “Argentina: Country Strategy within the Framework of Regional Integration and the Globalized World”, Univ. of Buenos Aires and Embassy of Germany. Member, International Network of Experts in Democratic Dialogue (UNDP). Coordinator, Latin American Network of Women, World Conference of Religions for Peace. Representative of Caritas International on subjects for human development, United Nations General Assembly. Professor, Univ. of Buenos Aires.
ccalvo@caritas.org.ar

3 - Campetella, Enzo—Journalist and meteorologist; specialized in national politics and economy and in environmental forecasting. Correspondent in Buenos Aires for printed and radio media in the Argentine provinces, particularly at the National Congress, serving as analyst of Argentine political en socio-economic affairs within the framework of international context. Environmental forecaster for printed and radio media in the Argentine provinces and for companies in different fields, particularly agricultural. Formerly: weather forecaster for the Argentine National Meteorological Service; member of research team on environmental features specific to fruit production in Alto Valle del Río Negro.
efcam@speedy.com.ar

4 - Colomer Viadel, Antonio (Spain)—Lawyer; specialized in trade union affairs and advanced democratic participation. Head, *Constitutional Law Area* and the subjects *Constitutional Law, Political Structures and Political Forms and Public Administration*, Polytechnic University of Valencia. Director, Intercultural Institute for Worker Self-management and Communal Action. Director, Institute of Ibero-America and the Mediterranean. Vice president, World Academy of Science, Technology, Education and Humanities. Other academic positions. Formerly: President, Spanish Council for Ibero-American Studies; Full Professor of *Constitutional Law*, Autonomous University of Madrid; Founder and Vice president, International Association of Constitutional Law (1984-1996). Author of many books and other publications.
ancovia@urb.upv.es

5 - Contrafatto, Haydee Silvia—Lawyer; specialized in public law. Member, Judiciary Power of Neuquén Province. Author of *Exposition of Motives on Habeas Data*, Constitution of Río Negro Province. Delegate, American Association of Jurists, Annual Sessions on the Legal Condition of Women, United Nations, N. York. Author and lecturer on human rights, information technology law, international justice and reformulation of the Justice System, specifically criminal jurisdiction. Formerly: Professor, School of Law and Social Science, Comahue National University; technical positions at major banks. (Member, BACyAM Group) silviacontrafatto@arnet.com.ar; silviacontrafatto@yahoo.com.ar

6 - Costa Ribeiro, Carlos (Brazil)—Sociologist; specialized in social inequality and social mobility in Latin America, particularly in Brazil. Professor and researcher, *Postgraduate Program in Sociology and Political Science*, Rio do Janeiro University Research Institute. Researcher, National Research Council. Extensive research in the field of social stratification and mobility, wealth and income inequality, transmission of inequality through life cycles and quanti-

tative methodology. Formerly: Consultant, World Bank, Institute of Applied Economic Inquiries (Brazil) and UNDP. Author of the book “*Class Structure and Social Mobility in Brazil*” (2006) and articles in academic journals and books.
carloscr@iuperj.br

7 - D’Atri, Darío—Journalist; specialized in Argentine and international political and economic affairs. Managing editor and columnist, *Editorial CIMECO, S.A.*, the company owning newspapers *Los Andes* [Mendoza] and *La Voz del Interior* [Córdoba]. Managing editor, *Rumbos* magazine, published in 19 newspapers of the Argentine provinces (350,000 copies per week). Formerly: worked for *La Vanguardia*, *Clarín* and *Mercado*, Argentina. (Member, BACyAM Group)
datridar@brainmkt.com

8 - Espeche Gil, Miguel Ángel—Jurist and career diplomat; expert in juridical aspects of foreign debt. PhD in Law and Social Sciences, Univ. of Buenos Aires. PhD in Law “cum laude”, Pontifical Catholic Univ. of Río do Janeiro. PhD in Law and Social Science and in Diplomacy and International Relations, Univ. of the Oriental Republic Uruguay. Formerly: Ambassador to Bulgaria, Thailand, Switzerland and Liechtenstein. Member, Juridical Committee of OAS. Nobel Peace Prize nominee 2002.
maeg32@gmail.com

9 - Ferrer, Aldo—Economist. Member, Board of Directors, *Energía Argentina S.A.* (ENARSA). Leading collaborator in the development of “Plan Fénix”, an alternative project for Argentine economic policies, School of Economic Science, Univ. of Buenos Aires. Formerly: Minister of Economy and of Public Works and Services; President, Bank of the Province of Buenos Aires [one of the three main public banks of Argentina]; President, National Atomic Energy Commission; top positions at other public agencies. Participated in many national and international academic and consultancy activities. Author of many articles and books. aldo_susana_ferrer@ciudad.com.ar

10 - Guerrero, Sandra—Elementary School Teacher. Town Councilor in San Carlos de Bariloche (2003–07). Human Rights Secretary, Union of Judicial Workers of Rio Negro Province (SITRAJUR). sguerrero.mara.cm@bariloche.gov.ar; cm.mara@bariloche.gov.ar

11 - Katz, Jorge (Chile/Argentina)—Economist; specialized in industrial policies. Full Professor of *Economic Development*, Univ. of Chile and Univ. of Bs. Aires. Formerly: Director, Economic Development Division, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean [CEPAL], Santiago, Chile; Visiting Professor, Yale Univ. and Sussex Univ.; 1996 Konex Award for Economic Development. jorgekatz@terra.cl

12 - Kosacoff, Bernardo—Economist; specialized in industrial policies. Head, Bs. Aires Office, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean [CEPAL]. Full Professor of *Industrial Organization*, Univ. of Buenos Aires and of *Economic Policy*, National Univ. of Quilmes. Formerly: head researcher, Management Strategies and Competitiveness Area, CEPAL; President, Institute for Economic and Social Development; Visiting Professor, St. Anthony's College, Oxford; top positions at government and international agencies and foreign universities (Ministry of Economy, Inter-American Development Bank, German Institute for Development, Volkswagen Foundation, etc.). Author of books and articles on industrial and technological development, company performance, productive structure and international trade. bernardo.kosacoff@cepal.org

13- López Dávalos, Arturo—Physicist. Researcher, National Atomic Energy Commission. Principal Researcher, National Council for Scientific and Technical Research. Full Professor, Balseiro Institute. Visiting Professor, national and foreign universities. Senior Associate Member, International Centre for Theoretical Physics, Trieste. Member, National Academy of Exact, Physical and Natural Science. Consultant, Ministry of Education. Executive President, José A. Balseiro Foundation. Formerly: Director, Bariloche Atomic Center and Balseiro Insti-

tute; Member, Board of Directors, National Atomic Energy Commission; Vice president, National Commission for University Assessment and Accreditation. Extensive experience in higher education. Author of many papers on research in physics and on higher education. Holder of many academic distinctions. alopezd@me.gov.ar

14 - Lozada, Martín—Criminal judge; specialized in international criminal justice, human rights and privatization of public security. Member, American Society of Jurists. (Member, *BACyAM Group* and *Pugwash Conferences*) mjudicial@bariloche.com.ar

15 - Lozada, Salvador—Former judge. President, Argentine Institute for Economic Development. Founder and Honorary President, International Association of Constitutional Rights. Formerly: Professor, Univ. of Buenos Aires, ousted by the military dictatorship in May 1976. Specialist in foreign debt and human rights. Author of books and other articles on these and related topics. (Member, *BACyAM Group*) smlozada@arnet.com.ar

16 - Sagasti, Francisco (Peru)—Industrial engineer and PhD in Science of Social Systems. President, *National/International FORO*, an organization geared to the promotion of discussions and consensus on matters critical for national and international development. Head, *Program Agenda: Peru*, *National/International FORO*. Visiting Professor, Univ. for Peace, Costa Rica. Member, Executive Council, International Center of Research for Development, Canada. Formerly: Consultant, Council of Ministers; Member, National Council of Science and Technology; Professor at several universities; important positions at the United Nations, World Bank, University of Pennsylvania; consultant for public institutions, private companies and NGOs. Author of many books; member, board of editors of various journals. fsagasti@amauta.rep.net.pe

17 - Szmukler, Beinusz—Jurist. Consultant, National Magistracy. President, Continental Consultative Council, American Society of Jurists. General Secretary,

International Association of Democratic Jurists. Consultant, Center for the Independence of Judges and Lawyers, International Commission of Jurists. Member, other institutions in the juridical field. Lawyer for human rights causes for 40 years. Judge and prosecutor. Formerly: Full Professor, Univ. of Buenos Aires; President, National Magistracy. Participated in many national and international academic activities. Author of articles on topics of his specialty. szmukler@ciudad.com.ar

18 - Vanoli, Alejandro—Economist. Member, Fénix Plan Group. Full Professor of *International Finance* and Associate Professor of *International Economics*, School of Economic Science, Univ. of Buenos Aires. Full Professor of *Argentine Economic Policy*, National Univ. of Tucumán and of *International Finances*, School of Law, Univ. of Buenos Aires. Advisor, Board of Directors, Argentine Central Bank. Formerly: various technical positions (National Securities Commission, Argentine Central Bank and Ministry of Economy), in connection with public debt negotiation and development of the financial system; different teaching positions at Univ. of Bs. Aires. Author of books and various other publications. avanoli@bcra.gov.ar

19 - Vila Planes, Enrique (Venezuela)—Architect and Licentiate in Education. Official, Planning and Development Ministry, Venezuela. Design and implementation of projects on social inclusion/exclusion, equity and policies for political, social, economic and environmental sustainability. (Planning School of Venezuela, Latin American School of Medicine, Squares of Popular Parliament, etc.) Formerly: Full Professor, Central University of Venezuela; Development of educational and political projects in Canada, USA, Mexico and other countries. evila@mpd.gov.ve

—Other members of the *BACyAM Group* who took part in the discussions were: Octavio Gorraiz (psychologist), Karen Hallberg (physicist) and Walter Scheuer (physicist).

Pugwash Study Group 'New Challenges to Human Security'

Wageningen, The Netherlands, 16-18 June 2006

Report by

Georg Frerks,
Chairman Pugwash Netherlands

Introduction

Developments in the field of current conflict, terrorism and the war on terror, threats emanating from environmental and other hazards, and changes in current policy practice, have put the 'classical' risks arising from armament and weapons of mass destruction into a larger framework of human security and human development. This Study Group meeting, organised with financial support of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, addressed contemporary threats to human security and explored their implications for the agenda of Pugwash.

The issue of non-traditional threats has been on the Pugwash agenda for a number of years, but it was felt that a further impetus was needed, especially at the present juncture, where global attempts to deal with those issues seem to be stagnating. The reason for this is that just as during the Cold War, imaginative attempts to resolve the issues at stake often seem to become 'frozen' and sidelined by dominant discourses and an intransigence to consider alternative solutions. Pugwash Netherlands as the

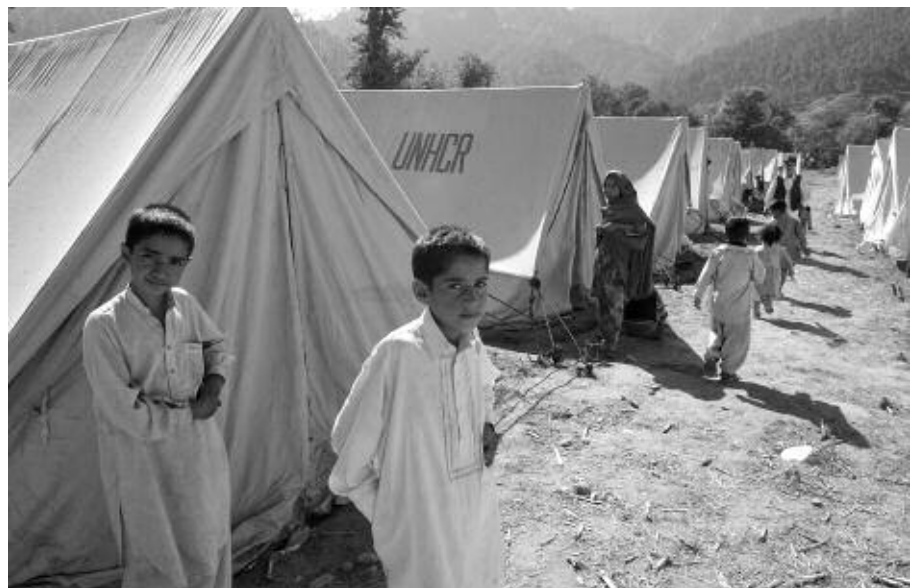
organiser of the Study Group Meeting saw this happening for several of the new security challenges, too. Whether we talk about the war on terror, climate change, environmental pollution or backgrounds to intrastate conflicts, there is a marked tendency to reduce the issues to simple and often rigid explanatory schemes in terms of 'black-and-white' or 'us-versus-them'. When policy measures are devised on such a basis, they tend to exacerbate problems rather than contribute to their solution. Frequently, deeper insights on the problems are available, but political powers with the backing of associated hegemonic discourses do not wish and do not attempt to engage with available alternative approaches to reach more effective

solutions. This often is combined with an increasingly intolerant position towards criticisms and alternative views. Discourse and power are in effect closely related, and define how we are allowed to perceive and talk about these problems.

