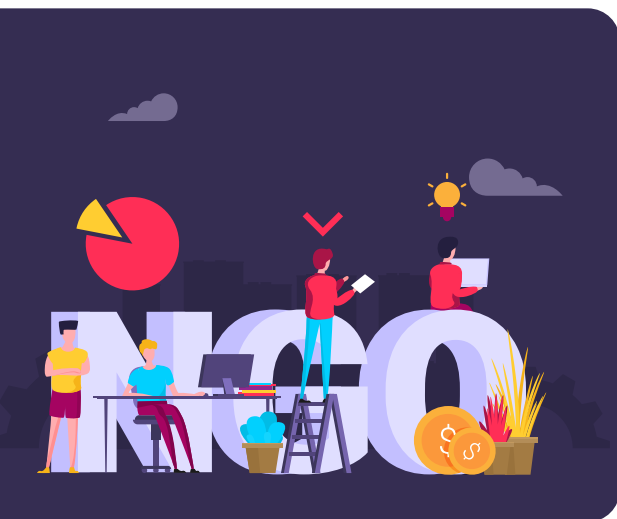




# UNITAR Global Diplomacy Initiative Papers



## **UNITAR Global Diplomacy Initiative Fall 2023: Final Papers**

### **By UNITAR GDI Students**

Published by the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR),  
New York Office

Website: <https://www.unitar.org/ny>

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Cover and book design by: United Nations Institute for Training and Research;  
Fernando Acosta, AF Design

Printed in: New York, United States

ISBN: 978-1-7353950-3-6

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# 1 Introduction

The Fall Class of 2023 of the UNITAR Global Diplomacy Initiative acquired a comprehensive understanding of current global issues and had firsthand exposure to unfolding events. Throughout the program, students actively engaged with accomplished instructors who provided extensive materials covering a wide range of topics such as Globalization and Multilateral Diplomacy, Climate Change, Conflict Resolution, and many more.

As part of their practical training component, students fulfilled a minimum requirement of 15-20 hours of observation in UNITAR Core Diplomatic Training programs. These programs encompassed various areas including ECOSOC work, Financing for Development and the Conflict Resolution series offered by Columbia Law School, among others. Additionally, students were strongly encouraged to attend open sessions of the UN General Assembly and other UN forums to further enhance their knowledge.

Furthermore, students had the opportunity to conduct research and produce papers on relevant subjects with the guidance and consultation of their instructors.

Overall, the UNITAR Global Diplomacy Initiative Fall Class of 2023 provided students with a comprehensive learning experience, combining theoretical knowledge, practical training, and active engagement with global diplomatic processes.



## 2 Featured Papers





## 2.1 Paper



## Unraveling the Complexities of the Israel-Palestine Conflict: A Multidimensional Analysis

by **Arnaaz Ali**

Advisor: **Ms. Larisa Schelkin** and **Dr. Michael Jabot**

*Any other contributors or sources have either been referenced in the prescribed manner or are listed in the acknowledgements together with the nature and scope of their contribution.'*

### Acknowledgement

TI would like to express my deepest gratitude to Professor Michael Jabot and Professor Larisa Schelkin for their invaluable guidance, unwavering support, and constant encouragement throughout the entire process of researching and writing this thesis. Their expertise, patience and constructive feedback have been instrumental in shaping this work.

I am also immensely thankful to UNITAR for this opportunity and their insightful comments, suggestions, and time dedicated to reviewing this thesis. Their contributions have significantly enriched the quality and depth of this research.

My heartfelt appreciation goes to my friends in the Middle East for constantly keeping me updated regarding the ever-evolving geopolitical situation in the region. I am extremely thankful to my family for their understanding, encouragement and support during this academic journey. Their unwavering belief in me has been a driving force behind this accomplishment.

Lastly, I am thankful to all my co-fellowship researchers whose names are not individually mentioned here, but whose support, encouragement, contributions, inputs and understanding have been fundamental in the completion of this thesis.

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## Chapter 1- Introduction

The Jewish people have been living in Israel for more than thirty-five centuries. History is evidence that the Jewish civilization in Israel was more than 1000 years old in the first century when the Holy temple in Jerusalem was destroyed by the Romans and the area captured. The newly conquered Jewish territory was renamed as Palestine by the Romans, as most Jews were sent to exile except for a few who chose to remain. After the capture of Israel by the Romans, there was no other State or group to develop the region for the next two millenniums. However, Israel was colonized and ruled by different empires over the period of time and later left the region, but despite all these changes, the Jews continued to remain in Palestine (Levin, N. 2016).

Throughout the 2000 years period, the Jews were hopeful of returning to their ancient homeland despite having moved to other countries because Israel continues to remain an important part of the Jewish identity. For three centuries, in the period between 15 to 17th century and in 1990, the Ottoman Empire ruled over Palestine. However, with the decline of the Ottoman Empire, Israel was converted into a barren area, poverty-stripped and left with a very thinly distributed population. During the same time, in the late 19th century the Zionist movement emerged in Europe and the Jews became victims of violence in Europe along with ethnocentrism in the entire European continent (Levin, N. 2016).

The agenda for the Zionist's was to ensure the return of Jews to Israel as a sovereign State and also to increase immigration of Jews into Palestine along with International political recognition of the right of Jews to live independently in Palestine. After the end of World War, I (1914-1918), because of the defeat of Ottoman Empire, the triumphant allies divided the land amongst themselves and created new nations including Lebanon, Syria and Iran (Levin, N. 2016).

### 1.1 Influence of The British Government

The British Government was given control over Palestine by the League of Nations under the Treaty of Sevres 1920. Britain was supposed to create a separate homeland for Jews in Palestine by implementing the Balfour Declaration. However, the Jews had already begun their settlement in Palestine and also started purchasing new lands and before the start of World War II, the Jewish population had grown substantially to 600,000 while the Arab population was already living there (Levin, N. 2016).

By the end of 19th century and early 20th century, Arab nationalism in Palestine grew to a great extent and transformed into growing feelings of independence, which resulted in a clash with Jewish ambitions to return to their homeland and to establish their identity. The period between 1923-1948, created several challenges for the Britishers who controlled the territory while being pressured with Arab nationalism and rejection of the presence of the Jews who were demanding their separate self-government. The resultant clashes and violent attacks between the Jews and Arabs also resulted in Jewish extremists attacking British personnel, forcing Britain to end its mandate in Israel and depart from Palestine (Levin, N. 2016).



In 1939, there was a “White Paper” issued which clearly stated the independence of Palestine to be established within a 10-year period and that Palestine was neither a Jewish State nor an Arab territory. According to the White Paper, immigration of Jews in Palestine was also restricted to 75,000 for the first-five-year period with strict restrictions on absorbing the Jews economically into Palestine and also with the consent of the Arabs. The White paper also placed tough restrictions on the amount of land that the Jews could acquire in Palestine. Despite several efforts to revoke the White Paper after the end of World War II, it continued to remain in effect until the British announced their departure from Palestine in 1948 (Levin, N. 2016).

## 1.2 The Role of United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP)

After the British announced their intention to end their mandate in Palestine, a special committee was appointed by the United Nations General Assembly- The United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) was to recommend a future government for Palestine. UNSCOP recommended establishing a separate Jew and an Arab State with a common economic Union and establishing an enclave under International Administration for the region of Jerusalem and Bethlehem. This was followed by voting in the UN General Assembly on 29 November 1947 with 33 votes agreeing for the partition plan to be adopted and 13 votes disagreeing with the partition plan, apart from 10 abstentions. Although the partition plan by the UN for establishing two separate States was accepted by the Jews, however, the Arab States completely rejected the partition plan and with the help of volunteer armies, they immediately invaded Palestine against the Jews (Levin, N. 2016).

Despite all these developments on Friday May 14, 1948, according to David Ben-Gurion, a Zionist leader officially declared Israel as an independent sovereign State in Tel Aviv. The establishment of Israel as an independent sovereign State was done in accordance with the UN Resolution 181 after the British ended its mandate in the region (Levin, N. 2016).

## 1.3 War of Independence

Palestinian Arabs did not agree with the UN Mandate that was voted on 29 November 1947. Therefore, with support from Arab States, Palestinian Arabs in an attempt to capture the entire mandate launched attacks against Israel. Thereafter, on 14 May 1948, five Arab nations namely Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt and Trans-Jordan invaded Israel with their armies because Israel had declared its independence as a sovereign State. However, despite the war stretching for 15 months, the Israeli Defense Force (IDF) emerged victorious (Levin, N. 2016).

Israel’s access to International Water was illegally blocked by Egypt followed by intensive violent attacks by Syria, Egypt, Iraq and Jordan forcing Israel to defend itself because even the UN Peacekeeping forces were expelled from their territory. A full-scale invasion of Israel with the help of 2,050,000 troops by four Arab countries prompted Israel to take a defensive approach over their invasion and Israel captured Gaza and Sinai Peninsula from Egypt, Golan heights from Syria and West Bank from Jordan (Levin, N. 2016).

## 1.4 Israel today

It comes as no surprise that from a population of 806,000, Israeli population has grown ten folds with 8.5 million Israelis today. Out of which 75% belong to the Jewish community. Without doubt there are several social, religious and economic problems faced by Israel, because it is a multiethnic country with immigrants, following a parliamentary democratic system of Government. Politically, Muslims and Arab States continue to deny the existence of the Jewish State of Israel and only 2 out of 22 Middle Eastern States namely Jordan and Egypt are signatories to the Peace Agreement with Israel (Levin, N. 2016).

Owing to the complexity of the ongoing conflict between Israel and Palestine, there are several contentious issues relating to settlements, borders and Sovereignty. Unfortunately, innocent lives on both sides have been lost as a result of violent conflicts and peaceful coexistence seems to be an unachievable task. In my opinion, I hope both sides can sit together and achieve a peace deal by deciding on contentious issues such as their sovereignty, settlements and borders, so that violence and unrest can finally be settled and both communities can peacefully coexist with each other (Dinshak, J. J. 2021).

## 1.5 Conclusion

In this thesis, I have mentioned about the methodology and the research involved in the thesis paper in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, I have analyzed the History and complexity of Israel and Palestine. Chapter 4, highlights the theorists' opinions in International Relations and their opinion on the Israel and Palestine dispute. Additionally, I have also studied the Game Theory and Normative Enforcement Model implementation in the Israel-Palestine conflict. Moreover, I have analyzed International Laws, treaties and agreements which are binding to both the States in Chapter 5. Furthermore, the violations of Crimes against Humanity of Apartheid and Persecution are mentioned in Chapter 6. To add to this, I have also studied the role of Science Diplomacy in context with the Israel and Palestine conflict in Chapter 7. Furthermore, in Chapter 9, I have analyzed the importance of negotiation and peacebuilding efforts to address the conflict in Chapter 8. Also, I have critically analyzed the role of International Organizations, the efforts and initiatives taken by the IO's to address the conflict and to what extent they have been successful. To further add to this, various suggestions, recommendations and solutions have been critically analyzed and recommended for implementation to resolve the conflict between Israel and Palestine in Chapter 10. Lastly, Chapter 11, is the overall summary of the Israel and Palestine conflict.

## Chapter 2 - Literature Review

### 2.1 Introduction

The complexity of the Israel and Palestine conflict requires extensive analysis of all the research studies, scholarly works and existing academic literature that has attempted to understand the dynamics of the conflict from its political, social, cultural and historical perspective. The aim of writing a comprehensive literature review is to scrutinize key themes, debates and theoretical frameworks from the existing scholarly discussions on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Literature review also aims to highlight the development of the conflict, the role played by different stakeholders, the impact of the conflict on the region and the likelihood of a successful resolution of the conflict (Dinshak, J. J. 2021). After a thorough amalgamation and analysis of the dissimilar stand points and observations by several scholarly works, the literature review aims to contribute to the existing academic literature, studies and presents a comprehensive understanding of the challenges linked with the Israeli and Palestinian standpoints and their complexities (Bryman, A. 2016).

The literature review also provides information about the objectives of the research and the methodology used. The Israel-Palestine conflict finds mention in literature which is very vast and complicated, that includes a wide range of academic disciplines such as political science, history, International Relations, sociology, peace and conflict studies. This literature review revolves around a central theme which involves the geo-political and historical reasons behind the conflict and also the origin of the conflict in the 19th century and the clash of nationalistic ambitions among both the Jews and Palestinian communities (Dinshak, J. J. 2021).

The historical context of the conflict has been thoroughly examined by scholars such as Benny Moris, Rashid Khalidi and Avi Shalim. These authors have analyzed the historical events in depth namely the Balfour Declaration, the Oslo Accords and the Arab Israeli Wars, that help us to understand the complex dynamics of the conflict in the present times. The role of external actors is also highlighted through the literature review. In the case of the Israel-Palestine conflict, the literature review highlights the role of the United Nations, the United States of America and the regional powers who have played a prominent role in influencing the outcome of the peace processes and also the complexity of the conflict (Bryman, A. 2016).

Furthermore, the role of the United States has been emphasized by scholars such as Mohammed Salem and Yutaka Nagata, since it continues to provide steady support to Israel and sway the balance of power in the region, further adding to the complexity of the region and diminishing the likelihood of achieving a fair and long-lasting solution. Authors such as Francois Lochon and Patrick Baz have studied the impact of regional dynamics and the role played by neighboring countries such as Jordan, Egypt and Syria for establishing peace and regional security in the region (Bryman, A. 2016).

For effective resolution of the conflict, a Two-State Solution was proposed, which is thoroughly analyzed for its complexities and challenges through the literature review. The two-State Solution has been examined for its feasibility by Suhaib Salem. For instance, the status of Jerusalem, the expansion of Israel through its settlements in the West Bank. Furthermore, the peace process has also been analyzed by scholars, Daniel Kurtzer and Shibley Telhami who have made an



assessment of the impact of domestic policies, public opinion and leadership on the peace process. Additionally, they have also recommended a participatory and an inclusive approach for effective conflict resolution during the peace building process (Levin. 2022).

The socio-economic and humanitarian aspect of the conflict has also been addressed through literature review. Authors Jesse James Lewat have scrutinized the socio-economic consequences of the occupation and have also attempted to focus attention on poverty, erosion of Palestinian livelihoods, unemployment and other related issues. Furthermore, Peter Hansen and Karen Abu Zayd through their scholarly works have highlighted the role played by International Organizations and also the challenges that IO's face while delivering aid and assistance in the conflicted region. These scholars have stressed upon the urgent need for adopting an overarching approach in responding to the urgent humanitarian need of the Palestinians (Levin. 2022).

The existing theoretical framework has also been critically assessed through the literature review along with the work of scholars and their discourses on the Israel-Palestine conflict which also includes peacebuilding and conflict resolution theories along with International Relations. Similarly, authors John Burton and Edward Azar and scholars namely Fisher-Yanai and Herbert Kelman have studied this prolonged social conflict and drawn attention towards human needs and the role of identity that has kept the conflict alive over the years (Bryman, A. 2016).

Therefore, a methodology based on dialogue that fosters mutual understanding between the conflicting parties urging them to reconcile along with adopting a problem-solving approach through interaction has been adopted. It stresses on the need to adopt a people-to-people engagement and track-two Diplomacy (Bryman, A. 2016).

Finally, the literature review provides an extensive outline of the scholarly works that have explored the Israel-Palestine conflict and has focused on diverse stand points, imperial findings and theoretical frameworks that have assisted in giving comprehension of the complex dynamics and challenges that are linked with the Israel-Palestine conflict. Furthermore, by incorporating discourses by scholars and debates by authors, the literature review has placed the thesis paper on a very well-grounded foundation that clearly underlines the research objectives, methodology and theoretical framework of a broad analysis on the Israel-Palestine conflict, besides also analyzing the possibilities of a just and lasting resolution of the conflict (Bryman, A. 2016).

## 2.2 Theoretical and Concept Framework

Creating a comprehensive theoretical and conceptual framework for a thesis on the Israel-Palestine conflict necessitates a profound comprehension of its historical, political, sociocultural and psychological dynamics. This framework will combine theoretical perspectives from various fields, including International Relations, conflict resolution and peace studies, to illuminate the intricate layers of this enduring struggle. By adopting a multidimensional approach, this framework will enable a thorough examination of the root causes of the conflict, while exploring potential pathways for resolution (Bryman, A. 2016).

From the perspective of international relations theory, the theoretical framework will encompass realist and liberal viewpoints to analyze the power dynamics and geopolitical interests of external

actors engaged in the conflict. This analysis will shed light on how the interests and strategic considerations of state actors shape their involvement and mediation efforts in the region. Additionally, by utilizing the constructivist theory, the framework will delve into the role of identity, collective memory and narratives in perpetuating the conflict, revealing how historical experiences and cultural perceptions influence the attitudes and behaviors of both Israeli and Palestinian societies (Grinberg, L. L. 2010).

Furthermore, the thesis will integrate a conceptual framework rooted in conflict resolution and peace studies, emphasizing the importance of addressing underlying causes, promoting dialogue, fostering mutual recognition and understanding between the conflicting parties. Through the application of the conflict transformation approach, the research will explore the structural and relational issues at the core of the conflict, focusing on power imbalances, resource distribution and territorial disputes. This framework will prioritize principles of human security and human rights, emphasizing the crucial significance of safeguarding civilians and ensuring the well-being and dignity of those impacted by the conflict (Grinberg, L. L. 2010).

Additionally, the proposed conceptual framework will incorporate an analysis of the role of International Law and institutions in resolving the Israel-Palestine conflict, evaluating the efficacy of legal frameworks, treaties and UNSC Resolutions in promoting peace and stability in the region. This analysis will assess the implementation and enforcement of International Humanitarian Law and United Nations Resolutions, highlighting the challenges and limitations associated with their application in a complex and highly politicized conflict context (Grinberg, L. L. 2010).

Moreover, the thesis will explore the psychological dimensions of the conflict, drawing on insights from peace psychology and conflict resolution research to analyze the emotional and cognitive factors contributing to intergroup hostility, prejudice and dehumanization. By integrating psychological perspectives, the framework will elucidate the impact of trauma, fear and insecurity on the perceptions and attitudes of individuals and communities, emphasizing the critical role of nurturing empathy, trust, and reconciliation as essential components of sustainable peacebuilding and conflict resolution efforts (Grinberg, L. L. 2010).

Finally, the proposed theoretical and conceptual framework for the thesis on the Israel-Palestine conflict aims to provide a comprehensive and holistic understanding of the multifaceted dimensions of the conflict, integrating insights from International Relations, conflict resolution, peace studies, International Law and psychology. This interdisciplinary approach will facilitate a nuanced analysis of the complex challenges, with the objective of identifying potential pathways towards lasting peace, security and stability in the region (Grinberg, L. L. 2010). Besides the names of scholars mentioned above, I have gone through the research and formed my personal opinion and analysis on the Israel-Palestine conflict. Therefore, a few names of scholars mentioned in the literature review would be missing in the chapters.

## 2.3 Sources of Data

The data and sources used for the thesis are Academic Articles, Journals, Books, Reports, websites and online resources. Also, the thesis paper has referred to BBC, Aljazeera, the Guardian news reports and Articles to make the readers aware about the ground reality situation in Gaza and Israel (Bryman, A. 2016). Also, the sources will help to clearly understand the countries that support the Government of Israel, countries that support the Government of Palestine and the countries that have abstained from the conflict (Bryman, A. 2016).

Moreover, International Law, Treaties, UNSC Resolutions, the report by the International Court of Justice are credible sources and case studies presented by them are extremely useful in contesting the Israel-Palestine conflict. Additionally, an example of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia has been mentioned, which is also applicable in context to the Israel-Palestine conflict. Furthermore, I have referred to these sources in detail to analyze the problem questions that are referred to in the Human Rights Watch report (Bryman, A. 2016).

## 2.4 Data Analysis

The main aim of the thesis paper is to critically analyze the problem questions. What is the root cause of the Israel-Palestine conflict? Why is there a divide in the multilateral support amongst the countries? Why is there a different perspective, narrative and support given to Israelis and Palestinians in regard to the ongoing conflict? How have International Organizations and stakeholders contributed to or hindered efforts in the resolution of the conflict? How have peace negotiations and peace agreements affected the situation in Israel and Palestine? What are the major obstacles to achieving lasting peace between Israel and Palestine? How would the conflict between Israel-Palestine have an impact on the global platform? (SSBC. 2023).

The main aim of the thesis is to answer six problem questions raised in context to the Israel-Palestine dispute in different chapters in the thesis paper. Therefore, to better understand the dynamics of the conflict, I have used the Norm Enforcement Model and the Conceptual Framework of Peacekeeping Operations by the United Nations Model. The main aim of using these models is to understand the sensitivity of the conflict and the importance of peacebuilding efforts in resolving the conflict. I have also used the Human Rights Watch report, which has analyzed data and has highlighted how the lives of people are affected in Gaza and also of the Israeli population living on the Israel Gaza border (SSBC. 2023).

## 2.5 Conclusion

Finally, to understand the complexity of the Israel-Palestine dispute, it is important to look at the history and also to understand the narrative of the conflict. In Chapter 3, I have analyzed the geopolitical tensions in the Middle East, the role of the United Nations and the peacebuilding efforts.



## Chapter 3 - History of Israel and Palestine

The Jewish people have copy

### 3.1 Introduction

The claims for statehood separately by the Israelis and the Palestinians have stretched the long-standing conflict and struggle in the region for centuries. The strategic location of the region in conflict is, the land that lies between the Jordan river from the East and the Mediterranean Sea on the West. The claim for statehood by the Israelis and Palestinians has over the years been shaped with support from various countries with each backing either side, having an international agenda. The main aim of the chapter is to analyze what is the root cause of the Israel-Palestine conflict? (Salim, 2023).

Although, the Israel-Palestine conflict is centuries old, however, the initial UN Partition plan of 1947 was a turning point that sparked violent clashes between the two communities and later the Yom Kippur War in 1973 that sparked further clashes, which have recently been again witnessed since October 2023, that have been sparked by violent clashes leading to the recent Israel-Hamas War. Despite, several efforts having been made to work out a peace deal in the past and sincere efforts continue still, however, the conflict continues to persist. These include the 1979 camp David Accords, the 1990's Oslo Accords and the Abraham Accords of 2020. The below mentioned timeline investigates the crucial moments in the Israel-Palestine conflict between 1947 till date (Salim, 2023).

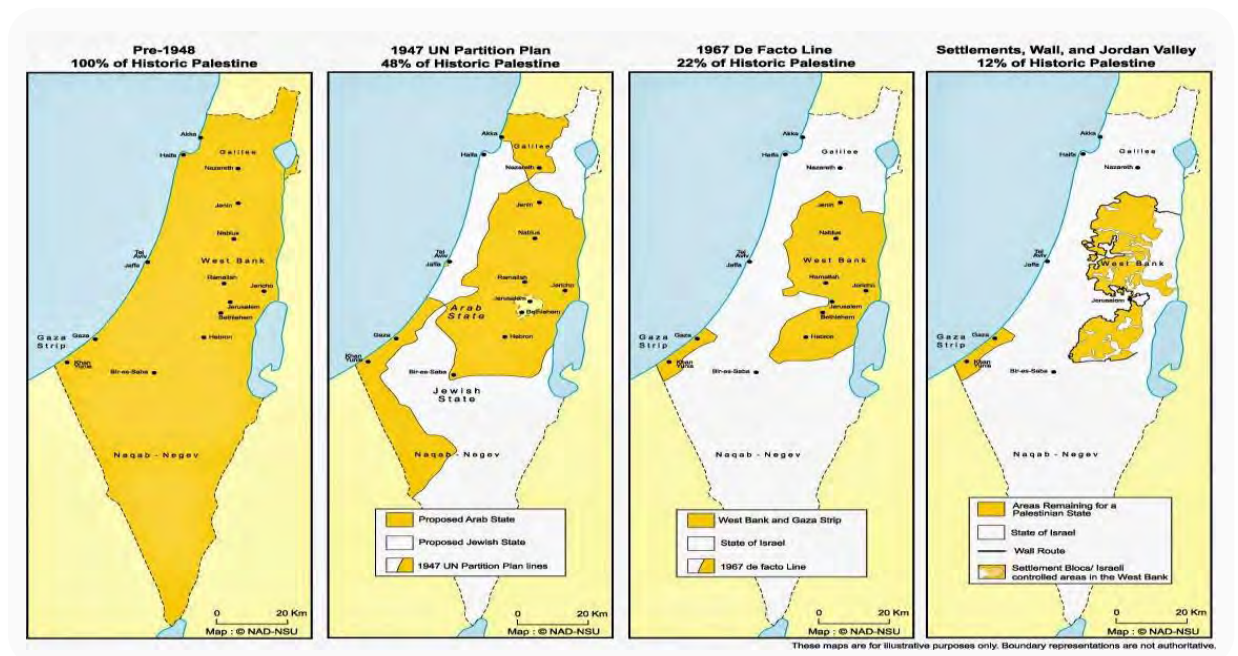


Figure 1.1- The original map of Palestine and the creation of the State of Israel.

### 3.2 United Nations Partition Plan

Saar Yaacov stated that the UN General Assembly passed Resolution 181 and called for partitioning the Palestinian territories into two States namely one Arab and one Jewish State. According to the Resolution, it was also conceived that Jerusalem would be administered by the UN run body. After the Ottoman Empire was defeated in World War I, the United Kingdom under a mandate placed the Palestinian territories under its administrative and military control. However, despite all these UN partition plans and the mandate, there were severe clashes and violence between the Jew and Arab communities in the Palestinian region. The Zionist leader David Ben Gurion with support from his members in the provisional government, declared the independence of Israel from the Tel Aviv Museum Hall (Salim, 2023).

Bettmann Getty highlighted that, as soon as the British mandate over the Palestinian territory came to an end, Israel declared its independence which provoked the Arabs and led to the first Arab-Israeli War. Fighting continued during the War until 1949, when an Armistice Agreement was signed between Israel, Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and Jordan. During the Arab-Israeli War, Egypt got support in the form of troops from Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Yemen and also, from Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Jordan to invade Israel. During the War, Palestinian women and children walked on foot/hiked and reached the territory controlled by Arabs in the West Bank on 26 June 1948 (Salim, 2023).

A report from an Israeli GPO stated that, an estimated 700,000 Palestinian refugees fled their home during the Arab-Israeli War. This mass evacuation is referred to as “catastrophe” by the Arabs and “nakba” by Palestinians. In 1948, since Israel won the War, it retained the territory that was provided to it by the UN and also some more areas that were separately delegated for the future Palestinian State. After the War, Israel gained control over West Jerusalem. The Gaza strip went to Egypt and the West Bank and East Jerusalem along with the old city and the historic Jewish quarter went to Jordan. Through Resolution 194, the UN General Assembly in 1948 passed the Resolution for repatriating Palestinian refugees who had fled their homes in an exodus (Salim, 2023).

### 3.3 The Six-Day War

According to Yutaka Nagata, it remains debatable whether the Resolution 194, which guaranteed the “right of return” for Palestinian refugees and their descendants had the required parameters to ensure their return because till date many generations from the refugees of the 1948 mass exodus still continue to flee their homes including some 300,000 Palestinians who fled during the Six-Day War between 05 June to 10 June 1967, a gun boat from Israel passed through the Straits of Tiran. The Six-Day War between Arab neighbors and Israel saw Israel victorious after 700 casualties whereas, the adversaries suffered nearly 20,000 casualties (Salim, 2023).

After the end of the Six-Day War, Israel gained control over all of East Jerusalem and also the West bank and the Gaza strip where large numbers of Palestinians had inhabited the place. Israel also took over the Golan Heights from Syria and the Sinai Peninsula which was a part of Egypt. Israel continued its control over the Sinai Peninsula until 1982. UN Security Council Resolution 242 was passed and it stated that the Government of Israel must withdraw from the territories occupied

during the recent conflict and also to terminate the State of belligerency. Further the Resolution 242 stated that, the Government of Israel must respect and acknowledge political independence of every State, sovereignty of states, territorial integrity and the right to live peacefully within the secure and recognized border areas (Salim, 2023).

### 3.4 Multilateral Diplomacy

According to Warren K. Leffler, the Yom Kippur War also known by other names such as the October War and the Ramadan War was fought between the Arabs and the Israelis, when an attempt was made by Egypt and Syria to retake and establish their hold back on the Israeli occupied territories such as the Golan Heights and the Sinai Peninsula. Since Israel was aided by the United States, while Egypt and Syria got support from the Soviet Union, Cold War tensions heightened. Furthermore, an oil embargo was imposed by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries on nations that supported Israel which resulted in sky rocketed prices of oil. The Yom Kippur War ended after a cease-fire was imposed by the UN as a result of negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States (Salim, 2023).

Thereafter, a United Nations Security Council Resolution was passed so that United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 was implemented. Finally, on 1 September 1978 Jimmy Carter the US President and Anwar Sadat the Egyptian President signed the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty at the White House and shook hands. This treaty was signed seven months after the Camp David Accords (Salim, 2023).

According to Francois Lochon, Camp David Accords were signed between Israel and Egypt to create a foundation for a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. The Camp David Accords mandated that the governments of two countries namely Israel and Egypt along with other parties must negotiate about the constitution of the West bank and the Gaza strip. However, according to Getty images on 26 March 1979, an Israeli tank was seen and captured in the Sinai Peninsula (Salim, 2023).

Jim Hollander stated that the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty signed at the White House between the US and Egypt was one of the first Peace Treaties between Israel and one of its Arab neighbors. The Treaty mandated that Israel must evacuate and withdraw completely from the Sinai Peninsula. Since the Yom Kippur War came to an end, the diplomatic and commercial relations between Egypt and Israel normalized. According to the Peace Treaty, the commitments outlined by the Camp David Accords must be reaffirmed between Israel and Egypt and negotiations conducted regarding the constitution of the West Bank and the Gaza strip. However, on 29 February 1988 during a demonstration, a Palestinian woman hurled a rock at an Israeli soldier from a close range to which the Israeli soldier took aim and shot the woman dead resulting in violent clashes and the outbreak of the first Intifada (Salim, 2023).



According to a report in Reuters by Ali Jareki, four Palestinians were killed by an Israeli driver in a car accident that sparked the first Intifada (uprising/protest), against the occupation of Israel in the West Bank and Gaza. The ongoing images of the Intifada show Palestinians hurling rocks at Israeli tanks resulting in loss of lives for 200 Israelis and 1300 Palestinians in the next six years until 1994. Furthermore, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, a Palestinian Cleric established Hamas, a militant group which was an offshoot of Muslims. Also, 'Jihad' was patronized by Hamas as the only way to regain lost territories for the Muslims while at the same time Hamas was designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization by the United States in 1997 (Salim, 2023).

According to the US National Archives Report by David Valdez, claims by King Hussein of Jordan were given up on the West Bank and East Jerusalem in support of Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) claims. Yaseer Arafat, the PLO Chairman declared that violence must be given up and Israel must have a right to exist while also acknowledging the concept of land for peace and also the UN Security Council Resolution 242. Although direct talks between the PLO Chief and the United States had started to take shape, a Palestinian terrorist attack against Israel resulted in the suspension of talks. In October 1991, a Peace Conference at the Royal Palace in Madrid was addressed by President George W. Bush (Reuters. 2023).

