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**The Human and Environmental Dimension:
Coping with Water and Food Insecurity:
Instruments for Long-term Conflict Avoidance**

**Mediterranean Security, Stability and Cooperation:
Issue for Europe – Eastern Mediterranean Region**

**Workshop III Conflict Dimensions in the Eastern
Mediterranean Region: Factors of Risk and Instability**




Contents

- **Human & Environmental Security: Shift in Perception & Concept**
 - **Three Visionaries: Mitrany, Marshall & Monnet**
 - **Mutual Preparation for Coping with Six Non-military Challenges**
 - **Policy Goal: Sustainable Peace & Development**
 - **Focus: Hydropolitical Geostrategic Context**
 - **Functional Cooperation in the Gulf of Aqaba**
 - **6.1 Proposals for Water Desalination in Gulf of Aqaba**
 - **6.2 Plans for Water Desalination in Gulf of Aqaba**
 - **6.3 Joint Red Sea-Dead Sea Pipeline/Canal Project**
 - **Components for Cooperation in Gulf of Aqaba**
 - **Creating a Knowledge Infrastructure for Functional Cooperation**
 - **Coping with Water & Food Scarcity: Framework**
 - **Instruments for Long-term Conflict Avoidance**
 - **Beyond the Hobbesian Security Dilemma**
 - **Readiness of Israelis and Palestinians for Functional Cooperation?**
 - **From Readiness to Action**
 - **Conclusions: Window of Opportunity**
 - **Legal Preconditions of the Middle East Peace Process**
 - **Major Sources**
 - **Selected Additional Sources Used in this Talk**
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1. Towards Human & Environmental Security: Need for a Shift in Security Perception & Concept

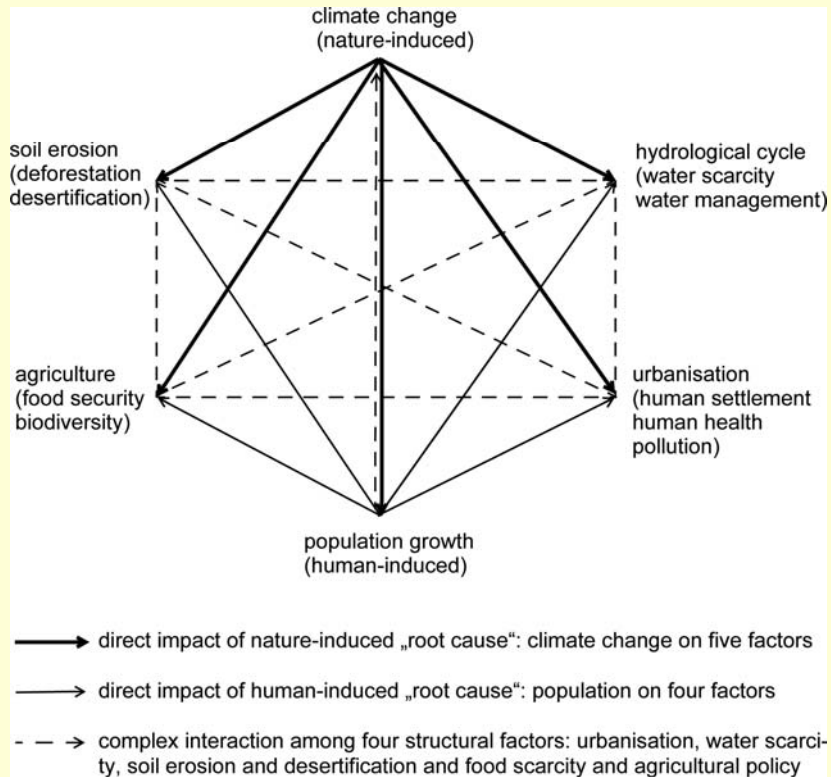
- What you see depends on your worldview & mindset!
 - Learning from End of World War I and II
 - **Versailles:** Mixture of **Hobbesian** punishment with **Wilsonian** vision and rhetoric
 - **G. Marshall & J. Monnet:** two pragmatic functionalist visions for cooperation among former enemies: **conditionalised support for countries and people**
 - Learning from the End of the Cold War (1989-1990):
 - **Hobbesian: Anderson: Victory:** US Military and economic superiority (power)
 - **Grotian: Gorbachev:** Breaking out of arms race by conceptual learning
 - In ME: exclusive focus on hard security as a zero sum game & power
 - **Asymmetric conflict:** between a powerful **state** vs. powerless **non-state** actors
 - **Spiral of violence:** cycle of human misery producing hatred in both sides
 - Need fundamental shift in thinking on security in and on ME region:
 - ❖ **From national military and political security: referent: nation state to**
 - ❖ **Human-centred environmental security: focus on joint challenges of survival**
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2. Three Visionaries: Mitrany, Marshall and Monnet