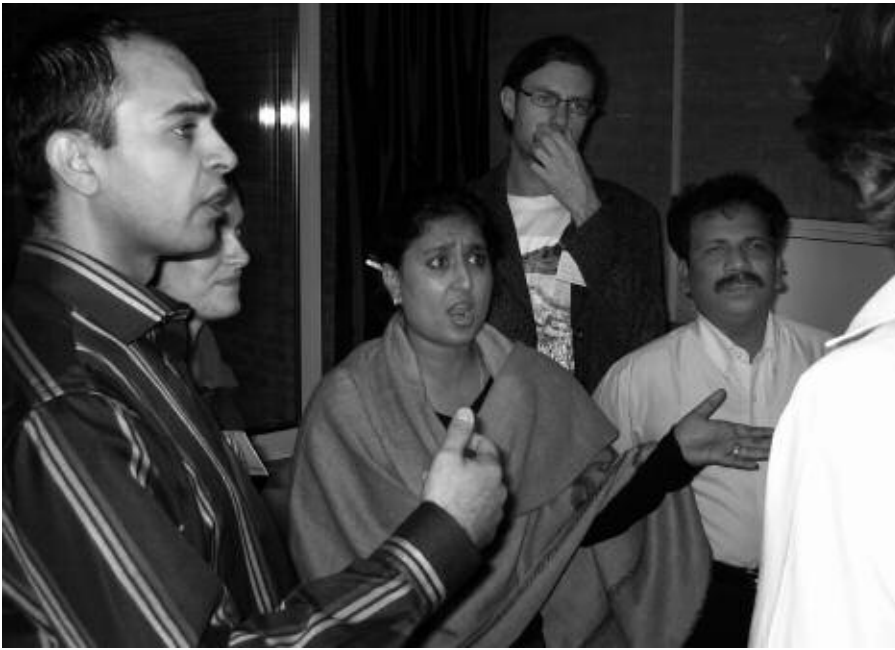
Therefore, not only the scientific debate about particular substantive arguments *per se* matters, but also, and even more so, how issues, approaches and solutions are framed and discourses about them are disseminated and take root.

Goal and approach

The Study Group aimed for an exchange of existing and new approaches, of mainstream and critical views, and of established and opposing discourses to reach more



Pakistani earthquake refugees. (UN PHOTO: EVAN SCHNEIDER)



Hussein Karakra, Joanna Sprackett, Sonika Gupta, Adam Breasley, and Nagappan Parasuraman.

effective solutions to the problems facing humanity at present. The Study Group comprised both senior, authoritative scholars and young, promising students and professionals to address these new challenges to human security. Pugwash Netherlands deemed it crucially important to involve a younger generation of scholars to present their informed perspectives.

In order to facilitate this, a pre-workshop was organised by International Student/ Young Pugwash (ISYP) from 14 till 16 June 2006 to raise awareness and stimulate debate among ISYP members about the socio-economic, environmental, political, and policy determinants of complex political emergencies. The ISYP pre-workshop was attended by 21 participants from eleven different countries. Seven senior experts in the field of conflict and peace studies gave lectures or moderated sessions during this workshop. A report on the ISYP pre-workshop was published in the

ISYP Yearbook 2006 / ISYP Journal on Science and World Affairs, Vol. 2, of November 2006. Nine participants of the ISYP pre-workshop also participated in the subsequent Pugwash Study Group that further included Pugwash members and other experts from the Netherlands and abroad. A total of 26 participants from eleven countries took part in the Study Group's deliberations, including prof. M.S. Swaminathan, President Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs and the Pugwash Council's Chair, Prof. Marie Muller (South-Africa).

Programme

The Study Group was opened by Prof. M.S. Swaminathan, who elaborated on a number of major contemporary challenges. The Chairman of Pugwash Netherlands, Prof. Georg Frerks, explained the rationale and background of the Study Group. The first session was devoted to the problem setting with

presentations covering the nexus of contemporary conflict and human security and the issue of sustainability. The second session discussed regional and thematic approaches to the problems covering South-Asia, West-Africa, Russia and the Middle East. The third session touched upon meta-narratives as provided in the current debates on globalisation and the 'sacred realm'. The fourth session moved to the level of policies and practices, focusing on issues of planning, and the role of governance and science. The last session outlined some conclusions and the way forward. The workshop featured 15 substantive paper presentations and there were possibilities for debate and discussion during and after each session.

Substantive issues and conclusions

The study group considered that the shift in attention from state to human security was a significant trend that implied a broadening of the notion of security to include, among others, political, environmental, and development concerns. Yet, at the same time state and human security were not to be seen as opposing categories, as they were linked in several ways. Problems in one domain unavoidably affected the other domain. Poverty, environment and development were, for example, cross-cutting themes that connected human with state security. Moreover, all of those issues were subject to varied and alternative discourses. Hence, understanding these issues necessitated at the same time a deeper knowledge of these related discourses and of the way they had become prominent or hegemonic and were operating in everyday political reality.

Governance issues were intimately linked to the possibility of pursuing practical solutions for the problems discussed. As they comprised a problématique on their own, they needed to be subjected to specific and detailed analysis.

The notion of global terrorism and the associated war on terror needed, according to the study group participants, to be deconstructed, as the general usage of those notions is not only misplaced, but also misleading and dangerous, as several case studies discussed during the conference showed. It was argued the dominant 'war on terror' discourse focused solely on problems of law and order and was symptomatic rather than diagnostic. To combat terrorism effectively, an investigation into grievances, political exclusion and socio-economic inequalities was required. Such initiatives needed to move beyond state security only, and be based on the values of 'voice' and democracy, and on appropriate and culturally adapted conflict resolution mechanisms. With regard to the Middle-East, more attention was needed on the region's unique political, economic, cultural and religious characteristics on the one hand, combined with a critical analysis of the international system's policies in dealing with those regional issues on the other.

Dealing with the contemporary challenges necessitated, according to the participants, the adoption of integrated policies based on a fine-grained analysis of the conflict-development nexus. The emergence of integrated and comprehensive international policies represented an irreversible trend, and a 'rejectionist' position thereof was deemed unhelpful and would leave the



Water and human security, Sudan. (UN PHOTO: FRED NOY)

initiative to the powers-that-be. However, a critical and politically informed discourse was needed to relate properly to these policies. In addition, the involvement of development practitioners and civil society was essential in providing a grounded response.

The analysis of the prevailing multiple discourses was needed in the religious, political, moral, legal and scientific domains discussed during the sessions. It was recognised that discourses play a powerful role in the present constellation. In all those different domains participants distinguished the existence of hegemonic and alternative, heterodox discourses. It was, for example, argued, how the notions of a secular state and the issue of sovereignty were re-appraised at present, as a definite trend toward a religious resurgence and an associated societal de-secularisation was discernable. The discourses analysed during the conference covered a variety of issues such as the role of Islam, fundamentalism and religion in society at large, terrorism,

HIV/AIDS and sustainable development. Case studies underlined the power and importance of both hegemonic and alternative discourses and showed how these were created, reproduced and/or deconstructed by a variety of actors and mechanisms.

In the field of science, attention was paid to the interplay between knowledge and values, the need to bridge global science and local experience, and expert and non-expert views. The limits of science were described as anti-reflexive and autistic scientism, little room for uncertainty, error or 'evil', and the prevailing hostility, contempt and derision of the 'sacred space'. However, also counter-currents were described in terms of doctrinal religion, craft and personal experience, humanistic learning and lived experiences. Science had to face several challenges, including uncertainty and incorporating values (moving from stories via scenarios to models and vice versa), issues of spatial, functional and temporal interdependence and dealing with extreme effects, and finally the wish



Paul Rademaker, Kayhan Barzegar, Marie Muller, and Berma Klein Goldewijk.

to bridge the divide between the natural and social sciences.

A central issue in all debates in the Study Group was coined as the link between *problématique* and *résolutive*, or how to move from understanding to action. The *problématique* was described as complex with several factors mutually interfering. It was also characterised as multidisciplinary, border-crossing, dynamic and transformative. These factors required a particular approach to solutions such as an orientation on the future, living-with-uncertainty, the adoption of precautionary principles, change management, public-private partnerships and the need to “think globally and act locally”. The *raison d'état*, the *raison du marché*, and the *raison de l'humanité* were identified as alternative markers for future action. An intensive discussion was devoted to the required overall governance architecture needed to deal with what was termed the sustainability transition. Based on a combination of earth system analysis and governance research, critical elements identified included an adaptive state, but also agency beyond the state, addressing issues of accountability and

allocation. Also, in the field of contemporary conflict a number of particularly helpful approaches and guidelines were outlined.

Overall the Study Group concluded that the issue of broad-based human security deserved continuing attention in academic, policy and practical debates. The debate was clearly linked to highly relevant and broader international conceptual and policy developments. A human security perspective was also needed to counteract more coercive and often ill-defined militarised approaches and discourses to deal with present security challenges. It was recommended that Pugwash as a respected civil society organisation continues to debate human security issues and perhaps could even take a more leading role in these discussions in the future.

On the basis of the presentations and discussions at the Study Group a book entitled ‘Human Security and International Insecurity’, edited by Georg Frerks and Berma Klein Goldewijk has been published by Wageningen Academic Publishers. See for more information: www.WageningenAcademic.com/humansecurity.

Participants

Dr. Gerald **Barney**, Chair, Our Task, Inc., Arlington, VA [formerly: President, Millennium Institute, Washington, DC], USA

Dr. Kayhan **Barzegar**, Assistant Professor International Relations, Islamic Azad University, Tehran, Iran

Prof. Frank **Biermann**, Professor of Political Science and of Environmental Policy Sciences, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Ms. Bénédicte **Borel**, Political Analyst & PhD Student, Institute 4S, Brussels, Belgium & Political Sciences University, Clermont-Ferrand, France

Dr. Tom **Børsen Hansen**, Lecturer Philosophy of Science and Ethics, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark

Mr. Adam **Breasley (Australia)**, Foreign Expert Teacher & Columnist, Beijing-USA College of English & National Chinese Consumer Rights Protection Magazine, Beijing, China

Prof. Bas **de Gaay Fortman**, Professor of Political Economy of Human Rights, Utrecht University, The Netherlands

Mr. Rens **de Man**, PhD Student, Wageningen University, Wageningen, The Netherlands

Prof. Bert **de Vries**, Professor of Global Change and Energy, Utrecht University & Senior Policy Adviser, Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency, Bilthoven, The Netherlands

Mr. Pyt **Douma**, Independent Consultant, The Hague [formerly: Netherlands Institute of International Relations], The Netherlands

Dr. Eric **Ferguson**, Secretary of Pugwash Netherlands; Consultant on Energy and Development, MacFergus bv, Zeist [formerly: Senior Scientist, Philips Research; Liaison Scientist to IIASA], The Netherlands

Prof. Georg **Frerks**, Professor of Conflict Prevention and Conflict Management, Centre for Conflict Studies, Utrecht University & Professor of Disaster Studies,

Participants continued

Wageningen University; Chairman, Pugwash Nederland [formerly: Senior Policy Advisor, Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Head, Conflict Research Unit, Netherlands Institute of International Relations], **The Netherlands**

Dr. Sonika **Gupta**, Post-doctoral Fellow International Strategic & Security Studies Program, National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bangalore, **India**

Dr. Antoinette **Hilderling**, Consultant, MeerKeuze/MultipleChoice, Arnhem, **The Netherlands**

Dr. Berma **Klein Goldewijk**, Director, Cedar International, Centre for Dignity and Rights & Vice-chair Pugwash Netherlands, **The Netherlands**

Mr. Rian **Leith**, History Teacher, [formerly: Research Assistant, International Relations and History, University of Pretoria], **South Africa**

Prof. Marie **Muller**, Chair of the Pugwash Council; Dean, Faculty of Humanities, University of Pretoria, South Africa; [formerly: (Founding) Chair, Pugwash South Africa Group; Director, Centre for International Political Studies, University of Pretoria; Council Member, Academy of Science of South Africa], **South Africa**

Dr. Arthur **Petersen**, Programme Director, Methodology and Modelling Programme, Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency, Bilthoven, **The Netherlands**

Prof. Paul **Rademaker**, Chair, Club of Rome Netherlands, **The Netherlands**

Dr. Jerry **Ravetz**, Associate Fellow, James Martin Institute for Science and Civilization, Oxford University, **UK**

Prof. Paul **Richards**, Professor of Technology & Agrarian Development, Wageningen University, Wageningen, **The Netherlands**

Dr. Elena **Suvorova**, Program Head, Civil Society and Human Rights & Assistant Professor, International Federation for Peace and Conciliation & Moscow State University, Moscow, **Russia**

Prof. M.S. **Swaminathan**, Chairman, National Commission on Farmers, Govt. of India; President, Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, Chairman, MS Swaminathan Research Foundation, Chennai, **India**

Dr. Irna **van der Molen**, Lecturer Technology and Development, University of Twente, **The Netherlands**

Prof. Paul **van Seters**, Professor of Globalization and Sustainable Development & Executive Director, Globus, Tilburg University, Tilburg, **The Netherlands**

Amb. Bozorgmehr **Ziaran**, Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of **Iran** to the Netherlands & the OPCW, The Hague, **The Netherlands**

25th Workshop of the Pugwash Study Group on the Implementation of the Chemical and Biological Weapons Conventions: *Towards a Successful Outcome for the Sixth Review Conference*

Geneva, Switzerland, 18–19 November 2006

Report

By Catherine Jefferson

This workshop was hosted by the Association Suisse de Pugwash in association with GIPRI, the Geneva International Peace Research Institute, using the grant provided by the Swiss Federal Authorities.