### 3.5 The Road Map for Peace

According to Saar Yaacov, the United States and the Soviet Union jointly sponsored the Madrid Peace Conference. Among the negotiating parties' delegates from Palestine, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Israel attended the peace negotiations. There was a bilateral track during the peace talks because Israel and its neighbors were on one side and the Syrian delegation was joined by the Lebanese and the Palestinian representatives along with the Jordanian delegates. Although the peace talks lasted for two years there was no progress despite the multilateral track used for negotiations where the wider Arab world aimed at addressing regional issues till 1993. In 1994, the PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin, the Israeli Prime Minister and Shimon Peres the Israeli Foreign Minister won the Nobel Peace prize (Peled, K. 2019).

Patrick Baz highlighted that Norway became the basecamp for conducting secret talks and negotiations which finally resulted in declaring Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements, also called OSLO Accords. Both the PLO and Israel exchanged letters and recognized each other before signing the Accords. According to the OSLO Accords, a Palestinian authority was created with a mutual understanding between Israel and the PLO and it was agreed that the Palestinian authority would be temporarily assigned with the job of administering the West bank and the Gaza strip. According to the negotiations in the OSLO Accords, Israel agreed to withdraw from the part of the West bank that it had captured and Israeli settlements would continue to remain under the exclusive control of the Israeli military. By 1999, the OSLO Accords had visualized a Peace Agreement. In recognition of the efforts for establishing peace through the OSLO Accords, the Nobel Peace Prize was given to the PLO Chairman and leader Yasser Arafat, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres, Israeli Foreign Minister. On 4 May 1994, the Gaza-Jericho agreement was signed between the PLO Chairman and Leader Yasser Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin who shook hands after the agreement (Baz, P. 2023).

According to Sa'ar Ya'acov, the implementation of the OSLO Accords started after Israel and Palestine signed the Gaza-Jericho agreement. According to the Agreement, the Israeli military was to withdraw from Gaza-Jericho (a town in the West Bank) and also for transferring authority to the newly formed Palestinian authority by the Israeli administration. The agreement also provided details of the structure and composition of the Palestinian authority, its jurisdiction, legislative powers, establishment of the Palestinian police force and the relations between Israel and Palestinian authorities (Ya'acov, S. 2023). On October 6 1994, Yasser Arafat after a long gap of absence returned to the Gaza strip. In 1994, the Arava Terminal situated at the southern end of both the countries namely Israel and Jordan witnessed the Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty ceremony (Prize, N. P. 2023).

Natalie Behring stated that the territorial dispute between Israel and Jordan was settled through signing the Peace Treaty in which both countries agreed to cooperate in the trade and tourism sector in the future. The Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty was a second such Treaty signed by Israel in an Arab State which also granted to Jordan a special administrative responsibility for managing Muslim holy places in Jerusalem. White House has a picture that was taken on 28 September 1995 that features the US President Bill Clinton, Yitzhak Rabin Israeli Premier, Hosni Mubarak President of Egypt, King Hussein of Jordan and Yasser Arafat the PLO Chairman and leader (Salim, 2023).

Moreover, the interim agreement signed between Israel and Palestine after negotiations is also called OSLO II. The agreement provides that control over additional areas of the West bank would be given to Palestine. Besides, it was agreed that until the final Peace Agreement is reached in 1999, public administration, security, economic agreements and electoral to govern the areas would also be given to the Palestinians. On July 25, 2000 Palestinian President Yasser Arafat and Ehud Barak met the US President Bill Clinton at Camp David in Maryland (Salim, 2023).

Natalie Behring stated that President Bill Clinton had hosted Israel and Palestine leaders for peace talks at Camp David. The reports highlighted that Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak had accepted the Sovereignty of Palestine and given 91% of Jerusalem to the West Bank. The deal included a land swap in which some parts of Israeli land would go to the Palestinians in compensation for the remaining 9% of the West Bank which goes to Israel. Despite these promises and the two weeks of negotiations, both State leaders failed to produce an agreement. Later, President Bill Clinton blamed the Palestine President Arafat for the failure to reach an agreement (Salim, 2023).

According to Nir Elias, on 19 May 2002 the Israeli politicians along with Ariel Sharon, an Israeli controversial General, visited Haram Al-Sharif, a holy place for Palestinians. The Palestinians view the visit as an effort to change the status quo of the holy site. This led to massive protests which turned more violent as compared to the first Intifada. According to reports, 4000 Palestinians and 1000 Israelis lost their lives in the second Intifada. Nir Elias highlighted that, on June 23, 2002 in the Passover Massacre terrorists killed 30 people at a Passover celebration at a hotel in the Israeli City Netanya. This attack resulted in reoccupying parts of the West Bank, which included Ramallah city. Palestinian Authority was located in Ramallah and Arafat had his headquarters in West Bank Ramallah city (Salim, 2023).

Ali Jareki stated that, on April 30, 2003, the Government of Israel started to build a security barrier around the West Bank to protect the Israeli citizens and cities in Israel. The barriers were a wall in some parts of the West Bank and fences in other parts of the West Bank. This led to a lot of

controversy because the population settlement in the West Bank was now divided into two parts which led to cutting of deep ties with people living in the West Bank. The Palestinians are completely cut off from Jerusalem, villages in Palestine are sliced into two parts and many citizens in Palestine do not have access to visit the schools, hospitals or go to work because of security barrier paths. Although the Israeli Supreme Court ordered a change in the barrier route, despite the court ruling, that barrier continues to impede Palestinian commerce and movement in certain areas (Salim, 2023).

Paul Hanna further stated that, on August 15, 2005, the Quartet an informal group was created to encourage Middle East Peace Talks which included United States, European Union, Russia and the United Nations, which encouraged a Road Map for Peace on the basis of the proposal put forward by President George W. Bush in his 2002 speech. The road map lays out a plan for peace based on “Palestinian reforms and cessation of terrorism in return for an end of Israeli settlement and a new Palestinian State” (Salim, 2023).

### 3.6 Tensions Escalate between Israel and Palestine

Ahmed Jadallah stated that, on June 29, 2006 the Government of Israel began a unilateral withdrawal of military forces and settlers from the Gaza strip. The Israeli military controls the Gaza border, airspace and coastline, whereas the Gaza-Egypt (Raffa border) is controlled by the Government of Egypt. After the Israeli withdrawal, “ Hamas” Palestinian Islamic Jihad and smaller militant groups fired rockets from Gaza into Southern regions of Israel. Ronen Zvulun further highlighted that, on June 25, 2006, a political faction founded in 1950 which played a dominant faction within the PLO was defeated by Hamas in the Palestinian election. The USA along with many western countries suspended humanitarian aid into Palestine because the Western countries consider Hamas as a terrorist Organization. Both Fatah and Hamas had made a deal to govern the West Bank and Gaza strip unitedly, ultimately the deal failed in 2007 and Hamas took control of the Gaza strip (Salim, 2023).

According to Ammar Awad, on 27 December 2008, Hamas soldiers had kidnapped Gilab Shalit, an Israeli soldier, in Israeli territory near the Gaza strip. The Israeli military troops tried through various negotiations however, they failed to get him released. The Israeli Government with the help of Egypt and the US negotiated with Hamas for Gilab’s release in 2012. Jonathan Ernst stated that on July 28, 2013, Israel attacked on the Gaza strip and in response to that attack, nearly 8000 rockets were fired from Gaza on Israeli towns between November and December. The War lasted less than a month but killed hundreds of innocent civilians, hundreds of combatants and sparked criticism globally (Ammar, A. 2021).

### 3.7 Negotiations Face Continued Hurdles

Suhaib Salem stated that, on April 23, 2014, the Secretary of State John Kerry proposed to freshly start final status negotiations. The process of negotiations started with an agreement with Israelis to release 104 Palestinian prisoners and simultaneously the Palestinians agreed not to raise a demand for a separate statehood or use their observer status at the United Nations. However, the negotiations failed and the Palestinian authority collapsed in April 2014. As a result of these tensions, the Israeli settlements grew, the negotiations on the status of prisoners that had encouraged Palestine to join and be a part of various International Organizations, came to a standstill (Salim, 2023).

Baz Ratner highlighted that, on July 08, 2014, Hamas and the PLO signed an agreement to form a joint government. However, tensions between the government and Hamas remained and due to the difference of opinions, no unity government was formed. Both the Gaza strip and the West Bank, which is under the Palestinian control, continue to remain disconnected and under the control of Rival Palestinian leaders and their control (Salim, 2023).

Muhammad Hamed stated that, on December 29, 2017, extremists from both sides attacked civilians from Israel and Palestine in retaliation to each other's attacks. However, the Gaza strip was invaded by Israel after an operation that was code named "Protective Edge" that lasted for 50 days. Around 2000 civilians from Gaza were killed during the operation whereas, only 5 civilian Israelis and 66 soldiers from Israel lost their lives during the operation. In retaliation, rockets fired by Palestinians targeted all major cities of Israel which was not seen during the conflict between the 2008-2009 and in 2012. However, a cease-fire was brokered by the United States and the War came to an end with support and consultation from Israel, Egypt and other regional powers. The US President Donald Trump announced the recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel which resulted in protests in Amman, Jordan on 29 December 2017 (Salim, 2023).

### 3.8 Influence of The United States of America

According to Carlos Barria, the US Foreign Policy was changed by President Donald Trump by formally recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. Trump also decided to move the US Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. However, this initiative taken by President Trump did not happen immediately, as many Foreign Ministers across the globe, for instance the United Kingdom, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Turkey, France and the United Nations Secretary General Antonio Guterres criticized the policy change made by President Trump. Moreover, this further led to escalation of tensions as it led to protests, violence and anger amongst the people in East Jerusalem, Gaza and the West Bank. Also, protests were witnessed in many Middle Eastern countries for instance, Jordan, Iraq, Iran and Egypt leading to geo-political tensions in the region. In January 2018, the Palestinian president Mahmoud Abbas refused to meet the Vice President Mike Pence during the peace talks and negotiations trip to Jerusalem (Reuters. 2019).

Ammar Awad stated that, on June 28, 2020 the Trump administration recognized Israeli Sovereignty of Golan Heights which the Government of Israel had formally annexed from Syria in 1981. The US was the first country to recognize Israeli's Sovereignty over the territory other than Israel. On February 1, 2020, Trump planned a trip to Baqa al-Gharbiyye in the Middle East for peace talks and negotiations, however, many people protested against President Trump's visit including Ahmad Tibi, a Palestinian member of the Parliament, who was a part of the protesters (Ammar, A. 2021).

According to Tom Brenner, Donal Trump uncovered the administration's proposal on the Israel-Palestine peace plan. During the peace plan, only the US and Israeli Diplomats were part of the draft proposal and the Palestinian inputs were not included, since they were not invited for the peace talks. The draft proposal called for a Two-State solution with significant humanitarian and economic aid to the Palestinians. This proposal led to criticism by many analysts and stated that the plan was one sided. The two State solution would pave the way for Israel to take control of the West Bank and annex its territory. This was likely to lead to more challenges for the Palestinian citizens, since people in the Gaza strip would not be able to travel to the West Bank and the people in the



West Bank would not be able to visit Gaza for work, study, education, health, trade and business. This is one of the key reasons for the conflict between Israel and Palestine because the citizens of Palestine cannot travel from one place to another and are divided as a nation geographically, politically and economically (Ayyub, R. 2020).

Therefore, the two-State solution was immediately rejected by the Palestinian Government. The Israeli Prime Minister announced that it will annex portions of the West Bank as announced in the plan outlined by President Trump. On September 15, 2020, Netanyahu and the United Arab Emirates Foreign Minister Abdullah Bin Zayed signed the agreement and displayed their copies. President Trump was also a part of the signing ceremony of the Abraham Accords at the White House (Salim, 2023).

### 3.9 Diplomatic Relations between Arab Countries with Israel

Ammar Awad stated that, for the first time in 25 years, on May 06, 2021, Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates agreed to normalize Diplomatic relations with Israel. In return, the Government of Israel decided to suspend the annexation of the West Bank territories. Later, Morocco and Sudan also signed an agreement with Israel to normalize Diplomatic relations. The main reason to normalize diplomatic tensions was to ensure that the Government of Israel does not take control over the West Bank. However, on August 8, 2022 the Government of Israel gave an order to the Palestinians in East Jerusalem to evacuate the place. This led to protests and clashes at Al-Aqsa Mosque which led to a conflict between Israel and Hamas. Over 200 people in Gaza were killed and 10 Israelis lost their lives. The US President Joe Biden helped to facilitate a truce over the escalation of tensions in Gaza and Israel by sending US aid to Palestine and established Diplomatic ties with the Government of Palestine (Ammar, A. 2021).

Mohammed Salem highlighted that; October 07, 2023 was a deadly year in the History of Israel-Palestine. The Government of Israel had launched a counter terrorism operation in the West Bank in response to attacks by the Palestinians against the Jewish Israelis. The operation resulted in the deadliest year for both sides since 2005. The judicial system in Israel was revamped by the government which resulted in disorder within the country, while at the same time violent clashes between Israelis and Palestinians again resumed in 2022 and the first 9 months of 2023 continued to witness constant clashes in the West Bank. Violence exploded after a surprise attack was launched by Hamas on Israel on October 7, 2023. Israeli media reported this unprecedented attack to be the most destructive and deadliest in the conflict so far, where initially 250 Israelis were killed while 1500 people were injured (Salim, 2023).

According to the health ministry of Palestine, 232 people lost their lives in the Gaza strip and 1700 were reported wounded as a result of Israel's retaliatory strikes. According to Mohammed Deif a military leader of Hamas, Israel was attacked because the Gaza strip had been blocked off for a long time, several Palestinian lands were under the occupation of Israel, there were several targeted attacks on the Muslims and especially the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem had been destroyed by the government of Israel. As a result of this surprise attack by Hamas, Netanyahu the Israeli Prime Minister openly announced that Israel has entered into a War with Hamas, making it a clearly amplified conflict between the Israelis and the Palestinians in recent decades (Desk, E. 2023).

### 3.10 Conclusion

To sum up, the history of the Israel-Palestine conflict is mainly a territorial dispute, the country's sovereignty and the freedom to make free and equal choices. For instance, the Government of Palestine is not able to boost their economy because of the control and interference by the Government of Israel. According to the Palestine Energy Authority, the Gaza reservoir has approximately 31 billion cubic meters of natural gas. Besides, it is evident from estimates that there is a possibility of oil reserves in the Gaza strip which can considerably improve the economy of Gaza and significantly contribute to the energy security of the region. However, many scholars state that the Israeli Government does not want the Palestinian economy to boost. In the next chapter, I have highlighted theories and models to understand the dynamics of the conflict in Diplomacy and International Relations.

## Chapter 4 - Theories and Philosophies in International Relations

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter analyzes theories in international Relations and their implementation in the Israel-Palestine conflict. Also, the main aim of this chapter is to analyze the problem questions, that is, why is there a different perspective, narrative and support given to Israelis and Palestinians in regard to the ongoing conflict? Also, why is there a divide in the multilateral support amongst the countries?

### 4.2 Realism Theory

The conversation between two realist theorists Dr Leon Hadar and Dr Paul Pillar and their comments on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict restates the hopes of many across the globe who wish for establishing permanent peace through an activist's peace policy stressing on the need for peace by a majority of the people. However, the reality of the conflict can only be resolved by analyzing the conflict and finding amicable solutions for their resentment through a cool-headed analysis. Dr Pillar feels that the chances of establishing peace in the Israel-Palestine conflict cannot be ignored and stresses for the United States of America to support Israel and encourage Israel to support a peace policy on the lines of the framework laid out by Bill Clinton. Dr Leon Hadar states that, when the core national security interests and values of a nation are concerned which involve making compromises during an agreement, it is very difficult to achieve peace when undue pressure is exerted by outside forces (Hadar, L. 2012).

Moreover, such agreements between nations are not feasible when too many compromises are involved over their core values and national security. Although Israel and Egypt had through a basic agreement decided on withdrawal of the Israelis from Sinai (an Egyptian territory taken by Israel), however both Israelis and Palestinians were reluctant to compromise on core issues namely Jerusalem and "right of return". Although both before and during the ongoing conflict, President Bill

Clinton initiated peace talks and negotiations, however, the Oslo agreements took place without the US involvement (Hadar, L. 2012).

Dr Leon Hadar also mentions that, the US cooperation to help both Israel-Palestine to achieve a peace deal amicably would be the best approach during the ongoing conflict. However, he is uncertain whether the War can actually end because when the negotiation talks started for a peace agreement between Russia and Japan, the War had already ended with Russia losing the War. Therefore, Leon Hadar asserts that immediate action needs to be taken as Dr Pillar too stresses on the urgent need to make efforts for ending the Israel-Palestine conflict before further damage leads to unstoppable disaster (Hadar, L. 2012).

Since, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has become localized, nationalist and religious forces within communities of both Israel and Palestine have become stronger, dramatically changing the dynamics of the Middle East since 2000. Although these localized political changes and dynamics are not forceful enough to provoke a regional War, however, Israel's tensions with Iran and Hezbollah can set off a War anytime. But, Dr Leon Hadar is unsure whether the old assumption still holds true, that the power of the radicals could greatly reduce in the Middle East once the Israeli-Palestinian conflict draws to an end, because the political, social and economic pressures of the Arab world have very little role to play in escalating the Israel-Palestinian conflict. Moreover, Dr Leon Hadar is of the opinion that the ability of Washington to have an impactful role in the Middle East crisis has drastically weakened due to changes in the geostrategic politics (Hadar, L. 2012).

On the contrary, Dr Pillar too mentions about the limitations faced by Israeli supporters in the political parties in the US, thereby, limiting the ability of the US President to help in resolving the conflict. Other than that, recent years have witnessed a shift in the political centre in both Israel and Palestine towards the right making the US President become more receptive towards pressure from Israel and its supporting nations. Therefore, it seems quite uncertain according to Dr Pillar, that the US President would prioritize settling the Israel-Palestinian conflict by investing time and energy in settling the conflict, when other agendas such as challenges from China and the economy in the US seem to be more compelling (Hadar, L. 2012).

Dr Leon Hader states that the status quo of Israel-Palestine poses a long-term threat for the Israeli population especially Jews and the democratic State of Israel. The current extremist Zionist government in Israel is not following the core interest of the Israeli population. Dr Leon further highlighted that the Government of Israel should not be dependent on Washington to protect the Zionist Government forever, because there have been occasions in the past when the Government of Israel disagreed with the policies implemented and suggested by the US, especially during the peace talks negotiations (Hadar, L. 2012).

Recent years have witnessed the change in support and opinions among the public masses in different demographic regions across the States, thereby exerting pressure on the government to distance itself from Israel. For instance, many taxpayers in the US are protesting against the government for spending US \$70 billion for the development in Ukraine (Chasan, A. 2023), \$1.7 trillion spending bill in Israel and \$300 million as humanitarian aid in the Gaza strip instead of investing the money towards infrastructural development in the USA (Magid, J. 2022). According to Leon Hadar, Israel cannot survive alone in the coming years as an American crusader in the Middle East (Hadar, L. 2012).

To add to this, gradually if the US adopts a policy of constructively disengaging itself from the Middle East and in particular from the Israel Palestine conflict and also stops working towards normalizing its relations with Israel, such actions according to Leon Hadar are capable of pressurizing the Israeli Government and the public at large to rethink about the current policies in place. Haider being a realist theorist is certain that the US will never adopt this proposed strategy. However, the policy of constructive disengagement from the Middle East can certainly further the long-term interests of the US and Israel (Hadar, L. 2012).

### 4.3 Neoconservative Theory: Changes in the US Foreign Policy

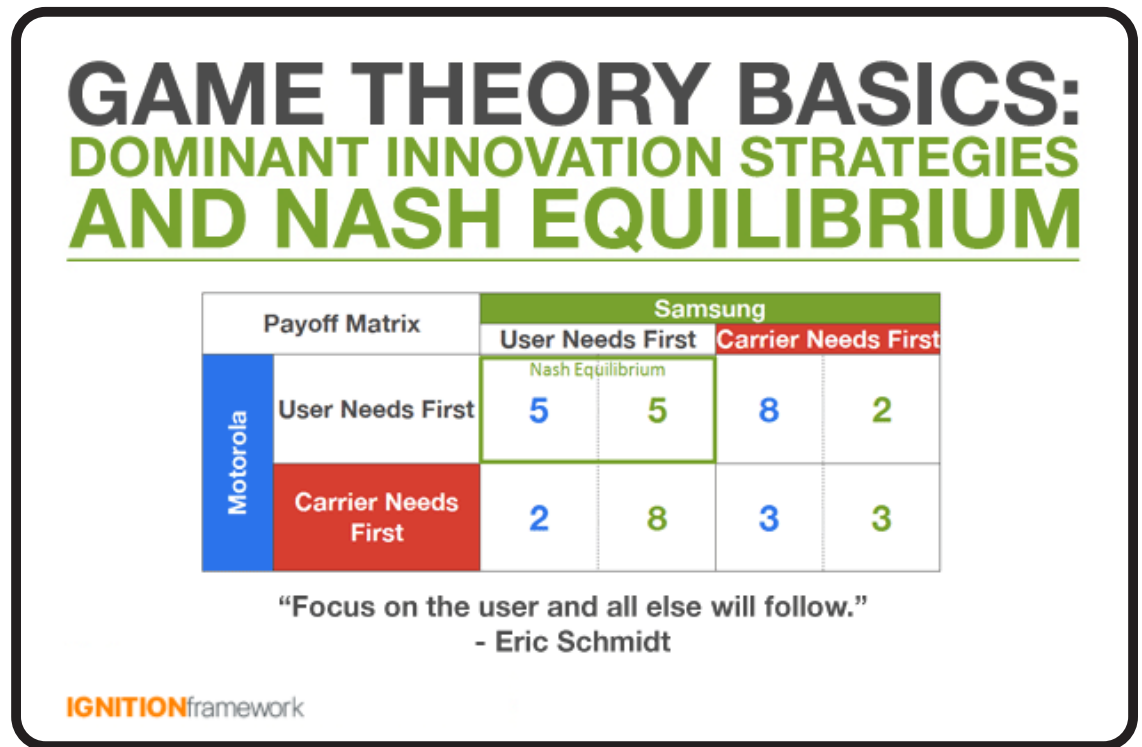
For the “Iron Triangle” consisting of namely the Bush Administration and its think tanks, American journalists and the allies especially from the Middle East, it is widely accepted that the Intifada (the Palestinian uprising in the West bank and the Gaza strip), is indeed the first step that will help in establishing the State of Palestine with the Palestine Liberation Organization heading it with a more kind and gentle approach. Clearly, it sends a message that the US Administration needs to seriously work with its think tanks and policy makers to make changes in its Foreign Policy agenda and work towards finding a permanent solution to the long-standing Israel-Palestine conflict. At the outset, Israel needs to be pressured to withdraw from the West Bank and the Gaza strip and initiate negotiation talks with the PLO to reach a mutually accepted agreement for creating a separate State of Palestine (T.Hadar, L. 1989).

It is the neoconservative members in the US Foreign Policy setup that resist such steps because some of them consider an independent State of Palestine as a part of a liberal conspiracy, while others term it as a naïve do-goodism or purely antisemitism. According to the neoconservatives, setting up an independent Palestinian State will result in the destruction of Israel and weaken it, just like the betrayal of Munich. Since the Arab Israeli War in 1967, the US has continued to prescribe to the neoconservative policy. According to the neoconservatives, there should be no reduction in economic and military aid by the US to Israel which totals more than 3 billion each year. However, the US may consider a hands-off policy while handling the Arab-Israeli issue. This is chiefly because Jerusalem is considered as a crucial asset by the US in its campaign against international terrorism sponsored by Moscow. Therefore, the US would rather work towards strengthening its relationship with Israel (T.Hadar, L. 1989).

In fact, the neoconservatives state that Israel is the only real diplomatic and military ally of the United States in the Middle East and therefore, the US needs to continue to strengthen its relationship with Israel which is similar to the level of its alliance with Japan and Western Europe. In fact, the neoconservatives being critical of the Intifada consider establishing a separate Palestinian State by the PLO as a surrogate of Russia, which would eventually weaken support of the public for Israel. The conflict seems to be unbridgeable because the partisans of the peace process expect the US to play a diplomatic role and end the intifada and also suppress the uprising in Israel. Whereas, the proposal seems to be like rival intellectual twins that shape and influence the consistent policy adopted by the US since several decades (T.Hadar, L. 1989).



#### 4.4 Game Theory and Social Behavior



*Figure 1.2- Game Theory Model.*

A Mathematical model is put to use in Game theory for analyzing the interactions that take place between rational decision makers when they are working towards cooperation or during a conflict. According to the game theory, every player in the game adopts a particular strategy which helps him with greater chances of a payoff, however, the strategy of each player is also contingent upon the actions of other players in the game. The concept of Nash Equilibrium is used to evaluate these games in which none of the players are allowed to unilaterally deviate by increasing their payoff.

The actions and behavior of the players, for instance, the rational actors or deliberate actors such as the heads of State, competing firms and participants competing in an auction are studied by using the Conventional Game Theory (Dobrushkin, E. 2019).

The behavior of agents under study typically upholds the fundamental assumptions of intelligent and rational actors which is in line with Nash Equilibrium. Game Theory is also put to use by academics who use the models for the purpose of their own study. It is noteworthy that the game theory is used by biologists and psychologists in which the actors do not act out of deliberation but choose to act according to the strategy that their intuition guides them with or the gut instinct in which they are born. According to the game theory, the agents play the game of life and release

several payoffs which is followed by the next generation that plays the game of life and then followed by another generation. In such settings if superior payoffs are reaped by one mutant, then there are more chances for the survival of that mutant, his success in reproduction and also passing on traits of his advantageous behavior to the next generations (Dobrushkin, E. 2019).

Similarly, mathematicians and academics have created a mathematical model to demonstrate the arc of evolution which is set into play by natural selection thereby leading to psychological, cultural and biological evolution. Another insight from the theory of natural selection and evolution states that behaviors lead to Nash Equilibria because survival and reproduction success depend upon certain behaviors which lead to more successful individuals. Therefore, certain behaviors help to formulate a strategy which cannot be unilaterally improved, also known as the Nash Equilibrium. These game theory models have been applied to understand and explain certain phenomena such as cooperation, territorial disputes and gender ratio. These dynamics are also capable of shaping human nature just as natural selection shapes the arc of evolution (Dobrushkin, E. 2019).

Also, evolved psychology is expressed through ideology and human intuition. Therefore, the theoretic origin of the game marks the resulting behavior. If an attempt is made to explore the origin of the game theory, inexplicable human behavior can be clearly accessed and understood. More recently, a study has been conducted to understand and explain certain behavior phenomena such as reasons behind adopting certain religious rituals or expressing certain emotions and using indirect speech. Besides assessing human behavior in depth, the game theory also provides an insightful lens to study human conflict, which can therefore be easily used to examine the Israel-Palestine conflict. Robert Aumann, a Nobel Laureate from Israel, has also reposed confidence in the game theory and described it as useful, stating that when too much focus is given to the details, it helps to distract attention from the essentials (Dobrushkin, E. 2019).

This is based on the premise that certain things are better viewed from a distance. The Israel-Palestine conflict can also be studied through the game theory if all the complications of the conflict are removed and details overlooked, to understand and highlight the relevant and real causes of escalating conflicts which can be achieved in this thesis paper with the help of implementing the Game Theory (Dobrushkin, E. 2019). However, the game theory is slightly different from the Norm Enforcement Model, although both models can be used to study the dynamics of the Israel-Palestine conflict.

#### 4.5 The Norm Enforcement Model

In an attempt to study the Israel-Palestine conflict from the Game Theory perspective and also attempt to study the controversies and disputes between Israel and Palestine, the Norm Enforcement Model is used to analyze the role played by the norms and practices in existence in the two nations, that continue to maintain the resistance and existing discord. Norms play an important role in the form of unwritten rules and practices that govern the behavior of an individual and the society at large. For instance, cows being worshiped in India according to the Hindu religion and considered as “holy”, therefore, most Indians consider eating beef as a sin and there is a beef ban by the government in most States of India (Bhavya Mittal, P. &. 2021).

Therefore, norms in practice within a particular state but not accepted by another state, lead to conflict and in the case of the Israel-Palestine conflict, talking to a Palestinian Military Personnel is forbidden in Israel. However, Palestinians consider this norm as a negative practice which causes agitation between Israel and Palestine. The friction between the two nations that causes unrest is because of these negative norms in practice which are enforced by the people and governments of both the nations (Bhavya Mittal, P. &. 2021).

#### 4.6 Basics of the Norm Enforcement Model

		Player 2	
		Cooperate	Defect
Player 1	Cooperate	R R 1 2	T S 1 2
	Defect	S T 1 2	P P 1 2

*Figure 1.3-The Norm Enforcement Model.*

The origin of the Norm Enforcement Model lies in the Prisoner's Dilemma Model. For instance, upon breaking the norms of a nation, the said person is compared to a prisoner. However, according to the Prisoner's Dilemma Model, every prisoner has two options and can choose whether he wishes to co-operate and remain silent or to defect and betray the rules followed by other prisoners and create trouble. In an attempt to analyze the table, it becomes clear that in a situation where two prisoners are compared as players and both choose to defect, they will be sentenced as P, while when one prisoner chooses to remain silent and cooperate, whereas, the other player chooses to defect and creates problems for the cooperating prisoner but still gets to walk free, while the cooperating prisoner gets T as the highest payoff (Bhavya Mittal, P. &. 2021).

When payoffs are compared for each strategy with the actual prison sentence, it becomes evident that when both prisoners cooperate and remain silent, it leads to mutual cooperation which is considered as the best collective strategy  $2R$  ( $2R \leq S+T$ ) the payoff is the least. Whereas, when both players mutually defect, it is considered as an ideal strategy by any individual. Prisoners in the Iterated Prisoners' Dilemma (IPD), interact and react to each other's action's multiple times. This means that in IPD there are N number of iterations that are repeated over and over again. In these situations, and settings, a prisoner decides whether he wishes to cooperate or defect during the first iteration and it also has a great role to play in influencing future iterations and their outcomes (Bhavya Mittal, P. &. 2021).

In the Game Model Theory, it is the player (the prisoner in this case) who decides during the sanctioning stage in deciding whether the players wish to adopt a strategy in which they mutually cooperate with each other or punish each other and in which way. During the sanctioning stage if a player (prisoner) chooses to punish another player, the punishing prisoner will have to pay a cost that is referred to as costly punishment. While the prisoner who is punished gets harmed which is referred to as H and the  $H \geq \text{Cost of Punishment} \geq 0$ . It is the combined effect of the IPD model and the sanctioning stage that leads us to the Norm Enforcement Model (Bhavya Mittal, P. &. 2021).

The Norm Enforcement Model (NEM) is an addition of the Iterated Prisoners' Dilemma model which consists of stages of sanctions and punishments over a long period of time, where breaking norms repeatedly are witnessed over a period of time. In the NEM there is perfect information where upon defection by one player, all other players also defect and if one player punishes the other players, they all observe the punishment. Punishment in the NEM is of two types, third party punishment, where defecting players are directly punished and higher order punishment, where individuals who are unable to punish the defectors, get indirectly punished.