- **David Mitrany:** Working Peace System (1944):
 - Cooperation among functionalist specialists (ILO): political spill-over: creating trust among former adversaries
 - Cooperation of water specialists in Israel & OPT continues
 - **George Marshall:** Marshall Plan (1947): by a realistic U.S. business elite: P. Hoffman (CED, 1944)
 - **Conditionalised support for winners and losers of WWII:** cooperation among recipients with Germany
 - **Facilitator:** common enemy during the early Cold War
 - **Jean Monnet:** proposed a EC for Coal & Steel (1950)
 - **Context** (Korean war, 1950); alternative to German rearmament
 - **Result:** „integration“ as a federalist working peace system!
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3. Mutual Preparation for Coping with Six Non-military Challenges of the Survival Hexagon



Climate Change: will affect water, soil and contribute to disasters

Population Growth: will increase the demand for water & food


Urbanisation: will contribute to

Desertification: affects agriculture


Water: will decline for drinking & agriculture: conservation

Food: low yields & higher demand, more imports: „virtual water“

Thesis: Joint policy response to common challenge of **survival** of the **individual**, of **next generations** on both sides of conflict.



4. Policy Goal: Sustainable Peace & Development

- **Four basic concepts:**
 - ✓ **Security:** from national to human & environmental security
 - ✓ **Peace:** from absence of violence to combat common goals
 - ✓ **Development:** move to policy goals of equality and equity
 - ✓ **Environment:** from destruction (war) to protection (peace)
 - **This requires a gradual shift in linkage concepts:**
 - **Security dilemma:** from thinking in action-reaction patterns
 - **Survival dilemma:** to address common challenges of GEC
 - **Two conceptual strategic policy goals:**
 - ❖ **Sustainable development:** optimising resource efficiency
 - ❖ **Sustainable peace:** human & societal security & political peace with prosperity based on respect and equity
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5.Focus: Hydropolitical Geostrategic Context



- **Focus 1: Sinai and Gaza**
Egypt, Israel, Palestine
- **Focus 2: Nile River Basin:**
Egypt & 9 African countries
- **Focus 3: Golan Heights**
Israel, Lebanon, Syria, OPT
- **Focus 4: Jordan River**
Israel, Jordan, Syria, OPT,
- **Focus 5: Euphrates/Tigris**
Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Iran
- **Focus 6: Gulf of Aqaba**
Egypt, Israel, Jordan & Saudi Arabia & Palestine
The latter will be discussed!