The workshop took place on the eve of the BWC Sixth Review Conference and was attended by sixty-one participants, all by invitation and in their personal capacities, from a number of countries including Australia, Belgium, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Israel, Italy, Japan, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States

of America (USA). This report is the sole responsibility of its author, who was asked to prepare a brief account of the proceedings of the meeting in consultation with the Steering Committee. It does not necessarily reflect a consensus of the workshop as a whole, nor of the Study Group. The workshop was strictly governed by the Chatham House Rule, so reference to specific speakers is not detailed here.

I Chemical Weapons Convention; Progress in Implementation

The first presentation examined the progress of the CWC in the context of its approaching 10th anniversary since it entered into force in 1997. However, it was argued that this is not simply an occasion for celebration but also an important

occasion for conveying the image of a mature organisation that is advancing well compared to other WMD regimes, and for initiating discussions about future activities, involving both diplomats and academics. Several key issues were focused on as particular challenges for the future of the CWC.

The Destruction of Chemical Weapons: It has become clear that the ten-year destruction period envisaged in the CWC is inadequate for both Russia and the USA. It has also been suggested that the USA will fail to meet the proposed extended 2012 deadline. Given this situation, modalities need to be agreed upon and options for extension should be discussed at the Eleventh Session of the Conference of State Parties to the CWC, being held 5–8th December, 2006.

Compliance Concerns: A further challenge for the CWC is the concern that some CWC member states may not have declared all relevant CW facilities or may subsequently fail to meet the extended destruction deadline. The mechanism of the OPCW Executive Council is proposed as the best approach to dealing with compliance concerns rather than a bilateral confrontational approach.

'Nonlethal' incapacitants: The development of 'nonlethal' incapacitating chemicals, which is of growing interest for counterterrorism opera-



United Nations building, Geneva, Switzerland

tions, is a major challenge for the CWC. While such developments, if intended for “Law enforcement including domestic riot control purposes” (CWC Art II.9.d) are not prohibited, the development, production and use of such chemicals for military or paramilitary purposes comes under the prohibition of the Convention. Despite attempts by some states parties to address this issue in the First Review Conference, it has largely been neglected. The topic has been considered too sensitive to broach at OPCW meetings, but solutions must be approached in forthcoming reviews.

It was suggested that the Second Review Conference, scheduled for April 2008, would be a good opportunity for the states parties to the CWC and the OPCW to address these and other challenges.

The next presentation examined the status and problems of implementation of the CWC. It argued that while, in terms of universality, there were a relatively high number of states parties to the CWC, some of those states not party to the convention were important exceptions in terms of their possible CW capabilities.

It was noted that, currently, one of the most important activities in the implementation of the CWC is CW destruction. It was reiterated that the originally scheduled ten-year destruction period has proven to be insufficient and, while the ongoing destruction process has accelerated, it was suggested that even the extended time schedule is unlikely to be met by both Russia and the USA.

Recommendations of the OPCW Scientific Advisory Board were discussed, including mechanisms for amending schedules, instruments for submitting data on novel agents and

measures for providing cover against unscheduled and new toxic compounds. The need for verification of the chemical industry and inspections was also stressed.

Finally, it was noted that the problems of scientific and technological developments are expected to attract attention at the Second Review Conference.

II The Sixth Review Conference—Achieving a successful outcome

This agenda item opened with an authoritative presentation on prospects for the Sixth Review Conference. The presentation focused on the expected outcome report of the Sixth Review Conference and proposals for future intersessional meetings.

Outcome Report of the Sixth Review Conference

The Sixth Review Conference is expected to produce an outcome document, on the basis, *inter alia*, of the article-by-article review. It was emphasised that this document should be:

- Concise and accessible. The importance of communicating the outcome to the media, the scientific community, industry and the general public was noted in order to ensure shared effort and shared responsibility across governments, commerce and civil society.
- A reaffirmation of the norms and the core elements of the Convention. It was noted that it would be useful to recall the understanding that the Convention applies to all relevant scientific and technological developments and prohibits the use of BW.
- A statement of deliberations and agreements. It was suggested that

these topics would either fall under particular articles of the Convention or under ‘cross-cutting’ categories. It was noted that the inclusion of cross-cutting issues was not intended to duplicate features of the articles but to examine what issues needed more work, such as CBMs, implementation support and the intersessional process.

Future Intersessional Meetings

It was noted that the BWC is a ‘weaker relative’ of the CWC and NPT, having only 155 state parties and no permanent structure or verification protocol. It was argued that a robust review process was therefore more important, and that an intersessional program of work would help to compensate these weaknesses. It was suggested that the Sixth Review Conference should establish guidelines and set schedules for future intersessional meetings.

Possible topics for the intersessional meetings were suggested, including:

- Confidence-building measures (CBMs)
- New scientific and technological developments relevant to the Convention
- Scientific and technological cooperation and exchanges
- Bioterrorism
- Compliance and verification
- Coordination with other organisations and activities
- Education

Moving onto the workshop’s main agenda topic of the BWC Sixth Review Conference, this section was divided into the following key categories:

The Outcome of the Preparatory Committee—Article by Article Review

This session began by highlighting the fact that the Sixth Review Conference provided the first opportunity for a comprehensive review of the BWC since the Fourth Review Conference in 1996. It was stressed that this was an opportunity to both reaffirm the norm against BW and to strengthen the effectiveness of the Convention by agreeing appropriate measures.

In light of the developments of the 2003-2005 intersessional meetings and the UNSCR1540, it was suggested that the Sixth Review Conference should endorse and incorporate some of the substance of the language used. For example, it was argued that since the outcomes of the various annual Meetings of State Parties relate to various Articles of the Convention, the consideration of relevant articles during the Review Conference's Article by Article review could endorse and include the conclusions reached at the annual meetings in the Final Declaration of the Review Conference. It was also argued that the language relating to outreach and implementation in the eighth operative paragraph of UNSCR1540 could be usefully incorporated in the Final Declaration.

The Intersessional Meetings 2003 to 2005—Effective action to be taken?

This section examined the Intersessional meetings of 2003 to 2005 with a focus on plans for the future. It was argued that a 'plan of action' or program is necessary in order to improve universality and national implementation. The need to improve mechanisms for confidence

building measures was also addressed.

It was argued that a flexible approach should be taken to programs and agendas for future intersessional meetings. Some possible themes were suggested as follows:

- Consultation and transparency. It was suggested that the Article V consultation mechanism should be developed to include a clarification mechanism in case of potential inconsistencies in CBM returns. It was also suggested that further consideration should be given to codes of conduct for scientists and the possibility of developing guidelines establishing national oversight authorities.
- Assistance and Cooperation. It was suggested that information should be exchanged on potential preparedness and assistance measures; biosecurity and biosafety measures; measures for detecting illicit trade; and measures for preventing proliferation, including redirecting former weapons scientists.
- Programs/plans for national implementation and universality. The development of programs/plans for achieving universal membership of the BWC and for promoting national implementation was suggested.
- Measures for alleged use. It was suggested that technical requirements for the establishment of an appropriate procedure for investigation into suspicious outbreaks or alleged use should be considered.
- Advisory panels. It was suggested that criteria and functions for a

scientific advisory committee for the BWC could be developed, with the annual task of reviewing science and technology relevant to the BWC.

It was stressed that the BWC should ensure that a mechanism is put in place that allows BWC state parties to meet annually to discuss and address these themes.

Key Elements of the Sixth Review Conference

Overview of the Governance

Regime: This section began with a presentation providing an overview of the governance regime for biological and chemical weapons. It was argued that the norm against the use of disease weapons, which underpins this regime, was facing a number of challenges such as the perception of new utility for CBW and the proliferation of CBW relevant technology.

In order to address these challenges it was argued that, firstly, the norm should not be weakened by fragmenting the taboo against disease weapons. Furthermore, to strengthen the norm, it was suggested that responsibility for the norm should be entrenched in the bureaucracy of states, highlighting the importance of national implementation measures. It was also argued that machinery for better enforcement of the norm should be in place. Sanctions at individual, not simply state levels, were suggested, including codes of conduct for scientists and proposals for criminalisation under international criminal law.

On the issue of criminalisation, the objection was raised that the jurisdiction of individuals was encompassed by the BWC and UNSCR1540. It was argued,



Lake Geneva.

however, that this was not sufficient because:

- Technical problems exist, such as courts' lack of jurisdiction on non-nationals.
- Definitional problems exist, such as lack of harmonisation between states.
- Moral prohibition would be higher under international criminal law.
- No mechanism exists for addressing actions of state officials or members of the armed forces.

Advances in Science and Technology: The next presentation explored the 'dual use' character of developments in science and technology. It was noted that the positive, beneficial aspects of these advances should be stressed, not simply their potential for misuse, and it was argued that the threat should not be exaggerated.

Advances in genomics, creating and manipulating microorganisms, immune system manipulation and combinatorial chemistry—and the challenges these advances could pose to the BWC—were the key areas explored.

In highlighting the potential for misuse, it was recommended that the States Parties of the Sixth Review Conference should:

- Reaffirm Article 1, ensuring that it covers all new developments.

- Consider a mechanism for more frequent reviews of advances in science and technology.
- Seek measures to raise awareness among life scientists of the dual-use nature of their research. Licensing and greater project leader responsibility was one suggestion.

National Implementation: The first presentation in this section addressed biosecurity strategies and demonstrated that different paradigms exist within the USA, where a security model has been adopted, and in Germany, where a biosafety regulatory model has been adopted. While the USA has a targeted list of pathogens and toxins that could be used as weapons, German regulation has framed the risk of bioterrorism in public health terms as a subset of the broader challenge of infectious disease.

It was argued that these differing paradigms also translate to the regulation of the publication of dual-use research. In the USA, under the Bush administration, the National Science Advisory Board for Biosecurity (NSABB) was established as a mechanism for reviewing security-sensitive dual-use science research and suggesting possible restrictions on publication. Such an approach has been rejected in Germany, however, where a strong belief exists that scientific knowledge

should remain free and unrestricted.

In order to achieve middle ground in the approach to biosecurity between, on the one hand in Germany, an almost institutionalised complacency to the threat and, on the other hand in the USA, over-awareness to the point of hysteria, it was suggested that a system of self-governance in which the dual-use potential of research is assessed by peer-review at the pre-funding stage could be implemented. Furthermore, it was suggested that awareness of dual-use possibilities needs to be raised and that implementation support should be encouraged to assist other states parties in preparing and implementing domestic biosecurity measures.

Another paper presented in this section examined the importance of national implementation with respect to compliance. It was noted that in the absence of a verification mechanism within the BWC, national implementation was the only instrument for compliance. Several issues were raised:

- Standards, guidelines and models of key points for national implementation should be agreed upon.
- The BWC should work more collaboratively with certain IGOs to, for example, produce models on criminalizing certain activities and

to provide for authority, licensing, national inspection, investigation and training.

- The issue of necessary national measures should be highlighted in accordance with the language of UNSCR1540.
- The issue of national implementation, access and transmitting information should be addressed in the intersessional process.
- More synergy between assistance providers and IGOs should be encouraged.
- Evaluation, adoption and implementation depends upon understanding so awareness-raising and training must be increased.

Education and Outreach: The next presentation focused on the issues of education and outreach. It was argued that academics involved in CBW arms control and life scientists existed in ‘parallel worlds’. The importance of education and outreach in regard to the prohibitions of the Convention was emphasised. In order to improve education and outreach in the life sciences, it was stressed that action, not simply discussion, was necessary.

In order to investigate the problem of education and outreach, 25 interactive seminars were conducted with life scientists in the UK, followed by a series of comparative seminars in other European countries and in the US. It was found that there was a general lack of awareness of the prohibitions of the BWC and the possible dual-use implications of life science research. While these seminars were found to be an effective means of raising awareness, they were not an efficient

long-term method. However, the seminars did demonstrate that it was possible to engage life scientists in BW-related issues and helped to formulate further possible mechanisms for engaging life scientists with the use of educational modules, including the use of multi-media webcasts and role-play exercises that could be used as part of a regular course for life scientists.

It was argued that in depth implementation of the BWC within states parties would require a significant effort on education and outreach in order for implementation to be effective and that concerted action—not simply a reaffirmation of the importance of education—was necessary.

Codes of Conduct: The next presentation addressed the issue of Codes of Conduct for scientists. It highlighted the need for awareness raising of BWC issues (such as international obligations, related domestic laws and regulations, dual-use research and possible inadvertent assistance to BW-proliferation) and for facilitating a culture of responsibility in the scientific community.

It was suggested that Codes of Conduct comprise a series of complementary and mutually reinforcing ‘layers’, including:

- Guiding principles (a universal code, such as the Hippocratic Oath)
- Scientific society codes (codes of ethics/conduct)
- Institutional or workplace codes (codes of conduct/practice)

It was argued that BW codes of conduct should be incorporated into this existing structure rather than being developed as an entirely

separate set. Possible approaches to relating BW codes to the teaching of biological sciences were suggested, including:

- Teaching BW issues at first year undergraduate level as part of a scientist responsibility/ethics course.
- A refreshers course at the beginning of a postgraduate program.
- Short courses offered by academia/societies and government outreach to workplaces.

The need to make scientists aware of their domestic and international legal obligations was emphasised. Furthermore, the need for international cooperation was stressed in order to implement effective regulation in all states to avoid the possibility of creating ‘safe haven’ states or territories.

International Legal Restraints: This session examined the importance of international legal restraints on the use of BW through a case study of the 1932-1945 Japanese biological warfare program. It was argued that this case represented a failure to restrain BW, not simply because customary law was insufficient to prevent the Japanese use of BW, but also because the 1946-1948 International Military Tribunal of the Far East (IMTFE) in Tokyo failed to establish an important legal precedent by identifying biological warfare programs and the use of such weapons as war crimes.