Therefore, in the given model every player gets two parameters to choose from, firstly whether the player wishes to cooperate or defect and the players also get to select and decide whether they want to punish each other. However, due to fear of retaliation for their defection and chances of heavy punishment by the sanctioning stage from other prisoners, resultantly prisoners rely upon cooperation from other prisoners. Therefore, with the hope that they do not get punished in the sanctioning stage by the other prisoners, both prisoners choose to stay silent, thereby, inducing mutual cooperation. The NEM is based on certain assumptions such as there is an assumption in the model of a sufficiently "long shadow of the future" or timeframe which ensures that the players have sufficient value of future payoffs (Bhavya Mittal, P. &. 2021).

Also, actions of all other players (peers) are closely observed thereby simplifying the model. Besides, the Cost of Punishment (CP) is assumed to be lesser than the damage induced. This proves that harm caused is greater than the cost of punishment ( $H \geq CP \geq 0$ ). It is commonly assumed in several societies and cultures that costly punishment is a realistic behavior. Studying the in-depth analysis of the Game Model Theory and the Norm Enforcement Model, the influence of norms in the Israel-Palestine conflict can be clearly analyzed (Bhavya Mittal, P. &. 2021).

The Israeli Palestinian conflict is influenced by social, political, bilateral, Israeli, Palestinian and International Norms. It is multiplication of these norms that in a combined way support the existing conflict. With the application of the NEM, the Israel-Palestine conflict can be studied to analyze how norms have influenced the Israel-Palestine conflict. The Norm Enforcement Model also



identifies the mechanism of punishment when the acceptable conduct of people whether enforced or sustained is violated. These norms are ingrained in the beliefs and ideals of the Israelis and Palestinians through a process called internalization. Since, the societies from both Israel and Palestine have their own separate societal beliefs, suffer from interethnic conflicts, live with the belief of ethnocentric superiority, criticism of the enemy and have a deep relevance for their national unity, norms are thoroughly internalized in their societies (Bhavya Mittal, P. &. 2021).

Through the process of socialization, individuals in societies begin to accept certain norms and values with a process called internalization. In the case of Israel and Palestine the internalization of the social norms is so strong, that citizens of both Israel and Palestine identify themselves very strongly with the national narrative of their country and also their respective identity. Therefore, when internalization between both the societies is so strong, any violation of an established social norm causes psychological pain, despite getting positive material payoffs for such defection (Bhavya Mittal, P. &. 2021).

According to the NEM, the temptation to defect is greatly reduced because of internalization. In such a situation, the norms continue to exist resulting in the expansion of the conflict. However, as a result of internalization, despite violating established social norms which become psychologically painful even when there are positive material payoffs for defection, it is internalization that leads to stabilizing existing norms and eliminating the incentives to defect (Bhavya Mittal, P. &. 2021).

#### 4.7 Norms in Israel-Palestine

Israeli society has for a long time been practicing discriminatory social norms such as boycotting goods and services by the Palestinians, hiring Palestinians for service or selling property to Palestinians. These social norms have been in existence in Israeli society for a very long time because there are severe punishments and social sanctions for violating Israelis, including boycotts of businesses that employ Palestinians. The existing social norms include condemnation and social boycott of families to sell their property to Palestinians. To add to this, failure by Israelis to punish defectors or get involved with the Palestinian community makes them become defectors who are liable to be subjected to similar punishment. It is these social and political norms that have created barriers and roadblocks to any chances of cooperation or compromise with the Palestinians (Bhavya Mittal, P. &. 2021).

According to the Israeli norms, any cooperation with the Palestinians is considered a punishable crime and Israeli politicians who are doubted to have compromised with the Palestinians are punished through social media attacks and vigilante justice. Therefore, employment of such retaliatory violent tactics and political attacks hinder any chances of negotiation or political compromise in the ongoing conflict. Owing to the widespread internalization and strict social and political norms in existence in the Israeli society that favor costly punishments, chances of peaceful negotiations remain bleak. The Israeli authority with sanctions and higher order of punishment clearly indicates that owing to the strong social norms, chances of defection or compromise and cooperation with the Palestinians are completely prevented (Bhavya Mittal, P. &. 2021).

Likewise, the Palestinians have set out a narrative that in the Israel-Palestine conflict there are innocent, highly moral people who have been uprooted from their homeland with violence and Malice. Therefore, any cooperation or sympathy with the Israelis is considered as defection according to the NEM and considered worse than betraying their loyalty to the nation. The Social Norms in Palestine are dominated with an agenda to obstruct any economic growth in Israel and its territorial expansion. Towards achieving these objectives, Israeli products are boycotted, sale of land to Israelis is banned and there is a ban on any cooperation with the Israeli military. Any defection by the Palestinians is subjected to social exclusion, ridicule and also branded as “Israeli collaborators”. The Palestinian authorities through law have added a social norm that prohibits sale of land to Jews by Palestinians and also to citizens of Israel, with violators subjected to death penalty (Bhavya Mittal, P. &. 2021).

This signifies that there is a high order punishment for defectors and also for those who fail to punish defaulters along with social exclusion, vigilante justice and third-party punishment. To add to this, bystanders are also considered as defectors and denounced to be subjected to severe punishment because of their failure to condemn or punish defectors. It is amply clear from the prevailing social norms in the Israeli and Palestinian society that their norms are so strong that they encourage loyalty and have sustained the ongoing conflict between the two nations. Besides, the social norms, when the international and bilateral norms are put into perspective, it becomes clear that they too act as a major catalyst to further trigger problems between the ongoing Israel and Palestine conflict (Bhavya Mittal, P. &. 2021).

#### 4.8 Bilateral Norms

As a result of continuous interaction between Israelis and Palestinians, bilateral norms were established, which define guidelines for acceptable conduct during interracial interactions between the two conflicting nations. On the question of dealing with the terrorism, Israel takes a firm stand against any terrorist activity or terrorist attack. However, when an Israeli terrorist is tried for murder in a court in Israel, he is sentenced to life in prison when convicted. Whereas, a Palestinian terrorist if convicted for murder, will either be slain in self-defense or tried for murder (Bhavya Mittal, P. &. 2021).

Moreover, a Palestinian defector is given a collective form of punishment by the Israeli Government which includes demolition of the defectors family home and forcibly removing the inhabitants from their house. Also, the social security and health care benefits for the serving kin or family members of the defector are revoked. These strong and powerful third-party punishments are a norm in the Israeli government. It comes as no surprise that, despite the Israeli state imposing severe penalties upon terrorists, there are frequent acts of atrocious violence especially carried out by Palestinians. On the other hand, Palestinian society and its political leaders celebrate terrorism, but severe third party and higher order punishment for the acts of terrorism is absent in the Palestinian society. In the absence of a strong enforcement norm that prohibits terrorism and hateful acts of extreme violence, it is likely that both communities will be haunted with acts of terrorism further leading to more inter-ethnic hatred (Bhavya Mittal, P. &. 2021).

## 4.9 International Norms

The international community determines certain informal rules and regulations that are known as international norms which place checks on domestic and foreign policy. International Organizations such as the UN codify and enforce international norms and also look into the domestic and foreign policy of sovereign States. However, because of a lack of consensus, effective mechanisms and punishing a violating nation, the UN has not been fully successful in limiting the domestic and foreign policy of Sovereign states. It is the failure and ineffective mechanisms for punishments by the UN to enforce international norms, which has made the Norm Enforcement Model very critical. Although, there are regular addresses at the UN which condemn the domestic policy and security strategy of Israel resulting in conflicts, yet despite passing many resolutions and denunciations, the Israeli policy is unaffected by the UN resolution. Although there are regular censures on Israel and directions for it to adhere to International Norms, there is no complete consensus to punish the State of Israel. This is because there are several missing effective mechanisms in the UN which despite reaching a conclusion to punish Israel for its violations of international norms and prescribe a settlement expansion, no serious action has been taken so far. Moreover, third party punishment mechanisms too are very few in number to put a check on construction and expansion of Israeli settlements. Therefore, in the absence of any external incentive to enforce international norms, Israel continues to violate them (Bhavya Mittal, P. &. 2021).

## 4.10 Conclusion

It becomes evident that all these social, political, bilateral, international norms and their enforcements add to further stimulate the ongoing Israel-Palestine conflict. Moreover, both societies have placed harsh punishments for violations of norms in existence which have continued since generations and the friction between the two nations continues to become wider. It is logically explained through the Norm Enforcement Model how the long-standing ongoing Israel-Palestine conflict can also be studied from the Game Theory perspective, which clearly describes that the conflict continues to sustain because of strict norms that exist in both societies. For now, an outside-the box approach is required through a constructive breakthrough in resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In the next chapter, I have analyzed the International Laws, rules and regulations to address the conflict.

## Chapter 5 - International Laws, Rules and Regulations

### 5.1 Introduction

The Israel-Palestine conflict is an extremely complex issue. The main aim of the chapter is to analyze the research question on how International Organizations and stakeholders have contributed to or hindered the resolutions of the conflict? Therefore, in this chapter, I have analyzed the implementation of International Humanitarian Law, United Nations General Assembly Resolutions, the Armistice Agreement (1949), the UN Security Council Resolutions, Camp David Accords, Oslo Accords and Treaties and the reasons for their violations (BBC. 2019).

### 5.2 International Humanitarian Law

The issue of Israel-Palestine conflict is a complex one and requires consideration of International Humanitarian Law (IHL). The conflict between Hamas and Israel is classified as a non-International Armed Conflict. On the other hand, due to occupation of the Palestinian territories by Israel since 1967, it can be classified as an International Armed Conflict. Besides these classifications, it is unjustified to target innocent civilians including infants in incubators, children, women, men, senior citizens and taking hostages is strictly forbidden for both Israel and Palestine. Moreover, to discuss the Israel-Palestine conflict, it is challenging to jump to a possible conclusion to end the War. An increasing number of declarations have highlighted that, it is important to consider the factors involved and to make an assessment of the situation applicable under International Law. It is clear that to find a solution for ending a conflict is political, but any armed conflict is covered by a specific branch of Laws of Armed Conflict, International Law and International Humanitarian Law (Times, T. E. 2023).

However, many scholars argue that International Humanitarian Law lacks effectiveness and implementations. Although politics plays an important role in solving conflicts, armed conflicts and their solutions come under International Humanitarian Law. Although, IHL sometimes lacks success in resolving conflicts, it does ensure that lives of civilians are not impacted. First and foremost, before analyzing any conflict in legal terms under IHL, it is important to classify the situation, which in the case of Israel-Palestine is debatable. On one hand, it can be considered as a non-International Armed Conflict, involving Hamas (an armed group and Israel) or it can be classified as an International Armed Conflict because of the occupation of the Palestinian territories since the Six-Day War of 1967 (Times, T. E. 2023).

The Gaza strip was under Israeli occupation but after the intervention of the International Court of Justice in 2004, owing to Israel's occupation of the Gaza strip, it was under an obligation to apply International Humanitarian Law and International Human Rights Law. In response to this observation by the International Court of Justice, Israel unilaterally withdrew its troops from the Gaza strip in 2005 and freed itself from any obligations under IHL or IHR. However, according to the observations by a professor at Laval University faculty of Law, the Gaza strip even in 2012 continued to remain as a territory under Israeli occupation and therefore, it becomes evident that if a powerful authority establishes its control over a particular territory, it definitely leads to a strong position for deploying its armed forces at the territory in question (Times, T. E. 2023).



Moreover, simply withdrawing armed forces from a territory, does not in fact mean that Israel is no longer the occupier of the Gaza strip, since it continues its control over the territory on land, sea, air borders, issues passports to its population and also has its currency in circulation. Moreover, cutting off electrical supply in the territory of Gaza only goes on to clarify that Israel continues to have full control over all activities in the Gaza strip, on a regular and continuous basis (Times, T. E. 2023).

Therefore, without doubt it becomes inevitable to conclude that the scale and proportion of damage as witnessed on October 07 clarifies that the conflict involved deliberate targeting of civilians and also taking them as hostages, which is strictly prohibited under IHL. Moreover, when the pattern of these events displays violence, it becomes clear without doubt that the aim of these acts is only to spread terror among the civilians. Using the term “total siege” of the Gaza strip cannot be in line with the principles of IHL because siege involves restricting the movement of goods and people within a particular area, so that the enemy forces may be forced to put the fighting to an end (Times, T. E. 2023).

Although, IHL does not prohibit siege, however, the effects of a siege are not without violations of IHL. For instance, when food and water supply is cut off from a particular territory, it results in starvation and human rights violations. Therefore, using famine as a mode of warfare is prohibited under IHL. On the same lines, preventing or restricting the movement of people within a particular territory means that relief work cannot be carried out in the besieged territory as humanitarian personnel are restricted in their movement. Whereas, according to IHL, conflicting parties must allow humanitarian organizations to carry out their aid and assistance for civilian populations. Therefore, their passage must be facilitated according to the IHL (Times, T. E. 2023).

For now, the scale of violence as witnessed in the last few weeks in October-November 2023, clearly highlights blatant violations of IHL leading to War crimes and crimes against humanity. This brings us to question the effectiveness of International Humanitarian Law. Rony Brauman, of Médecins Sans Frontières had stated “to promote International Humanitarian Law is to promote War”, because in the situation as witnessed in Israel and Gaza, if respect for IHL is promoted during this armed conflict, it will lead to no harm. However, as opposed to this notion, if the desire to respect IHL is forsaken despite there being violations and abuses, it will lead to more chaos and confusion (Times, T. E. 2023).

### 5.3 Legal Framework for Resolutions

In 1689, John Locke an English Philosopher was the first person to state that according to Laws of natural right, all individuals are equal and born with natural rights which are inalienable and equal. These inalienable natural rights include life, liberty and property for every individual. A UN committee was constituted in 1947 to understand the conflict in Palestine and after consultations with Zionist leaders Organizations in Israel, Arab countries and Arab Organizations, it recommended possible solutions to the conflict. Arab Organizations completely boycotted these consultations, because the British Colonialists had withdrawn their mandate and the Arab Organizations demanded that the Law of Natural Rights should be implemented in Palestine. Genuine cases such as the United States had used the Natural Law to achieve their independence (Walnsnak Danfula, L. D. 2021).

Therefore, the Arab Organizations demanded that Palestine must be given full independence by the UN and recognized on the basis of the natural rights of its citizens. Moreover, the Arabs also mentioned the UN Charter which declares the right of self-determination as an inalienable right, where there is no discrimination as mentioned in Article 1 (2), of the UN Charter. Moreover, according to Koechler, during the Ottoman Empire and also when Palestine was a colony under the British mandate, the Palestinians enjoyed the right to self-determination and if the sovereign right of self-determination is denied to the Palestinians once the British Mandate ends and if the UN fails to implement peremptory norms as mentioned in the Resolution 181, it will place Palestinians in a position where they will be stripped of their sovereignty and a large part of their territories will be surrendered to Israel (Walnsnak Danfula, L. D. 2021 ).

According to Koechler, it is this very action that has denied sovereignty, natural rights and the right to self-determination for the Palestinians which has also deprived them of their properties, their source of livelihood and dignity (Walnsnak Danfula, L. D. 2021).

#### 5.4 United Nations General Assembly Resolutions

UNGAR 181 was meant to implement the partition plan as recommended by the UNSCOP. According to the Resolution, August 1948 was decided as a deadline when Palestine would transition out of the British Colonial rule into an independent sovereign State answerable to the United Nations Security Council and provide a provisional council of Government in both the States, create an armed militia from within the States to ensure Law and order, prevent border clashes, equal human rights and freedom, freedom of movement within states especially Jerusalem and an economic cooperation by setting up an economic union between States. Citizenship status of one state where one is a resident regardless of being a Jew or an Arab and also given total civil and political rights. However, according to Brownley, since the UN does not have the powers to break up the territorial sovereignty, it can only make recommendations. Therefore, Resolution 181 UNGA is ultra vires. Brownley, was also supported by Potter who states that the UN breached the International Law because it did not have a basis to establish its authority and legal right in Palestine (Walnsnak Danfula, L. D. 2021).

UNGAR 194 came into being on 11 December 1948 when the Arab-Israeli War was nearly coming to an end and all warring parties needed to sit on the table to negotiate and resolve the conflict. The Arab Israeli War had displaced and resulted in forceful migration of the people into neighboring Arab States. According to the Resolution, only those refugees who wish to return to their homes must be allowed to do so at the earliest. Besides, those who did not wish to return to their homes would be adequately compensated for their loss of property on the basis of International Law and principles of equity. Despite the UNGA having passed the proposal, the conflicting parties did not agree with the resolution, as Palestinians were not consulted, although they would have decided to go with the Arab coalition (Walnsnak Danfula, L. D. 2021).

The Arabs voted against the Resolution and refused to recognize Israel as a separate State but at the same time wanted sovereignty and equal rights to be upheld for the people of Palestine. On the other hand, during that time, Israel was not a member of the UN and therefore could not vote but expressed its unhappiness at the Resolution, especially on the issue of Palestinian refugees who were considered by Israel as an internal security threat. However, despite other nations that supported Israel and recognized it by passing a vote of solidarity against the resolution since the votes were very few, Resolutions were passed by the United Nations in 1948 (Walnsnak Danfula, L. D. 2021).

UNGAR 273, on 11 May 1949, Israel State was officially admitted through this Resolution into the UN, as Israel had formally signed an Armistice Agreement with its neighbors and agreed to the partition as mentioned in Resolution 181 and also agreed to allow the right of return for Palestinian refugees under Resolution 194. However, history is evidence that Israel has not remained committed to these Resolutions till date, which they have willingly agreed to but refuse to accept and continuously disobey (Walnsnak Danfula, L. D. 2021).

The armistice agreement 1949 includes individual agreements entered by the State of Israel with the coalition of the Arab States namely Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Egypt who fought against them in the Arab-Israeli War 1947-1948. According to these agreements, Israel continues to hold the territories which it had taken through military power except for a few adjustments. Most importantly, these agreements constituted boundary demarcations before permanent bilateral treaties and agreements were reached between Israel and Arab Palestine. However, due to several actions by Israel and all the other parties involved in the Armistice Agreement, there have been threats and gross violations of Armistice Agreements by both sides of the divide between 1953-1954, when several properties were destroyed and a huge number of casualties were reported. Although, the United Nations called on both sides that had signed the Armistice Agreements, there has been no breakthrough because both sides blame each other and raise counter claims on other States, responsible for encroachments and intrusions into boundary lines (Walnsnak Danfula, L. D. 2021).

## 5.5 United Nations Security Council Resolutions



**Figure 1.4-** The map of neighboring border conflicting territories with Israel

On 22 November 1967, the United Nations adopted Resolution 242 after the Six-Day War to settle issues regarding land that was conquered and overtaken during the War. It was recorded that Israel had made advancements into the territories of its opponents namely Syria, Jordan and Egypt. Also, during the Six-Day War Israel took over Jerusalem, the Gaza strip, the Sinai Peninsula (Egypt), the West bank (Jordan) and the Golan Heights (Syria). To ensure lasting peace in the region, it was believed that Israel must retract from all these occupied territories which it had captured during the War and recognize each other's boundaries, respect for each-other's sovereignty, stop the use of threat or force, mutual recognition, demilitarization of Jerusalem, free movement and free access ensured to the people (Guterres, A. 2020).

Moreover, the Resolution highlighted the plight of refugees who had a right for the need to a just settlement. However, Israel rejected this resolution and the PLO started to support the Palestinians. Although initially Israel had refused to enter into any agreements with these nations, later Israel entered into various treaties and separate agreements with Syria, Egypt, Palestine and Jordan. However, because of contradictions of this resolution with the National Aspirations of the Palestinians, the right of return to their homeland, the right to existence and self-determination, the Resolution was rejected by the PLO (Walnsnak Danfula, L. D. 2021).



UNSCR 478 Resolution adopted on 20 August 1980 was a follow up to the Resolution 476 implemented on 30 June 1980. These were the series of Resolutions against the Government of Israel for annexation of the Eastern parts of Jerusalem and annexation of Western parts of Jordan which was under the occupation of Israel after the Six Day War. Israel declared Jerusalem as the capital city and led many countries to set up their embassies in Jerusalem. According to Resolution 478, the decision taken by the Government of Israel is a violation of International Law. Further, it asked the UN countries to remove their Embassies from Jerusalem. The Government of Israel openly violated Resolution 476 by changing the geography, character of the Holy City, status and history of Jerusalem which was recognized as an International Zone (Walnsnak Danfula, L. D. 2021).

However, the Government of Israel refused to accept and follow various UNSCR Resolutions. Therefore, the UN disagreed with the statement given by the Government of Israel and stated that Israel had violated “Basic Law” in International Law under the Geneva Conventions. The Foreign Minister of Israel stated that the UN Resolutions as unjustified and stated that the UN is influenced by the enemies of Israel and supports the War against its independence and existence of Israel. After the statement given by the Foreign Minister of Israel, where openly they rejected the Resolution and bitterly condemned the Resolution, it led to all nations, Embassies and Diplomatic missions to move back to Tel Aviv and other cities of Israel, from Jerusalem (Walnsnak Danfula, L. D. 2021).

United Nations Security Council Resolution 497, Israel’s occupation and annexation of the territory of Golan Heights forcefully from Syria during the Six Day War in 1967, compelled the UNSC to pass a Resolution on 17 December 1981, that the annexation of the territory by Israel is null and void and that to amass territory forcefully is unacceptable and inadmissible under both the International Laws and the UN Charter. Therefore, Israel was asked to immediately take back its decision by the UN. Along with this, another Resolution was passed in January 1982, which stated that Israel’s continued annexation of Golan heights was an act of aggression on Syria and also a threat to international peace and security. Along with this, members from Syria put up a demand before the UN forcing Israel to obey the Resolution or asking the UN to discontinue any aid, assistance or cooperation with Israel (Walnsnak Danfula, L. D. 2021).

## 5.6 Camp David Accord

The Camp David Accords were a result of the two weeks secret talks that lead to signing a series of agreements between the Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat at Camp David which was the retreat of US President Jimmy Carter. These agreements were based on ensuring peace and security in the region by encouraging Israel to withdraw from Arab territories that were under its occupation while in exchange for withdrawal, Israel would get recognition by its neighbors. According to the agreement, Palestinians would be allowed self-rule in the Gaza strip and the West Bank, both being occupied territories by Israel, reinstating full diplomatic relations between the two nations and partnership in using the Suez Canal and the Straits of Tiran by both the nations (Walnsnak Danfula, L. D. 2021).

## 5.7 Oslo Accords

On 13 September 1993 Oslo Accords were signed between the leaders of Israel and Palestine. According to which both negotiated to an agreement to recognize each other as a separate State, with the PLO given the authority to govern Palestine and also the Gaza strip and the West Bank. The initial negotiation meetings were secretly held in Norway to avoid any controversial backlash between the two sides. During the initial Accords in 1993, both parties had mutually agreed to recognize each other and agreed that interim self-government headed by the PLO can create a

Palestinian Parliament, while a 5-year time period was given to the Israelis to pull out from the Gaza strip. The second round of discussions, as a follow up of the Oslo Accords took place in Tapa in Egypt. The main focus of the talks was the discussion on the issue of Jerusalem, as both Israel and Palestine claimed the city as their capital (Damen, R. 2013).

After several agreements it was settled, that Palestine will continue to have limited control on the West Bank and the Gaza strip, while Israel should be allowed to annex the West Bank along with mutual economic and political cooperation in the disputed areas. As a result of peace agreements, the West Bank was divided into three parts and although Palestinians got authority over the two areas which formed approximately 40% of the West Bank and included sectors such as health, education and economy, Israel, on the other hand got control over the external security. The largest area out of the three parts of the West Bank came under the direct control of Israel, with an agreement to hand it over to the Palestinians at a later date (Damen, R. 2013).

This led to violent skirmishes between people from both the communities and therefore the deal could not hold up. However, some of the provisions of the agreement are still in place, while most of them have been disregarded because the parties involved had conflicting interests and the brokering parties for peace such as the United States, the United Nations and Arab Nations were double minded (Damen, R. 2013).

## 5.8 Treaties

Agreements were separately undertaken by the Arab countries when they were left with no choice. For instance, after several rounds of negotiations, Egypt entered into an agreement with Israel during the Camp David Accords which were brokered by the United States. Ever since then, both Egypt and Israel continue to have a good relationship because they mutually recognize each other as separate territories and Israeli forces withdrew from the Sinai Peninsula. 15 years after signing a Treaty with Egypt, Israel signed a Treaty with Jordan on 26 October 1994 and ended feelings of mistrust, fear and the 46 years of War. The Treaty included demilitarization of the borders between

Israel and Jordan, settling the land and maritime disputes, cooperating for trade and tourism, refusing to allow third party countries to use either Israel or Jordan as a base to launch an attack on the other State, mutual recognition of each nation, exchanging diplomatic missions and provide for Palestinian self-determination (BBC, 2005).

Although several attempts have been made to work out a peace deal with Israel, however, none have been successful so far. This is chiefly because according to a statement by the former US Department of State Official, Syria does not want to compromise on its national interests and wants Israel to give up all the lands it had acquired from it during the Six-Day War. Since, Israel has a keen interest in the water resources of river Jordan, Kiniset Lake and Golan Heights which are of strategic importance because they offer defense and security to Israel, therefore, no peace deal has been reached so far and Civil War continues in Syria for more than a decade now (Fisher, M. 2015).

## 5.9 Conclusion

Both Israel and Palestine have continued to be hostile enemies for each other and continue with their conflict, despite several UN Security and General Assembly Resolutions, because most of them have not been implemented by either side so far. Presently, Arab nations have decreased their support for the Palestinians, however, the US support for the cause of Israelis seems to have strengthened as former US President Donald Trump too tried to initiate Israel-Arab relations by adding new frontiers, despite it being to the disadvantage of the Palestinians. However, the world at large expects a peace deal which focuses on fostering mutually beneficial relationships, ensuring freedom, justice, rights and development for both the countries. At the same time, the world is also looking up to the US led Joe Biden Administration to change their Foreign Policy regarding the conflict because if the rights of Palestinians continue to be subjugated, there is no hope for peace in the coming years, as it will lead to mutual bitterness, suspicion, destruction, killings of innocent people, conspiracies and hatred for each other (Walnsnak Danfula, L. D. 2021).

It therefore becomes a joint responsibility of the UN, the USA, Arab nations, the European Union and other major power brokers such as Russia and Turkey, to work towards finding a lasting solution through talks at the negotiation table. Most importantly, a change of leadership in Israel is likely to come up with new ideas and approaches to handle the long-drawn conflict. For now, it seems the road to peace is a long and difficult journey where a mutually acceptable solution seems to be very hard to find (Walnsnak Danfula, L. D. 2021). In my opinion, since there is no time for War, nations and affected parties must come together to make peace, save lives and end destruction. In the next chapter, I have highlighted the role of the International Court of Justice to address the Israel-Palestine conflict.

## Chapter 6 - The Crime against Humanity of Apartheid and Persecution

### 6.1 Introduction

The main aim of this chapter is to understand the provisions in International Criminal Law, crimes against humanity, the Human Rights Watch Report and International Court of Justice, to address the Israel-Palestine conflict. The problem question focused in this chapter is, how have the peace negotiations and peace agreements affected the situation in the Israel-Palestine conflict? One of the most fundamental tenets in International Criminal Law is the prohibition of crimes against humanity. The concept of prohibiting crimes against humanity, became a part of International Criminal Law in 1945, in the Charter of the International Military Tribunal that prosecuted members of the leadership of Nazi Germany in Nuremberg. The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court which came into force in 2002, has listed out 11 crimes that are considered as crimes against humanity, when they are a “part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population with knowledge of the attack” (Baldwin, C. 2021).

The word “attack” is defined in the Statute as an action or multiple acts committed under the directions of a state or policy of an organization. The term “widespread” refers to the number of victims or the scale of the act/attack and the term “systematic” indicates a methodological plan or pattern whereas, crimes against humanity refers to acts that are committed during peace or an armed attack. Further explanation of the Rome Statute clarifies that, odious offenses which include a serious attack on human dignity or aim to seriously humiliate or degrade one or more human beings, is classified as crimes against humanity. The explanatory memorandum also explains that these acts are not isolated or irregular events, but rather a part of a government policy, or a practice of atrocities that are condoned or tolerated by the government or a de-facto authority. The crimes of apartheid and persecution are classified under the 11 distinct crimes against humanity (Baldwin, C. 2021).

Although, there is no hierarchy among the crimes against humanity all such crimes are considered to be of the same gravity leading to similar consequences under the Rome Statute. The State of Palestine gave its consent to the Rome Statute in 2015, by filing a declaration that it gives jurisdiction to the International Criminal Court over the crimes in the Rome Statute, which also includes crimes against humanity, comprising of persecution and apartheid that are alleged to have been committed since June 2014 (Baldwin, C. 2021).

### 6.2 Apartheid

Apartheid is prohibited as a matter of Customary International Law; this term was originally coined to refer to certain practices in South Africa. For more than half a century the term “Apartheid” has become a universal legal term that is used in various UN Resolutions, Domestic Laws in several countries and International Treaties to refer to systematic oppression or a system of severe institutional discrimination. The International Law Commission in November 2001 adopted the draft articles on responsibility of States for Internationally wrongful acts and regards prohibition



of Apartheid as a Peremptory Norm of International Law. According to the ILC, Apartheid is “a serious breach on a widespread scale of an international obligation of the essential importance for safeguarding the human being”. The International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), was adopted on December 21, 1965, entered into force on 4 January 1969 and has 182 States parties which also includes Israel and Palestine. It clearly states that States parties must condemn racial segregation and apartheid and make efforts to prevent, eradicate and prohibit all such practices within their territories and also under their jurisdiction (Baldwin, C. 2021).

### 6.3 International Criminal Law

For more than five decades, apartheid is prohibited and recognized as a crime against humanity. The Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity was adopted on November 26, 1968, and entered into force on November 11, 1970. It includes all inhumane acts that result from the policy of apartheid under crimes against humanity. The State of Palestine acceded to this treaty in 2015 (Baldwin, C. 2021).

In 1973, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the crime of Apartheid (Apartheid Convention) was adopted by the UNGA and it was declared that it constitutes crimes against humanity). This Convention entered into force on July 18, 1976. The State of Palestine acceded to this convention too in 2014. This apartheid Convention has 109 States parties but not Israel. According to the convention, the “crime of apartheid” includes policies and practices that aim at racial segregation and discrimination as witnessed in South Africa and shall apply to all inhuman acts that are committed for establishing and maintaining domination of one racial group of persons over another racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them. The inhuman acts that comprise the crime of apartheid and are committed for dominating and systematically oppressing another racial group of people includes deliberately imposing calculated living conditions on a racial group or a group of persons that are intended to cause either wholly or in part their physical destruction (Baldwin, C. 2021).

Besides, the Apartheid Convention also includes any legislative measures or other measures that are deliberately taken against preventing a particular racial group or groups of people aimed at preventing them from participating in the social, cultural, political and economic life of the country and to deliberately create conditions that prevent the full and complete development of such group or groups of persons and also denying members of racial groups their right to basic human rights and freedoms especially the right to work, the right to education, the right to form and recognize trade unions, the right to nationality, the right to freedom of opinion and expression, the right to leave and return to their country, the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association and the right to freedom of movement and residence (Baldwin, C. 2021).