6. Functional Cooperation in the Gulf of Aqaba

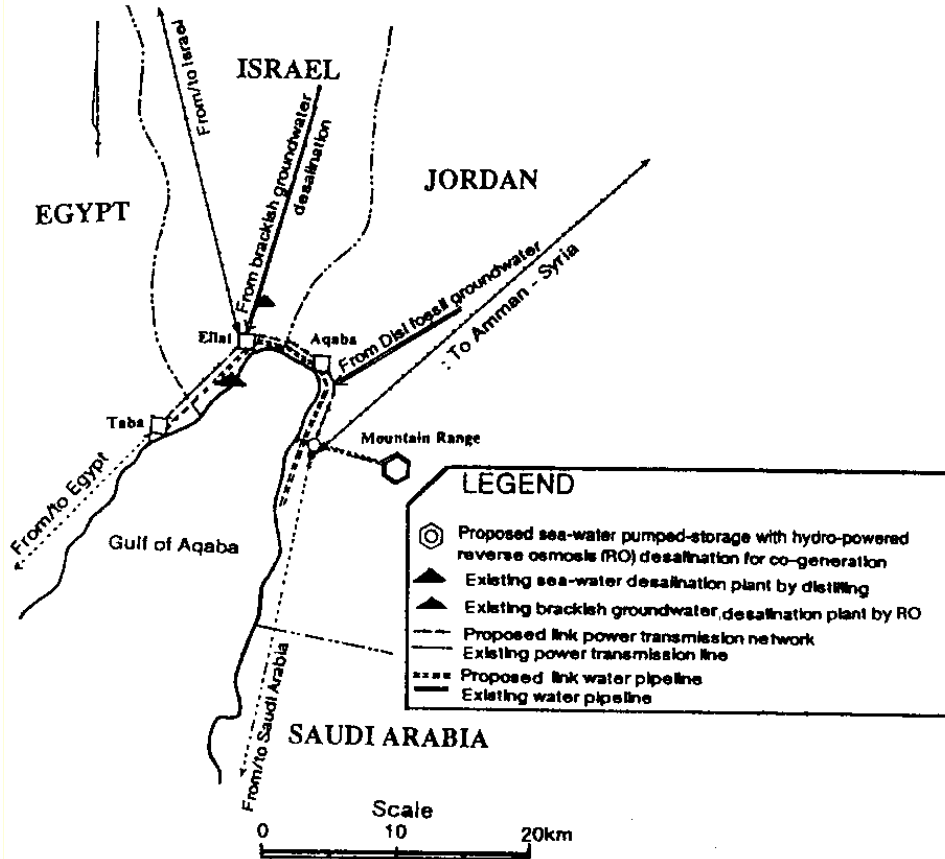


Existing project proposals for desalination in the Aqaba Region

- ❖ **G. Fishelson (1995) Water Desalination** a) the Red Sea-Dead Sea Canal; b) Mediterranean-Dead Sea (North Route)
- ❖ **M. Murakami (1995: 167):** Hydro-powered reverse-osmosis desalination in water-resources planning in Jordan (Aqaba-Disi)
- ❖ **M. Murakami (1995: 202):** Solar-hydro power & pumped-storage co-generation in hydro-powered reverse osmosis desalination in inter-state development of Jordan River basin
- ❖ **Jordan Times (17.4.2002):** Ministry of Water & Irrigation is studying a plan for a first sea-water desalination plant in Aqaba for the Aqaba Special Economic Zone (ASEZ).

6.1 Proposals for Water Desalination in Gulf of Aqaba

Water Ministry studies possibility of desalination plant in Aqaba (17.4.02)




- Desalination plant in Aqaba was discussed since peace treaty with Israel in 1994. The proposed plant is one of four water projects to solve water supply in the Aqaba zone.
- Ministry & USAID develops Aqaba's wastewater treatment plant (\$30-35 million) to irrigate parks & for industrial purposes.
- Fourth project to convey water from the Disi aquifer at a 4 million m³/ p.a. will provide Aqaba with drinking water, and meet the water demands of the industrial and tourism sectors in ASEZ for the next five years.
- The total investment cost of a proposed hydro-powered seawater reverse osmosis desalination plant in Aqaba was initially estimated to be US\$389.4 million.



6.2 Plans for Water Desalination in Gulf of Aqaba

Global Water Intelligence - July 2002: Jordan water investment plans

- Proposal to improve **water and wastewater services in Aqaba** in line with the financial and economic requirements of the Aqaba Special Economic Zone (ASEZ).
 - **ASEZ is a multi-sector investment zone** dependent on adequate water services. The **current population of 74,000 is expected to increase to 250,000 by 2025** with an allied increment in water demand from 15 M m³ /year to 50 M m³ /year.
 - The **Aqaba region** is likely to need a **desalination plant** with capacity of 10 Mm³/yr, as water from the nearby **Disi aquifer** will supplement **supply in Amman**.
 - A study by the **World Bank's Public-Private Infrastructure Advisory Facility (PPIAF)** to assess options for regulatory reform in Jordan's water and sewage sector. Support from EU, EIB, German governm. for similar projects elsewhere is possible.
 - Ministry of Water is reviewing draft RFP for **Disi-Amman water conveyer**. Five groups have prequalified for project to be co-financed by the Jordanian government.
 - **28 July 2002: Agreement on desalination plant:** Jordan & USAID (154 Mio.\$) in **Kurba al-Samraa**; costs: Jordan (6%), USAID (43%), US/French comp. (51%)
 - **Desalination plants in Southern Sinai:** e.g. by Egyptian government (Sharm El-Sheik to Taba) and by many hotels along the coast between Sharm El-Sheik to Taba
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6.3. Joint Red Sea-Dead Sea Pipeline/Canal Project



Dead Sea: Jordan, Israel Cooperating on Effort to Save Water Basin, *Water & Sanitation News*, 13.8.02

Jordan is attempting to revive a project with Israel to boost the receding water level of the Dead Sea, which lies on the border of the two countries and is also shared with Palestinians.