Since the IMTFE, with Richard Nixon’s 1969 renunciation of BW and the entry into force of the BWC, it was argued that the norms against BW have strengthened. However, it was argued that the failure of the

IMTFE has left the current regime with a deficit of legal restraints. The lack of a treaty criminalizing violations of the BWC and CWC is one such deficit and it has hindered the universal recognition of such crimes and legitimate means of dealing with them.

It was noted that, as biotechnology continues to advance at such a rate, the need for a legal framework to prevent its hostile exploitation and to bring the criminals involved to justice becomes evermore pressing. It was argued that international measures to strengthen adherence to the BWC were necessary to challenge the BW threat.

CBMs and Transparency Measures: This presentation examined confidence building measures (CBMs) and recommendations for improvements. The presentation began by noting that CBMs are the only transparency building mechanism of the BWC agreed by all states parties. However, it was noted that CBMs had done little to increase transparency since their inception 19 years ago and few states parties had consistently participated, while many of those that had participated sporadically had provided inadequate information. Several recommendations for improving participation and effectiveness of CBMs were made at the level of both process and analysis:

- Simplification of forms and removal of ambiguity.
- Focus on only the most relevant information, covering only maximum containment facilities.
- Digitalisation of distribution and submission of forms.
- Encouragement of translations in

multiple languages.

- Construction of annual participation lists to illustrate which countries have participated.
- Comparison of CBMs with open source data to assess accuracy and completeness of CBM submissions.
- Use of confidence-building activities, such as informal discussion platforms or on-site CBM validation visits.
- Creation of a Permanent Secretariat unit for the BWC.
- Provision of assistance with completion of CBM data.
- Awareness raising through the use of workshops, etc.

It was argued that CBMs were an important issue for the Sixth Review Conference and that the intersessional process would provide a useful forum for further discussion and action towards implementation to improve the effectiveness of CBMs.

Biodefence Industry: The next presentation examined the emerging biodefence industry through an investigation of the scale and kinds of biodefence projects that are being awarded to US-based private firms. It was suggested that, while the large investment focused on biodefence was evidently taking place in private firms, it was unclear whether this represented the emergence of a sustainable industry or whether it was more symptomatic of small, money-burning biotech firms finding alternative, short-term sources of funding.

International Cooperation and Development: The first presentation in this session examined the emergence of non-state actors and

the changing nature of international diplomacy, and how this has impacted the global governance framework for biosecurity.

It was noted that during the Intersessional Process of 2003-2003, meetings were attended by international organisations such as the WHO, FAO, OIE, UNESCO and the OECD. Furthermore, the Intersessional Process fostered greater inclusion more generally in terms of the involvement of officials from ministries (such as health and environment) and agencies (such as health and safety and law enforcement), breaking with the traditionally limited and insular participation to BWC meetings.

It was noted that while increased involvement did not necessarily equate with increased participation, a shift had occurred away from the traditional 'national security' approach towards a more inclusive, multistakeholder agenda, appropriate to the challenges posed by advances in the life sciences. It was argued that this shift would only be significant if it was maintained, but optimism was expressed over the inclusive approach being adopted for the Sixth Review Conference.

The next presentation in this section examined biosecurity guidance issues for valuable biological materials (VBM). It was stressed that the concept of security encompassed war, terrorism *and* public health, and that a diversity of international organisations play a role in public health issues, including WHO, FAO, OIE, etc.

It was argued that biosecurity issues went beyond problems of deliberate misuse of dangerous pathogens and included safety issues

in the laboratory environment. It was noted that the bioscience community was not uniformly accustomed to security issues and that no global mechanism existed for the control of certain biological material. In this respect, it was argued that national implementation measures were crucial in improving protection, control and accountability for VBM.

It was noted that awareness raising was a major issue, but it was also noted that many laboratories lacked the resources or an adequate infrastructure to deal with the biosecurity challenge. This was seen as a particular problem in developing countries. The following standards were suggested:

- Consensus standards
- Protection from theft
- Transfer/export mechanism
- Record of facilities
- Uniform procedure for threat/risk assessments

Universality: The next presentation examined the problem of universalisation of the BWC. While 155 states are party to the Convention, it was observed that 40 states had still yet to sign and ratify. The principle reasons for this are summarised below:

- Ignorance of the treaty's existence. It was observed that no international organisation existed to undertake outreach activities.
- No acute BW-related threat perceptions. However, it was observed that concerns existed over the cross-border spread of disease, import/export control, transshipment issues, and the nexus between criminal networks and terrorism.

- Limited resources. It was noted that some countries might be of small size in terms of territory and population, thereby having small bureaucracies and limited resources. Furthermore, policy priorities may lie elsewhere.
- Lack of fundamental knowledge about key issues. It was noted that the technical and scientific understanding of issues involved might be limited since many states not party to the BWC had no developed base in the life sciences and limited knowledge of biotechnology activity undertaken by foreign companies on their territory.
- No stakeholdership. It was noted that BW prohibition was often left off the agenda and that ministries often had difficulty in expanding to encompass BW issues.
- Civil society. It was noted that there is a general lack of knowledge regarding BW issues in civil society and that concerns primarily rest elsewhere.
- Wariness. It was noted that pressure by larger states to join the BWC meets with a degree of wariness by smaller states as a consequence of similar moves relating to other security issues.
- Lack of sense of ownership. It was noted that lack of resources or support to participate in relevant meetings and therefore be a part of the security community created a lack of ownership.

It was argued that awareness raising, capacity building and outreach activities were essential requirements to support universalisation.

Withdrawal. The presentation in this section examined the issue of withdrawal from the BWC. It was argued that the need to discourage withdrawal from the convention is essential if universality is to be accomplished, and the following measures were proposed:

- Withdrawal from the Convention should not be cost-free.
- Three months notice should be demanded in advance of withdrawal as per Article XVI.
- A deliberate narrowing of when withdrawal is permissible should be made.
- New procedures for withdrawal should be considered. Particularly, the withdrawal clause within the Convention should be re-examined—it was noted that signalling the possibility of withdrawal and building the possibility into the treaty was of questionable logic if universality is to be achieved.
- Article XVI, paragraph 3, should be re-emphasised to remind states that they are still bound by relevant rules even if they withdraw.

Future Work

The workshop concluded with remarks that the limiting factor in all cases of possible BW use is intent. It was suggested that this would be an important topic to investigate in a future workshop. Issues of what factors encourage and what factors deter BW use could be explored. Future work would also depend to an extent, it was generally agreed, on the outcome of the Sixth BWC Review Conference, the results of which Pugwash should study carefully as soon as might be possible.

ISLAM AND THE WEST

The Sacred Realm: Domain of New Threats and Challenges

PROFESSOR BAS DE GAAY FORTMAN

*From the 56th Pugwash Conference, Cairo, Egypt***Introduction: An Open Nerve**

In many villages in the Netherlands, but rarely in the cities, people refrain from noisy operations on Sundays, such as cutting their grass or blowing away autumnal leaves. At stake is “Sunday serenity”, to be respected by everyone, through the ages. The noise of church bells is accepted, however, practically during the whole day, as distinct churches have different times at which they call believers to their services. What we touch upon here are peaceful practices relating to the *sacred realm*, a space only partly subject to public law and order. The term is used by, among others, city architects: aside from the private realm of houses and offices and the public realm of roads, parks and squares, there is also a sacred realm of mosques, churches, temples, monuments and graveyards. In the setting of the present study on new challenges to human security the term will be used particularly in a figurative sense, as a field of orientation and focus, an area of beliefs, feelings, and emotions but also of rituals, symbols and words.

Already half a century ago there was a feeling that the sacred realm would disappear before long. As Wright Mills put it rather bluntly:

“Once the world was filled with the sacred—in thought, practice, and institutional form. After the Reformation and the Renaissance, the forces of modernisation swept across the globe and secularisation, a corollary historical process, loosened the dominance of the sacred. In due course, the sacred shall disappear altogether except, possibly, in the private realm” (Wright Mills 1959: 32-34, as quoted in Norris and Inglehart 2004: 3).

While the trend towards secularisation continues in the West, this does not apply to the world as a whole. In their study *Sacred and Secular* Norris and Inglehart conclude:

”1. The publics of virtually all advanced industrial societies have been moving toward more secular orientations during the past fifty years. Nevertheless, 2. The world as a whole now has more people with traditional religious views than ever before—and they constitute a growing proportion of the world’s population” (2004: 5).

Clearly, all those believers do not accept a confinement of words and practices based on their religious views purely to the private realm. Far from vanished, the sacred

realm now dominates the international news almost daily. Gravely, it has become an area full of sparks that tend to set fire throughout the world’s tinder. Yet, for ‘secularists’ the view that the sacred realm was just to evaporate into the private realm has assumed normative proportions: as something that just *ought* to happen. The cartoon drawings of the Prophet Mohamed that set off mass demonstrations all over the world in the first months of 2006 are a case in point. Notably, these did not emerge from autonomous artistic desires to express contemporary views on the founder of Islam but instead they constituted

*Bas de Gaay Fortman*

responses to a Danish newspaper editor’s explicit invitation to draw such cartoons. Once published in Denmark a full process of ‘mediatization’ followed, with an awkward aftermath. In a first stage it was just Danish Muslims who consulted their teachers in Arab countries of origin. Next, it became a full media-hype in which the cartoons were brought to public attention in all sorts of places where people might be easily incited. We live, indeed, in a ‘symbolic society’ in which spreading information through newspapers, (summarised) reports and oral accounts has been largely replaced by electronic dissemination through symbols, images and words transmitted on the internet by websites with instant video and audiotapes



Saladin Citadel, Cairo.

(Elchardus 2002). Although as a result of processes of individualisation in principle more autonomous than ever before, the individual has actually become an easy prey to media manipulation. Public anxiety, culminating in mass demonstrations, can be quite easily mobilised today, and this certainly applies to ‘religious’ violence. Illustrative of the irrationality at the roots of such violence are some totally unreasonable expressions of protest against the cartoons. In Pakistan, for example, Christian schools and hospitals were attacked, whereas both global and local Christian leaders had fully condemned the cartoons. On average ninety percent of students and patients in the molested institutions were Muslim.

Instances of folly abound. In the Netherlands a cabinet minister pointed to the consequences of democracy as an arithmetic method of political decision-making, implying that with an Islamist majority of two thirds the constitution could be changed in order to introduce Shar’ia law. Subsequently parliament devoted a full afternoon to a discussion of ways and means to block Shar’ia in the lowlands. (Notably, of the seven percent current Muslim MPs

none advocates such a move.) When Pope Benedict quoted a 14th century Byzantine emperor’s derogatory remark on Prophet Mohamed’s assumed legacy in respect of hostility and violence, before giving him an opportunity to clarify and express his regret, mass demonstrations against him were held all over the world, not habitually very peaceful, while in Mogadishu a catholic nun was assassinated. Is it, indeed, an almost complete silliness that is getting our world in its grip? What we are witnessing today may at least be called an open nerve. The sacred realm has become an extremely shaky space.

As an organisation tuned to peace, Pugwash cannot ignore the new threat to global security embodied in the sacred realm as a heavily contested space. But scholars relate a great deal more easily to processes of modernisation and secularisation than to senseless violence in response to what people perceive as attacks that hit them inside their sacred realm. Yet, at this juncture we are confronted with such a serious challenge that attempts to gain insight into causes and possible policy responses may well be seen as urgent. This chapter attempts to stimulate such a venture.

Conventional Inter-religious Violence

“Good people will do good things ...”, the physicist and Nobel laureate Stephen Weinberg once said in a dialogue with other scientists on religion, “... and bad people will do bad things. But for good people to do bad things—that takes religion” (Dyson 2006: 6). Although the historical background to this statement is clear enough—just think of the religious wars in Europe to which the Peace of Westphalia (1648) constituted a positive response—it needs at least an amendment: for good people to do bad things—that takes unholy alliances between religion and politics. One might see the still unpacified civil war between Tamils and Singhalese in Sri Lanka as an example here. Institutionalised Buddhism—the Sangha—has been heavily involved in the provocation of collective intra-state violence. Yet, that religion to which by far the majority of the population adheres, is not only known for its peaceful character, it even embraces tolerance and non-violence as primary religious principles (Pereira 2000). How then to explain the involvement of Buddhist activism in that collective violence?

In response to this query one should first take note of the many ages of peaceful coexistence between Buddhist Singhalese and Hindu Tamils. Hence, those who describe the war as religious or ethnic or a combination of these,

are faced with a major interpretative problem: how to explain all those centuries of inter-religious and interethnic peace? Apparently, all that time religion functioned if not as a peace-promoting force than at least as a non-instigator of sectarian violence. Secondly, the question is *how* in the 1980s religion got involved. Undeniably, the spark off point was when young Buddhist monks got mixed up in extremist nationalist politics. Accordingly, it was not religion as such but its link with politics that drove people to do bad things.

There are, moreover, a number of other factors that have to be considered in order to understand the context in which collective intra-state violence erupted in Sri Lanka. Decidedly significant among these are, for example, the economic factor, expressed in a lack of job opportunities for educated youth, among both the Tamil and the Sinhalese population, and the political-juridical factor, related to processes through which the Tamil population lost all confidence in the state as protector of people's personal security.