The crimes against Apartheid also include any legislative measures that are designed to create a divide among the population on racial lines especially by creating reservations for members of certain racial groups, prohibiting mixed marriages especially among members of certain racial groups, confiscation of landed property that belongs to a particular racial group or members of a certain group. The June 8, 1977 additional protocol 1 to the Geneva Conventions (1949), has 174

States parties including the State of Palestine that acceded to the additional protocol 1 in 2014, mentions that, any practices of apartheid or other inhuman and degrading practices that aim to outrage the personal dignity of another community or person based on racial discrimination must be regarded as the serious breach of the treaty (Baldwin, C. 2021).

The Rome Statute of 1998 Article (7)(2)(h), has 123 States parties and mentions apartheid as a serious crime against humanity and defines it as, inhumane acts that are committed as an agenda of an institutionalized regime aiming to systematically oppress and dominate over another racial group and also committed with an intention to maintain that institutionalized regime. According to the Rome Statute, crimes against humanity are listed out as persecution, deporting and forcibly transferring persons, inhuman acts that intentionally aim to cause serious suffering and grave injury to the body and also affecting physical and mental health. To be considered as apartheid, these acts must be undertaken by an institutionalized regime that aspires to systematically dominate, oppress and maintain the regime. The UN International Law Commission in its draft articles on prevention and punishment of crimes against humanity 2019, also includes apartheid and the definition of crime from the Rome Statute in its draft (Baldwin, C. 2021).

## 6.4 Persecution

The International Military Tribunal 1945 in Nuremberg recognized the crime of persecution in its Charter and mentions that persecution on religious, political or racial grounds are considered as crimes against humanity. Persecution as a crime against humanity has been recognized by the Rome Statute Article 7(2)(g) as the intentional and severe deprivation of the fundamental rights as opposed to International Law based on the identity of the group or collectively. The scope of crime was bordered by the Rome Statute and includes any identifiable group or collective group that aims to politically, racially, on national grounds, ethnicity, cultural grounds, gender and religious grounds or any other grounds that are universally recognized as impermissible under International Law, persecute a religious group (Baldwin, C. 2021).

Although, the Statute limits the crimes to apply them only in connection with other crimes that are identified under it, however, there is no such limitation under the definition of persecution under Customary International Law. In the *Prosecutor v. Kupreskic et.al*, International Criminal Lawyer Antonio Cassese, who also served as a judge in the ICTY case, that examined persecution in International Criminal Law also stated that, persecution was to be considered as a crime under Customary International Law. He defined persecution as an act or acts that lead to horrifying and serious violations of fundamental human rights and a part of systematic practices that are committed with an intention of discrimination (Baldwin, C. 2021).

However, no clear threshold has been set under either the Rome Statute or Customary International Law as to what constitutes a violation that is considered severe or appalling. According to Human Rights Watch, there are several human rights violations that cause serious harm and for determining whether the crime against humanity of persecution has been committed, Human Rights Watch considers that, the most serious form of violation that highlights the horrifying levels or severity of the crime against humanity, must be met (Baldwin, C. 2021).

## 6.5 Legal Consequences of Funding Crimes Against Humanity

Under the principles of universal jurisdiction, individual criminal liability for the crimes against humanity can be fixed in the domestic courts where the crime was perpetrated and also the International Courts and Tribunals along with Domestic Courts outside the country in question. Individual criminal liability is extended beyond those individuals who carried out the act, who ordered for the act to be committed, facilitated, assisted, abetted or provided aid in the offense. Under the principle of command responsibility, all military officials and civilian officials till their top commanding officers in the chain can be held criminally responsible for crimes committed by their subordinates when the commission of such crimes was in their knowledge and they failed to take reasonable action and measures for punishing the persons responsible for those crimes or to take action and prevent those crimes (Baldwin, C. 2021).

Regarding the situation in the State of Palestine, the ICC prosecutor Fatou Bensouda in December 2019 concluded a preliminary enquiry after meeting all statutory criteria and proceeded with formally investigating alleged serious crimes by both Israelis and Palestinians. Despite the prosecutor finding reasonable evidence that War crimes were committed by both Israelis and Palestinians, she did not move forward with the former investigation citing the reason of territorial jurisdiction of the ICC. Later, in February 2021, it was ruled by the court that it had jurisdiction over the crimes committed in the Occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT), East Jerusalem and that Palestine was a State party to the Rome Statute thereby, confirming its jurisdiction (Baldwin, C. 2021).

## 6.6 Conclusion

Finally, in March 2021, a former investigation was opened to study the situation in Palestine. Rome too had signed the Rome Statute in 2000 but had not ratified it also mentioning that it had no intention to do so. The ICC later stated that it had the jurisdiction to investigate and prosecute any person including Israeli nationals, if sufficient evidence was supplied to hold them criminally accountable for committing crimes against humanity that include persecution or apartheid in any State that has ratified the Rome Statute and when all relevant criteria have been met, especially in the case of Palestine, where Israeli nationals committed crimes against humanity in the OPT. Moreover, the Apartheid Convention also mentions that, States parties can prosecute persons who commit crimes and over those persons whom they have jurisdiction and also take appropriate measures to prevent, suppress and punish those responsible for the crime of apartheid.

It is interesting to note that, Palestinian Law does not criminalize crimes against humanity, whereas, Israeli Law criminalizes crimes against humanity, that include persecution but not apartheid, especially in the context of crimes committed in Nazi Germany. Israeli persecutors convicted Nazi officials namely Adolf Eishmann and John Demjanjuk of persecution, but failed to acknowledge crimes committed by the Government of Israel in the Gaza strip and West Bank. In the next chapter, I have provided a couple of recommendations aimed at addressing and finding peaceful resolution of the Israel-Palestine conflict (Baldwin, C. 2021).

## Chapter 7 - Recommendations and solutions to resolve the conflict

### 7.1 Introduction

The main aim of the chapter is to find the best possible solutions to end the conflict and to ensure peace and stability in the region. I am aware that, both the people of Israel and Palestine are extremely upset with the Government's decisions and the killings of innocent infants in the incubators, children, women, men, elderly population, targeting hospitals, residential areas, schools and universities. Many children in Gaza are orphaned today and have no one on this planet besides their strong faith and belief in the Quran and Allah. The citizens of Palestine would never forgive the government of Israel for killing their entire families and targeting children in a War and vice versa. This chapter aims to focus on analyzing, what are the major obstacles to achieving lasting peace between Israel and Palestine? (Barghouti, I. 2011).

The Israel-Palestine conflict is one of the most undying and very controversial disputes in modern history. Despite several efforts towards achieving long-lasting and permanent peace in the region, it is indeed a very challenging task to find peaceful resolution of the ongoing conflict. Foremost among the resolution techniques adopted for resolving the ongoing dispute is through, negotiations and dialogue, which are aimed at redressal of grievances, trust building and promoting empathy and understanding between the citizens of Israel and Palestine. The main aim of writing this chapter is to examine the relevance of continued peaceful dialogue and negotiations for resolving the long-standing conflict and also to provide possible solutions to resolve the conflict (Barghouti, I. 2011).

### 7.2 Dialogue and negotiations

At the outset, it is only through dialogue that a framework can be created with parameters that will ensure peaceful coexistence and long-term stability in both Israel and Palestine. Dialogue and negotiations offer an opportunity to representative leaders from both Israel and Palestine to enter into constructive dialogue and discussion to directly address the aspirations and concerns raised by people from both the communities. Moreover, dialogue opens up the platform where both parties can raise their grievances, put up their objectives and also discuss possible routes for a peaceful compromise. Besides, it creates a suitable environment of mutual respect that is appropriate for reconciliation (Barghouti, I. 2011).

It is crucial to resolve and address contentious disputes through practical means using negotiations. If negotiations are structured with priorities, both Israel and Palestine can easily identify the core issues and work towards exploring solutions that are mutually acceptable through comprehensive agreements. Furthermore, the process of negotiations works by respecting the rights and aspirations of people from both Israel and Palestine, thereby, proving to be a very practical means of ensuring the safety, wellbeing and security of people from both the regions (Barghouti, I. 2011).

Dialogue and negotiations promote confidence building and feelings of trust between conflicting nations. Moreover, dialogue and negotiation serve to promote feelings of hope and positivity among



populations that live in contentious regions. All efforts at promoting dialogue and negotiations help to address feelings of doubt and mistrust, that are created as a result of broken promises and violence. Gradually, as trust builds up, it creates a firm foundation among the populations encouraging them to collaborate and cooperate, thus, promoting mutual respect, understanding and increased interaction between the people of both the conflicting nations (Barghouti, I. 2011).

In addition to these reasons, to be able to rely upon positive dialogue and negotiations, it is important to get support and assistance from the international community. Successful dialogue involves participation by global stakeholders, inputs by regional actors, the United Nations, the European Union, the United States and the neighboring Arab countries so that peace agreements are arrived at through such negotiations and can be logistically backed and implemented. Moreover, the existing gaps between the conflicting parties can easily be bridged through international support and agreements and can easily be mediated and enforced. It is through international support and involvement that compliances can be monitored through guarantees, for supporting the trustworthiness and feasibility of the peace process (Barghouti, I. 2011).

Successful solutions through dialogue and negotiations in the Israel-Palestine conflict will serve as a positive precedent in conflict resolution for other regions that have been facing prolonged conflicts. An effective solution of the Israel-Palestine conflict through Diplomacy and dialogue can serve as an inspiration for resolving conflicts in other areas where disputes have been long drawn. These initiatives promote global peace and security, in turn creating a spirit of faith in dialogue and cooperation, within the international community (Barghouti, I. 2011).

However, in the absence of meaningful dialogue and negotiations, a vicious cycle of never-ending human suffering, violence, bitterness and instability is set in. Moreover, if there is a delay in negotiations for a long period of time, feelings of hostility and grievances get exacerbated, giving rise to feelings of discontentment, extremist ideologies and weakening the future prospects of resolving the conflict through peaceful means. This delay in turn also leads to innocent lives being affected with many losing their lives and unleashing an unprecedented scale of human crises, heightened feelings of confrontation and aggression, which further act as barriers for peaceful coexistence and chances of peaceful reconsideration (Barghouti, I. 2011).

Finally, the pursuit of peaceful coexistence and resolution of the long-drawn Israel-Palestine conflict, can only be possible through the route of dialogue and negotiations. By adopting a channel of dialogue and negotiations, conflicting parties can be meaningfully engaged at one common platform to address the core issues that have ignited the conflict. This will also ensure building feelings of mutual trust while creating a suitable platform for seeking international support, thereby, serving as a landmark conflict resolution model for other regions that are affected by long standing disputes. This can serve as a distinct yet genuine pathway for achieving just and sustainable resolution to the conflict. Although it is a daunting task, the chances of a successful breakthrough far outweigh the efforts involved in unlocking a positive future for citizens of both Israel and Palestine, who deserve to live rightfully, in peace, with security and aim for prosperity (Barghouti, I. 2011).

### 7.3 Two-State Solution

The conflict between Israel and Palestine is one of the most prolonged and controversial disputes which is marked with feelings of suspicion, resulting in violence because of conflicting claims over the same piece of land. So far, all efforts towards establishing peace through dialogue and negotiation have concluded with suggestions of a Two-State Solution that proposes setting up a separate independent state of Palestine alongside a separate state for Israel. Although, the main reason behind this extremely challenging and often incomprehensive proposal is, to preserve the national identity of both Israel and Palestine, while at the same time along with promoting regional stability, human rights protection and reduction of security threats, also aiming to promoting peace that is just and sustainable (Shemer-Kunz, Y. 2023).

Preservation and recognition of national identity, lies at the core of this concept of a Two-State Solution. Recognition for a separate homeland for the Israelis, is an important element of the Israeli national identity, which will bring to an end the long-drawn struggle endured by the Jews for their self-determination, who have suffered persecution for centuries. Similarly, the Palestinians too have endured denial of their statehood, faced displacement and occupation of their land since generations. Therefore, a Two-State Solution is considered vital to resolve the deeply interwoven conflict, which besides fulfilling the aspirations of Israelis and Palestinians, also safeguards both their national identities, while also acknowledging their rights to self-governance and sovereignty (Shemer-Kunz, Y. 2023).

Moreover, it is very essential to protect and safeguard the human rights of both Palestinians and Israelis who have been deeply impacted as a result of the long-drawn conflict. Undeniably, populations from both Israel and Palestine have endured suffering as a result of displacement, restriction on their fundamental rights and violence. Therefore, by establishing a Two-State

Solution, the fundamental rights of both Israelis and Palestinians would be protected, ensuring their right to self-determination, preserving their religious and cultural heritage and also upholding protection of minorities. The Two-State Solution will also ensure development of democratic institutions, upholding the rule of Law, promoting social and economic development, creating a safe environment that upholds human rights and dignity for all individuals, without discriminating them on the basis of their religious or ethnic backgrounds (Shemer-Kunz, Y. 2023).

To add to this, regional stability is of foremost importance in the Middle East which can only be promoted by upholding the Two-State Solution. The Israel-Palestine conflict has heightened tensions in the entire Middle East region along with regional tensions and radicalization, which has also led to geopolitical rivalry. The Two-State Solution based on an exhaustive peace agreement, would be able to peacefully resolve the Israel-Palestine conflict and also promote regional stability in the Middle East. The Two-State Solution is capable of creating an appropriate environment that fosters regional cooperation, economic integration, peaceful resolution of the conflicts, pursuing common interest collectively and jointly addressing shared security threats for instance, extremism and terrorism (Shemer-Kunz, Y. 2023).

Additionally, the Two-State Solution ensures safety for both Israelis and Palestinians by critically tackling the security threats. Moreover, when borders are clearly defined and there is recognition of international borders, they are capable of reducing chances of violence or armed conflicts between the two sides. The Two-State Solution is capable of addressing the root cause of the conflict, while also addressing the security concerns which are so vital for the citizens of both Israel and Palestine. The Two-State Solution is also capable of demilitarizing the state of Israel and Palestine, besides removing illegal Israeli settlements and establishing an effective security mechanism which is capable of safeguarding the interests and well-being of both Israelis and Palestinians (Shemer-Kunz, Y. 2023).

Finally, for the sake of upholding the vision of a just and lasting solution for the promotion of peace, the Two-State Solution becomes extremely essential because, it is based on mutual respect, mutual recognition and fulfills the aspirations of a separate statehood, sovereignty and security for the citizens of Israel and Palestine. So far, the Two-State Solution has met with several obstacles and challenges. However, it is widely believed that the framework for the Two-State Solution is indeed the most viable and sustainable solution, aimed at resolving the long-drawn Israel-Palestine conflict. Ultimately, the successful implementation of the Two-State Solution can effectively end hostility and suffering for the people of both Israel and Palestine and lay the foundation of a society that is marked with prosperity, coexistence and cooperation, where Israelis and Palestinians put their differences and separate agendas aside and put their focus on putting to an end the hostility and suffering of innocent people (Shemer-Kunz, Y. 2023).

## 7.4 Humanitarian Aid and Development

The ongoing Israel-Palestine conflict has created a frightful humanitarian situation which marks untold sufferings of innocent civilians, mass displacements and socio-economic challenges for people on both sides of the conflict. In the efforts towards promoting stability in the region and effectively implementing humanitarian aid and other development initiatives to rescue and address the immediate needs of vulnerable and affected populations, a proper framework for ensuring sustainable peace needs to be laid out, to effectively alleviate and address untold sufferings of innocent populations, that are caught in the conflict. Key areas such as infrastructure, education, healthcare, humanitarian aid and economic empowerment need to be prioritized on an urgent basis (Osama Risheq, T. T. 2022).

Foremost among the relief efforts for affected communities as a result of the War is to provide humanitarian aid and assistance. Since, the long-drawn conflict has resulted in complete destruction of essential infrastructure and populations of both sides have faced displacement and violence, medical supplies, shelter and food aid are the urgent humanitarian assistance required to address the basic needs of victims of conflict and also to prevent living conditions from further deteriorating. Since the urgent ongoing crisis has resulted in massive human rights violations of a large number of vulnerable populations, it becomes essential for humanitarian aid agencies to preserve human dignity and protect basic human rights of vulnerable populations affected by the conflict (Osama Risheq, T. T. 2022).

To add to this, humanitarian aid is likely to build confidence among the affected populations of both Israel and Palestine because it will serve to promote a sense of shared understanding of all

humanity, promote a sense of empathy, solidarity and commitment, that rises above political and ideological differences. Besides, it can also create a firm foundation for reconciliation efforts in the future, that involve meaningful dialogue and cooperation between Israel and Palestine (Osama Risheq, T. T. 2022).

Furthermore, humanitarian assistance initiatives in the form of sustainable development and infrastructure rebuilding are essential for preserving and helping the economy of a region. These long-term development projects, for instance, infrastructure for education, essential utilities such as healthcare, promoting job creation programs, make the way for sending out signals of efforts to restore normalcy while also promoting socio-economic stability. Overall, development initiatives aim to provide increased access to education and healthcare facilities and encourage economic opportunities, thus empowering communities and people by helping them to improve their livelihood, rebuild their life and positively contribute towards the wellbeing of their society (Osama Risheq, T. T. 2022).

Additionally, development projects positively contribute by laying the foundation of a creative environment, that fosters peacebuilding efforts. Investment in initiatives towards development, create mutually beneficial relations, besides creating interdependence and a common vision for an interconnected yet prosperous future. In fact, implementing development project initiatives helps to overcome the inequalities and resentment that have encouraged feelings of hostility, discord and friction among people of both the communities, so that an appropriate environment for building trust, cooperation and understanding for a sustainable peace agreement is created (Osama Risheq, T. T. 2022).

Moreover, successful implementation of development projects and humanitarian aid, create an ideal platform that encourages mutual collaboration and understanding, which is of utmost urgency as in the case of the Israel-Palestine conflict. Implementation of humanitarian aid projects encourages people to people interactions, cultural exchanges, joint development initiatives and also promotes a sense of common purpose and shared humanity. Facilitating such interactions can negate feelings of mistrust and hostility making way for reconciliation, empathy and cooperation at all levels. To further add to this, humanitarian aid and development projects, if successfully implemented, have the power to gather international assistance and support for the people of the region. The funds and support from the international community can add value to the existing resources, along with the opinion of experts and rule out any chances of default and mistakes in the effective implementation of development projects. Additionally, international support promotes accountability, champions for protection of human rights for vulnerable populations and also facilitates effective resolutions of long-standing grievances, to promote overall wellbeing and stability in the region (Osama Risheq, T. T. 2022).

The deep-rooted political complexity as witnessed in the Israel-Palestine conflict cannot be completely resolved just through humanitarian aid and development initiatives. Therefore, concerted efforts are required to ensure a more comprehensive and sustainable solution which addresses the territorial issues, underlying political causes and security issues, that lie at the heart of the conflict. Undoubtedly, for the moment, humanitarian aid and development initiatives aim at providing immediate relief and support to the victims of the conflict, however, these efforts need to



be supported with other initiatives that promote meaningful dialogue, that aims to work for finding a just and lasting peace solution through agreement and mutual recognition. Besides, it must also be capable of addressing the legitimate concerns of both the communities, namely Israelis and Palestinians (Osama Risheq, T. T. 2022).

Finally, implementing humanitarian aid and development initiatives is indispensable in the context of the Israel-Palestine conflict. Although, humanitarian aid and development initiatives aim to address the immediate humanitarian requirements of affected populations, promote mutual understanding, foster stability and also help to seek international support. Undoubtedly, they play a crucial role to lessen the suffering of vulnerable populations affected by the conflict and encourage flexibility in approach, thereby, laying a strong foundation for future sustainable peace agreements. However, it must be acknowledged that these humanitarian aid and development initiatives cannot be mistaken as alternatives for a comprehensive political resolution of the conflict. This is merely an important component of the multifaceted approach, that aims to serve as a platform for laying the groundwork, that aims to promote just and lasting peace for both the Israeli and Palestinian community (Osama Risheq, T. T. 2022).

## 7.5 Security and Trust-building Measures

In the context of the Israel-Palestine conflict, it is extremely essential to build mutual trust and confidence between both the parties. Therefore, implementing security and trust-building measures becomes extremely essential, so that tensions can be deescalated and an appropriate environment created to initiate meaningful peace negotiations. Besides, to build an atmosphere of trust, such trust building measures need to be implemented, so that recurring incidents of violence are reduced, making way for sustainable peace. Without doubt, the aim of implementing security measures is to guarantee protection and safety of the citizens of Israel and Palestine (Salem, W. H. 2016).

Throughout history, the conflict has been marked with periods of extreme violence, military operations, terrorist acts and armed conflicts, which have resulted in increased bitterness and loss of several lives. Both Israel and Palestine stand to greatly benefit from the implementation of trust building and security measures because, when effective security protocols are established, they result in sharing of intelligence, border control mechanisms and joint security patrols, which result in reducing the threat perception of militants and extremist groups, actively operating in the region to its minimum, thereby, also preventing any possible outbreak of violence (Salem, W. H. 2016).

Additionally, implementing trust building measures promotes feelings of mutual understanding and empathy between conflicting citizens of both Israel and Palestine. Moreover, since the conflict has been one of the most enduring and challenging for decades, marked with feelings of deep mistrust, bitterness, hostility, occupation and stereotypes, it becomes extremely challenging for the two conflicting parties to agree for any negotiations through dialogue. Therefore, such initiatives that promote trust building measures and security among the people are likely to, encourage cultural exchanges, people to people interactions and economic associations, resulting in encouraging feelings of mutual compassion and softness in approach, which will ultimately result in a more inclusive and constructive peace process (Salem, W. H. 2016).

To add to this, promotion and implementation of security and trust building measures, results in outcomes that bring stability in the region. Besides, the Middle East as a whole has been deeply affected by the conflict in Israel and Palestine, which has further aggravated regional tensions causing instability in the region. Therefore, for building a more safe, secure and stable regional environment, it is essential for both Israel and Palestine to address the root causes of the conflict, through trust building measures and further prevent escalating the conflict into an enormous regional crisis (Salem, W. H. 2016).

Furthermore, trust-building measures will help to create a suitable ground work and set up a platform for meaningful peace negotiations and conflict resolution talks. Besides, prioritizing trust building measures between two conflicting parties, leads to creating an open platform where honest discussions can take place, to address the core issues and reach sustainable and comprehensive peace agreements, that are capable of addressing the legitimate concerns and aspirations of both the conflicting parties (Salem, W. H. 2016).

Finally, it is critical to implement security and trust building measures especially in the context of Israel and Palestine so that an appropriate platform is created where meaningful peace negotiations that foster mutual understanding, security and stability in the region, can result in ensuring safety and security for the people of Israel and Palestine. Overall, these trust building measures will establish an environment laying the groundwork, from where just, peaceful and long-lasting peace can be achieved, that envisions prosperity, security, safety and coexistence among Israelis and Palestinians (Salem, W. H. 2016).

## 7.6 International Support and Mediation

The conflict in Israel and Palestine, has been one of the most controversial and prolonged disputes in modern history which because of its implications, has stretched far beyond its regional borders and become a cause of increasing global concern. Due to daily incidents of escalating violence, it becomes extremely necessary that the international community gets actively engaged to make efforts for finding a just and lasting resolution of the conflict. These reasons also indicate the critical role played by the international community, for its increased role to support mediation and meaningful dialogue, so that gaps can be bridged to pin-point accountability and appropriate resources are made available, for initiating sustainable peace building measures (Atallah, M. 2021).

First and foremost, international support and mediation is extremely vital for facilitating multilateral diplomacy. Moreover, peace negotiations can only be facilitated when International Laws are preserved, humanitarian aid and assistance is provided for and human rights and dignity are ensured for all individuals involved. Moreover, in the context of the Israel-Palestine conflict, international mediation and support is extremely essential for the promotion of multilateral diplomacy and also for advocating a unified approach, towards peaceful resolution of the conflict. Undoubtedly, the conflict today has stretched far beyond its borders and transcended into the Middle East, while also impacting the global community (Atallah, M. 2021).

Therefore, international support and mediation have the potential to play a key role in bringing together International Organizations, influential States, regional powers and key stakeholders to adopt a comprehensive yet unified approach, that addresses the root causes of the conflict and promotes sustainable peace. The route taken by multilateral diplomacy is to stress on the need for shared responsibilities, common goals and a collective vision that focuses on peace, stability and finding a just and lasting resolution of the conflict (Atallah, M. 2021).

Additionally, humanitarian assistance becomes the need of the hour, when such long drawn conflicts affect countless innocent lives. Therefore, international mediation and support play a key role in addressing the challenges of prolonged conflicts, which lead to humanitarian crises at an unprecedented scale because it involves providing timely assistance to the victims of displacement, to communities living in deteriorating living conditions, who have limited access to basic services. It is during these crucial times that, International Humanitarian and aid agencies, with the support of the broader international community, help to provide essential and timely healthcare services, food security and shelter. It is the vital assistance provided by the international community, that sends out a message of, its deep commitment for providing timely assistance and showing solidarity during the time of crisis, thereby, upholding humanitarian principles (Atallah, M. 2021).

Furthermore, all efforts at providing international support and mediation during peace negotiations, help to create an appropriate environment that facilitates positive dialogue and the intentions to compromise. Owing to the complexity of the Israel-Palestine conflict, it is essential that the facilitators and mediators in the negotiation process must be neutral and impartial, who facilitate bridging the gaps through negotiations, by identifying common grounds for acceptance during peace talks (Atallah, M. 2021).

The core issues in the Israel-Palestine conflict that involve the status of Jerusalem, establishing secure borders and the right of return for Palestinian refugees, require a neutral platform where international mediators can counsel and encourage both Israelis and Palestinians, to arrive at a common ground by engaging in constructive discussions. Such a constructive discussion framework with participation by international actors and mediators can ensure the progress of an inclusive and comprehensive peace agreement, that is capable of addressing all the legitimate concerns and aspirations of the conflicting parties (Atallah, M. 2021).

To add to this, involvement of international support and mediation efforts help to uphold principles of International Law and promote respect for human rights, especially in the context of the Israel-Palestine conflict. The present-day Israel-Palestine conflict is marked with several cases of International Humanitarian Law violations, that includes mass displacement of civilians from both sides, constructing settlements, using disproportionate force, loss of innumerable civilian lives and breach of basic human rights. Therefore, it becomes the duty of international actors that include the United Nations and regional organizations to step in for condemning the perpetrators of human rights violations, holding them accountable and also advocating for adhering to the Norms of International Law. By holding the violators of human rights violations as accountable and upholding the principles of justice and the Rule of Law, International supporters can create a platform where respect for the rights and dignity of all individuals involved in the conflict, irrespective of their ethnicity and nationality, can be upheld (Atallah, M. 2021).

Furthermore, the underlying socio-economic and political challenges, that have kept the conflict alive for decades and contributed to instability in the region, can only be addressed through international support and mediation. Alongside these reasons, the ongoing Israel-Palestine conflict has had far reaching consequences and implications in the Middle East, that have fueled regional tensions, extremism and created obstacles in the efforts, that promote regional development and cooperation. With the critical support and timely cooperation by international actors, several socio-economic development initiatives, capacity building programs, infrastructure projects can be undertaken to promote social stability, economic growth and empowerment of marginalized communities. These developmental initiatives undertaken by the international community, can create an environment that is suitable for long term development and for the promotion of peace and prosperity, which are the vital elements required to successfully implement any peace agreement between Israel and Palestine (Atallah, M. 2021).

Finally, it is amply clear that, owing to the complexity of the Israel-Palestine conflict which also poses multifaceted challenges, it becomes vital to include international support and mediation efforts. The international community and organizations can positively contribute by creating an appropriate environment, through the promotion of multilateral diplomacy initiatives, that facilitate a conducive environment for peace negotiations, sustainable peace building initiatives, provide humanitarian assistance, uphold principles of International Law and also address the socio-economic and political challenges brought forth, as a result of the long-drawn conflict. Without doubt, international support and mediation efforts highlight the willingness and collective commitment by members of the global community, to make efforts for upholding and protecting human rights, promoting peace, stability, global solidarity, shared responsibility and cooperation to jointly work towards finding a mutually acceptable and legitimate solution, that is just and ensures long lasting peace in Israel and Palestine (Atallah, M. 2021).

## 7.7 Promotion of Tolerance and Reconciliation

The decades-long Israel-Palestine conflict marked by hostility and violence, has resulted in creating feelings of bitterness, mistrust and a deep divide among people from both the sides. Reconciliation and tolerance, play a key role instilling feelings of empathy, mutual understanding and coexistence, so that just and lasting peace can be achieved for both Israelis and Palestinians. Peacebuilding efforts can only prove fruitful, if a conducive environment is created, that aims to address the underlying cultural, social and psychological barriers that prompt cycles of conflict (Nations, U. 2022).

Therefore, peacebuilding initiatives need to focus on promoting tolerance, building bridges, addressing the gaps, humanizing opposing parties and encouraging them for reconciliation efforts. This is extremely vital in the context of the Israel-Palestine conflict because, decades of conflict have resulted in animosities and historical wounds, which can only be addressed with efforts that aim at humanizing the opposing parties, creating feelings of empathy, coexistence, shared understanding and stressing on the need to promote mutual respect and dignity in the future, as a result of meaningful peacebuilding initiatives (Nations, U. 2022).

First and foremost, all efforts at humanizing the “other” can only be possible if a feeling of reconciliation and tolerance are promoted, that looks beyond stereotypes and prejudices, that have resulted in the existing friction and divisions between Israelis and Palestinians. Another major fallout of the long-drawn conflict is the deep humanization of both the communities, that have known to believe a narrative of distrust, enmity and demonization, which has created a mental block in the hearts and minds of the people, who do not see any chances of mutual peace or understanding (Nations, U. 2022).

Therefore, it is for these reasons, that people to people interactions, joint educational programs and cultural exchanges must be encouraged to shed misconceptions and promote the concept of shared humanity, common struggles and mutual aspirations. Moreover, feelings of empathy can be developed when Israelis and Palestinians share and discuss their experiences through exchange of their narratives, which are likely to result in humanizing each other and encouraging them to choose the path of respect and reconciliation (Nations, U. 2022).

To add to this, by recognizing the suffering, pain and aspirations of fellow citizens from another community, it is likely to create empathetic individuals that will champion for promoting reconciliation and tolerance. Undoubtedly, both Israelis and Palestinians have been collective victims of losses of their near and dear ones, deep traumas, victims of injustice and retaliation. By setting aside their historical injustice and deep defenses, both Israelis and Palestinians are likely to greatly benefit from reconciliation endeavors that involve storytelling, shared personal narratives and dialogue, as it will help individuals to develop a sense of humanity, empathy and dignity for human life, cultivating feelings of compassion, solidarity, understanding and empathy. Through these efforts, it is likely that people from Israel and Palestine are, likely to adopt a more inclusive and empathetic approach towards peacebuilding efforts and conflict resolution (Nations, U. 2022).

Moreover, decades of historical wounds inflicted at each other along with untold atrocities, human rights violations and gross injustice, both Israelis and Palestinians will greatly benefit from efforts that promote tolerance and reconciliation, which are essential for healing wounds suffered for several decades by people from both sides. Furthermore, the violence, deep seated unresolved grievances, denial of human rights and mass displacement that marks the Israel-Palestine conflict, can facilitate acknowledgement of past wrongs and truth telling, through initiatives aimed at reconciliation. Honest confrontation, by both the communities to courageously share their history and a commitment to build a future based on justice and mutual understanding, can only be possible by truthfully acknowledging the past misgivings and injustices. These efforts are sure to make way for tolerance and reconciliation, based on a shared narrative that addresses the legitimate aspirations of both Israelis and Palestinians, encouraging them to collectively commit themselves for making peace and for allowing reconciliation efforts to work (Nations, U. 2022).