Stalled by Arab-Israeli conflict and lack of finances, EUR 2 billion (\$ 2 bn) project to build a canal along the Jordanian-Israeli border from the **Red Sea into the Dead Sea** was discussed since 1994.

The canal would send saltwater from the Red Sea's Gulf of Aqaba down a 400-meter incline to the Dead Sea in a desalination process that would relieve parched Jordan with fresh water.

Negotiations on the project have focused on technical matters, **with Israel favouring a pipeline to cut costs and Jordan calling for a canal to boost both countries' shore areas.**

Jordanian water expert **Elias Salameh** says a compromise is still in reach, and envisions a **canal at the start of the water tract on the Red Sea connected to a pipe! line in the desert.**

7. Components for Cooperation in Gulf of Aqaba



- **Three Partners** entered into peace treaties: **Egypt – Israel - Jordan**
- **Building on existing foundations:** cooperation of water & food specialists
- **Model:** Creating **regional interdependence** that requires daily cooperation
- **Comp. 1: Research** on common challenges for the region: Possible tasks for a new **UNU centre** funded by the EU in **Taba, Eilat and Aqaba**
- **Comp. 2:** Creating **renewable energy**
- **Comp. 3:** Schemes for **desalination**
- **Comp. 4: Sustainable food** production
- **Comp. 5:** Jobs in **sustainable tourism**
- **Comp. 6:** Creating **new urban environments** for jobs and living



8. Creating a Knowledge Infrastructure for Functional Cooperation in Gulf of Aqaba

- **Initial Countries:** Egypt (**Taba**), Israel (**Elat**), Jordan (**Aqaba**),
 - **Partners:** Saudi Arabia and Palestinian Authority
 - **Sponsors:** EU, USA & Japan, WB, IMF, EIB; **Facilitator:** UN
 - **1st Step: Problem Recognition & Creation of Awareness:** UNU Centre on Regional Impact of Global Environmental Change to Mitigate Environmental & Human Security Risks
 - **2nd Step: Creating the Knowledge Basis for Mitigation:** European Technical University of the Gulf of Aqaba with international departments and faculty in **Taba, Elat, Aqaba**
 - **3rd Step: Setting up a tri-national integrated infrastructure**
 - **Taba: Centre and Laboratory on Renewable Energy: solar & wind**
 - **Elat: Centre on Agriculture in Arid Regions (Univ. of Negev, Beersheba)**
 - **Aqaba: Centre for Hydrology and Desalination**
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9. Coping with Water & Food Scarcity: Framework Instruments for Long-term Conflict Avoidance

- **4th Step: Supplying Fossil & Renewable Energy**
 - **Fossil Energy:** Natural gas from Egypt and oil from Saudi Arabia
 - **Renewables:** Exploit solar thermal and photovoltaic energy, wind power
 - Create a joint infrastructure for a **local hydrogen economy**
 - **5th Step: Cooperative Mitigation of Water Scarcity**
 - **Joint training institution** for water experts on water efficiency
 - Build **joint water desalination plants** to serve all three countries
 - **6th Step: Creating New Jobs & Supplying Food**
 - **Joint research and training institution** for agriculture, irrigation, and desertification specialists for arid regions (e.g. in cooperation ICARDA)
 - Centres for IT, computer, software industry
 - **7th Step: Build New Sustainable Cities & Tourist Centres**
 - Develop **Sustainable Tourist Centres** based on renewable desalination
 - Develop **sustainable cities** with a low emission transport system. solar cooling and energy generation, waste based electricity generation
 - **8th Step: Create a Pride in Joint Achievements & a Culture of Tolerance**
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10. Beyond the Hobbesian Security Dilemma