In other instances of religious division linked to collective violence such as the civil war between Catholic Croats and Orthodox Serbs, the story is not essentially different. Although religion does play its part in terms of a potential to mobilize resources on the basis of collective identity, such wars cannot be satisfactorily explained as just 'religious conflicts'. Undeniably, religious identity figures as an increasingly significant part of modern identity politics and ways in which contending identities generate markers and signposts to distinguish them from other identities. Generally, identity politics is informed by collective memories of injustice or shared experiences of prosecution or fear of those groups that they perceive as a challenge to a way of life, heritage and set of values and beliefs unique to them. Religious identity is also boosted by similar fears, although originally it draws its edifice from the practiced and non-practiced values of a community of believers. Similarly, religious identities may be intensified by feelings of oppression and stigmatization. In the latter case, religious identity may manifest itself in different forms of extremism as an instrument of counter-oppression (Salih and Fortman, 2007, forthcoming).

Given the often dangerous consequences of a mixture of religion with politics one might think that protection were to be found in a constitutionally enshrined separation of religious institutions and the state. Yet, secularity *per se* does not seem to guarantee the necessary combination of tolerance with the rule of law, implying that power



Jameh Mosque, Isfahan, Iran.

is limited by law and the individual is recognised as a person with rights. Iran may serve as an example here: just like the Shah's secular state, the current Islamic republic also appears to see respect for the rule of law and tolerance as vices rather than virtues. Notably, Abdulkarim Soroush argues in his exquisite *Treatise on Tolerance* that like love, tolerance "is an extra-religious (and certainly not an anti-religious) virtue" (2004: 21). It is to be seen as an extra-secular virtue too, as current attacks in the West against Islam as a whole demonstrate. Furthermore, the rule of law seems to have lost its global secular sanctity as new anti-terrorist legislation in the United States, based on principal deviations from well established international legal standards, indicates. What is new then is the way in which growing intolerance in both the East and West mutually reinforces enemy images. Doubtless, the climate this creates constitutes a threat to international security.

Clash Between Occidentalism and Anti-Islamic Secularism

Intolerance and 'us-them' divides are usually built upon contorted pictures of the other. What we are witnessing today is a new threat in this respect, not so much Huntington's clash of civilisations (1996) but rather a collision between an ideologically coloured rejection of 'the West' and an ideologically coloured rejection of Islam as a monolithic despicable religion. In both cases the threat to human security lies in ideological manipulation of religion—or of its opposite, anti-religion—as a means of constructing opposing cultural identities in regard to which both sides claim irreconcilable incompatibility.

Buruma and Margalit have coined Anti-Westernism as espoused by radical Islamists religious ‘Occidentalism’ (2004). Occidentalism despises ‘the West’ as a materialist capitalist society worshipping false gods based on a public-political order that allows a false dichotomy between the public and the private realm. (Incidentally, the ideological manner in which the Danish prime minister distanced not only the state but also his government and his person from the cartoons issue—‘those offended can file their applications with the judiciary’—did much to confirm that image.)

Strikingly, we find the term ‘Occidentals’ already in the last lines of Edward Said’s famous *Orientalism* (1978), albeit in a different connotation (Westerners as they see themselves, *viz.* as superiors). Said’s scholarly work shows how time and again studies originating outside the East have constructed ‘the Orient’ as distinct, culminating in all sorts of divides between ‘them’ and ‘us’. Orientalism is a way of dealing with ‘the Orient’ that confirms a relationship between the Occident and Orient of power, domination and hegemony. Said’s focus is, primarily, on academic studies. Today, however, orientalism manifests itself as a secularist political ideology. Its object is not so much the East as such but Islam as a religion fundamentally incompatible with such crucial values and institutions as freedom, democracy, gender equality and the rule of law. When criticised from within the West itself it is usually called ‘secularism’ or even ‘secular fundamentalism’ (Ekins 2002), even though the term ‘fundamentalism’ is misleading in this respect, as will be argued below. Although indeed political in nature, it seeks connections with liberal political theory arguing that without fully confining religion to the private realm, democracy were impossible. Notably, in the Netherlands we see a growing number of liberal theorists entering the political arena today, presenting their ideological secularist view in newspaper columns, radio and television interviews, and presentations at political party gatherings. Whereas this observation finds its basis particularly in that country, it would, however, be no surprise if it were confirmed elsewhere.

It is, particularly, the confrontation between contemporary Occidentalism and Anti-Islamic Secularism that has created a climate of intense sensitivity towards anything that might be seen as confirmation of ideological positions already taken. This applies, for instance, to both the publication of cartoons of the prophet Mohamed in a ‘Western’ medium and the violent demonstrations following that ‘simple manifestation of freedom of expression’. It

is quite possible that without such incidents—they happen with increasingly shorter intervals—the conflict between Israel and the Arab Middle East would not have assumed the dimension of the Israel-Hezbollah war of 2006. Notably, in the social sciences it is impossible to get such assumptions confirmed as in the natural sciences. Hence, such careful observations remain a matter of argued plausibility.

It is the constant ‘mediatization’ of touchy events, opinions and discourses that makes the new sensitivity so hazardous. There is an urgent need, therefore, to recognise this global ideological confrontation as a new threat in the first place, and to accept the new challenge to surmount it.

In order to overcome the new battle of discourses a first prerequisite is to understand how it came into being. Towards the end of their mirror study *Occidentalism*, Buruma and Margalit acknowledge the way in which Islamism has been influenced precisely by Western secularism:

“The Islamist revolutionary movement that currently stalks the world, from Kabul to Java, would not have existed without the harsh secularism of Reza Shah Pahlavi or the failed experiments in state socialism in Egypt, Syria and Algeria. This is why it was such a misfortune, in many ways, for the Middle East to have encountered the modern West for the first time through echoes of the French revolution” (2004: 143).

This historical interpretation is confirmed by Sadik Al-Azm in his perceptive essay on *Islam, Terrorism and the West Today*:

“In fact, the modern European violent intrusion into Islamdom and Arabdom [starting with Bonaparte in 1798] created, in my view, a final, decisive and definitive rupture with the past that I can only compare with the no less final and definitive rupture effected by the violent Arab-Muslim intervention into the history of Sassanid Persia. And just as the history of post-conquest Persia stopped making sense without Arabs, Islam and their eruption on the local Farsi scene, similarly, the post-Bonaparte history of Arabdom stopped making sense without Europe, modernity and their eruption on the local Arab scene as well” (2004: 27).

No Occidentalism without its prior counterpart, in other words. Consequently, from a Western perspective a first challenge lies in a critical analysis of what can be done to overcome Orientalism in its modern Anti-Islamic secularist guise. The importance of that ‘liberating’ mission was implicitly noted by Said, when towards the end

of his study he concluded: “Without ‘the Orient’ there would be scholars, critics, intellectuals, human beings, for whom the racial, ethnic, and national distinctions were less important than the common enterprise of promoting human community” (1978: 328).

Building Peace From Within the Sacred Realm

At the roots of perceptions and discourses about ‘the other’ lie interpretations of holy texts, too. Remarkable in this connection is the popular secularist assumption that Islam will always remain bound to a literal grammatical interpretation of ‘violent’ texts in the Qur’an. This hermeneutical premise stands at the roots of modern Anti-Islamism. Notably, however, the Bible, too, is full of texts that tend to be classified as brutal, some 1400 or so, more at any rate than in the Qur’an. Some of these classifications rest on obvious misinterpretations such as Jesus’ words “Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to bring peace, but a sword” (St Matthew 10:34). Rather than advocating violence Jesus told his disciples that they would *encounter* animosity. Yet, with regard to Exodus 32: 27-28 where Moses orders the people of Israel in the name of God that every man put “his sword by his side, and go in and out from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour”, an order followed to such an extent that “there fell of the people that day about three thousand men”, all I found in a modern commentary is a direction to the next verse which states that by executing that divine judgment the Levites are consecrated to the Lord (Fensham 1977: 221). Not surprisingly, in mainstream contemporary Christian theology and practice such texts are totally disregarded. No text without a context, at any rate.

In Islam, however, the fundamentalist movement is notably stronger than it is in contemporary Christendom. In this respect two observations seem relevant. Firstly, it is a serious error to confuse fundamentalist interpretation of holy texts and the desire to lead a puritan life with political Islamism. “The political Islamists”, Buruma and Margalit observe, “are interested in power and want to establish an Islamic state. ... The puritans, who wish only to enforce collective morality, are fundamentalists” (2004: 129). Notably, it is quite possible to be fundamentalist as well as tolerant, simply because the orthodox faithful may too realise that one has to acquiesce to the impossibility of convincing others that one’s own truth, considered as being absolute, must be accepted as exclusive.

Secondly, as already noted, it is precisely those who reject and attack Islam per se who underline its complete rigidity, while connecting orthodoxy with political Jihadism. By denying all Muslims their sacred realm, orthodox believers are thrown on one heap with political terrorists. In this way the real clash of civilizations, the struggle between moderate Islam and radical militant Islam, is being denied and neglected. A more constructive attitude, in contrast, starts with the recognition of Islam as a legitimate faith as well as a genuine way of life. It is just by dissociating ourselves from any tendency to approach different religions and worldviews in categories of moral-political superiority and inferiority that dialogue becomes possible. Only through dialogue and reunion, based on recognition of the other’s precious sacred realm, the new ideological threats to global security can be effectively addressed.

Freeman Dyson wrote his review of Daniel Dennett’s *Breaking the Spell: Religion as a Natural Phenomenon* under the title ‘Religion from the Outside’. Dennett’s study is indeed an attempt to study religion as a sociologically observable set of facts. In contrast, Dyson’s point is that it will never be possible to understand religion purely from the perspective of an outsider. In response to Weinberg’s famous words that were quoted above, he states: “And for bad people to do good things—that takes religion” (2006: 6). This at least has always been the purpose of religion: to convert sinners in a way that affects human behavior, too. In order to understand that function of religion it will be necessary to explore it from the inside: “The sacred writings, the Bhagavad Gita and the Koran and the Bible, tell us more about the essence of religion than any scientific study of religious organizations” (id. : 8).

Islam of course is far from monolithic (Ferguson 2006: 639), as the real conflict, I repeat, is between moderate Islam and radical Islam. Crucial for an Islamic reform from within, is a rereading of texts in general and critical texts in particular. At a conference on ‘Hermeneutics, Scriptural Politics and Human Rights’, organized at Utrecht University to bring theologians and jurists from different religious backgrounds together, two Shiite scholars of Mofid University in Qom (an institution established particularly for higher education of Mullahs) addressed sensitive issues that always arise when it comes to the ‘violent and uncompromising’ character of Islam. In a scholarly paper Sadegh Haghghat (2007, forthcoming) argues convincingly that the militant interpretation of the Qur’anic notion of Jihad is false, and he concludes:

“No text can be interpreted without its specific context. Jihad, in all kinds, must be read in the context of tribe-state conditions. The offensive kind of jihad—which is allowed just in the time of the holy Prophet and his successors (according to the majority of Shiite jurisprudences)—is tuned to anti-Muslim countries, not to secular ones. International conventions confine trans-national responsibilities of Islamic states (11)”.

Ali Mirmoosavi presented a paper on the highly intricate theme of ‘The Qur’an and Religious Freedom: The Issue of Apostasy’. After carefully analysing the relevant texts he arrives at the following conclusions:

“The Qur’anic scriptures establish a general principle that can be described as the Qur’anic principle of religious freedom. The main rule is that ‘there is no compulsion in religion’, which rejects any pressure on belief. Yet, in connection with other verses that put some limitation on belief, this principle cannot justify religious freedom in its broad dimensions. ... [Yet], according to the Qur’an apostasy does not mean just simple changing of religion or disbelief. It implies to change religion after confidently believing and because of an unjustified motivation, usually concerning treason. However, the Qur’an does not directly impose any worldly punishment for apostasy. This deduction discloses a possibility for reconciliation between the Qur’an and religious freedom.

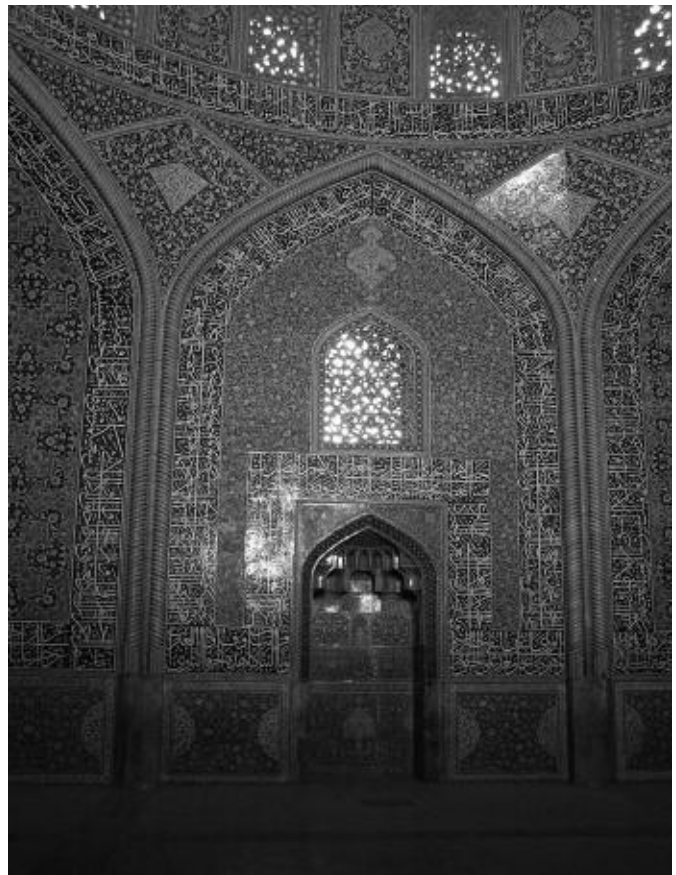
“Freedom of religion was not compatible with past Islamic society where citizenship was based on religious belief...”