Additionally, peaceful coexistence based on mutual respect and dignity can be achieved through the promotion of tolerance and reconciliation. Undoubtedly, the contentious dispute between Israel and Palestine, has created sharp divisions and barriers, that block all chances of peaceful coexistence and a common shared vision of the future for both Israel and Palestine. Therefore, since reconciliation efforts involve a more inclusive and a joint approach that aims at peacebuilding efforts, to common educational programs, joint community projects, cultural exchanges, they are likely to create a sense of shared belongingness that goes beyond religion, national boundaries and ethnicity. In my opinion, if both Israelis and Palestinians decide to coexist by envisioning a future where citizens respect diversity, have mutual respect, share common values, recognize the rights and dignity of all human beings, despite differences in their identity and background, peace and stability can continue to exist, where tolerance is key in achieving ever lasting peace (Nations, U. 2022).

## 7.8 Women Participation in Peacebuilding, Peacemaking, Peace enforcement and Peace Process

Over and above all these recommendations, I personally recommended the constitution of a mediation team, which consists of 50% women because, it is women who are the most affected and bear the consequences and brunt of a War. This long-drawn conflict for decades has impacted the lives of women in a big way, as it is the women who have lost their husbands, fathers, brothers, sons and other loved members of their families. It is women whose livelihoods are at stake, therefore they need to be given equal representation at the negotiation table, so that a peaceable solution to the conflict can be worked out for the greater good of humanity and also for both Israelis and Palestinians. Although negotiations are not any easy process, however, by adopting a large-hearted approach of forgiveness and magnanimity, a compassionate solution can certainly be worked out, to end the bitterness and achieve greater good of humanity (Women, U. 2019).

Moreover, since the conflict has stretched over several decades now, women participation in the negotiation and peace talks can effectively break the diplomatic deadlock, due to which no lines of compromise have so far worked out. Furthermore, the increasing hostilities leading to violence have resulted in loss of several lives and irretrievable damage to the essential infrastructure, making the victims and survivors suffer from brutal collateral damage, that the ongoing conflict continues to cause with each passing day. Therefore, women being the first victims to bear the brunt of War, conflict, hostilities and brutal violence, need to make their participation and presence felt at the negotiation table, to achieve a level headed mutual consensus and a successful workable peace agreement (Women, U. 2019).

Lastly, in my opinion, since women are the most vulnerable victims of the ongoing conflict, negotiators, political leaders and international organizations need to work with a true spirit of faith and seek possible reconciliation solutions, that inspire a sense of humanity in all of us (Women, U. 2019).

## 7.9 Conclusion

Finally, it can be concluded that, encouraging tolerance and reconciliation in the context of the Israel-Palestine conflict is vital to promote feelings of empathy, mutual understanding and coexistence among Israelis and Palestinians. Besides, cultivating feelings of empathy by humanizing the other and creating a platform for a common shared understanding that encourages peaceful coexistence, mutual respect, dignity, tolerance, a common shared future. The historical wounds inflicted over the years can get healed making way for a suitable platform, that encourages positive peacebuilding efforts that aim to achieve a just and long-lasting resolution of the Israel-Palestine conflict. Lastly, promotion of tolerance and feelings of reconciliation undoubtedly have the power to transform hostile feelings into feelings of empathy, mutual understanding and compassion that foster creating a culture of peace, solidarity and shared humanity, that is certain to build bridges and erase friction between Israeli's and Palestinians.

## Chapter 8 - Conclusion



*Figure 1.5- Model of Peacemaking, Peacekeeping, Peace enforcement and Peacebuilding.*

Overall, the main aim of the thesis was to conclude on the main problem: how would the conflict between Israel-Palestine have an impact on the global platform? In my opinion, the conflict has been long drawn and stretched out for centuries and decades, however no matter for how many years the fighting, violence, bitterness, clashes and hostilities take place, at last it is the talks on the table that will help to resolve the issue. Also, the only way to solve the conflict is by implementing the peace model mentioned in figure 1.5. Therefore, dialogue being an important element of negotiations must continue, despite failure in talks. It is because ultimately, it is the talks that will help to resolve the dispute and find possible solutions or alternatives. Since, it is the women who have been the greatest victims of war, conflicts and clashes and have lost their sons, husbands and families, now it is their turn to try their share of negotiations at least with 50% of their participation in the peacemaking, peace enforcement and peacebuilding processes (Women, U. 2019).

Moreover, the modern era holds out promises for success, advancements in career, pursuance of ambitions and much more. Therefore, no one has time for War, making it all the more urgent that we need to end bloodshed, bitterness, clashes, hostilities, conflicts and make peace. Furthermore, in my opinion, we do not use diplomacy with our friends but rather we need to show it with people with whom we have differences, so that we can reach specific positive outcomes. Likewise, I am of the strong opinion that only diplomacy will bring positive outcomes at the negotiation table in the case of the Israel-Palestine conflict (International, A. 2023).

In the case of Israel-Palestine, we do not have to give up discussion, because there is a diplomatic deadlock, but rather keep making constant efforts so that the talks continue and possible peaceable solutions can be worked out. Therefore, it is important that Israel and Palestine both abide by the International Humanitarian Law, Treaties, Conventions and decisions of the International Court of Justice which must prosecute the Government of Israel and Hamas from Palestine, in regard to the violation of international rules, regulations and norms (International, A. 2023).

The International Court of Justice must also take into account that illegally targeting residential homes, infants in the incubators, children, hospitals, refugee camps and makeshift residential homes is against the rules of War, which must not be targeted under any circumstances. Moreover, forcing people to live with no food, water, house, electricity, collapse in the healthcare system, attacking children and women in a War is a violation of International Humanitarian Law. Also, countries who have provided funds to both the Government of Israel and Palestine for initiating the War at such a horrifying, scale must also be prosecuted by the ICJ and serious charges must be put against the responsible governments for violating International Criminal Law (Aljazeera. 2023).

Moreover, after analyzing the ground reality and the present situation in Gaza, the UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres has called for a cease-fire and to bring the conflict to an end (News, U. 2023). However, the US and Israel disagree with Antonio Guterres and the Israeli Diplomat made a statement that, Antonio Guterres must resign from his position. It is important for the States delegates to understand that, no State is above the UN and other International Organizations. Serious action must be taken against the Diplomats who do not push forward an agenda for compromise in the peacebuilding, peacemaking and peace enforcement meetings (Hagstrom, A. 2023).

Also, the Government of Israel has not only attacked in the Gaza strip but also in the southern regions of the West Bank, International airport in Syria and the border between Israel and Lebanon. It is because Hezbollah had attacked the Israeli military camp due to the ongoing War in Gaza strip. Also, the military in Gaza do not have strong missiles and equipment to defend themselves and the War is not at an equal space. Moreover, Egypt has refused to accept the Palestinian citizens and accommodate them in the Sinai Peninsula, but the government of Egypt is also afraid at the same time that if they take Palestinian refugees, the government of Israel would take control over the territory of Gaza. It is indeed very unfortunate, to see millions of Palestinian displaced since October 07 and countless innocent lives from both sides suffering, because it seems that terror is let loose in the midst of diplomatic failure (Ward, E. 2023).

However, the ongoing Israel-Palestine conflict has led to massive protests globally, for instance, the United Kingdom witnessed the largest protest in its history in November 2023. Many protests were witnessed in European countries, the United States of America, Asian countries, African regions and Australia. Majority of the protestors have urged for a cease-fire, boycott of Israeli companies, to cut off diplomatic ties with the Government of Israel and to stop the military supply given to the Israeli government. A major fallout is, the rising number of global voices that have put pressure on State governments and threatened a drastic reduction in the popular vote among the citizens, during the next elections (Zhou, L. 2023).

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## 2.2 Paper



## The Role of International Law in Resolving the Palestinian Refugee Issue

by **Banan Alrougi**

Advisor: **Dr. Colleen Thouez**

### The Role of International Law in Resolving the Palestinian Refugee Issue

Many Palestinians fled their homes into exile. For instance, in the last sixty-five years, at least 750,000 refugees had gone into exile (Allan, 2013). These people are hoping to return to their motherland. In exile, they deserve better treatment. However, refugees are preserved in a hostile environment that has increasingly become catastrophic to them. They usually get access to inadequate water, food, shelter, and clothing. These are the fundamentals of life that should be considered. However, refugee camps, now occupying the four zones, have been reduced to a suffering zone. The Israeli-Arab war has interrupted the refugees' desire to return home (Allan, 2013). Refugees are very lonely and depressed since they are separated from their families (Goldstein, 2022). Their suffering is against the humanitarian and international law on refugees. To this effect, the current study focuses on analyzing the legal framework concerning the rights of Palestinian refugees and the state's obligations and international organizations in identifying a just and permanent solution to the refugee problems according to international law. The first international resolution is allowing Palestine independence to separate from Israel. The self-reliance or separation of these two nations will help prevent the frequent fights and conflicts between them. In December 2022, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) passed a 77/247 resolution that condemned the Israelis' sanctioning of wars that affected Palestine, making them fly into exile (Gadkari & Kumar, 2023). The UNGA sought advisory comment on the issue between Palestine and Israel that prevented Palestinian refugees from returning home. In most cases, war is the primary cause of seeking refuge elsewhere. The legal recommendation for Palestine's independence will bring an everlasting resolution to the ongoing suffering of the refugees at the camp. When war stops, the refugees at the exile camps or zones can return home, and thus, this can save them from the traumatic experiences at the camps. Therefore, granting self-determination will help prevent the increase in the number of refugees at the camp since it will prevent the further occurrence of the conflict.

Furthermore, efforts should be directed on the creation of international law to help Palestine attain complete independence. According to the International Court of Justice, Palestine should be allowed to have self-determination. This was a legal framework recommendation of 20 January 2023 (Gadkari & Kumar, 2023). This framework enables the Palestinian Authority to refine the judicialization that began two years back on the legal impact of constructing a wall between Israel and Palestine (Gadkari & Kumar, 2023). Palestine administration should adopt the multilateral technique to seek their support to push Israel to grant them self-reliance. Based on this, it will effectively resolve the conflict between these two nations and reduce emigration. Implementing the UNGA's centrality in judicialization can expedite Palestine's multilateral strategy initiated in 2009 by the ICJ's 2004 suggestion recommending the reliance on international organizations to create an independent Palestinian state and acknowledge its presence (Gadkari & Kumar, 2023). According to the OHCHR website, experts have expressed deep concern over Israel's indiscriminate military attacks on the exhausted Palestinian population of Gaza. With over 2.3 million people, including a significant number of children, living under an unlawful blockade for 16 years and having endured five major wars, the experts highlight the lack of accountability for these actions (United Nations, 2023). Experts also raise alarm over reports of journalists and media workers being targeted, resulting in the deaths of seven Palestinian journalists and media workers in Israeli airstrikes. The airstrikes have primarily targeted densely populated areas, leading to the destruction of residential buildings, markets, hospitals, and 20 UNRWA facilities, including schools that were providing shelter to displaced civilians. As of 11 October, an estimated 340,000

people have been displaced within Gaza, with nearly 218,600 seeking refuge in 92 UNRWA schools across the region (United Nations, 2023). The advisory, in response, is explicit that one of the ways is for Palestine to have self-determination that will prevent future emigration. Based on this, the advisory opinion supported this recommendation of self-determination and respect for humanitarian law. Palestine's self-determination is supported by humanitarian law, international human rights law, and criminal law that supports the universal right of a human to life and freedom. This supports the idea of granting the nation independence if it will protect them against human torture and exposure at the refugee camps. All these laws have supported the Palestinian quest for self-determination to end the ongoing stalemate. These legal frameworks offer the Palestinians an opportunity to legally promote its discourse of attaining independence since it is captured under the ICJ's worldwide agenda. The statement implies that the UNGA's obligation to investigate the ICJ under Article of the UN charter can fruitfully bring an everlasting solution to the flight of Palestinian refugees to the zone areas. Similarly, In November 2019, the UNGA awarded Palestine as a non-member state, enabling it to join many international organizations and advocate for multilateral treaties to promote its judicialization agenda (Gadkari & Kumar, 2023). As a result, Palestine can claim Israel to allow it to have self-determination. One of the ways to provide a solution is by eliminating an issue from the root cause. The leading cause of the emigration into exile is the constant war between the Palestinians and the Israelites.

The UNRWA Situation Report provides an update on the situation in the Gaza Strip and the humanitarian response. As of 11 December, the Rafah Crossing remained the only open entry point into Gaza. UNRWA Commissioner-General Philippe Lazzarini briefed a Security Council delegation on the situation before crossing into Gaza himself. Since the beginning of hostilities, 134 UNRWA colleagues have been killed (UNRWA, 2023). The report highlights that up to 1.9 million people, or over 85% of the population, have been displaced in the Gaza Strip, with families forced to move multiple times in search of safety. Around 1.3 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) were sheltering in 155 UNRWA facilities across the Gaza Strip as of 11 December, including in the North and Gaza City. The report also mentions the challenges faced

in providing health care, psychosocial support, food security, and water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH) services to the displaced population. Therefore, granting them complete independence can help reduce the issues associated with the refugees at the camp. The Palestinian state should adopt a permanent peace resolution that would see the government brainstorm strategies to end the friction and altercation between them (Goldstein, 2022). This would include involving neutral and third parties to develop an impartial resolution incorporated into law and overseen by the International bodies to ensure it becomes legally binding. The International Court of Justice should hold Israel accountable for ongoing war and thus recommend a trigger to ensure Israel complies and thus restore peace in the region. For instance, the Palestinian administration should seek the ICJ's legal advice to investigate Israel's self-defense claim on the recent war that increased the chances of many Palestinians fleeing for their safety (Mason, 2020). If the court finds Israel to have adopted the armed aggression strategy, it can force it to stop the aggression and respect the sovereignty of other states, including Palestine. The move can help place sanctions on Israel as per the ICJ that can make it downscale its aggressive approach in settling the dispute they believe to be targeting the terror group that is currently causing fatalities of the Palestinians. The imposition of heavy fines can make the Israelites resort to other means of conflict resolution, and this will eliminate the fear among the Palestinians that can make them run away from their homeland to seek refuge in other countries.

Refugees should be guaranteed the right to return to their motherland. It can be possible when Palestine is allowed to depend on this refugee law. This right is not absolutely practiced, and at least eleven million Palestinians are in the 'exilic diaspora' (Mason, 2020, p.85). Although eleven million are in exile, only five million are classified as refugees based on the UN provisions. This clearly shows how many refugees are exposed to externalities. The same UN law discriminates against recognizing them as refugees. It highlights the need to expedite their return home clause to ensure they enjoy the right to freedom and a better life as other citizens. Palestine and Israel should mutually agree to abolish the long historical narrative surrounding the Palestinian refugees. In the report, there has been a claim that the refugees were due to Palestinian displacement. On the other hand, the Israelites are blamed for the root cause of the displacement (Mason, 2020). However, Israel believes that the refugees were not due to fatalities associated with the war against extremist groups but because of the Zionist policy of transfer, which met the ethics cleaning international law. Since this development has existed between 1947-8 and today, escalating the conflict between these two nations should be stopped (Mason & Goldstein, 2022). If this narrative and hypothetical assertions stop, it can bring an everlasting solution to end the refugee suffering in exile. The argument to stop this narrative discourse can help bring a harmonized solution between these two nations. In conclusion, the Palestinian Refugees has been an issue that undermines human right and dignity. Internal law and cooperation from international organizations can help resolve this long-term issue. One of the ways is through pushing for self-reliance in Palestine, ICJ's recommendation to make Israel accountable for its armed aggression self-defense claim, end the root cause of the war narrative, and allow the Palestinians to separate from Israelites as per the International UN law.

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## 2.3 Paper



# Civil Society Organizations and the United Nations: Historical Overview, the Question of Reform, and Looking Forward

by **Alessandra DeChancie**

Advisor: **Ms. Jelena Pia Comella**

## Introduction

Civil society organizations (CSOs) have long played a role in working with the United Nations, though the relationship and role of CSOs has undergone several transformations and continue to change today. Shaped in part by global societal trends and the evolving practice of the UN itself, CSOs have demonstrated a capacity to adapt themselves to the constraints of the UN system and push it towards new types of engagement. While the history of CSOs working with the UN has been a long and sometimes contested one, there continue to be new avenues for engagement that can push the UN further towards its ideals of ensuring a peaceful and just world for all. This paper will provide a historical overview of CSOs and their involvement with the UN, consider some of its challenge and limitations, and review a case study of how future engagement can be mutually beneficial in achieving shared goals in both the civil society and global governance spaces. Ultimately, this paper contends that while there remain institutional challenges to providing CSOs a full seat at the table, the UN stands to benefit from investing in sustained, knowledge-sharing partnerships with civil society groups.



## History of CSOs and the United Nations

Civil society organizations, also described by the UN as non-governmental organizations (NGOs),<sup>1</sup> have been involved in the United Nations since its founding. Their influence can be traced back to the structure of the League of Nations, when NGOs advocated on behalf of societal issues and enjoyed an “informal atmosphere [that] governed the interactions between the League and the NGOs.”<sup>2</sup> By the founding of the United Nations in 1945, civil society had grown to the extent that over one thousand NGOs attended the founding conference and advocated that the charter include provisions for their involvement in official processes. The most prominent of these mechanisms was Article 71 of the UN Charter, under which the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) serves as the “major organ of access” for NGOs to the UN system.<sup>3</sup>

Under Article 71, ECOSOC “may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence.”<sup>4</sup> While there were only forty-one NGOs in consultative status at the time of the UN charter,<sup>5</sup> that number has skyrocketed to 6,494 NGOs as of April 2023<sup>6</sup> and continues to grow. Consultative status with ECOSOC provides NGOs several benefits

<sup>1</sup> United Nations, “The UN and Civil Society.”

<sup>2</sup> Karen Mingst, “Civil Society Organizations in the United Nations,” 22.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> United Nations, “Charter of the United Nations: Chapter X—The Economic and Social Council, Article 71.”

regarding access “to its many subsidiary bodies, to the various human rights mechanisms of the United Nations, ad-hoc processes on small arms, as well as special events organized by the President of the General Assembly.”<sup>7</sup>

As the growth of the NGO sector continued to accelerate throughout the twentieth century, the UN adopted resolution 1296 in 1968, dividing organizations with consultative status into three categories depending on their areas of expertise and interest in UN activities—those with multiple interests falling within the scope of ECOSOC (general consultative status), those with a specialized or particular area of interest (special consultative status), and those with an occasional or more general interest (roster status).<sup>8</sup> In 1996 following continued growth and status of NGOs at various levels worldwide, resolution 1996/31 expanded the eligibility of NGOs to apply for consultative status to include sub-regional, regional and national organizations, rather than just those at the international level.<sup>9</sup> These resolutions played a critical role in modernizing the UN’s approach to interacting with NGOs and provided more structure to their involvement and inclusion.

The 1990s saw drastic global shifts in the post-Cold War era and globalizing forces across the world, which “linked markets, cultures, peoples, and states in an unprecedented way.”<sup>10</sup> Throughout the course of several UN conferences during the decade (such as the 1992 Rio Conference, the 1994 Cairo Conference on Population, the 1995 Beijing Conference on Women, and the 1995 Copenhagen Conference on Social Development, among others) NGOs continued to push for a more active role in UN negotiations. As Richard Falk notes: “In some ways, the UN conferences of the 1990s helped to provide global civil society with a space where it could be visible and where its various parts could connect with one another.”<sup>11</sup> Ultimately, this time period served as a turning point within this historical framework, capping a period since the early 1970s that may be described as a time of “intensification” of NGO engagement with the UN—eventually giving way to the current period of “empowerment.”<sup>12</sup>

In fact, NGOs have been a significant driver in pushing the UN towards action—particularly in issues dealing with human rights, peace and security. Richard Falk notes that the UN Commission on Human Rights (replaced in 2006 by the UN Human Rights Council) tended towards sluggish and even a lack of action on pressing global issues—but “when it [did] act on serious violations in a country, it [was] usually because of NGOs and the media.”<sup>13</sup> Researchers have traced the impact of NGOs on multiple components of international relations and “traditional concerns of security and the balance of power”<sup>14</sup>—such as promoting universal human rights, pushing for the establishment of the International Criminal Court (led by the Coalition for an International Criminal Court), and advocating for global justice for marginalized groups (such as InterAction, a coalition of NGOs focused on global disaster relief and development).<sup>15</sup>

<sup>5</sup> United Nations Economic and Social Council. “Introduction to ECOSOC Consultative Status.”

<sup>6</sup> United Nations Economic and Social Council, “NGO Branch.”

<sup>7</sup> United Nations, “The UN and Civil Society.”

<sup>8</sup> Karen Mingst, “Civil Society Organizations in the United Nations,” 22.

<sup>9</sup> Raymond Saner and Lichia Yiu, “Participation of Civil Society Organizations in the United Nations in the Aid Effectiveness Discourse and Related Standard-Setting Negotiations,” 150.

<sup>10</sup> Karen Mingst, “Civil Society Organizations in the United Nations,” 23.

<sup>11</sup> Richard Falk, “Reforming the United Nations: Global Civil Society Perspectives and Initiatives,” 156.

<sup>12</sup> Norbert Götz, “The Emergence of NGOs as Actors on the World Stage,” 28.

<sup>13</sup> Richard Falk, “Reforming the United Nations: Global Civil Society Perspectives and Initiatives,” 166.

<sup>14</sup> Thomas Davies, “Introducing NGOs and International Relations,” 7.

<sup>15</sup> For more examples of NGO coalitions, see United Nations Non-Governmental Liaison Service, *UN System Engagement with NGOs, Civil Society, the Private Sector, and Other Actors: A Compendium*.

Similarly, the promotion of women’s rights has a rich history of NGO advocacy and coalition building with the UN. The Commission on the Status of Women, housed within ECOSOC and established in 1946, relies greatly on the “active participation” of NGOs “in shaping the current global policy framework on women’s empowerment and gender equality.”<sup>16</sup> In 2012, ahead of the September adoption by the UN General Assembly of the 2030 Development Agenda and the seventeen Sustainable Development Goals, an alliance of women’s groups formed the Post-2015 Women’s Coalition, “whose aim was to strengthen feminist engagement in the Post-2015 sustainable development agenda and processes leading up to the creation of the Sustainable Development Goals.”<sup>17</sup> As a result of organized pressure from NGO coalitions such as this one, “the agenda of the SDGs is broader—with respect to gender as well as overall—and potentially more transformative” than its predecessor the Millennium Development Goals, which reflects “the participative and broader consultation process that led to them.”<sup>18</sup>

Today, ECOSOC continues its role in providing NGOs a vehicle for joining global conversations. In addition to consultative status with ECOSOC, NGOs can apply for formal association with the Department of Global Communications (DGC), a department within ECOSOC, for additional access. According to their website, “DGC helps CSOs gain access to and disseminate information about the range of issues in which the United Nations is involved, to enable them to more effectively carry out their activities in support of the UN Charter and to raise awareness among public audiences about the work of the Organization.”<sup>19</sup> Additional channels such as this can provide NGOs with expanded access to the UN in the form of new departmental contacts, resources, and access to other agencies. One particular benefit of association with DGC is access to their Civil Society Youth Representatives Programme,<sup>20</sup> which opens the door for youth participation with the UN that can be difficult to achieve through other pathways.<sup>21</sup> However, while NGO involvement with the UN and their overall visibility has continued to increase over the last two decades, there still remain challenges in terms of their inclusion in negotiations and official proceedings.

## Civil Society Inclusion and Reforming the UN

NGO involvement with the UN has only continued to increase since the 1990s, and for good reason—there certainly can be incentives for the UN to tap into the civil society sector, and for NGOs to benefit from contact with, and influence on, the UN. As Karen Mingst succinctly stated, “NGOs want to be where the action is,”<sup>22</sup> and access to the UN’s negotiations or program implementation is both a coveted and lucrative means of achieving it. The UN, meanwhile, “depend[s] on the talent, resources, and flexibility of the major NGOs to address crises,”<sup>23</sup> so likewise benefits from collaboration with civil society groups that are more connected to specific causes or areas of expertise. Just as the 1990s saw significant developments in the role of civil society organizations working with the UN, the turn of the century ushered in new conversations about the role of the UN in the new modern era.

<sup>16</sup> UN Women, “Commission on the Status of Women: NGO Participation.”

<sup>17</sup> Feminist Alliance for Rights, “About the Feminist Alliance for Rights (FAR).”

<sup>18</sup> Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, “From the Millennium Development Goals to the Sustainable Development Goals: Shifts in Purpose, Concept, and Politics of Global Goal Setting for Development,” 47-48.

<sup>19</sup> United Nations, “The UN and Civil Society.”

<sup>20</sup> United Nations Civil Society, “Youth.”

<sup>21</sup> United Nations Civil Society, “Why Associate with DGC?”

<sup>22</sup> Karen Mingst, “Civil Society Organizations in the United Nations,” 25.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, 26.

At the turn of the century, conversations emerged around how the UN as a twentieth century institution could remain relevant for twenty-first century issues.<sup>24</sup> While criticisms of the UN had existed since its inception, a convergence of factors brought conversations around reforming the UN in the new millennium to the forefront. In 2003, in the wake of the invasion of Iraq despite a lack of mandate from the Security Council, then-Secretary-General Kofi Annan stated to the General Assembly, “We have come to a fork in the road... I believe the time is ripe for a hard look at fundamental issues, and at the structural changes that may be needed in order to strengthen [the UN].”<sup>25</sup> Facing significant crises and calls for reform from many levels, including civil society groups, initiatives were put forward to address these issues and identify ways the UN can be more responsive to global issues.

One such initiative was a panel commissioned by Secretary-General Annan and “charged with looking into the relations between the United Nations and civil society.”<sup>26</sup> Its subsequent report in 2004, *We the Peoples*—also known as the Cardoso Report after the former President of Brazil who chaired the panel—offered about thirty proposals for reform. The report acknowledged the fundamental role that civil society organizations play in both reflecting and shaping global public opinion. In other words, “like it or not—civil society is as much part of global governance today as governments.”<sup>27</sup> Key among its proposals was recognizing that civil society voices are “necessary to solve critical issues”; that the UN stands to greatly benefit from multi-stakeholder partnerships with civil society in addressing global targets; and “[t]he UN needs to give priority to enhancing its relationship with civil society at the country level.”<sup>28</sup>

Despite the ambitious proposals outlined in *We the Peoples*, results were slow to materialize and it faced significant criticism, tending to have a “poor reception of the recommendations.”<sup>29</sup> Critiques of the Cardoso Report and its lackluster outcomes are that it did not adequately identify existing issues and appropriate courses of action:

“What is missing from the Cardoso report are bold proposals that would give global civil society and its representatives an assured and distinct role in future UN activities, and reflect the less politically constrained views prevalent in those circles of global civil society that think seriously and positively about UN reform. [...] The Cardoso Report, despite its consoling rhetoric about the significance of civil society, reads overall like an effort to achieve ‘pacification’ and ‘cosmetic adjustment’ and minor bureaucratic accommodations, rather than the scale of ‘reform’ that seems calibrated to the issues or the demands of reformers.”<sup>30</sup>

In the two decades since the release of this report, conversations persist around reforming the UN to better accommodate civil society—in ways that are both substantial and fully meet the needs of today’s complex global crises. Academics and practitioners continue to examine pathways for reform and interrogate the role that civil society organizations have increasingly come to play in intragovernmental decision-making.

<sup>24</sup> Jacob Goodison Burgess, “Unlocking the Riddle of UN Reform for the 21st Century and Beyond: The Keys to Legitimate Governance,” 1.

<sup>25</sup> Quoted in Richard Falk, “Reforming the United Nations: Global Civil Society Perspectives and Initiatives,” 155.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 159.

<sup>27</sup> John D. Clark, “The UN and Civil Society.”

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> Norbert Götz, “The Emergence of NGOs as Actors on the World Stage,” 29.

<sup>30</sup> Richard Falk, “Reforming the United Nations: Global Civil Society Perspectives and Initiatives,” 177.



This includes subject matter such as the accountability of these organizations and their impact on global governance,<sup>31</sup> impacts of the growth of technology,<sup>32</sup> and “a set of problems faced by NGOs that either did not exist or were not sufficiently acknowledged at the beginning of the twenty-first century”—supporting democratic causes, operating under authoritarian regimes, operating in conflict zones, and facing hard questions of legitimacy and accountability.<sup>33</sup>

In today’s world, civil society organizations at the local, national and international levels continue to engage with the UN system in whatever variety of ways will help them reach their own goals. Ongoing initiatives and programs at the UN can offer new avenues of access. To further examine this point, this paper will consider the engagement practices of one international organization, Lions Clubs International, of working with the UN.

## Looking Forward: A Case Study

Lions Clubs International is one of the world’s largest service organizations with a global membership of 1.4 million. Since its founding in 1917, the organization has championed a number of social causes that today encompass the areas of childhood cancer, diabetes, disaster relief, environment, humanitarian causes, hunger, vision and youth. To bolster the impact of its members’ global service across these areas, Lions Clubs International has a longstanding partnership with the UN dating back to 1945, when they participated in the development of the UN charter. In 1947, Lions International first gained consultative status with ECOSOC.

Throughout this partnership, Lions International has maintained various contacts at UN agencies, participated in a variety of conferences and side events, and contributed written statements. There are currently two primary components of this ongoing partnership: an annual event series called Lions Day with the United Nations (LDUN), and the Appointed Representatives to the United Nations program. The LDUN event series, now in its forty-sixth year, features UN officials as official speakers alongside Lions members, to share knowledge and expertise around the organization’s cause areas. These events serve as educational opportunities for Lions members to learn more about the UN, and an important engagement opportunity for UN officials at various levels to see Lions Clubs International as a valuable partner in the civil society sector.

The second primary component of this partnership, the Appointed Representatives program, serves as a direct channel between Lions International liaisons and UN agencies. The goal of this program is to build relationships with UN officials, collaborate to find solutions to global challenges, and support achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). By fostering strong relationships with UN officials, the aim of the Appointed Representatives is to serve as instrumental liaisons with the UN to foster strong partnerships in pursuit of shared goals.

<sup>31</sup> Kenneth Anderson, “‘Accountability’ as ‘Legitimacy’: Global Governance, Global Civil Society and the United Nations.”

<sup>32</sup> Jacob Goodison Burgess, “Unlocking the Riddle of UN Reform for the 21st Century and Beyond: The Keys to Legitimate Governance,” 24.

<sup>33</sup> Peter Willetts, forward to *Routledge Handbook of NGOs and International Relations*, xxiii.

As these partnership efforts have become more established within the organization, other measures have been explored to increase collaboration and situate Lions International as a critical NGO partner for the UN. One recent example is regarding the organization's eight global cause areas, listed above in this section—as service resources are being evaluated and distributed to members around the world, the cause areas and respective types of service are being explicitly linked to the SDGs' targets and indicators. This is not only increasing global members' awareness of the SDGs, but reinforcing how the work of Lions International is closely linked to, and can play an active role in, the ongoing work of the UN.