- **Middle East Conflict: a Permanent Conflict?**
 - ❖ Answer depends on your worldview and mindset and preferred means
 - ❖ Continued asymmetric cycle of violence will not produce peace but hatred
 - **Learning the Lessons from Successful Peacebuilding**
 - Study and Learn from Mitrany, Marshall, Monnet and Gorbachev
 - Overcome the traditional Hobbesian worldview and popular mindset
 - **Maintain, create and develop regional functional networks**
 - ✓ Of water managers in Israel & Palestine on joint groundwater aquifers
 - ✓ Of Energy and food specialists as well as sustainable urbanisation experts
 - **Build common institutions**
 - Gulf of Aqaba: regional laboratory for a joint regional development
 - Start with education and expand to the economic sector, political spill-over.
 - **Look for common strategies for „human survival“**
 - ❖ Overcome state centred security concepts based on power (military means).
 - ❖ Civilian Society: to contribute to a gradual awareness for the common environmental security challenges with the goal of a stable human security
 - **Problem solution requires a „new thinking“ and new security concepts**
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11. Readiness of Israelis and Palestinians for Functional Cooperation?


- **Public Poll of World Economic Forum (21 June 2003): Key findings**
 - **About six of ten of both Israelis (66%) and Palestinians (56%) are in favour of the current renewal of negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians on the basis of the roadmap.**
 - **Israelis (75%) & Palestinians (68%) believe: both have right to live in peace and security.**
 - **51% of Israelis & 50% of the Palestinians: there will be a Palestinian state within 5 years**
 - **Both sides see the USA as the most influential actor in bringing peace to the region.**
 - **Both Israelis and Palestinians support an open market and joint economic projects. 66% of Israelis & 57% of Palestinians agree: *mutual cooperation & joint projects between all nations of the region, in areas such as water, health, environment, tourism, etc., should start as soon as possible, even now before final peace agreements are reached.***
 - **72% of Israelis & 69% of Palestinians agree that *there can be no real economic growth and prosperity for Palestinians and Israelis without a peace settlement between them.***
 - **There are differences of opinion on actual priorities of economic cooperation between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. For 77% of Palestinians *free movement of workers between the two sides* is of key importance for cooperation, for Israelis, figure is 57%.**
 - **Both sides agree to move forward on other areas of possible cooperation, such as water desalination & restoration, environmental issues, regional health projects & agriculture.**
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12. From Readiness to Action


The following are possible areas of co-operation between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. Please tell us whether you are in favour or against cooperation between the two entities in each area:

	% in favour	
	Israelis	Palestinians
Water desalination	78	77
Regional health	79	73
Environm. issues	82	68
Agricultural issues	79	72
Regional tourism	76	55
Reg. trade relations	76	64
IT and hi-tech	67	68
Culture & sports	72	51
Free movement of workers in between	56	77

- **Readiness of both Israelis & Palestinians for functional cooperation.**
- **Implementation of this will of peoples requires a shift in concepts from national to human & environmental security.**
- **The visions of Mitrany & Monnet & policies of G. Marshall & M. Gorbachev may contribute to such a mutual learning process.**