“Modern Islamic societies experience a completely different life in the globalized world of political, economic and security interdependence. Freedom of religion in this world is not only the legitimate right based on several arguments, but also a necessary condition for peaceful and stable life.”

Evidently, efforts such as those undertaken by Islamic scholars like Haghighat and Mirmoosavi, arguing on a common ground, and confronting religious rules and cultural practices incompatible with universal standards of human dignity from within, are of foremost importance.

Some Final Observations

Clearly, globalization has affected religious sensitivities, too, and as a result the sacred realm has become a rather shaky space. To take this up, Pugwash would do well to provide a space for those involved in religion and peace. Indeed, contemporary new threats do imply a challenge to involve theologians no less than natural scientists, as



Sheikh Lotfollah Mosque, Isfahan, Iran

hermeneutics is subject to manipulation because it is well known that people act on interpretations of sacred texts. Where religion is used as an instrument of power and manipulation, it has been less respectful of sanctity and human well being and has become further removed from enhancing the common good. Yet, religious praxis or theory of practice cannot be removed nor made to appear distant from the realities people endure in the real world (Salih and Fortman 2007, forthcoming).

The new challenge lies not merely in a struggle against ideological manipulations; where religion has been used as an instrument for the good, it delivered unprecedented justice, liberty and freedom. In both religion and politics, identity could also develop into a function of positive self-esteem, cooperation, solidarity and compassion in a community of believers. It may also extend from religion to social welfare, empowerment and positive attitudes towards oneself and to those with whom the community of believers interacts in the course of living together.

In response to the new challenges posed by globalization of religious sensitivities governments are obviously limited, precisely because the sacred realm requires a cer-

tain degree of autonomy in the first place. Yet, there is one particular aspect of 'religious violence' that remains highly subject to public policies. Indeed, this new threat to international security cannot be understood aside from a world with incredibly rapidly rising inequalities, both in the economic realm and in the political domain. In Hannah Arendt's view the opposite of violence is not non-violence but power: "Power and violence are opposites; where the one rules absolutely, the other is absent (1993: 64 [1969])." Violence often springs from rage, the *mad fury* as a collective instinct that Sartre used to refer to, and that long ago expressed itself in the slave revolts and the rebellions of the oppressed. Yet, Arendt comments,

"...rage is by no means an automatic reaction to misery and suffering as such; no one reacts with rage to a disease beyond the powers of medicine or to an earthquake or, for that matter, to social conditions which seem to be unchangeable. Only when there is reason to suspect that conditions could be changed and are not, does rage arise. Only when our sense of justice is offended do we react with rage. The point is that under certain circumstances violence, which is to act without argument or speech and without reckoning with consequences, is the only possibility of setting the scales of justice right again. (Billy Budd striking dead the man who bore false witness against him is the classic example.) In this sense, rage and the violence that sometimes, not always, goes with it belong to the 'natural' emotions, and to cure man of them would mean nothing less than to dehumanize or emasculate them (Arendt 1993: 65-66 [1969])."

This enlightening discourse brings us to a final focus: the scales of *justice*. Based on his practical experience in peace building, John Paul Lederach of the Conflict Transformation Program in the United States speaks of a *justice gap* (1999: 27ff.). This is the result of inadequate efforts to develop a peace building framework that not only reduces direct violence but also produces social and economic justice. The point is that in all situations of violent conflict, there are original injustices that lie at the roots of it. The main reason why hostilities can be stopped in the end is that those involved realize that the violence of the war is even worse than the original injustices. But at the same time they will expect these original injustices to be dealt with after the cessation of hostilities. Expectations are raised that life will not continue as it used to but that there will be an improvement, a public path towards justice. Notably, justice has very much to do with the outcome of the use of power, and hence with daily livelihoods, with

people's needs and the recognition of these. It is the *root conflict*, in Johan Galtung's terminology (1998) that has to be addressed (Klein Goldewijk and Fortman 1999: 82). At a global level that root conflict lies in socio-economic and political inequalities. Challenges to human security in that sense, are not new. With a slight amendment to former US President Bill Clinton's famous exclamation: It is not merely the economy, stupid; it is justice!

References

- Al-Azm, S. (2004) *Islam, Terrorism and the West Today*. Amsterdam: Praemium Erasmianum Essay.
- Arendt, H., (1993) 'Reflections on Violence.' in B. Epstein and R.B. Silvers (eds.), *Selected Essays From the First Thirty Years of the New York Review of Books*. New York: New York Review of Books, pp. 61-67. (Originally Published in NYRB, February 27, 1969)
- Buruma, I. and A. Margalit (2004) *Occidentalis.: A Short History of Anti-Westernism*. London: Atlantic Books.
- Dennett, D. C. (2006) *Breaking the Spell: Religion as a Natural Phenomenon*. New York: Viking Penguin.
- Dyson, F. (2006) 'Religion from the Outside', Review of *Breaking the Spell: Religion as a Natural Phenomenon* by Daniel C. Bennett, *New York Review of Books*, 22 June, 4-8.
- Ekins, R. E. (2002) *Secular Fundamentalism and Democracy*. Grand Rapids: Acton Institute Publications.
- Elchardus, M. and I. Glorieux (2002) *De Symbolische Samenleving: Een Exploratie van de Nieuwe Sociale en Culturele Ruimtes*. Tiel: Lannoo.
- Fensham, F.C. (1977) *Exodus*. Nijkerk: Callenbach.
- Ferguson, N. (2006) *The War of the World: History's Age of Hatred*. London: Allen Lane.
- Gaay Fortman, B. de, K. Martens and M. Salih (eds.) (2007 forthcoming) *Between Text and Context. Hermeneutics, Scriptural Politics and Human Rights*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Galtung, J. (1998) *Conflict Transformation by Peaceful Means (The Transcend Method)*. [Manual Prepared by The Disaster Management Training Program of the United Nations] New York: United Nations.
- Haghighat, S. (2007, forthcoming) 'Jihad from Shiite Perspectives: Between Text and Context', in B. de Gaay Fortman, K. Martens and M. Salih, *Between Text and Context, o.c.* PP.
- Huntington, S. (1996) *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Klein Goldewijk, B. and B. de Gaay Fortman (1999) *Where Needs Meet Rights: Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in a*

Islam and the West

New Perspective. Geneva: World Council of Churches Publications, Risk Book Series, No. 88.

Lederach, J. P. (1999) 'Justpeace—The Challenge of the 21st Century', in *People Building Peace. 35 Inspiring Stories from Around the World* Utrecht: European Centre for Conflict Prevention.

Mirmoosavi, A. (2007 forthcoming) 'The Quran and Religious Freedom: The Issue of Apostasy', in B. de Gaay Fortman et al. (eds.) *Between Text and Context*, o.c.

Norris, P. and R. Inglehart (2004). *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Pereira, R. (2000.) 'Sri Lankan Buddhism and Religious Freedom', in Jonneke Naber (ed.), *Freedom of Religion: a Precious Human Right*: 133-140. Assen (NL): Royal van Gorcum.

Said, E.W. (1978) *Orientalism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Salih, M.M.A. and B. de Gaay Fortman (2007 forthcoming) 'Religious Identity, Difference and Human Rights' in B. de Gaay Fortman et al. (eds.) *Between Text and Context*, o.c.

Soroush, A. (2004) *Treatise on Tolerance*. Amsterdam: Premium Erasmianum Essay.

BAS DE GAAY FORTMAN is a Professor of Political Economy of Human Rights at Utrecht University, The Netherlands, and Emeritus Professor of Political Economy at the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague. Former Dutch MP and Senator (1971-1991). Chair of the Working Programme on States, Societies and Conflict of the Netherlands Research School for Development Studies (CERES). Member of the Committee for Development Co-operation of the Netherlands Advisory Council for International Affairs. Among his more recent publications are *Globalization and Its New Divides: Malcontents, Recipes, and Reform*, Amsterdam: Dutch University Press & West Lafayette (Ind.): Purdue University Press, 2003 (co-editor with Paul van Seters and Arie de Ruijter and author of two chapters), and *From Warfare to Welfare. Human Security in a Southern African Context*, Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2004 (co-editor with Marie Muller and author of a chapter), and 'Violence among peoples in the light of human frustration and aggression', in *European Journal of Pharmacology* (international journal published by Elsevier), 526 (2005), pp. 2-8.

German Pugwash Group

On 29 November 2006 the German Pugwash Group organized together with IFSH in Berlin a one day seminar titled: “Security, Disarmament and Arms Control after the North Korean Nuclear Test”. In his welcome address the scientific director of the IFSH, Michael Brzoska, emphasized the good cooperation between Pugwash and the Institute. Later lectures introduced the following subjects: German chair of Pugwash Götz Neuneck underlined the special opportunity in Europe for a renunciation of the redesign of new nuclear carrier systems. Pugwash’s Secretary-General Paolo Cotta-Ramusino explained the current Pugwash agenda that places an emphasis on the Middle East, and John Finney (London) illuminated the activities of the British “Nuclear Awareness Campaign”.

In connection to those discussions three panels followed: in the first panel Jonathan Tucker (currently affiliated with SWP), Alexander Nikitin (Moscow), and Oliver Meier (IFSH) analyzed the deficits of the American, Russian and European Non-Proliferation Policy. Ambassador Rüdiger Lüdeking pleaded in his short contribution for stronger unity between the USA and Europe and warned against “introducing double

standards”. The second panel with M. Kadry Said (Cairo), Secretary-general Cotta-Ramusino (Milano) and Margret Johannsen (IFSH) addressed the current situation in the Middle East, in particular the Lebanon-war and the nuclear dispute with Iran.

The panel felt that the creation of a zone free from weapons of mass destruction, although highly desirable, does not look very likely. The third panel with Frank of Hippel (Princeton) and Herbert Wulf, Chief Technical Advisor for Arms Control/UNDP, focused their contributions on the technical and political implications of the situation on the Korean peninsula. Wulf pleaded for stronger EU-activities and saw a solution in negotiating security assurances with North Korea. In the evening Robert Zuber, Outreach Director for UNEPS, and Lois Barber, President of the Earth Action Project, presented the UN project “Global Action to Prevent War—United Nations Emergency Peace Service”.

Sponsored by the BMBF, the event was held in the “Landesvertretung Hamburg” building and the audience, which included multiple high ranking leaders, was involved in many discussions.



Olivier Meier, Alexander Nikitin, Götz Neuneck, Jonathan Tucker, Amb. Lüdeking.

2006 International Student/Young Pugwash Conference

Cairo, Egypt, November 9–10, 2006

Rapporteurs: Adam Breasley and Katie Marvel

Introduction

This report summarizes the proceedings and outcomes of the 4th annual International Student/Young Pugwash (ISYP) Conference, held in Cairo, Egypt from 9 to 10 November 2006. ISYP divided 30 students and young professionals and 2 senior participants from 17 countries into two working groups that met in parallel. Working group A, “Nuclear and Military Threats to Security”, consisted of ISYP participants in senior Pugwash working groups 1, 2, and 3. Working group B, “Non-Military Threats to Human Security”, was composed of those in senior Pugwash working groups 4, 5, and 6. The working group discussion topics originated in the papers prepared for possible publication in the ISYP Journal www.scienceandworldaffairs.org. This document is the report of the presentations and discussions from both working groups but its content is the sole responsibility of the rapporteurs.

We are grateful for the opportunity to share our thoughts with the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs. It is our hope that this report will enrich the ideas and actions of the entire Pugwash Community.

Working Group A addressed nuclear and military threats to security through global and regional WMD proliferation and began with a discussion of the theoretical steps required to denuclearize Israel utilizing WMD Free Zones in the Middle East and Africa. Papers on Turkey’s changing security concerns and commitment to its obligations under international agreements, the Indo-US Nuclear deal and its effect on global and regional security, and the future of the NPT regime were discussed in relation to U.S. military nuclear policy including the war on terror and the changing role of nuclear weapons in U.S. security policy. Papers on the technological culture of war, nuclear testing and uranium mining in Australia, the relevance of the recommendations of the commission on WMD from an African perspective and the relationship between Islam and the West from an Iranian perspective allowed the group to link regional examples to broader themes.

The definition of security played a central role in the discussions. How do states and the people in them, as well as non-state actors, perceive their security? Do nuclear weapons and WMD play a deterrent role, or do they simply increase threats to security in regions and countries? What role do nuclear weapons play with regard to asymmetric security threats such as terrorism?

During the discussion on the denuclearization of the Middle East, the point was made that if an agreement between Israel and Palestine were reached it would do much to promote cooperative security agreements by countries in the region and prevent other political interests from delaying the disarmament process. Official diplomatic recognition of Israel by key states in the region may allow discussions on WMD Free Zones to commence.

The group discussed creating a Middle Eastern zone free not only of nuclear weapons, but of all weapons of mass destruction, WMD security issues often transcend state boundaries and can be addressed on a regional level. It was proposed that Japan and Turkey could each play a significant mediating role to create the Zone. A “Track II” initiative modeled after the successful Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP) organization, perhaps beginning with cooperation on environmental issues such as water security, would build confidence between actors in the region. It may be possible to promote ratification of the WMD Free Zone treaty in Africa by presenting the benefit such an agreement would have on the continent and relate its importance to the concerns of African citizens.