There have also emerged new opportunities for partnership, and avenues for Lions Clubs International to continue shaping what its role with the UN may look like. The 2023 UN General Assembly announced an upcoming Summit of the Future in 2024, which will evaluate progress towards the 2030 Agenda and may open the door to new ways of NGO involvement in this process.<sup>34</sup> Lions Clubs International is evaluating this opportunity and considering the ways in which both the organization and the UN can benefit from increased involvement and inclusion in achieving global targets and serving communities in need.

## Conclusion

*“The United Nations simply could not do its work without the active engagement of civil society. We are ramping up our efforts for more systematic inclusion of civil society voices in United Nations bodies and agencies... And we will design a system-wide strategy to promote and protect civic space and step up efforts to empower civil society.”*

Secretary-General António Guterres, 2020<sup>35</sup>

Since the end of World War II, the United Nations has held a unique role in international governance and will continue to do so into the future. What does seem certain is that its special position amongst international players and member states is that organizations within the vast civil society sector will continue to grow, exert their influence, and inevitably shape the conversations being had on various global stages. Put succinctly, “the UN is both a mirror of the world and a catalytic agent for change,”<sup>36</sup> and as such it continues to transform, however slowly, due to pressure from its various stakeholders. While there have been institutional challenges and roadblocks along the way for civil society organizations to access and even penetrate the vast UN system, the growing establishment and expertise of the civil society sector—including their influence on global governance processes—continues to tip the scale in their favor. The topic of UN reform is undoubtedly a laborious process, even an “eternal” one,<sup>37</sup> but one that civil society groups will continue to pursue. For all its limitations, the UN remains a singular global “source of hope for improving the circumstances of humanity.”<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup> United Nations Common Agenda, “The Summit of the Future in 2024.”

<sup>35</sup> United Nations Secretary-General, “Secretary-General’s Remarks to the UN Human Rights Council: ‘The Highest Aspiration: A Call to Action for Human Rights.’”

<sup>36</sup> Karen Mingst, “Civil Society Organizations in the United Nations,” 21.

<sup>37</sup> Jacob Goodison Burgess, “Unlocking the Riddle of UN Reform for the 21st Century and Beyond: The Keys to Legitimate Governance,” 1.

<sup>38</sup> Richard Falk, “Reforming the United Nations: Global Civil Society Perspectives and Initiatives,” 185.

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## 2.4 Paper



## Private Military Companies (PMCs): The Role of International Diplomacy in Preventing PMC Misconduct: Insights from the Wagner Group

by Roxana Dobre

Advisor: Amb. Yuriy Sergeyev

### Introduction

In today's complex landscape of armed conflict, the presence and activities of Private Military Companies (PMCs) have emerged as a prominent and contentious issue. These private entities, often operating at the intersection of security, profit, and geopolitics, bring both opportunities and inherent risks to conflict zones around the world. These entities are often composed of former military or law enforcement personnel and offer a broad array of services, from combat and strategic operations and training of local forces to logistical support and security services. Private military armies have been utilized in numerous conflict zones around the world, including Iraq, Afghanistan, Ukraine, Venezuela and various African nations, serving governments, non-state actors, and even multinational corporations. Their emergence and growing prominence represent a shift in the traditional understanding of warfare, typically conducted by state-based military forces, to a more privatized, market-model oriented. This research aims to shed light on the multifaceted challenges posed by PMCs, with a specific focus on the Wagner Group, within the context of international law and the global diplomatic community's responsibilities. (Singer, 2003) As a final key component of this research, we will explore the actions taken by United Nations bodies, as well as the responsibilities they should undertake. The UN, as a global platform for diplomacy and cooperation, can play a pivotal role in mobilizing member states and international organizations to establish robust legal regimes and principles governing PMCs activities in conflict zones. By addressing these fundamental aspects, this research endeavors to contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex dynamics surrounding PMCs, exemplified by the Wagner Group, and to provide recommendations for mitigating risks, enhancing accountability, and strengthening international law in conflict zones. In doing so, we aim to facilitate a more secure, ethical, and stable global environment.

## What are PMCs? and Their Legal Status

The evolution of PMCs and PSCs can be traced back to the post-Cold War era when many Western nations significantly downsized their standing armies, leading to a surplus of military professionals looking for employment. Concurrently, an increase in global conflicts and political instability created a demand for military and security services. This confluence of factors gave rise to the demand for military security services. This confluence of factors gave rise to the private military industry, providing opportunities for governments and other entities to outsource military and security functions. While these private armies provide flexibility and cost-effectiveness, their existence and operations also raise numerous ethical, legal, and security concerns, including issues of accountability, adherence to international humanitarian law, and the potential for exacerbating conflicts. As such, the role and regulations of private military armies remain significant topics in contemporary international relations and security discourse. (Kinsey, 2006)

Private Military and Security Companies (PMSCs) or private armies are a relatively recent phenomenon that poses unique challenges to international humanitarian law (IHL). PMSCs often operate in conflict zones or in situations of political instability, providing a range of services, including combat operations, training of local forces, logistical support, and security. While some PMSCs effectively act as mercenaries, others function more like security firms. The legal status of PMSCs and their employees under the IHL is complex and depends on several factors—participation in non-military actions (as civilians), direct participation in hostilities (as civilians or as combatants), mercenary status, state responsibility, and individual criminal responsibility. (IHL Article 47)

### Participation in non-military actions

PMSCs may be contracted for demining, escort critical cargo, protection of persons and companies, transportation of people and cargo. In this case PMSCs perform as civilians

### Direct participation in hostilities

PMSCs employees are considered civilians under IHL, and as such, they are protected against direct attacks unless and for such time as they take a direct part in hostilities (for example to protect some critical infrastructures). If they do participate directly in the hostilities, they lose their protection from attack and are considered to be combatants (IHL Article 47)

### Mercenary Status

Some PMSC employees might meet the definition of a mercenary under the 1977 Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions or the 1989 International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing, and Training of Mercenaries. However, the legal status of mercenaries and the applicability of these conventions are highly contested issues, partly due to the restrictive definitions used. (IHL Article 47)



## State Responsibility

States may be held responsible for the actions of PMSCs if the groups are acting on the state's instructions or under its direction or control. This could occur if a state hires a PMSC to carry out activities that would ordinarily be performed by a state's armed forces. (IHL Article 47)

## Individual Criminal Responsibility

PMSC employees, like anyone else, can be held criminally responsible for war crimes, crimes against humanity, or other serious violations of international law. (IHL Article 47)

## The Growing Number of PMCs: Risks and Opportunities

In recent years, the global proliferation of Private Military Companies (PMCs) has become increasingly pronounced. This expansion introduces a complex interplay of risks and opportunities on the international stage, profoundly influencing the landscape of conflict zones and security operations worldwide.

### Risks

The surge in PMC presence has elicited widespread concerns regarding accountability, transparency, and the potential for human rights violations. The accountability deficit associated with these entities has raised alarm bells among international bodies and organizations. For instance, "The Business of War – Growing risks from Private Military Companies" (Council of the EU 2023) underscores the escalating risks linked to the expanding PMC landscape. Moreover, "Concerns over 'huge growth' in private military contractors" (UN News 2016) highlights the apprehensions surrounding the substantial increase in the number of PMCs. Furthermore, "Rise in mercenary forces trigger 'rampant' human rights violations" (UN News 2022) sheds light on the alarming potential for widespread human rights abuses driven by the rise of PMC forces. In line with these concerns, a UN General Assembly 3rd Committee meeting in 2018 emphasized the destabilizing impact of mercenaries and private military contractors, stressing their potential to disrupt the rule of law (UN General Assembly 2018).

### Opportunities

Contrasting the risks, PMCs also present opportunities within the realm of global security. These entities possess the capacity to provide specialized services that complement the capabilities of state-based armed forces. Beyond conventional combat roles, PMCs often contribute valuable expertise in areas such as advisory services, training, demining operations, logistical support, and more. These supplementary services enhance the effectiveness of military and security endeavors, enabling states and international actors to address an array of security challenges more comprehensively. This dualistic nature of the PMC industry, with its associated risks and opportunities, necessitates an in-depth examination and careful consideration within the context of international security and diplomacy. (Kagan 2022)

## The Role of PMCs in Modern Conflict

Studying the role of Private Military and Security Companies (PMSCs) in modern conflicts is of paramount importance for a variety of reasons, but most importantly, because PMCs changed the nature of warfare from predominantly state-controlled actions to a more privatized, market-driven model. Understanding the operational structures, motivations, and implications of these groups can help us better comprehend this new model of warfare and adapt our strategies and policies accordingly. (ICRC 2011)

PMSCs operate in a grey area of international law, often escaping accountability for actions that would be considered war crimes if committed by state militaries. Studying their role can help highlight the gaps in international law and policy and pave the way for more effective regulation and oversight. (ICRC 2011)

The use of PMSCs can have profound implications for state sovereignty, as governments may rely on these groups to maintain internal security or even wage war. This could undermine democratic control over the use of force and raise concerns about the balance of power within states. (Cockayne, 2006)

PMSCs can have significant impacts on the dynamics of conflicts. Their activities might inadvertently escalate tensions or prolong conflicts, particularly if they are motivated more by profit than by achieving peace and stability. Understanding their role can thus contribute to more effective conflict prevention and resolution strategies. (Higate, 2012)

There have been numerous allegations of human rights abuses by PMSCs, including torture, extrajudicial killings, and other serious violations. Studying their role in conflicts can help identify ways to prevent such abuses and ensure that these companies are held accountable for their actions. In short, as PMSCs continue to play a growing role in modern conflicts, it is vital that we understand their operations, impacts, and the challenges they pose. (Schreier & Caparini, 2005)

PMSCs may also play a positive role when contracted, for example by international organizations including UN to perform specific duties as civilians - demining, escort of cargos etc.

## Legal Framework and the Rule of War

The application of International Humanitarian Law (IHL) to private military actors is a complex issue that has significant implications for accountability in armed conflicts. IHL, also known as the laws of war, primarily governs the actions of state actors during armed conflicts, but its application to non-state actors, including private military and security companies (PMSCs), is less clear. (Choudhury, 2023)

### Distinction

This principle requires parties to distinguish between civilians and combatants. PMSCs must not target civilians, and their activities should not cause excessive harm to civilians compared to the military advantage gained. (Gillard, 2012)

## Precaution

Parties to a conflict must take all feasible precautions to avoid, and in any event to minimize, incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilians, and damage to civilian objects. This extends to planning and conducting attacks on civilians or damages to civilian objects that would be excessive in relation to the concrete and direct military advantage anticipated. (Choudhury, 2023)

## Proportionality

Parties to a conflict must take all feasible precautions to avoid, and in any event to minimize, incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilians, and damage to civilian objects. This extends to planning and conducting attacks. (Choudhury, 2023)

However, enforcement remains a challenge due to factors such as the transnational nature of PMSCs, the complex contractual relationships, and the often-unclear status of these entities under IHL. Are they combatants, civilians, or something else? The Montreux Document on Pertinent International Legal Obligations and Good Practices for States related to Operations of Private Military and Security Companies during Armed Conflict, endorsed by numerous countries, provides a comprehensive summary of existing legal obligations under IHL and human rights law concerning PMSCs. It also offers good practices to assist states in ensuring respect for these laws. (Montreux Document, 2008)

In terms of accountability, the home states of PMSCs, states where they operate, and states that contract their services all have roles to play. As the role of private military actors in conflicts continues to grow, the application of IHL to these entities will continue to be an important and evolving area of study and legal development. They can enact and enforce legislation to regulate PMSCs, ensure accountability for violations, and provide remedies for victims. (Gillard, 2012)

## Relevant treaties and convention Protocols

Several international treaties, conventions, and protocols have relevance to the activities of private military and security companies (PMSCs) and their personnel, including the following:

**The Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols:** These are the core instruments of international humanitarian law (IHL). They contain rules about the conduct of hostilities and the protection of persons who are not or are no longer participating in the hostilities, including civilians, wounded and sick, prisoners of war, and others. PMSC personnel are bound by these rules when they participate in armed conflicts. (Annyssa, & Stuart, 2022).

**The Montreux Document on Pertinent International Legal Obligations and Good Practices for States Related to Operations of Private Military and Security Companies during Armed Conflict:** While not a binding treaty, this document provides a comprehensive summary of existing obligations under IHL and human rights law concerning PMSCs. It also provides good practices for states in ensuring respect for these laws. (Montreux Document, 2008)

**The International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries:** This UN convention, which entered into force in 2001, criminalizes mercenary activities. However, its applicability to PMSCs is limited, because its definition of a mercenary is narrow and does not cover most PMSC personnel. (UN International Convention 1989)

**The UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime:** This convention provides a framework for international cooperation in combating various forms of transnational organised crime, which could include some activities of PMSCs. (UNOTC 2012)

**The UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights:** These principles provide a global standard for preventing and addressing the risk of adverse impacts on human rights linked to business activity, which includes the operations of PMSCs. (Choudhury, 2023)

**The Arms Trade Treaty (ATT):** This treaty regulates international trade in conventional arms and seeks to prevent their diversion. It could be relevant to PMSCs involved in arms trafficking or providing military and security services in connection with arms transfers. (ATT, 2013).

## Wagner Group

The primary objective of this research is to critically examine the role, operation, and impact of Private Military Groups (PMGs) in contemporary conflicts, with a specific focus on The Wagner Group and their operations in Ukraine and African countries.

The Wagner Group is a Russian-based private military company that has been involved in numerous high-profile conflicts worldwide, making it an ideal case study for understanding the broader implications of PMGs in the modern warfare landscape. This will help to create a detailed picture of how this particular PMG operates and its role in various conflicts seeking to identify potential strategies for regulating and controlling PMGs like The Wagner Group. This will involve a review of existing regulatory mechanisms and their effectiveness, as well as the development of recommendations for improved oversight and accountability. (CSIS 2020)

This research will also examine the legal, ethical, and security implications of The Wagner Group's activities. This will involve an analysis of the international legal framework related to PMGs, and the extent to which The Wagner Group adheres to or violates these standards. It will also explore the broader ethical and security issues raised by The Wagner Group's activities, such as its impact on state sovereignty, human rights, and the dynamics of conflicts. (BBC, 2023)

The Wagner Group emerged from the shadows of Russia's military and political operations. Known as a private military company, Wagner operates more like a mercenary group, often working in areas of strategic interest to the Russian state. Its activities range from direct combat to training local forces and providing security services. Wagner's operations have been mired in controversy, with accusations of involvement in severe human rights abuses, war crimes, and illicit activities. Its close links to the Russian state and its opaque operations make it a particularly challenging case for regulation and accountability. (BBC, 2023)

The Wagner Group, an organization considered to be a private military army, has played a significant role in the conflict in Ukraine. It is estimated that Wagner now commands approximately 50,000 fighters in Ukraine and has become a crucial component of the Ukrainian campaign, according to the UK Ministry of Defence. The group experienced a surge in recruitment last year as Russia faced difficulties in finding personnel for its regular army. Reportedly, about 80% of the Wagner Group's troops in Ukraine have been drawn from prisons, as noted by the US National Security Council. (BBC 2023)

Before Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the Wagner Group had a much smaller force, with around 5,000 fighters. These individuals were predominantly experienced former soldiers, including many from Russia's elite regiments and special forces. Despite the illegality of mercenary forces in Russia, the Wagner Group registered as a company in 2022 and established a new headquarters in St Petersburg. It openly recruits in Russian cities, utilizing billboards and gaining recognition as a patriotic organization in Russian media. (CSIS 2020)

In the conflict in Ukraine, the Wagner Group has been heavily involved in Russian efforts to capture the city of Bakhmut in eastern Ukraine. Ukrainian troops have reported that Wagner fighters have been deployed in large numbers over open ground, resulting in significant casualties. There was a dispute between Russia's defense ministry and the Wagner Group over credit for capturing the town of Soledar near Bakhmut. Initially, the defense ministry did not mention the Wagner Group's involvement but later acknowledged their mercenaries' "courageous and selfless" role in the operation. (CSIS 2020)

Another prominent example of Wagner's involvement in hostilities would be its direct involvement in African countries. The group has been accused of participating in military operations in countries such as Libya, Mali, Sudan, and the Central African Republic. Their activities range from providing military assistance and training to local forces to engaging directly in combat operations. The United Nations and the French government have accused Wagner mercenaries of committing rapes and robberies against civilians in the Central African Republic. In the Central African Republic (CAR), the group is reported to have provided military support to the CAR government in its battle against rebel groups, including training local forces and providing security services. Their involvement has raised serious concerns about human rights abuses, as they have been accused of perpetrating violence against civilians and being involved in extrajudicial killings (Magdy, 2020)

In 2020, in Libya, for instance, they were reportedly supporting General Khalifa Haftar's Libyan National Army in the civil war, reflecting the broader geopolitical ambitions of Russia in the region. The Wagner Group's activities in Africa have raised concerns about violations of human rights and international law, lack of accountability, and the destabilizing effects they may have on already fragile states. As a non-state actor operating in the shadows, the Wagner Group represents a significant challenge to the enforcement of international humanitarian law, further underscoring the need for proper regulation and oversight of PMCs on a global scale. (Magdy, 2020)



This summary outlines the involvement of the Wagner Group in the conflict in Ukraine, highlighting its significant increase in personnel, recruitment methods, engagement in battles, and disputes over credit with Russia's defense ministry. Lessons learned from dealing with groups like the Wagner Group and others highlight the need for stronger international regulation, clearer legal definitions, and more effective mechanisms for accountability. The proliferation of these actors also raises important questions about the future of warfare, including the erosion of state monopoly on the use of force, the commercialization of war, and the implications for human rights and global stability. Future efforts should focus on addressing these challenges to ensure that the evolving nature of conflict does not undermine the principles of international law and human rights. (CFR)

## Legal Obligations and Challenges

The legal status and obligations of private military armies, also known as private military and security companies (PMSCs), are complex and can vary depending on the context. In terms of international law, particularly International Humanitarian Law (IHL), their status and obligations can be ambiguous due to the nature of their work and the structures under which they operate. (Gillard, 2012)

### Legal Status

The legal status of PMSCs and their employees in armed conflict can be particularly complex. Under IHL, individuals are typically categorized as either combatants or civilians. Combatants are members of the armed forces of a party to the conflict (other than medical and religious personnel), and they have the right to participate directly in hostilities. If captured, they have prisoner of war status. However, combatants also have obligations, such as the duty to respect the laws of war, and they can be held accountable for violations. (Gillard, 2012)

Civilians are persons who are not members of the armed forces. They are protected against attack unless and for such time as they take a direct part in hostilities. When civilians do take a direct part in hostilities, they lose their protection against attack, but they do not gain combatant privileges, such as the right to participate in hostilities or prisoner of war status if captured. (Gillard, 2012)

The status of PMSC employees can be complicated. In some cases, they might be considered civilians, particularly if they're performing non-combat roles, like logistics or training. In other cases, if they're directly participating in hostilities, they might be taking on a combatant role. However, since they're not part of a state's armed forces, they would not have combatant privileges. (Gillard, 2012)

### Legal Obligations

Regardless of their status, PMSCs and their employees have obligations under IHL when they operate in armed conflict situations. They must respect the principles of distinction, proportionality, and precaution, among others. They must not target civilians or carry out attacks that are expected to cause excessive civilian harm compared to the military advantage gained. They must also treat all people in their custody humanely. (Singer 2008)

Moreover, PMSCs and their employees could be held accountable for serious violations of IHL, such as war crimes. This could occur through national or international mechanisms, although in practice, there have been significant challenges in achieving accountability. (Singer 2008)

Additionally, PMSCs have obligations under other areas of international law, such as human rights law and national law. They must respect the rights of individuals and can be held accountable for violations. They must also comply with the laws of the countries in which they operate, as well as the laws of the countries where they're based or registered. (Singer 2008)

## Legal Challenges

Enforcing International Humanitarian Law (IHL) on non-state actors, such as private military and security companies (PMSCs), presents several significant challenges: The classification of non-state actors under IHL can be ambiguous. As mentioned earlier, PMSC personnel can fall into a grey area between combatants and civilians, complicating the enforcement of IHL norms. Also, IHL primarily evolved to regulate conflicts between states, and its application to non-state actors is not always straightforward. This ambiguity can make it difficult to determine which rules apply to these actors and how to enforce them. (IHL Article 47)

Determining responsibility for violations of IHL by non-state actors can be challenging. For instance, PMSCs often operate across international borders and under complex contractual arrangements, which can make it difficult to attribute responsibility for their actions. In some cases, states may use PMSCs to avoid responsibility for activities that would be illegal or controversial if carried out by their regular armed forces. (IHL Article 47)

PMSCs often operate in one country while being based in another, which can lead to jurisdictional challenges. The host country may lack the capacity or will to hold them accountable, while the home country may be unwilling or legally unable to prosecute them for actions committed abroad. In addition, questions may arise about the applicability and enforcement of international law versus domestic law. (Singer 2008)

Non-state actors, including PMSCs, may operate in areas where the rule of law is weak, and accountability mechanisms are lacking or non-functioning. This can lead to a culture of impunity where violations of IHL are not adequately investigated or punished. Unlike state armed forces, non-state actors are often less hierarchically structured and more decentralized. This can make it more difficult to ensure compliance with IHL norms throughout the organization. Non-state actors may lack knowledge and understanding of IHL norms. They may not have the same level of training and education on IHL as state armed forces, making it more difficult to ensure that they comply with these norms. (IHL Article 47)

## Limitations and Challenges

### **Lack of Transparency and Accountability in Private Military Operations**

Transparency and accountability are critical for upholding standards of conduct and ensuring legal and ethical behavior. However, PMSCs often operate in a realm of secrecy, making it difficult for external entities to scrutinize their actions. Without transparency, it is challenging to hold these companies accountable for their actions, potentially leading to unchecked abuses. Additionally, the contractual nature of their work can obscure lines of responsibility, making it difficult to hold the correct party accountable when violations occur. (Avant, 2005)

### **Implications for State Sovereignty and Control Over the Use of Force**

The use of PMSCs can have significant implications for state sovereignty. Traditionally, the use of force has been the prerogative of the state, but outsourcing this responsibility can blur lines of sovereignty. When states contract PMSCs, they may indirectly relinquish some control over the use of force. This can complicate command and control structures and lead to uncertainty about who is ultimately responsible for a PMSC's actions. (Avant, 2005)

### **Ethical Concerns and Implications for Human Rights**

The use of PMSCs raises numerous ethical concerns. Because these companies operate for profit, there is a risk that financial considerations could override ethical considerations and respect for human rights. For example, PMSCs might be willing to take on contracts that involve high risks to civilian populations or participate in conflicts with questionable justifications. Additionally, there are concerns about the standards of recruitment and training in PMSCs, which may not match the rigor of national military forces, potentially leading to higher risks of human rights abuses. (Singer 2008)

### **Analysis of the Potential for War Crimes and Abuses**

PMSCs operate in conflict zones where there is a high potential for human rights abuses and war crimes. Their status as non-state actors can create a legal grey area, making it difficult to prosecute these crimes under international law. In the absence of clear legal frameworks and enforcement mechanisms, there is a risk that PMSCs could engage in activities that violate IHL, including the use of excessive force, mistreatment of prisoners, or indiscriminate attacks. The history of PMSCs includes multiple instances of alleged abuses, highlighting the need for greater oversight and regulation to prevent such violations. (Singer 2008)

## Why should we care?

The increasing prevalence of non-state actors, including private military and security companies (PMSCs), in global conflicts necessitates a strong understanding and application of International Humanitarian Law (IHL) for several reasons:

**Protection of Civilians:** Non-state actors, like any other party involved in the conflict, have the potential to cause significant harm to civilians. Ensuring that these actors adhere to IHL is crucial to minimize civilian casualties, protecting civilian infrastructure, and upholding human rights. (O'Brien, 2000)

**Accountability:** Holding all actors in conflicts accountable for their actions, whether they are state or non-state entities, is central to maintaining the integrity of international law. Without accountability, there is a risk of fostering impunity, which can escalate violence and complicate conflict resolution efforts. (O'Brien, 2000)

**Legal Precedence:** As non-state actors become more prominent in conflicts, it is essential to establish clear legal precedents regarding their responsibilities under IHL. This can provide guidance for future conflicts and contribute to the development of international law. (Singer 2008)

**Security and Stability:** Non-state actors, particularly PMSCs, often operate in fragile states or conflict zones where stability is precarious. Ensuring their adherence to IHL can contribute to broader security and stability in these areas. (Singer, 2008)

**State Responsibility:** States often contract PMSCs to perform tasks traditionally undertaken by their own military. Therefore, understanding and enforcing IHL among non-state actors can ensure that states do not abdicate their own responsibilities under international law. (O'Brien, 2000)

**Evolution of Warfare:** The way wars are fought is changing, with non-state actors playing increasingly prominent roles. To ensure that IHL remains relevant and effective, it must adapt to these changes and be applied effectively to all actors involved in armed conflicts. (O'Brien, 2000)

## Conclusion

This research has shed light on the complex and evolving role of private military groups in contemporary conflict. These groups, often operating in a legal grey area, pose significant challenges to international humanitarian law, state sovereignty, and human rights. The case study of the Wagner Group underscored the range of activities these groups can be involved in, their close ties to state interests, and the difficulties in enforcing accountability for their actions.

The rise of private military groups marks a significant shift in the nature of warfare. As states increasingly outsource military and security operations, traditional distinctions between state and non-state actors blur, complicating efforts to enforce laws of war and maintain state control over the use of force. This trend also raises profound ethical questions, as the profit motive intersects with the conduct of war, potentially leading to increased conflict and abuses.

Addressing the challenges posed by private military groups requires concerted and coordinated efforts at both national and international levels. Nations should strengthen domestic regulation of these groups, including licensing and oversight mechanisms, and ensure that violations of law are effectively prosecuted. Internationally, there is a need for clearer legal definitions and standards for private military groups, along with mechanisms for enforcing these standards. International organizations can play a critical role in facilitating cooperation, promoting universal norms, and providing forums for accountability. Lastly, further research is needed to better understand the operations of these groups and to inform policy and legal responses.

As we navigate the evolving landscapes of warfare and security in the 21st century, the growing prominence of private military groups demands our undivided attention. This study has explored the complex roles these groups play, the legal and ethical challenges they present, and the potential avenues for improving oversight and accountability. However, this is a journey that is just beginning. The shifting dynamics of conflict and the relentless march of technological innovation will undoubtedly bring new challenges and uncertainties. As we move forward, we must strive to balance the legitimate needs for private security services with the imperative to uphold the principles of international humanitarian law, protect human rights, and maintain the integrity of state sovereignty. This is not an easy task, but the stakes are high, and the time for action is now. The future of warfare and, ultimately, global peace and security may depend on the choices we make today.

The increasing use of private military actors in conflicts worldwide presents a host of challenges for international humanitarian law and the future of warfare. Lessons learned from dealing with groups like the Wagner Group and others highlight the need for stronger international regulation, clearer legal definitions, and more effective mechanisms for accountability. The proliferation of these actors also raises important questions about the future of warfare, including the erosion of state monopoly on the use of force, the commercialization of war, and the implications for human rights and global stability. Future efforts should focus on addressing these challenges to ensure that the evolving nature of conflict does not undermine the principles of international law and human rights.



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## 2.5 Paper



## Forced displacement of Ukrainian refugees and deportation of Ukrainian children

by **Khrystyna Dubnytska**

Advisor: **Dr. Colleen Thouez**

### Introduction

On February 24, 2022, Russia invaded Ukraine with a large number of troops and began to destroy entire Ukrainian cities. After the start of an unprovoked and unjust war, the Russian military unleashed relentless violence that resulted in the deaths of many people and destruction throughout Ukraine. Russian troops have destroyed apartment buildings, schools, hospitals, critical infrastructure, civilian vehicles, shopping centers, and ambulances, leaving thousands of innocent civilians killed or wounded<sup>1</sup>. As a result, many Ukrainians were forced to flee their homes. Some started to move internally, and some became refugees and moved to other countries to protect their families from the war. According to the UN Refugee Agency because of “heavy shelling and fighting, an estimated 5.1 million people have been driven from their homes and are internally displaced and more than 6.2 million people have crossed into neighboring countries in the region including Poland, Hungary, Moldova, Slovakia, or other countries globally”<sup>2</sup>. Refugees needed protection, assistance, and a safe place to stay. Citizens of refugee-hosting countries and different NGOs have provided humanitarian assistance and shelter for Ukrainians.

On the territory of eastern Ukraine, the Russian military set up roadblocks with patrols that often didn’t allow civilians to leave their homes. Many people were killed by the Russian military and their children were forcibly deported to Russia. Russian authorities hid information about these children and allowed Russian citizens to adopt them<sup>3</sup>. This research paper will examine: the destination of Ukrainian refugees, and related challenges and opportunities they have faced as they navigate through the complexities of migration, providing insights into the profound impact on their lives and the countries they seek refuge. In addition, the forced deportation of Ukrainian children to Russian territory by Russian troops will be analyzed.

<sup>1</sup> U.S. Department of State. “War Crimes by Russia’s Forces in Ukraine”. March 23, 2022. <https://www.state.gov/war-crimes-by-russias-forces-in-ukraine/>

<sup>2</sup> UNHCR. The UN Refugee Agency 2022. <https://www.unrefugees.org/emergencies/ukraine/>

<sup>3</sup> United Nations. “Deportation, Treatment of Ukraine’s Children by Russian Federation Take Centre Stage by Many Delegates at Security Council Briefing”. <https://press.un.org/en/2023/sc15395.doc.htm>

## Refugees Destinations

Due to Russia's military invasion of Ukraine, different countries have opened their doors to Ukrainian refugees seeking asylum, offering them an opportunity to rebuild their lives in a safer environment. Poland, because of its close geographical proximity and historical ties, has become a primary destination for many Ukrainian refugees. "Poland has welcomed the greatest number of Ukrainian refugees, hosting nearly 60 percent (3.5 million) of all refugees from Ukraine"<sup>4</sup>. Additionally, countries within the European Union (EU) have demonstrated a willingness to accept and support Ukrainian refugees, including Romania (961,270 refugees), Hungary (644,474 refugees), Slovakia (442,316 refugees), Germany (347,000 refugees) the UK (174,000 refugees)<sup>5</sup>.

The EU Council in response to the "unprecedented Russian invasion of Ukraine on 24 February 2022", decided to trigger the Temporary Protection Directive to offer "quick and effective assistance to people fleeing the war in Ukraine"<sup>6</sup>. "Temporary protection is an exceptional measure to provide immediate and temporary protection in the event of a mass influx or imminent mass influx of displaced persons from non-EU countries who are unable to return to their country of origin"<sup>7</sup>. The Temporary Protection Directive has played a significant role in helping vulnerable Ukrainian refugees seeking safety and assistance. It provided for them "a residence permit for the entire duration of the protection, guarantees for access to the asylum, access to employment, medical care, access to banking services, and access to social welfare"<sup>8</sup>.