13. Conclusions: Window of Opportunity

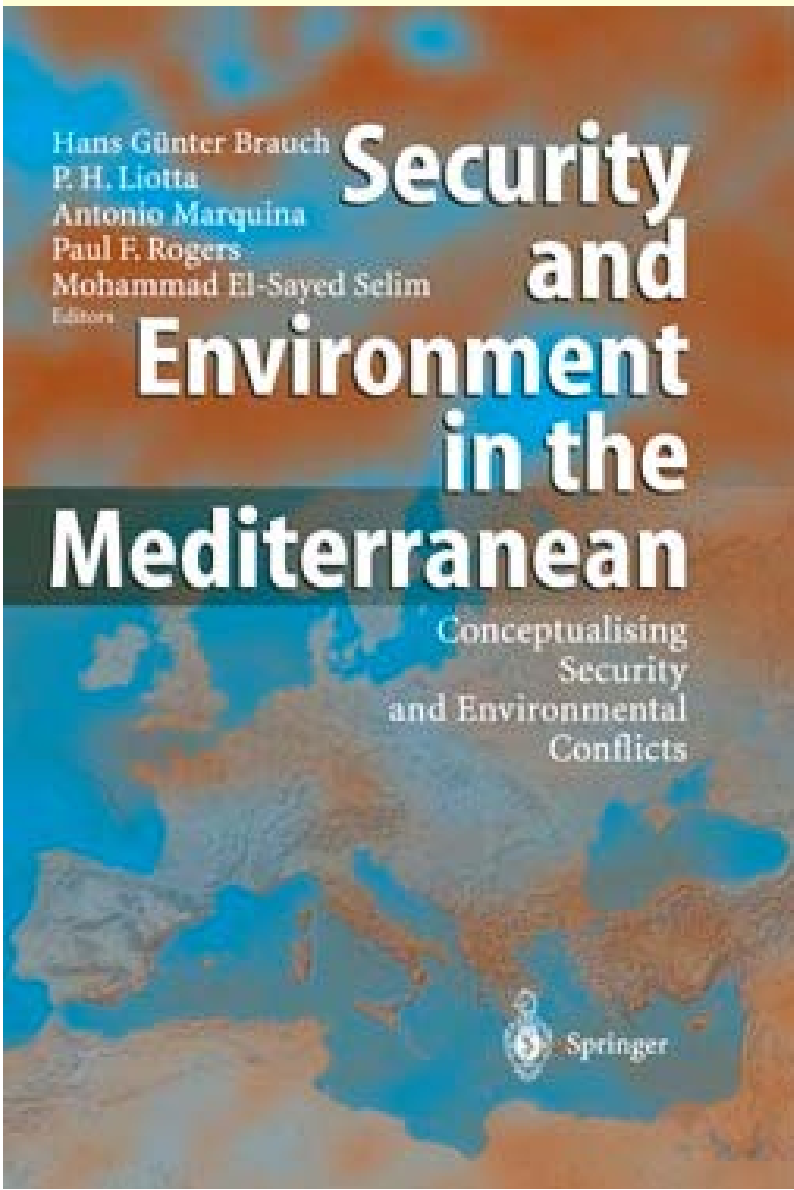
- **Preconditions for the Consideration of these Conceptual Ideas**
 - Implementation of the Roadmap for the Middle East of the Quartet
 - Return to the Multilateral Peace Process with the Working Groups: **Regional Economic WG**: EU; **Water WG**: USA; **Environmental WG**: Japan or to a new structure.
 - Plans should be developed within the Quartet with clear division of labour.
 - **Conditionalised Support by the Donor Community**
 - The Marshall Plan aid was conditional on the cooperation among recipients!
 - Strong unified strategy of all donors and equal treatment of all recipients.
 - Grant and credits would be conditional on the development of multilateral regional functional infrastructures with a premium for cooperation and sanctions for violation that would hurt the violator with the suspension of assistance.
 - **Preparation during Conflict: Step-by-Step Implementation**
 - The conceptual ideas for multilateral functional projects should be developed by joint functional teams of scientists from the three countries & Palestine
 - The multinational NGO planning process should be supported by the EU in the Framework of the Euro-Mediterranean partnership or its new foundation.
 - Other functional projects may be developed with the support of foundations in North America (e.g. Carnegie, Ford), and in Japan (Sasakawa or Nippon Fd.).
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14. Legal Preconditions of the Middle East Peace Process

- Full conformity with the norms of international law and the UN Charter;
 - **Peace Treaties between Israel with both Egypt (1979) and Jordan (1994)**
 - Within the framework of the **Middle East peace process** initiated in Madrid in October 1991, the Declaration of Principles of September 13, 1993, the subsequent agreements including the **Interim Agreement of September 1995**, the **Wye River Memorandum** of October 1998, the **Sharm El-Sheikh Memorandum** of September 4, 1999, the permanent status negotiations including the **Camp David Summit** of July 2000, the Clinton Ideas of December 2000, and the **Taba Negotiations** of January 2001;
 - Within **United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242, 338 and 1397** to contribute to the settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in all aspects;
 - Agreement with the **Quartet's Roadmap** process on the Middle East;
 - **„Geneva Accord“ of Israeli and Palestinian Civil Society (Oct. 2003)**
 - This Agreement marks the historic reconciliation between the Palestinians and Israelis, and paves the way to **reconciliation between the Arab World and Israel** and the establishment of normal, peaceful relations between the Arab states and Israel in accordance with the relevant clauses of the **Beirut Arab League Resolution of March 28, 2002**.
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