With regard to the US-India Nuclear deal the US is committing grave proliferation errors to promote its strategic interests in the region. The possible deleterious effect of the deal on security in South Asia is a serious concern. Providing economic and other incentives to halt nuclear and other WMD activities might entice economically suffering countries to pursue a similar route as a bargaining tool. Improving the economic situation in these states would greatly reduce this temptation.



Götz Neuneck, Immaculate Motsi.

It may be an appropriate time, even within the US military, to push for further strategic nuclear arms reductions. Although significant reductions have been achieved since the Cold War, several US government programs may make further reductions possible. Concerns were raised about plans for a new generation of US nuclear weapons that would require building a new weapons production infrastructure. This would require training another generation of nuclear weapons scientists; here, we hope that Pugwash can continue to stress and promote its founding principle of social responsibility for scientists.

A paper illustrated the Australian history of the British nuclear testing program and its impact on the indigenous nations in Australia. Indigenous Australians continue to be affected by uranium mining on their land and violations of their rights through an undeclared war. We hope that Pugwash will continue to support the renunciation of war, declared and undeclared, as a means of resolving international disputes.

The process of implementing the recommendations of the Blix Commission on WMD in an African context is constrained by various factors. Implementation problems include the porous nature of African borders, more urgent priorities put on economic, health, and violence problems in African countries, and the growth of terrorist cells

within Africa. It was noted that biological weapons present a unique problem for the already compromised African continent with a limited capacity and resources to respond to an attack.

Politically motivated rhetoric can escalate security threats. During the senior conference we heard much talk about the *Clash of Civilizations*, particularly with regard to Islam and the West. A United Nations—and religious leader—led Track II program can promote *Dialogue among Civilizations* as a new paradigm in international relations.

The technological culture of war is given its ultimate expression in the development of nuclear weapons. Pugwash, with its continuing emphasis on fostering a culture of dialogue and mutual goodwill by promoting the social responsibility of scientists can foster a new technological culture of peace.

Fundamental to the discussion in **Working Group B** and in keeping with the spirit of the Russell-Einstein manifesto, was a willingness to reject conventional models and to learn to think in a new way. Defining security without reference to a military apparatus requires not only a redefinition of the traditional concept of security, but also an ability to search for connections and subtleties rather than simple cause-and-effect explanations. The working group

attempted to tackle the complexity of human security through a wide ranging series of presentations and discussions representing a diverse set of backgrounds and views.

The presentations started with a discussion on the international criminal responsibility for abuse of power, which considered the ways in which those responsible for crimes against humanity, war crimes, and genocide may be subject to prosecution. The International Criminal Court, supported by 102 countries, has provided a mechanism for holding those who abuse their positions of power accountable. The need to raise awareness of the international framework for criminal prosecution among victims, potential aggressors, and among the international community as a whole was stressed during the discussions.

A presentation on the security of internally displaced persons emphasized the precarious security situation of those who have been displaced within their own country, arguing that many governments fail to protect these extremely vulnerable segments of their own populations. Recently this issue has led to a serious challenge to the notion of state sovereignty in the doctrine of the *Responsibility to Protect* as put forward and reaffirmed by the United Nations. Each state has the responsibility to prevent conflicts, protect its citizens, and rebuild after disasters; if it is unwilling or unable to do so, it will then abrogate its sovereignty, transferring responsibility to the international community. Questions regarding the implementation and possible abuse of this principle still remain, and it is as yet unclear how or whether to implement it in real terms.

The group discussed a prepared statement about the role of credibility in approaches to democratization in the Middle East that compared the aggressive policies of the United States, including “democratic warfare” and the “Greater Middle East” initiative, with the European-Mediterranean partnership initiative, finding both incomplete and unsatisfactory approaches to democratization. The EU’s attempt at partnership suffers from credibility issues, as the EU appears to fear and distrust the outcomes of democratic elections in the Middle East. Any democratization attempt necessarily raises questions of ownership and partnership, as well as the need to inject credibility, transparency, and legitimacy into the process. Discussions centered around themes of transparency and credibility in international and local organizations, as well as the effectiveness of policy implementation at different levels.

Additional presentations focused on country-specific issues and initiatives. The group discussed the issue of

opium cultivation in Afghanistan, outlining the historical and contemporary factors that have made the country the world’s leading supplier of opiates. The opium economy poses a security threat on local, regional and international levels. Opium cultivation provides a funding source for Al Qaeda and the Taliban; it encourages corruption and warlordism in government and it destabilizes buyer countries through addiction and its attendant problems. Licensing of the crop for medicinal purposes can help to control the flow of opium from the country and to combat these threats; however, only an improved ground security situation will help eradicate the problem.

On a different track, discussions that dealt with the youth perspective on food security and human security in developing countries explained some of the health and nutrition threats faced by the population of India. The problem is interconnected with unemployment and economic security and can be alleviated by creating specific job programs for Indians under the age of 25.

The potential of knowledge systems was illustrated by a presentation on an integrated approach to land management for the mitigation of health hazards through a framework based on the use of GIS technology. “Smart map” methods can be used to identify and investigate potential threats, but there is a need to integrate these methods within a wider multidisciplinary framework. Indigenous knowledge, in combination with relevant technology and science can help to address issues of human security. The African Institute for Mathematical Sciences is a good example of a successful capacity building project in South Africa used to train highly qualified researchers through its pan-African focus, innovative teaching methods, and especially its reliance on free and open source software and educational materials.

It is important to understand the psychology of societies at war which affects the political and social identity in conflict situations. It is very easy for combatant groups to demonize “the Other” with devastating consequences. This is illustrated by the lack of trust and good faith in negotiations, particularly between Israel and Palestine.

The working group B papers illustrated four basic themes. First, participants were concerned about the availability of information- who controls it, who may access it, and how we, as individuals and ISYP members, can raise the awareness of important issues. We believe it is a vital objective in conflict situations to raise awareness of both sides’ concerns, constraints, and limitations, as well as to focus on awareness of one’s own responsibilities and

opportunities. Second, we are concerned with issues of legitimacy: how do institutions achieve the credibility and trust necessary to effectively implement international law? In order to increase the legitimacy and credibility of international norms and organizations, the objective must be to provide a framework for effective, transparent implementation. Third, how can the international community implement policies without succumbing to traditional dynamics of power and colonization? Often the international community appears to apply arbitrary and inconsistent standards to conflict management, ensuring civilians are lost in the struggle. To this end, we must work to secure civilians and the democratic process and to bring abuses and double standards to the forefront of the discussion. The relationship between state security and the security of citizens is interdependent, encompassing economic, agricultural, community, and personal security. The objective is to develop an integrated framework to address this fundamental complexity.

Proposed solutions relating to all four themes focused on training, education, and awareness. Proposals included a training course for young media professionals—the tastemakers of the future—as well as programs to identify and train those who can liaise between government and grassroots to serve as agents of change.

Conclusion: ISYP Statement, Cairo 2006

In a world where the risks and threats to the survival of humankind continue to remain great, not least from the breakdown in traditional arms control and renewed proliferation threats, it is important to remember our humanity and not to be motivated by fear.

Recalling the 2005 ISYP Vision Statement *Mission Possible: Engaging a New Generation*, the challenges faced by future generations will not be solved only through diplomacy and the traditional political channels of negotiations. Youth has a tremendous potential to address these challenges. However, new and concerted approaches are required for the realization of a prosperous, equitable and a peaceful future.

Increased dialogue, among and with the youth, and an understanding of the complexity of conflict and fragility of peace are necessary tools to exploit this potential. Young people should embrace the idea that the responsibility to protect can also be exercised at individual level.

Raising awareness, creating expertise and engaging in dialogue are the means to enhance the potential of a peaceful future. Contributing to this end, young people can initiate novel programs which are both creative and feasible. In this area organizations such as ISYP play an important role.

AMNON PAZY

(1936–2006)

Amnon Pazy, a former member of the Pugwash Council and the Israeli Pugwash group, died on August 16, 2006 at the age of 70.

Amnon was a wonderful friend. He was sympathetic, passionately intelligent, insatiably curious. He had a delicious sense of humor.

Amnon's great strength was his absolute and transparent integrity. He never wavered from the bedrock of his principles: freedom of speech, justice, and equality. He was never beholden to any political party or ideology. He spoke only from his own conscience. He was not interested in personal power.

Amnon was one of the contributors to the building and the expansion of Israel's system of higher education. As a professor of mathematics, the president of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the chairman of the Planning and Budgeting Committee of the Council for Higher Education in Israel, he was one of the main leaders of Israel's higher education system.

As one of the founders of Israel's Atomic Energy Commission he contributed a lot in strengthening the ties

between the academic institutes and defense research and development establishment, resulting in numerous scientific, political, technological and strategic fields.

Amnon's first Pugwash meeting was the 40th Pugwash Conference, *Towards a Secure World in the 21st Century*, held in Egham, UK in September 1990. He participated in more than a dozen Pugwash workshops and conferences over the years, and was a member of the Pugwash Council from 1992 to 2002.

Amnon saw the suffering, felt his suffering and the suffering of the world. He believed that beyond this suffering there was hope. Beyond hope there was justice. Beyond justice there was freedom. His search led him towards that freedom as it encompassed and was born of suffering, hope, struggle and justice. This was a freedom beyond the conventional understanding of the world, a freedom that included the political but went beyond it. It was a freedom of mind, a freedom reflected in the human mind.

Aharon Zohar

For the Israel Pugwash Community

ALVIN WEINBERG

(1915–2006)

Dr. Alvin Weinberg, former director of the Oak Ridge National Laboratory in the US and an early and influential participant in the Pugwash Conferences, died October 18, 2006 at the age of 91.

In the 1940s, Weinberg was part of the Manhattan Project, first at the University of Chicago and later at Oak Ridge. Though he would remain a vigorous proponent of nuclear energy, he worried that nuclear weapons might again be used in war. He led an effort in 1996 that brought a large "peace bell" cast in Japan to Oak Ridge as a symbol "that bitter enemies can become friends."

As a scientist, the son of Russian emigrants born in Chicago and educated at the University of Chicago, he co-authored the standard text on nuclear chain reaction theory with Nobel Laureate Eugene Wigner in the 1940s.

Under his leadership between 1955 and 1973, the Oak

Ridge lab broadened its work to include early research into the biological effects of radiation on human genetics, the environmental effects of manmade pollution and the potential impact of energy conservation.

Weinberg attended the 3rd Pugwash Conference, *Dangers of the Atomic Age & What Scientists Can Do About Them*, in Kitzbühel, Austria, in September 1958, and later participated in Pugwash annual conferences in 1961, 1967, and 1987.

Weinberg was known for vividly articulating issues associated with nuclear energy with such catch phrases as "nuclear priesthood," "Faustian bargain," "technological fix," and "big science" to convey that nuclear physics or space research "require extremely elaborate equipment and staffs of large professionals" to support them.

Pugwash Council for the 2002–2007 Quinquennium

Amb. (ret.) Ochieng Adala, of the Africa Peace Forum (APFO) in Nairobi, Kenya, is former Permanent Representative of Kenya to the United Nations in New York, former Deputy Secretary/Director for Political Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, and former Ambassador of Kenya to the Arab Republic of Egypt, the Kingdom of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia; APFO, P.O. Box 76621, Tel.: (+254-2) 574092/6, Fax: (+254-2) 561357, E-mail: kilenem@africaonline.co.ke

Dr. Jeffrey Boutwell is Executive Director of Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, former Associate Executive Officer at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cambridge, and former Staff Aide at the National Security Council in Washington, DC; Pugwash Conferences, 2029 P St., NW, Suite 301, Washington, D.C. 20036, Tel. (+1-202) 478-3440, Fax: (+1-202) 238-9604, Email: Pugwashdc@aol.com

Prof. Francesco Calogero is Professor of Theoretical Physics at the University of Rome “La Sapienza”. Formerly, he was Secretary-General of Pugwash (1989-1997), Chair of the Pugwash Council (1997-2002), and a member of the Governing Board of SIPRI (1982-1992); Pugwash Conferences, via della Lungara 10, I-00165 Roma, Italy, Tel. (+39-06) 687-2606, Fax: (+39-06) 687-8376, E-mail: francesco.calogero@roma1.infn.it / francesco.calogero@uniroma1.it (please use BOTH)

Col. (ret.) Pierre Canonne is a Lecturer in Disarmament and Arms Control issues at the Univ. Marne-la-Vallée/Paris, former Head of TDB at

the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons in The Hague, former Senior Staff in the Strategic Affairs Department of the French Ministry of Defense, and former Negotiator, Chemical Weapons Convention; 29 Avenue Danton, 43300 Langeac, France, Tel./Fax: (+33-4) 71 77 24 57, E-mail: pmcanonne@club-internet.fr

Mr. Chen Jifeng is Convener of the Pugwash Group of China; Vice President of the China Arms Control and Disarmament Association; Executive Vice President of the China Association for Promotion of International Science and Peace; he was formerly Secretary General of the Chinese People’s Association for Peace and Disarmament (CPAPD) in Beijing, and Council Member of the Chinese Association for International Understanding; CPAPD, PO Box 188, 15 Wanshou Rd., Beijing, China 100036, Tel.: (+86-10) 6827-1736 or 6821-4433 (ext. 8586), Fax: (+86-10) 6827-3675, E-mail: jifengchen66@sina.com