Canada and the United States have also shown compassion and provided avenues for Ukrainian refugees to resettle. These countries have historically been destinations for Ukrainian migrants, and established diaspora communities have played a crucial role in assisting newcomers with integration and support services. "More than 280,000 Ukrainians have escaped the war through a program organized by United States 'United for Ukraine'"<sup>9</sup>. According to Homeland Security "Uniting for Ukraine' is an innovative approach to provide a safe and orderly process for displaced Ukrainians who have been impacted by Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Ukrainians who have a supporter in the United States may be considered for parole, on a case-by-case basis, for a period of up to two years and be eligible to apply for employment authorization"<sup>10</sup>. The Biden administration declared on November 11, 2022, that Ukrainians who are granted parole automatically qualify for work authorization as a condition of their parole status. In order to be eligible for the United for Ukraine program, Ukrainians must be sponsored by a supporter in the US and make their own travel arrangements to the US.

<sup>4</sup> UNHCR. The UN Refugee Agency 2022. <https://www.unrefugees.org/emergencies/ukraine/>

<sup>5</sup> World Economic Forum. Agenda 2022 Ukraine Refugee Crisis. <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2022/06/ukraine-refugee-crisis-europe-conflict-migration/>

<sup>6</sup> European Commission. "Temporary protection". Migration and Home Affairs. [https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/policies/migration-and-asylum/common-european-asylum-system/temporary-protection\\_en](https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/policies/migration-and-asylum/common-european-asylum-system/temporary-protection_en)

<sup>7</sup> Ibid

<sup>8</sup> Ibid

<sup>9</sup> Kimiko de Freytas-Tamura. "These Ukrainians Arrived Under a Biden Program". *New York Times*. April 2, 2023

<sup>10</sup> Homeland Security. "Uniting for Ukraine". November 20, 2023. <https://www.dhs.gov/ukraine>. <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/02/nyregion/ukraine-refugees-homeless.html>

Canada to help Ukrainian refugees created the Canada-Ukraine Authorization for emergency travel program. “It offers Ukrainians and their family members free, extended temporary status and allows them to work, study and stay in Canada until it is safe for them to return home”<sup>11</sup>. According to the government of Canada, (198,642) Ukrainians arrived in Canada under the CUAET program between March 17, 2022, and October 14, 2023<sup>12</sup>. In an effort to aid Ukrainians the Canadian government has implemented a one-time financial aid program worth “3,000 Canadian dollars” for adults and “1,500 Canadian dollars” for children under the age of 17<sup>13</sup>. Furthermore, both nations have implemented government programs specifically designed to expedite the resettlement process for refugees affected by the Russian-Ukrainian war.

## Challenges Faced by Ukrainian Refugees

Ukrainian refugees encounter numerous challenges throughout their forced displacement journey. From the initial decision to leave their homeland and the associated emotional turmoil, to the physical difficulties faced during the perilous trips, these individuals often experience trauma and uncertainty. According to Andrew Lee et al. “most of the refugees (96%) are women and children, including unaccompanied and separated children, persons with specific needs, as well as older persons. There were considerable protection risks arising from family separation and loss of social support networks, mental health and psychological trauma, potential discrimination, limited access to financial resources, as well as risks of gender-based violence and human trafficking”<sup>14</sup>. In addition, language barriers, cultural differences, and limited access to essential services and resources are persistent challenges faced upon arrival in host countries. Moreover, the protracted nature of the conflict in Ukraine has led to protracted displacement, leaving refugees in a state of limbo as they grapple with the uncertainty of returning to their homeland.

<sup>11</sup> Government of Canada. “Canada-Ukraine Authorization for Emergency Travel”.  
<https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/news/2022/03/canada-ukraine-authorization-for-emergency-travel.html>

<sup>12</sup> Government of Canada. “Canada-Ukraine authorization for emergency travel: Key figures”.  
<https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/immigrate-canada/ukraine-measures/key-figures.html>

<sup>13</sup> Ibid

<sup>14</sup> Andrew C.K. Lee, Fu-Meng Khaw, Anja E.S. Lindman, Grzegorz Juszczak, Ukraine refugee crisis: evolving needs and challenges, *Public Health*, Volume 217, 2023, Pages 41-45,  
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0033350623000252>



## The Impact on Host Countries

The influx of Ukrainian refugees has placed a significant burden on the host countries that have opened their borders to provide temporary or permanent refuge. This has strained their resources, including housing, healthcare, education, and employment opportunities. However, it has also presented these countries with an opportunity to showcase their humanitarian efforts and work towards fostering integration and social cohesion between Ukrainians and their local communities. In response to the emergency situation, the Regional Refugee Response Plan was developed. This plan “brought together national authorities, UN agencies, NGOs, as well as civil society organizations and focuses on supporting host country governments to ensure the inclusion of refugees, with full access to their rights, in line with international standards”<sup>15</sup>. The Regional Refugee Response Plan for Ukrainians provided well-coordinated, timely, and substantial assistance to those affected by the conflict. With clear priorities and objectives, the plan sought to address the urgent humanitarian needs of refugees, such as shelter, food, healthcare, and education. By ensuring a structured and coordinated response, it facilitated the efficient utilization of resources and minimized overlaps and gaps in aid provision. In times of crisis, the protection of vulnerable groups becomes paramount. The regional response plan incorporated measures to protect women, children, the elderly, and people with disabilities, recognizing their specific needs and vulnerabilities<sup>16</sup>. It worked towards preventing and addressing violence, abuse, and exploitation through various protection initiatives. Furthermore, the plan ensured legal assistance to those in need, helping refugees and internally displaced persons access their rights and facilitating their integration within host communities.

## Deportation of Ukrainian children

The ongoing war between Russia and Ukraine has resulted in numerous human rights abuses. The deportation of Ukrainian children by Russian troops stands as a stark example of these violations. The act involves forcibly removing minors from their homes, families, and communities, leading to profound emotional, psychological, and physical consequences. Kateryna Rashevskya, legal expert at the Regional Center for Human Rights, reported “that Russian Federation agents have taken at least 19,546 children to that country from Ukraine since 18 February 2022. Among other violations, Russian Federation citizenship is imposed on them, and they are forbidden to speak and learn the Ukrainian language or preserve their Ukrainian identity. ‘Leaving Ukrainian children in Russia means continuing to violate their rights,’ she stressed, urging the Council ‘to assist in the return of Ukrainian children’”<sup>17</sup>. The reasons cited by Russian authorities for deporting Ukrainian children are often political in nature. They claim to be safeguarding the best interests of these children, ensuring their safety, and providing better living conditions on Russian territory<sup>18</sup>. However, critics argue that these justifications are mere pretexts used to abuse the vulnerable situation and manipulate the geopolitical conflict to their advantage<sup>19</sup>. The deportation of Ukrainian children

<sup>15</sup> UNHCR. Operational Data Portal 2023. <https://data.unhcr.org/en/situations/ukraine>

<sup>16</sup> UNHCR. Regional Refugee Response Plan <https://reporting.unhcr.org/ukraine-situation-summary-regional-refugee-response-plan>

<sup>17</sup> United Nations. “Deportation, Treatment of Ukraine’s Children by Russian Federation Take Centre Stage by Many Delegates at Security Council Briefing”. 24 AUGUST 2023. <https://press.un.org/en/2023/sc15395.doc.htm#:~:text=Since%20February%202022%2C%20the%20Russian,as%20young%20as%204%20months.>

<sup>18</sup> Ibid

<sup>19</sup> Ibid

has severe and lasting consequences for both the children and their families. Separation from their homes disrupts their sense of identity, culture, and social connections, leading to profound trauma and emotional distress. The children are often placed in unfamiliar environments, facing language barriers, cultural shocks, and an uncertain future. Parents, on the other hand, are left devastated and disempowered, unable to protect their children or maintain stable family structures.

“On 17 March 2023, Pre-Trial Chamber II of the International Criminal Court (ICC) issued warrants of arrest for two individuals in the context of the situation in Ukraine: Mr Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin and Ms Maria Alekseyevna Lvova-Belova”<sup>20</sup>. Mr Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin - President of the Russian Federation, “is allegedly responsible for the war crime of unlawful deportation of population (children) and the of unlawful transfer of population (children) from occupied areas of Ukraine to the Russian Federation (under articles 8(2)(a)(vii) and 8(2)(b)(viii) of the Rome Statute)”<sup>21</sup>. Ms. Maria Alekseyevna Lvova-Belova- Commissioner for Children’s Rights in the Office of the President of the Russian Federation, “is allegedly responsible for the war crime of unlawful deportation of population (children) and that of unlawful transfer of population (children) from occupied areas of Ukraine to the Russian Federation (under articles 8(2)(a)(vii) and 8(2)(b)(viii) of the Rome Statute)”<sup>22</sup>. Unfortunately, it was not possible to detain them. The ICC does not have its own police force, so it relies on countries to enforce its arrest warrants.

## Conclusion

The forced displacement of Ukrainian refugees is a testament to the devastating impact of war on civilian populations. The challenges faced by these individuals as they seek safety and a new beginning in foreign lands are immense. The acceptance of Ukrainian refugees by a range of countries around the world reflects the global response to this humanitarian crisis. Providing support, resources, and opportunities for these displaced individuals is crucial to ensuring their well-being and facilitating their successful integration into their host communities. By providing avenues for resettlement, integration, and access to opportunities, the Ukrainian refugees can rebuild their lives, contributing to the development and multicultural fabric of their host communities. Ultimately, the migration of Ukrainian refugees underscores the importance of international solidarity and compassion in times of crisis.

The deportation of Ukrainian children to Russian territory by Russian troops constitutes a flagrant violation of human rights and international law. The affected children face physical and emotional harm, and their families endure immeasurable suffering. The global community must unite in advocating for the rights and welfare of these children, pressuring for an end to this egregious violation. A concerted effort to address this issue is vital to ensure justice, restore stability, and safeguard the rights of the most vulnerable victims of this protracted conflict.

<sup>20</sup> International Criminal Court. “Situation in Ukraine: ICC judges issue arrest warrants against Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin and Maria Alekseyevna Lvova-Belova”. 17 March 2023. <https://www.icc-cpi.int/news/situation-ukraine-icc-judges-issue-arrest-warrants-against-vladimir-vladimirovich-putin-and#:~:text=Today%2C%2017%20March%202023%2C%20Pre.Ms%20Maria%20Alekseyevna%20Lvova%20Belova>.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid

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## 2.6 Paper



# A Call to Action: The Emissions of War

by **Malika El Mazhad**

Advisor: **Ms. Larisa Schelkin** and **Dr. Michael Jabot**

## Summary

The immediate and direct environmental impact of war and armed conflict on the physical landscape of a war zone is highly visible. The deliberate destruction and tactical degradation of land for operational gain, the collapse of environmental governance, ecological desolation through loss of habitat and pollution, are just some of the ways this destruction can occur. However, the contribution of Green House Gas (GHG) emissions by military activities including weaponry use remains the elephant in the room when discussing both the environmental impact of warfare, and the potential derailment of global efforts to keep the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) recommendation of limiting warming to 1.5°C alive. The aim of this paper is to explore the hidden reality and consequences of the continued absence of military and conflict-related emissions in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) accounting, and to support a call to action for mandatory military emissions reporting by all governments.

Through academic sources and a collection of journalistic evidence, this paper argues military and conflict-related emissions should not be exempt from international climate agreements when faced with the growing threat of the instability and security of the planet. This paper will look at the current efforts by the military to reduce GHG emissions and aims to highlight that transparency can no longer be a voluntary ask and must become a mandatory requirement to ensure accuracy in climate modelling and emissions accounting data.

## Background Overview

In 2022 the Scientists for Global Responsibility reported that the total military carbon footprint is estimated at 5.5% of all global emissions. To put this into perspective, “If the world’s militaries were a country, this figure would mean they have the fourth largest national carbon footprint in the world – greater than that of Russia” (Parkinson & Cottrell, 2022). The military industry is also one of the largest users of fuel, “for each 100 nautical miles flown, the US Air Force’s signature F-35 fighter jet emits as much CO<sub>2</sub> (2.3 metric tonnes of CO<sub>2</sub>eq) as an average UK petrol car driven for one year. Each year, jet-fuel use by the US military alone generates emissions equivalent to six million US passenger cars” (Rajaeifar et al., 2022). Despite the carbon intensiveness of the military industry and their large supply chains, the UNFCCC framework, negotiations, and climate agreements have been unsuccessful in mandating military emissions inclusions or find consensus between Parties on this matter.

The historic 1997 Kyoto Protocol agreement saw the United States negotiate to include large national security exemptions of bunker fuel, and of multilateral operations from emissions reporting requirements (nsarchive.gwu.edu, 1997) enabling countries to account for those emissions in their own ways. The 2015 Paris Agreement saw a continuation of country voluntary military emissions reporting exemptions based on these national security caveats. Today under guidelines published by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), military fuel use should be reported under IPCC category 1.A.5 (IPCC, 2019). According to militaryemissions.org this category includes all mobile fuel consumption, such as ships, aircraft and road vehicles. It also includes all stationary fuel consumption, such as heating buildings on military bases... according to the IPCC guidelines, memo items to summary tables also allow military fuel under international bunkers and multilateral operations to be included, although their emissions are not included in national totals. Current UNFCCC reporting requires only provision of military fuel use data, which will not account for all military GHG emissions (militaryemissions.org, n.d.).

Today, the United States remains the world’s biggest military spender. “US military spending reached \$877 billion in 2022, which was 39 per cent of total global military spending and three times more than the amount spent by China, the world’s second largest spender” (Stokholm International Peace Research Institute, 2023). In addition, the United States Department of Defense (DoD) “is the single largest consumer of energy in the US, and in fact, the world’s single largest institutional consumer of petroleum. Since 2001, the DOD has consistently consumed between 77 and 80 percent of all US government energy consumption” (Crawford, 2019). Records of direct military emissions are located across different government departments and owing to national security concerns are not very transparent or easy to obtain. China the second largest military spender has publicly expressed its ambitions to grow its military capabilities by 2035, and as one of the largest GHG emitting countries with limited data reported under 1.A.5 (none of which is specified as military), it is critical to understand the scope and impact of increased GHG emissions related to this capability growth.

The absence of accurately reported military and conflict-related emissions from UNFCCC framework, with only voluntary data which many governments have chosen not to provide, has led to a vacuum of transparency, creating what has come to be known as the military emissions gap in global emissions accounting.





## The Military Emissions Gap Explained

The elephant in the global emissions accounting room is the military emissions gap which militaryemissions.org (a collaboration between UK charity The Conflict and Environment Observatory, and Concrete Impacts a UKRI-Economic Social Research Council funded collaboration between, Queen Mary, Lancaster and Durham Universities) explain can be viewed from 3 main areas.

Firstly, no governments are obliged to report their military emissions. As outlined by militaryemissions.org the UNFCCC categorized Annex I countries as the most economically developed countries (with greatest historical emissions) who are obligated to report their national emissions and reduce them. Non-Annex I countries are considered less developed and have less reporting requirements. (UNFCCC.int, n.d.). Non-Annex I countries including China, Saudi Arabia, and other countries with large militaries and military expenditure may not necessarily be included under this structure if military reporting was obligatory.

Secondly, as previously mentioned governments use the category system based on IPCC guidelines to report their emissions (mobile fuel use – from road transport, aviation and ships etc) however many countries do not adhere to these categories or release military emissions at all based on national security, which leads to gross inconsistencies between countries and poor or little data in relation to this huge sector.

Thirdly, there is a growing number of categories that are unreported including on the arms production and military supply chain. “Several military technology companies do however produce Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) reports and provide GHG emissions and environmental data. The quality and scope of these CSR reports varies considerably. For example, Lockheed Martin includes the ‘use of sold products’ within its emissions data, whilst the data from many other military technology companies is far less complete” (Ceobs.org, 2021). Little is understood about the direct and indirect sources of emissions during and after conflicts which also contribute to this data gap. The ongoing Russia- Ukraine war has seen several studies conducted on the environmental impact of the conflict, “there is evidence of severe air pollution and greenhouse gas emissions resulting from the intense fights. Also, warfare activities were conducted in the vicinity of the Zaporizhzhia nuclear power plant (the biggest in Europe) and Chernobyl, increasing the fear of radiation leaks. The biodiversity is being drastically affected due to intense deforestation and habitat destruction with potential implications for wildlife. Bombing, trench and tunnel excavations will likely negatively impact soil degradation and landscape morphology” (Pereira. 2022). The deliberate destruction of the Kakhovka dam, a major hydroelectric reservoir in Ukraine on 6 June 2023, caused extensive flooding and environmental damage. In agreement with Ukrainian investigators, Post (2023) explains “Russia’s destruction of the Kakhova Dam constitutes an act of ecocide and should be treated and prosecuted as an environmental war crime.” The Ukrainian government advises its citizens to report all war related damages online via <https://damaged.in.ua/> producing a real time analysis and record of loss of carbon storage and sinks, and the material loss from the war for historical reference, but this does not go far enough in replacing the need for accurate reporting and understanding how this conflict and these military operations are contributing to GHG emissions.

## Challenges to Data Collection

There are notable challenges to obtaining and calculating accurate direct military operation emissions from weapons, aircraft, and armored vehicles while in an active conflict zone. “In aggregate, obvious direct emissions as well as indirect sources that are sometimes overlooked because of their complexity or impossibility of quantification constitute an unregulated threat to the global climate” (Hajdar et al., 2023). Emissions generated by armed conflict are difficult to measure and should be reported in different ways depending on the character of the conflict. The emissions that result from ‘multilateral operations pursuant to the charter of the United Nations’ are exempt from inclusion in the total national inventories. Therefore as Michaelowa et al. (2022) explains the emissions in armed conflicts can be differentiated into those operations with UN approval and operations without UN approval. “Countries providing soldiers or logistical support to UN Peacekeeping should always be exempted from accounting of national emissions in order not to create a disincentive for such activities. Countries like Fiji, Rwanda or Pakistan cannot afford to cover GHG emissions cost for their overseas UN peacekeepers. The UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations should buy emissions credits and cancel them to cover these emissions. However, emissions from above case need to be accounted by the UNFCCC Secretariat to increase the accuracy of the global GHG inventory, in the context of the Global Stocktake. Therefore a “conflict account” for UN approved military activities is still a necessity.” Given there was no Security Council authorization for the use of force to justify the U.S. led coalition invasion of Iraq in 2003 and the self-defence justification did not apply. “The resulting GHG emission of many million t CO<sub>2</sub> in this war was never accounted for by the U.S. and its allies” (Michaelowa et al., 2022). The recently released United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) Emissions Gap Report 2023 highlighted the direct emissions from military operations, vehicles and installations are likely nontrivial, but remain insufficiently accounted under UNFCCC reporting conventions, and there is limited evidence in the literature on the scope, scale, composition, or trend of these emissions.

Another challenge is having an agreed methodology for capturing these emissions. There are ongoing efforts in addressing this issue through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) alliance, who announced its Greenhouse Gas Emissions Mapping and Analytical Methodology, which provides guidelines and tools to calculate emissions from the civilian and military facilities (installations and assets) of the NATO Enterprise. The document explains the Methodology will help NATO as an organisation to reach its emission reduction targets. Although “this methodology excludes emissions from NATO-led operations and missions and other process activities such as training and exercises” (Nato.int, 2023). which only contributes further to the lack of transparency of the military emissions gap, but NATO is making progress in addressing methodology solutions by the release of this report. Media reports surrounding new developments that Members of the European Parliament called on the Commission, the Council, and the EU foreign affairs chief to “formulate a proposal for the transparent accounting of military emissions to the UNFCCC.” The call was part of the parliament’s annual climate crisis resolution ahead of COP28 (Euronews Green, 2023). which will be the first Global Stocktake of the Paris Agreement which we know is not currently on track to limit global warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius and highlights the urgency of ensuring that no sectors are exempt from reducing or reporting their emissions.





## The Destruction of War

The human cost of war and armed conflict throughout history is undeniable, the loss of human life, the violence and war crimes impacting generations of survivors, the suffering and trauma endured by populations who face desperate and life-threatening conditions should be enough to make war and armed conflict a dark time of the past. The purpose of this paper is not to discuss the act of war itself, or to dispute its destructive impact on peace and humanity, we should however consider how the mandatory inclusion of military and conflict-related emissions by the UNFCCC could change the way countries approach the business of war in the years ahead. The World Economic Forum Future 2023 Global Risks Report finds that 6 of the top 10 global risks facing humanity and the planet over the next 10 years are climate related. Failure to mitigate climate change, failure of climate-change adaptation, natural disasters and extreme weather events, biodiversity loss and ecosystem collapse, natural resource crises, and large-scale environmental damage incidents all impact global security. The IPCC has been stark in outlining the climate emergency before us and cutting GHG emissions to keep global warming within 1.5 degrees is what it will take to enable peace and security in future. Through their lack of transparency in reporting or reducing their GHG emissions militaries are directly contributing to the to the biggest national security risk facing governments, populations and the planet which is climate change.

Historically, tactical, and operational decisions within war zones have had catastrophic ramifications for human life and the environment. “Emissions from the destruction of natural or man-made carbon stocks during wars can reach hundreds of million t CO<sub>2</sub>, as was the case with forest destruction in Vietnam and the burning of oil wells in Kuwait. Burning down a large city can emit up to 10 million t CO<sub>2</sub>” (Michaelowa et al. 2022). These types of military operational decisions to gain advantage in the battlefield against the backdrop of a climate emergency highlights the relevant role that military emissions have in the Global Stocktake due to be finalized by Conference of the Parties (COP) 28. Net zero targets are being placed in severe jeopardy by not having accurate accounting and GHG reduction strategies across this sector.

## Low-Carbon Warfare & Decarbonization Efforts and Challenges

The climate-security nexus is unavoidable, and climate change is considered a threat multiplier by most of the security community. NATO, the U.S. Army and Navy are already factoring in extreme weather implications on their operations, and implementing mitigation and adaptation plans on their installations. “Producing a fleet of field purpose-built, hybrid-drive tactical vehicles by 2035 and providing 100% carbon pollution-free electricity at Army installations by 2030 are among the goals outlined by the Army’s first Climate Strategy as the service adapts to the effects of changing weather” (Lacdan, 2022). For navy and maritime security operations, rising sea levels will not only impact the way they carry out their missions but also create new threats that require a multi-agency response. Early warning systems will continue to play a critical role in response preparedness to extreme weather events, and sharing this data with small island nations and coastline communities to help reduce the impact will be an essential part of saving lives.

The environmental boot print of conventional war and conflict will continue to have a high carbon and environmental price. “Growing pressure to decarbonize military operations promises to reinforce preferences for ‘lighter footprint’ operations involving technological surrogates, special forces, and local proxies by drawing greater attention to the carbon costs of deploying mass forces around the world” (Duncan, 2023). New and advanced technologies have the potential to rapidly increase low carbon warfare efforts, “recently, the United Kingdom’s Royal Air Force has showcased the potential to power large military aircraft with 100% sustainable aviation fuel (potentially realizing life-cycle emissions savings of up to 80% compared with kerosene)” (Depledge et al., 2023). However, these technologies require continued research and funding to make these scalable solutions for the sector and their supply chains.

In April 2023 the U.S. DoD released the Department of Defense Plan to Reduce Greenhouse Gas Emissions for Scope 1 (direct emissions from sources that are owned or controlled by DoD) & Scope 2 emissions (emissions resulting from the generation of electricity, heat, or steam purchased by DoD.). The report acknowledges that Scope 3 emissions (from sources not owned or directly controlled by DoD) guidance for U.S. federal agencies is not as well developed, in part due to the challenges of data collection, however it recognizes that DoD actions and policies can influence Scope 3 emissions. The report unsurprisingly states that most emissions result from fossil fuel combustion, particularly jet fuel. In FY 2021, jet fuel combustion accounted for 80% of operational emissions and 50% of total DoD emissions. The strategy outlines efforts for on-site clean energy generation and storage, reducing facility footprint. As of July 2022, the Department had ordered more than 1,400 light-duty zero-emission vehicles (ZEVs). That number is less than half the number of ZEVs initially requested with the reduction due to supply chain limitations (US Department of Defense, 2023). Electric vehicles deployed in the field also offer operational benefits and advantages as they are much quieter than traditional options and reduce the dependency on fuel. Fuel tanker driving is a dangerous element of operational logistics which puts many personnel at risk, electric vehicles remove this dependency and requirement for refueling and tanker deliveries, it also helps enhance energy efficiency.

For U.S. military operations climate ready is mission ready, but there is caution in a rush to decarbonization, that new threats and vulnerabilities are not created when replacing traditional fuels with renewables. These renewable energy alternatives require battery minerals and other rare earth minerals. “China accounts for 85% of global rare earth production... in theory, China could harm U.S. industry by banning sales of elements such as neodymium and praseodymium used to make high-strength permanent magnets found in every electric motor, including those in renewable energy wind turbines and electric cars” (Treadgold, 2019). Ensuring not to replace one dependency with another which is dominated by an adversary is a critical concern to having a reliable supply chain to support decarbonization efforts.

These efforts demonstrate that some militaries recognize that they will need to make changes, but by mandating the inclusion of military and conflict-related emissions by the UNFCCC accurate data will be available to begin to understand the scope of the GHG emissions from this sector and identify effective areas for mitigation.

## Call to Action

I was just 7 years old when the first COP meeting took place in Berlin in March 1995. 28 years later and global military emissions remain not only poorly understood but voluntary in reporting. Big opportunities to cut emissions have been lost in the last few years and closing the military emissions gap is one of those critical areas. All countries must act with ambition, we must understand what militaries contribution to GHG is, there should not be sectors exempt from reducing and reporting their emissions when governments are already behind on delivering their obligations under the Paris Climate Agreement. Based on current policies we are on a path to 3°C warming, even with unconditional nationally determined contributions (NDC's) we are facing 2.9°C warming (United Nations Environment Programme, 2023). limiting to 1.5°C requires unprecedented action. How can we ask everyday citizens to commit to the changes in their lifestyle required to meet net zero targets, penalize and fine them for not recycling, enforce water-use restriction, and charge them more for a plastic bag, when there is an entire sector that is essentially getting a free emissions ride. The fight to keep 1.5°C alive is the responsibility of us all, every person and every sector, we cannot afford to have gaps in the data, or for military and conflict-related emissions to not be understood. The UNFCCC cannot continue to accept Parties committing to climate pledges with one hand, and directly contributing to the climate emergency through opaque military emissions data with the other. Climate change is the biggest threat to the security of us all. I call on the UNFCCC to close the military emissions gap and leverage the first Global Stocktake concluding in COP28 to accelerate action and embark on discussions to begin mandatory military emissions reporting by all governments.



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## 2.7 Paper



# Reshaping globalization: semiconductor shortage, and engineering diplomacy

by **Hadir Esayed**

Advisors: **Ms. Larisa Schelkin** and **Dr. Michael Jabot**

## Acknowledgments:

“I acknowledge the necessity of Open science “

I sincerely thank and acknowledge my mentors for their contribution,

**Larisa Schelkin** - Engineering diplomacy senior faculty advisor

\* Especial gratitude to Larisa for assisting in understanding engineering diplomacy within the semiconductor framework.

**Michael Jabot** - Science and engineering diplomacy advisor

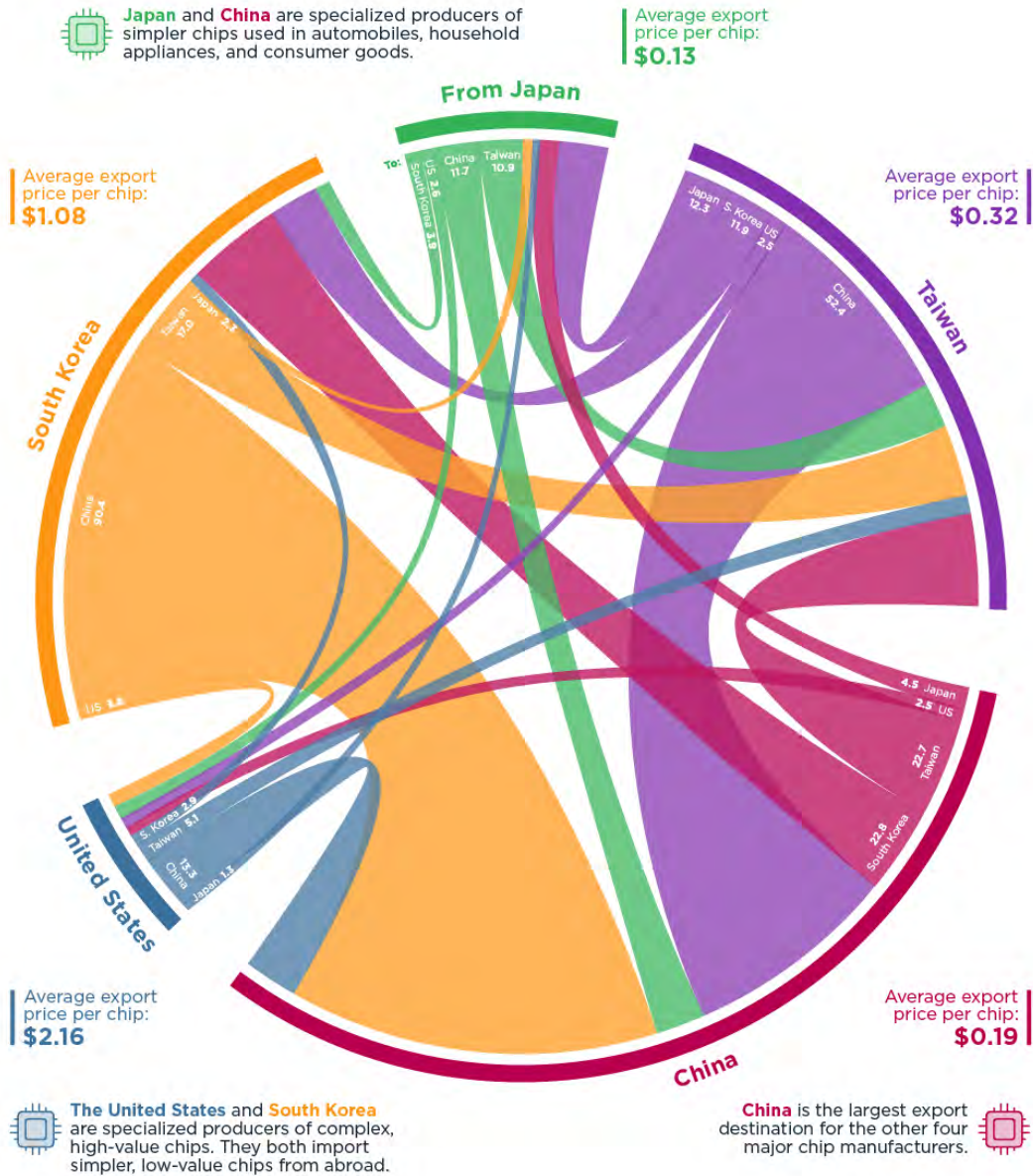
**Dr. Bernard Amadei** - Engineering Diplomacy for peace

**Dr. Tim Flink** - Science to Policy Handbook

Stemming from scientific curiosity, electricity has greatly accelerated global technological development, now commonly referred to as electronics. Electronics has evolved into a pivotal factor, reshaping global economic, social, and geopolitical dynamics. The progress in electronics has inevitably become intertwined with global diplomacy and national security. Nations utilize advanced integrated circuits (ICs) in applications such as emergency security systems, smartphones, digital cameras, thermostats, smart home devices, and medical diagnostic equipment. All of our electronic devices rely on compact circuits grouped together as chips to fulfill specific functions. A semiconductor chip, commonly known as a 'chip,' is a small fragment of semiconductor material, typically composed of silicon, where integrated circuits (ICs) are constructed. These chips serve as the foundation for electronic devices, becoming essential components of contemporary living. Measured in nanometers, these micro-sized chips determine the density and size of components on the chip. However, the concentration of semiconductor manufacturing capacities in a few geographies poses a challenge. The consumer market for chips is continuing to expand, and the world is currently facing a semiconductor shortage, leading to tensions in international relations among nations and raising concerns about global peace. The recommendation is to prioritize semiconductor diplomacy as a central component of a nation's foreign policy. This essay will explore the three pillars of engineering diplomacy in the context of semiconductor globalization: first, Semiconductor in Diplomacy, informing foreign policy objectives with semiconductor advice; second, Diplomacy for Semiconductor, using semiconductor cooperation to improve international relations between countries; third, Semiconductors for Diplomacy, facilitating international semiconductor cooperation. The paper highlights both the initiatives already undertaken and argues the need for a global semiconductor policy contributing to the industry's obstacles and thus positively affecting the stabilization of world peace.