Prof. Paolo Cotta-Ramusino is Secretary General of Pugwash Conferences (since August 2002); Professor of Mathematical Physics at the University of Milan; Director of the Program on Science, Technology and International Security, Landau Network—Centro Volta, Como; and former Secretary General of the Union of Italian Scientists for Disarmament (USPID); Department of Physics, University of Milan, Via Celoria 16, 20133 Milan, Italy, Tel.: (**39-02) 5031 7277, Fax: (**39-02) 5031 7480, E-mail: cotta@mi.infn.it

Dr. Lynn Eden is Associate Director for Research and Senior Research Scholar at the Center for Interna-

tional Security and Cooperation (CISAC) at Stanford University in California, and co-chair of the US Pugwash Committee; CISAC, Encina Hall, 2nd floor, Stanford University, Stanford, California 94305-6165, Tel.: (+1-650) 725 5369, Fax: (+1-650) 724 5683, E-mail: lynned@stanford.edu

Prof. Galia Golan-Gild is Professor Government, Interdisciplinary Center (IDC), Herzliya, Israel, and Professor Emerita of the Department of Political Science, Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She was formerly the Darwin Professor of Soviet and East European Studies, and Chair, Department of Political Science, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; E-mail: ggolan@idc.ac.il

Dr. Karen Hallberg is Professor of Physics at the Instituto Balseiro (Bariloche, Argentina), Research Fellow at the Argentine National Council of Science and Technology, a member of the Board of the Argentine Physical Association, and a member of the Bariloche Group for Science and World Affairs; Centro Atomico Bariloche, 8400 Bariloche, Argentina, Tel.: (+54-2944) 445170, Fax: (+54-2944) 445299, E-mail: karen@cab.cnea.gov.ar

Prof. Pervez Hoodbhoy is Professor of Nuclear Physics at Quaid-e-Azam University in Islamabad; Chairman of Mashal Books; an independent maker of documentary films for popularising science in Pakistan; and an activist for peace and social reform; E-mail: hoodbhoy@pierre.mit.edu

Gen. (ret.) Dr. Mohamed Kadry Said is Head of the Military Studies Unit and Technology Advisor at the Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, Al-Ahram Founda-

Pugwash Council *continued*

tion in Cairo, Egypt; Professor of Missile Mechanics of Flight at the Military Technical College (MTC) in Cairo; Member of the Committee of Strategic Planning of the Egyptian Council of Space Science and Technology; Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, Al-Galaa St., Cairo, Egypt, Tel.: (+20-2) 770-5630, Fax: (+20-2) 578-6037, E-mail: mkadrym@netscape.net

Prof. Saideh Lotfian is Associate Professor of Political Science at the Faculty of Law and Political Science at the University of Tehran, Deputy Director of the Center for Middle East Strategic Studies in Tehran, and the former Director of the Middle East Program at the Center for Strategic Research; Faculty of Law & Political Science, University of Tehran, Enghelab Ave., Tehran, Iran, Tel.: (+98-21) 611-2546, Fax: (+98-21) 896-9565, E-mail: slotfian@ut.ac.ir

Dr. Riad Malki, Director General, Panorama, The Palestinian Center for the Dissemination of Democracy and Community Development, Ramallah, West Bank, **Palestine** [formerly at BirZeit University, School of Engineering]

Office: Panorama, Ahliyya College St., Cairo-Amman Bank Building, 3rd Fl.n Ramallah, West Bank, P.O.Box 2049, Palestine, Tel.: +972-(970) 2-295-9618/23, Fax: +972-(970) 2-2981824, E-mail: riad@panoramacenter.org, panorama@panoramacenter.org

Prof. Amitabh Mattoo, Vice Chancellor, University of Jammu, Jammu, J&K, India; Member, Prime Minister's Task Force on Global Strategic Developments; Professor of Disarmament Studies, School of Interna-

tional Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi [formerly: Member, National Security Advisory Board]

***Office:** University of Jammu, Jammu 180006, J&K, India, Tel.: (+91-191) 243 5268, E-mail: amitabh.mattoo@gmail.com

Prof. Anne McLaren is Principal Research Associate at Wellcome Trust/Cancer Research UK, Institute of Cell and Developmental Biology; a Member of the British Pugwash Group; Member of the European Commission's Life Sciences Group and European Group on Ethics; and former Foreign Secretary of the Royal Society; Tel.: (+44-1223) 334 088, E-mail: a.mclaren@welc.cam.ac.uk

Dr. Steven Miller is Director of the International Security Program of the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, Editor-in-chief of the quarterly International Security, and Co-chair of the US Pugwash Committee. Formerly, he was a Senior Research Fellow at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), and taught defense and arms control studies in the Political Science Department at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; CSIA, J.F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 79 JFK Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138, Tel. (+1-617) 495-1411, Fax: (+1-617) 495-8963, E-mail: steven_miller@Harvard.Edu

Prof. Marie Muller is Chair of the Pugwash Council, and Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and Director of the Centre for International Political Studies at the University of Pretoria. She is also a Council Member of

the Academy of Science of South Africa, and Chair of the Pugwash South Africa Group; University of Pretoria, Pretoria 0002, Republic of South Africa, Tel.: (+27-12) 420-2318, Fax: (+27-12) 420 4501, E-mail: mmuller@postino.up.ac.za

Dr. Götz Neuneck is a physicist working on international security issues. He is currently Senior Fellow at the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy (IFSH) in Hamburg; Member of the Council of the German Physical Society (DPG), and Deputy Chairman of the Working Group "Physics and Disarmament" in the DPG; IFSH, Falkenstein 1, D-22587 Hamburg, Germany, Tel.: (+49-40) 866077-21, Fax: (+49-40) 866-3615, E-mail: neuneck@public.uni-hamburg.de

Dr. Alexander Nikitin is Director of the Center for Political and International Studies (CPIS); Vice Chairman of the Russian Pugwash Committee of Scientists for Disarmament and International Security; Professor at Moscow State Institute for International Relations; First Vice-President of the Russian Political Science Association; and Board Member of the Russian Academy of Political Sciences; CPIS, Prospect Mira 36, Moscow, Russian Federation 129010, Tel. (+7-095) 280-3441, Fax: (+7-095) 280-0245, E-mail: cpis@orc.ru

Prof. Hitoshi Ohnishi is Professor of International Relations and Deputy President at Tohoku University in Sendai, Japan; former President of the Peace Studies Association of Japan; and former Council Member of the Japanese Political Science Association; School of Law, Tohoku University, Kawauchi, Aoba-ku,

Pugwash Council *continued*

Sendai 980-8576, Japan, E-mail: hitohnishi@aol.com

Gen. Pan Zhengqiang is Professor at the Institute of Strategic Studies at the National Defense University, PLA, China, a retired Major General in the Chinese People's Army, and former Director of the Institute of Strategic Studies; Institute of Strategic Studies, National Defense University, PLA, China, Tel/Fax: (++86-10) 8283-1159, E-mail: panzq@cgw.net.cn

Senator Douglas Roche, O.C., is a member of The Senate of Canada; former Visiting Professor at the University of Alberta in Edmonton; Chairman of the Canadian Pugwash Group; Chairman of the Middle Powers Initiative; and former Canadian Ambassador for Disarmament; University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, Tel.: (++1-780) 466-8072, Fax (++1-780) 469-4732, E-mail: djroche@shaw.ca (or) roched@sen.parl.gc.ca

Acad. Yuri Ryzhov is President of the International Engineering University in Moscow; Chair of the Russian Pugwash Group; Academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences; former Member of the Presidential Council of the Russian Federation; and former Ambassador Extraordi-

nary and Plenipotentiary of Russia to France; 6 Leninsky pr., Moscow, Russia, Tel.: ++7-095) 236-5066 / 9761, Fax: (++7-095) 236-1469, E-mail: info@miu.ru

Prof. Ivo Slaus, a Member of the Croatian Parliament, is Chairman of the Parliamentary Subcommittee on Science, Higher Education & Technology, President of Croatian Pugwash, a Member of the Club of Rome, a Fellow of the World Academy and Academia Europea, former Professor of Physics at Rudjer Boskovic Institute, and former Foreign Secretary of the Croatian Academy of Sciences & Arts; Rudjer Boskovic Institute, Bijenicka 54, P.O. Box 1016, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia, Tel.:(++385-1) 46 80 202, Fax: (++385-1) 46 80 239, E-mail: slaus@rudjer.irb.hr

Prof. Fernando de Souza Barros is Professor Emeritus at the Physics Institute of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro in Brazil; Physics Institute, UFRJ, Tel.: (++55-21) 2562-7337, Fax: (++55-21) 2562-7368, E-mail: fsbarros@if.ufrj.br

Dr. Mark Byung-Moon Suh, a South Korean political scientist, is a Senior Researcher in the Department of Political Science at the Free University of Berlin in Germany and Presi-

dent of the Korean Pugwash Group. He was formerly the director of the Korean International Peace Research Institute (KIPRI) in Seoul, and a member of the Advisory Council on Peaceful and Democratic Unification of Korea; Schlieperstr. 12, D-13507 Berlin, Germany, Tel.: (++49-30) 433-8574, Fax: (++49-30) 433-2896, E-mail: MarkSuh@gmx.net

Prof. M.S. Swaminathan is a renowned agriculture scientist. Considered the scientific leader of the Green Revolution, his approach in pioneering "ever-green revolution" is at the heart of what is now called sustainable agriculture. He is a past recipient of the World Food Prize, the Honda Award, the Ramon Magsaysay Award, the UNESCO Gandhi Prize, and the Indira Gandhi Prize for Peace, Disarmament and Development. He chaired the International Commission on Peace and Food, and is UNESCO Chair in Ecotechnology, and Chairman of the MS Swaminathan Research Foundation in Chennai, India; MS Swaminathan Research Foundation, 3rd Cross Street, Taramani Institutional Area, Chennai-600 113, India, Tel.: (++91-44) 254 2790 / 1698, Fax: (++91-44) 254 1319, E-mail: msswami@mssrf.res.in

Calendar of Future Pugwash Meetings

2007

- 17-18 March 2007
Noordwijk, The Netherlands
Pugwash Meeting no. 324: 26th Workshop of the Pugwash Study Group on the Implementation of the Chemical and Biological Weapons Conventions: 10 Years of the OPCW: Taking Stock and Looking Forward
- 12-14 April 2007
Washington, DC
14th National Student Pugwash USA Conference on Science and Social Responsibility: Promoting the Integrity of Science
- 22-23 April 2007
Kochi, India
4th Pugwash Workshop on Prospects for Self-Governance in Jammu and Kashmir
- 5-7 July 2007
Nova Scotia
Pugwash Conferences/Middle Powers Initiative, "Revitalizing Nuclear Pugwash, Disarmament", 50th Anniversary Pugwash Workshop
- 21-26 October 2007
Bari, Italy
57th Annual Pugwash Conference: Prospects for Disarmament, Dialogue and Cooperation in the Mediterranean Region
- 7-8 December 2007-03-20
Geneva, Switzerland
27th Workshop of the Pugwash Study Group on the Implementation of the Chemical and Biological Weapons Conventions

2008

- Spring 2008*
Pugwash Workshop on Science, Ethics and Society
Ajaccio, Corsica, France

* = tentative

Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs

President Professor M.S. Swaminathan
Secretary-General Professor Paolo Cotta-Ramusino
Executive Director Dr. Jeffrey Boutwell

Pugwash Council

Chair Professor Marie Muller

Members

Ambassador Ochieng Adala	Amb. Miguel Marin-Bosch
Professor Fernando de Souza Barros	Professor Amitabh Mattoo
Dr. Jeffrey Boutwell	Professor Anne McLaren
Professor Francesco Calogero	Dr. Steven Miller
Dr. Pierre Canonne	Dr. Götz Neuneck
Professor Paolo Cotta-Ramusino	Dr. Alexander Nikitin
Dr. Lynn Eden	Professor Hitoshi Ohnishi
Professor Galia Golan-Gild	Maj. Gen. (ret.) Pan Zhenqiang
Professor Karen Hallberg	Senator Douglas Roche
Professor Pervez Hoodbhoy	Academician Yuri Ryzhov
Mr. Chen Jifeng	Professor Ivo Slaus
Maj. Gen. Mohamed Kadry Said	Dr. Mark Byung-Moon Suh
Prof. Saideh Lotfian	Professor M.S. Swaminathan
Dr. Riad Malki	

Pugwash Executive Committee

Chairman Professor Paolo Cotta-Ramusino

Members

Dr. Jeffrey Boutwell	Professor M.S. Swaminathan
Prof. Saideh Lotfian	Maj. Gen. (ret.) Pan Zhenqiang
Professor Marie Muller	

Rome Office
Accademia Nazionale de Lincei
via della Lungara, 10
I-00165 Rome, Italy
Phone: **39-06-6872606
Fax: **39-06-6878376
E-mail: pugwash@iol.it

Washington, DC Office
1111 19th Street NW
12th Floor
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: **1-202-478-3440
Fax: **1-202-238-9604
E-mail: pugwashdc@aol.com

Geneva Office
16 rue de la Voie-Creuse
1211 Geneva, Switzerland
Phone: **41-22-919-7920
Fax: **41-22-919-7925
E-mail: pugwash.GE@gcsp.ch

London Office
Flat A Museum Mansions
63A Great Russell Street
London WC1B 3BJ, England
Phone: **44-20-7405-6661
Fax: **44-20-7831-5651
E-mail: pugwash@mac.com