# Major semiconductor producing countries rely on each other for different types of chips

Top semiconductor producers' 2021 export values by source and destination, billions USD



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**Note:** Data reflect HS commodity codes equivalent to NAICS code 334413. South Korean export data are Chinese, Japanese, Taiwanese, and American Imports of semiconductors.

Design by Nia Kitchin and Oliver Ward

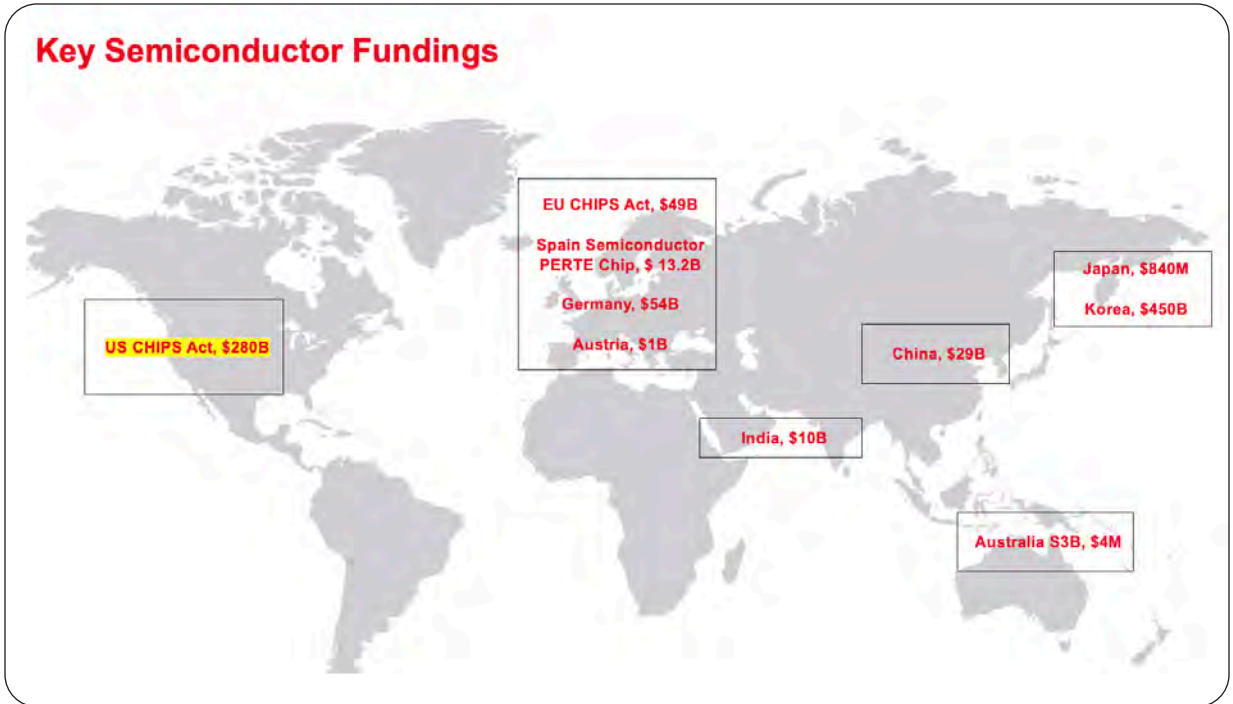
**Source:** Gary Clyde Hufbauer and Megan Hogan's Policy Brief, "CHIPS Act will spur US production but not foreclose China."

## Background

The semiconductor industry is at the epicenter of great power politics. Semiconductor or chip diplomacy involves strategically utilizing semiconductor technology, production, and supply chains as a means for diplomacy, geopolitical influence, and international relations. The U.S. has historically held a dominant position in the semiconductor industry, commanding a 48 percent market share (\$193 billion) in revenue in 2020. Eight of the world's 15 largest semiconductor firms, with Intel leading in sales, are based in the U.S. China heavily relies on the U.S. and other foreign manufacturers, importing \$350 billion worth of chips in 2020, increasing by 14.6 percent from 2019. In response, China, through initiatives like Made in China 2025, aims to boost its domestic semiconductor industry, reduce dependence on the U.S., and emerge as a global tech leader. Amid heightened U.S.-China competition, the U.S. has implemented stricter semiconductor export controls, particularly towards Chinese entities, intensifying the geopolitical dynamics in the semiconductor landscape. Caught between global superpowers, the Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Corporation (TSMC) holds a prominent position in the semiconductor industry, dominating 51.5 percent of the foundry market and producing the world's most advanced chips (10 nanometers or smaller). TSMC serves major American and Chinese companies like Apple, Qualcomm, Broadcom, and Xilinx. Notably, it terminated its association with Huawei in May 2020 due to U.S. Department of Commerce restrictions. America fully grasped its power over the global semiconductor market in 2019, when the Trump administration added Huawei, a major Chinese telecommunications maker, to the entity list. Restrictions, trade bans is how competitors maneuvering foreign policy. The Biden administration has signaled seriousness about its desire to prevent China from purchasing some of the most advanced semiconductors and semiconductor-manufacturing equipment on the market. Because both are made with processes subject to U.S. export restrictions, the U.S. can require even third-country manufacturers that make them — using licensed intellectual property — to refuse to export them to China. The rules issued this week were designed to close loopholes that allowed certain kinds of restricted chips to get through the blockade. targeting China with its semiconductor export ban, China's graphite restrictions — like similar recent restrictions it placed on the export of metals gallium and germanium — apply regardless of the country purchasing them. The graph below from Peterson institute for international economics shows the major countries in this semiconductor and their position in the export race. Exporting contributes to the strengthening of diplomatic ties. Trade partnerships foster positive relations between nations, providing a platform for dialogue and cooperation. Economic interdependence often promotes political stability and peaceful relations.

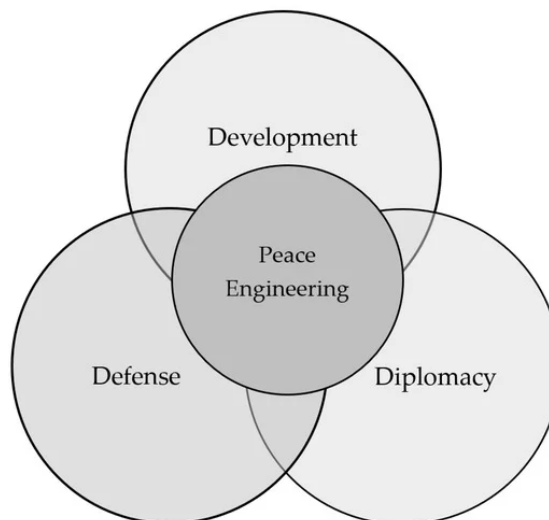
The first pillar, semiconductor diplomacy involves leveraging the expertise and insights of the semiconductor industry to inform a nation's foreign policy objectives. Given the critical role of semiconductors in various technological advancements, nations can benefit from incorporating semiconductor advice into their strategic decision-making processes. This is witnessed in countries investing in semiconductor funding thus helping nations anticipate challenges and formulate resilient foreign policy strategies.



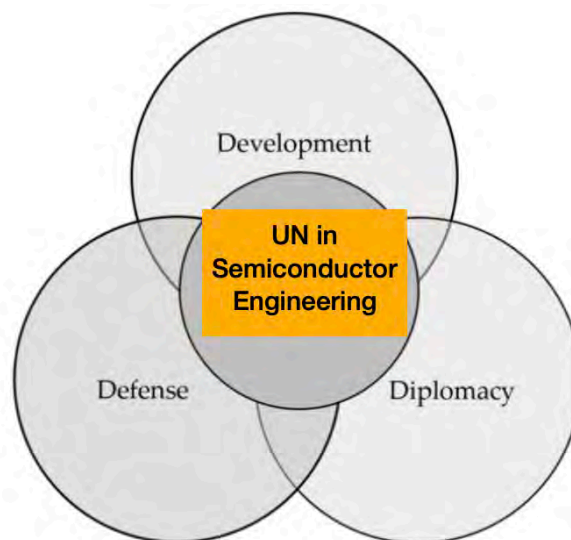


Exposed during the pandemic, the U.S. implemented the CHIPS and Science Act. This initiative seeks to boost investments in domestic semiconductor manufacturing capacity, fortifying supply chains, and enhancing national security. To address the heightened demand for semiconductors exposed during the pandemic, the U.S. implemented the CHIPS and Science Act. This initiative seeks to boost investments in domestic semiconductor manufacturing capacity, fortifying supply chains, and enhancing national security. Similarly introduced in early 2022, the EU Chips Act has recently passed through various stages of EU bureaucracy and achieved provisional political agreement between the European Council and the European Parliament in April 2023. The legislation aims to enhance Europe’s semiconductor ecosystem, paving the way for the development of an industrial base capable of doubling the EU’s global market share in semiconductors from 10% to at least 20% by 2030. One must note “The CHIPS act sounds great on paper from a grandstanding perspective, but the execution will be very difficult,” said Daniel Ives, a managing director focused on the technology sector at the Los Angeles-based private investment firm Wedbush Securities. While CHIPS ACT might be hard to execute, perhaps bilateral and multilateral semiconductor organization can help overcome challenges.

Diplomacy for Semiconductor, using semiconductor cooperation to improve international relations between countries. Countries like India are exploring ways to leverage their strengths, including a robust presence of global EMS (Electronics Manufacturing Services) players, a substantial diaspora, a world-class design ecosystem, and a demographic dividend. The aim is to utilize these strengths as a foundation for establishing global partnerships and expanding international outreach. Leveraging semiconductor diplomacy in increasing multilateral and bilateral cooperation cross the value chain of semiconductors — design, manufacturing, and packaging. Given the significant concentration of semiconductor manufacturing and testing bases in East Asia, the Act East policy offers a chance to establish and enhance connections with crucial stakeholders in the region. For example, India’s recent adoption of the Indo-Pacific strategic concept, its relationship with the separate “free and open Indo-Pacific” strategies of Japan and the United States, and conflation with the quadrilateral security dialogue (or “quad”) involving Australia, India, Japan, and the United States. On Japan-India’s Summit meeting (March 2022) “Prime Minister Kishida welcomed the Indo-Pacific Oceans’ Initiative (IPOI) announced by Prime Minister Modi in 2019. The Prime Ministers acknowledged the growing space for cooperation between the IPOI and Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP). India appreciated Japan’s participation as a lead partner on the connectivity pillar of IPOI (Japan-India Summit Joint Statement). Japan’s efforts of FOIP include infrastructure enhancement to India. By improving both physical and diplomatic connections within the region and offering access options to the Indo-Pacific ocean area, Japan aims to create a foundation that enables the autonomous economic development of the region as a whole. Japan’s strategy aims economic prosperity by supporting the enhancement of both hard and soft connectivity, including the development of the East-West and Southern Economic Corridors. Japan and India exemplify cooperative efforts aimed at improving international relations between countries to address technological semiconductor shortage.



Semiconductor diplomacy involves facilitating international cooperation in the semiconductor industry, addressing a gap in collaboration influenced by geopolitical tensions. The global leadership vacuum can be filled by industry experts with extensive experience. Nations are formulating foreign trade policies to alleviate the semiconductor shortage, yet an international industry charter is lacking. However, such a charter aligns with UN Sustainable Development Goals, particularly SDG 9 and SDG 17, which emphasize resilient infrastructure, sustainable industrialization, and global partnerships. Recognizing the inevitability of a semiconductor industry charter under the United Nations, leveraging established engineering diplomacy frameworks becomes essential. Professor Bernard Amedei, an advocate of open science and engineering diplomacy, proposes that a framework of peace engineering can be seen as overlapping all three aspects of foreign policy. Diplomacy along with development and defense (the three Ds) are often presented as being interconnected pillars of “national policy decisions regarding investment, security, economic development, the environment and engagement”. The proposed framework involves placing a UN semiconductor industry charter at the core to facilitate the three Ds: Development, Defense, and Diplomacy. This leading charter would engage multilateral and bilateral entities to collaboratively address industry challenges.



Semiconductors serve as the crucial brainpower behind modern electronics, playing an essential role in advancing communication, computing, healthcare, military systems, transportation, clean energy, and various other applications. The competition for control over the most vital technology of the 21st century has emerged as a significant source of tension between the world’s two superpowers, US and China. US has employed export controls as a primary strategy, implementing measures to restrict China’s access to U.S.-origin semiconductors and related products. In response to U.S. restrictions, Beijing has retaliated by banning the use of chips produced by the U.S. company Micron in critical infrastructure projects. This move is widely perceived as a countermeasure by China against the imposed restrictions. Despite diplomatic efforts from both sides, the persistent competition in advanced technology between the two superpowers remains unabated. This situation compels us to explore the realm of semiconductor engineering diplomacy. The escalating tension imperative for peace and a stable supply chain underscores the industry’s alignment with all UN Sustainable Development Goals, notably SDG 9 and SDG 17. Therefore, international semiconductor diplomacy initiatives become imperative.

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## 2.8 Paper



## Cultural constraints on the development of girls What works and what doesn't against the missing girls calamity

by **Maximilian Heckmann**

Advisor: **Professor Ms. Jelena Pia-Comella**

*"I declare that I have authored this thesis independently, that I have not used other than the declared sources / resources, and that I have explicitly marked all material which has been quoted either literally or by content from the used sources."*

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## 1 Introduction to the missing girls calamity

In 1990 the economist and philosopher Amartya Sen shocked the world with an alarming calculation: 100 million girls are missing (Sen 1990). These girls should be present if boys and girls were born as human biology suggests, but in reality, they do not exist. Given the absence of pre-birth ultrasound examinations during that period, it is likely that most of them were conceived but did not survive. Since Sen wrote his article in the *New York Review of Books*, several researchers tried to improve or update his results, estimating results between 60 and 110 million women in 2001, depending on the assumptions used to make these estimations (Klasen and Wink 2002). Since then, these numbers have grown, with estimates suggesting a total of 142 million in the year 2020, with China being responsible for 72.3 million missing girls and India for another 45.8 million (Ongaarts and Guilamoto 2015; Llopis Agelan 2023). The precision of these estimates should be viewed with caution, as there are also estimates that attribute a larger share to India than to China (Pearson 2006). Even though the majority of missing women are concentrated in India and China, the problem also occurs in other nations. A strong bias against girls can be found in middle-income and highly educated nations such as Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, in highly economically developed and educated nations such as South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore, or Chinese, Indian and South Korean diaspora in the UK and the US (Rosenberg 2009).

In 2010, Indian infant mortality rates depicted a 40-50% higher incidence among girls in comparison to boys. This discrepancy was primarily attributed to insufficient access to nutrition and medical care (Chen et al. 1981; Sen and Sengupta 1983; Behrman 1988; Gupta 1987). Furthermore, after the birth of a girl, especially in situations where there are no brothers, parents may lean towards stopping breastfeeding earlier, aiming to enhance the wife's prospects of getting pregnant again (Duflo and Banerjee 2011, 122).

These two illustrations of high gender injustice are examples from India. The reasons for which parents tend to prefer boys over girls are many and their impact is different from region to region. The phenomenon of missing girls in India is more commonly seen in wealthier and educated urban areas, while in China, it tends to be more prominent in rural settings (Pearson 2006; Rosenberg 2009). Nevertheless, researchers identified several key problems that seem to be especially important for the decision-making of families regarding their handling of girls. The following theories are based on economic, behavioral and cultural research and manage to describe and analyze parents' decision making to a certain degree.

The central aim of this research paper is to examine the impact of economic development and cultural constraints on the missing girls calamity. The focus lies on the interaction of these two effects. Concluding, I will discuss the implications that emerge from the existing literature concerning actions to address this disparity.



## 2 Causes of the missing girls calamity

Before looking at the different theoretical explanations, it is of utmost importance to not view economic and behavioral theories as sole explanations of cultural practices, but rather as complements to sociocultural theories. Empirical findings through behavioral experiments and data analyses enable researchers to rationalize phenomena, whose underlying incentives would otherwise have remained obscure (Miguel 2005). It is impossible to make scientific statements about the persistence and intensity of observable phenomena without taking the sociocultural background into account. The most promising approach would therefore be a holistic one which I will use in this paper to address the missing girls calamity.

### 2.1 Girls as investment

Throughout history, children have been a source of retirement provision. In the absence of institutionalized savings, the smoothing of consumption over a life period is burdensome and risky. From the perspective of many people, children (who reach adulthood) seem to be one of the best sources for retirement provision. With this objective in mind, parents make numerous decisions concerning the future outcomes and investments in their children. Parents' expectations of how much a woman can later earn, have therefore a strong impact on the parent's investment in a girls education and professional development and the male-to-female ratio (Grant and Behrman 2010; Foster and Rosenzweig 2001). A shift in sex-specific agricultural income showed tremendous effects in China (Qian 2008). Through post-Mao crop reforms (1978-1980), households were suddenly able to produce more crops, namely tea and orchard fruits. A region with warm and humid hilltops is more suitable for tea

The regional-specific crops determined the wage women could expect through working in crop production (since women tend to be more productive in plucking tea than harvesting orchard fruits relative to men). These exogenous income shocks led to an increase of newborn girls in regions with higher wages for women, but fewer girls in regions that rely on orchard fruits and have therefore lower wages for girls. In order to find reasons for existing boys bias, it is therefore important to look at the reasons why women are less employable than men. Firstly, girls don't benefit from development as much as men (Jensen 2010b; Boserup 2007; Field et al. 2010). In the year 2010, the literacy rate among adult females in India was 48%, contrasting with a higher rate of 73% among adult males (Jensen 2010b). In Section 2.3 I look at the reasons why girls receive less education than boys. Section 3.1 will discuss why girls are also more vulnerable to a drop in income and therefore receive less health care. Secondly, discrimination and cultural constraints like household duties and child care have a strong impact on the labor participation of women (Beneria and Sen 1981). Both channels and their interaction must be considered to get a holistic picture of the under-investment in girls.

## 2.2 Cultural constraints on female incomes

One important aspect of imperfect markets is the presence of discrimination against some part of the available working force. Structural discrimination can be divided into two parts, statistical discrimination and discrimination based on prejudices and preferences (Kuhn 2023). Statistical discrimination arises from information asymmetries between employee and employer; the employer forms his expectations about an individual based on their group's characteristics. A black man is statistically discriminated against if an uninformed employer unfairly presumes an increased probability of on-the-job legal challenges, influenced by disproportionate incarceration rates between black and white communities (Kuhn 2023). Discrimination based on prejudices and preferences is characterized by the assumption that one individual has less productivity or value than another individual, based on his or her group (Kuhn 2023). To distinguish these two groups is important to formulate possible measures against the underlying form of discrimination.

Cultural discrimination is a social anchoring of prejudices and preferences. Many societies have strong cultural and social resentments against women working outside of home and parents know this, diminishing the financial perspective of female children (Boserup 2007; Field et al. 2010; Goldin 1990; Dube and Palriwala 1990).

In China, it is legal for a company to openly reveal its discriminatory preferences. These gender preferences are way more rarely seen for college and university graduates than for women with lower education (Kuhn and Shen 2013). College and university degrees might not be a solution for the majority of women, but it depicts an interesting trend. A reason for this phenomenon could be that in a highly competitive environment companies can less afford to be gender selective, reducing the labor pool it can source from without reason and thus operating less efficient (Kuhn and Shen 2013; Heyman et al. 2013). However, the external validity of these findings is questionable for low-skill markets. In the end, this story might be driven by an interaction effect between cultural discrimination, education and competitiveness. Standard theoretical expectations suggest a response of human capital to market incentives, but social norms could mitigate or entirely disrupt this relationship for girls (Jensen 2010b). Through a holistic lens, the key takeaway would be that advancements in multiple development factors might be necessary for other factors to hold. The economist Naila Kabeer utilizes this notion to draw comparisons between the progress in India and Bangladesh. Her argument revolves around India's social caste divisions and Bangladesh's societal homogeneity, postulating that this distinction allows for a smoother spread of progressive ideas in Bangladesh, especially those focused on improving women's welfare (Kabeer et al. 2017).

But there are other more discriminatory/patriarchal factors, which make girls more costly for parents than boys. In many countries, especially in North Africa, the Middle East and South Asia, the cultural practice of dowry is common, forcing the bride's family to pay a fee to the groom or his family (Dalmia and Lawrence 2005; Van Willigen and Channa 1991). Although this practice is illegal in India, it is very widespread and often forces families to save for several years to pay the dowry (Manchandia 2005). Dowry traditions are most commonly observed in cultures with a strong patrilineal emphasis, where the norm is for women to reside with or near their husband's family (patrilocality) (Britannica 2023). In this tradition, a woman is typically removed from her parental home, limiting her financial means to assist her parents. As she integrates into her husband's household, this transition represents a substantial economic disadvantage for her parents.

Added to this is the limited ability of women to have any property at all, which makes it extremely difficult for women to assume the role of family heir (Mukherjee 2013). All these constraints are objective reasons for parents to value male children more than female ones from a purely financial perspective. But there are also non-objective reasons, irrational individual and social „beliefs“, which influence the financial decision against a girl.

It is important to note before exploring the topic of „false beliefs“ further, that cultural discrimination is also grounded on „irrational“ beliefs which, when put into practice, translate into economic realities. This means that there is no sharp dividing line between the types of cultural constraints presented here and the „false beliefs“ that are looked upon in the next chapter. I believe that an approximate distinction still makes sense, since „false beliefs“ can be removed more quickly through information and counter-evidence than cultural discrimination based on harmful traditional practices. I find this distinction valuable in aligning with the paper's objective; however, upon closer scrutiny, the differentiation does not withstand detailed examination. Developing a gender is „a process of interpreting (and reinterpreting) a cultural reality laden with sanctions, taboos, and prescriptions“ (Butler 1986), an active process of forming the given culture itself. The „stereotype threat“ described in the next chapter is linked to this complex process of „becoming a gender“ (De Beauvoir 1949), it is part of building one's identity and therefore nothing easy to remove for solving the missing girls calamity.

## 2.3 False beliefs and gender

To understand the decision-making process of parents, it's important to look not only at the information they receive but as well at the beliefs through which they evaluate this information. Parents in developing countries often believe that education has non-linear returns, therefore later years of education are considered being more important than the first years (Duflo and Banerjee 2011). However, practical observations based on estimates reveal that the increment in earnings for each year of education is, for the most part, proportional (Banerjee and Duflo 2005). Because of this false believe parents concentrate their resources on the most promising child, normally a male child, as parents foresee higher returns in such cases. Even if parents earn more money, they concentrate their household surplus on the chosen child, leading to a low income/education elasticity for the remaining children (Barrera-Osorio et al. 2008). This belief weakens the link between income gains and education, thereby undermining alternating development mechanisms, for example a mutual increase in education, health and income.

The challenge of a holistic view is the almost infinite number of possible interaction effects that exist between economic effects, cultural effects and beliefs. There is also the problem that the interaction effects can vary from region to region. However, there is one interaction effect which has been widely confirmed across many cultures; the stereotype threat, a part of social determinism (Pajares and Usher 2008). There are various studies observing underprivileged minorities, and effects were always similar: If humans are confronted with their low social status, they suddenly start to perform more badly. The requirement to specify their race on the cover sheet seems to have a negative impact on the test performance of African Americans (Spencer et al. 1999). Explicitly communicating before a test that the stereotype of women - being less adept in math - doesn't hold for this particular test, results in enhanced test performance among women (Spencer et al. 1999). Low-caste Indian children suddenly do much worse in competing against high-caste Indian children after revealing the caste differences (Hoff and Pandey 2004). The role of Social Determinism in solidifying existing disparities will persist as long as discriminating ideas are spread and lived. Amartya Sen writes in his book „Identity and violence: The illusion of destiny“ (Sen 2007) that one can counteract the self-reinforcing dynamics of discrimination, stereotype threat and identity by actively promoting pluralism and exchange. It is the government's duty to carry out the main role, particularly when faced with culturally rooted resentments, because only the government can provide the broad education, the public debates and the laws necessary to bring about such changes in a society.

## 2.4 Fertility and gender

All the parental decision-making described so far is interlinked with fertility. Development is strongly correlated with decreasing birth rates and several countries tried to reduce fertility rates by force, guided by the hope that the correlation functions the other way around as well (Todaro and Smith 2012). Known examples of this kind of policies were the one-child policy of China, the forced vasectomies in India during the Great Emergency 1975 and the penalization of nondegree- holding women to get children in Singapore (Taylor and Lybbert 2020; Basu 1985; Todaro and Smith 2012). Such policies came along with great human suffering and the overall benefit on development compared with other possible policies are at least questionable (Deaton 2013, 311). The one-child policy in China has contributed greatly to the preference for boys over girls, leading to estimates that china is responsible for an 80% increase in missing girls between 1994 and 2003 (Klasen andWink 2003). Such policies combat the symptoms of poverty, but ignore the connection between development and fertility. The justification for enacting this policy stemmed from a deepseated fear of a population explosion, perceived as a perilous threat to the availability of resources, overall stability, and, consequently, the ability to maintain peaceful coexistence. This fear turned out to be unfounded. The economist and demographer David Lam, president of the Population Association of America in 2011, described the actual connections as follows: The survival chance of a child is tremendously important for parents to make their decisions on how many children they want to have. Parents are interested in how many children survive, not in how many children they give birth to (Lam 2011). Parents adjust their number of children according to their survival, but with some time delay, which is the reason for the massive increase of the relative world population during the 20th century. The increase in productivity and the dynamics of global markets and resource prices enabled the world economy to handle the population increase very well, which is also related to the fact that faster technological progress comes also from a larger population and hence more economic activity and creativity (Deaton 2013, 314) (Kremer 1993).

## 2.5 Ressource allocation and women's economic empowerment

Regarding fertility and missing girls, it is helpful to look closer at the role and influence of mothers. Lower birth rates come along with less suffering for the mother through child loss, but also with more time for economic, social and educational activities which are fundamental for broad development (Deaton 2013, 313). This is a codependent factor since the increase of economic, social and economic activities for women tends to reduce fertility as well. Empowering women therefore leads often not only to a reduction in missing women through reduced fertility, but also through the resources that are put into children and their well-being. Unfortunately, this connection can be suppressed by strong cultural discrimination, which will be discussed in Section 3.2.

In cases where household income is minimal, the majority of women's income is allocated to satisfying the nutritional requirements of the household. In contrast, since this percentage is significantly lower for men, an increase in male earnings results in a less-than-proportional growth in the funds available for meeting daily needs (Todaro and Smith 2012, 238). This was especially prevalent in the observations of Nancy Qian in China, where an increase in female income increased the educational attainments of all children, whereas an increase in male income even decreased educational attainments for girls and had no effect on boys' educational attainments (Qian 2008). The economist Duncan Thomas also found that in Brazil the mother's income had an almost twenty times larger effect on child survival probability than the father's income (Thomas 1990). A reason for this is the traditional role of women as caretakers for the family and the children, a fact which can be used to distribute resources more efficiently (Duflo and Banerjee 2011, 128).

Who controls the money in a household also has other important implications. The household bargaining model, based on the Nash equilibrium from the Nobel laureate John Nash, simulates the influence of household members based on their unearned income, for example from assets (Taylor and Lybbert 2020, 208). It makes powerful statements about how much influence a household member has by threatening to dissolve the household. The member with the higher unearned income (typically the man) can assert his will more strongly. Adding the fact that men want to have more children than women (Duflo and Banerjee 2011, 116) tells us in combination with the factors mentioned above a more holistic story on how the distribution of income affects fertility in several ways.

In addition to the negative consequences that unequal households have for women and therefore their children, there is also strong evidence that this inequality leads to inefficient use of capital (Udry 1996), which is important to consider for distributing development policies.

## 2.6 The broad picture of parental decisions

The causes of the missing girls calamity can be summarized as follows: Parents decide based on the financial benefit their children can bring to them, whether to have a girl at all and/or how much resources to devote to it. The decision for or against a girl can also arise for more altruistic reasons, as well-educated mothers know that a girl has worse chances than a boy.

Due to cultural discrimination, women have worse chances in the job market than men. This economic imbalance is further burdened by the fact that cultural practices like the dowry put financial strains on the parents. Another part of the problem are the „false beliefs“; they cause people to behave irrationally and create self-made poverty traps, where the ones who suffer the most are the children, especially the girls. It can be strongly assumed that cultural constraints and false beliefs are a fundamental obstacle in eliminating the missing girls problem and that other measures cannot work as long as these factors exist.



Another important topic is fertility, which many governments have tried to reduce through development policies. Parents react to economic development with lower fertility, which also results in lower child mortality. Instead of artificially creating lower fertility, a policy that focuses on the economic development of households seems more promising. Potential applications will be evaluated in the following chapter. But even after households receive resources, it makes a big difference whether the father or the mother receives them. A strengthened role for women leads to more resources for children, especially girls, to more sustainable investments in general and often to more efficiency - a factor a development policy can take advantage of. It should also be mentioned that there are also other factors such as HIV/AIDS, other diseases and the abduction of women which are also responsible for missing girls, which are each bad in their own right, but only play a minor role (John et al. 2008).

With all these effects in mind, what are the goals policies and actions against the missing girls problem should aim for? The subjugation of women is a crucial issue, particularly because women frequently bear unequal hardships related to poverty, inadequate education, and constrained social mobility. Often, their high fertility is a reflection of their inferior societal roles, low status, and restricted access to birth control. The arguments so far posit that population growth arises as a consequence of women lacking economic opportunities. Enhancing women's health, education, and economic welfare, coupled with an improvement in their roles and status within both the family and the community, will inevitably result in women's empowerment, leading to smaller families, reduced population growth and hence fewer dying children, especially girls (Todaro and Smith 2012, 292) (Murthi et al. 1995).

In addition to this goal, it should be clear that the cultural climate is also largely responsible for the missing girls. Changing this is probably a prerequisite for other measures to be effective. The next chapter will look at possible measures to tackle the missing girls calamity and to strengthen development at the same time, as the two topics are inseparable.

### 3 Possible solutions

Since the magnitude of the problem was identified, several countries and international organizations have integrated the issue into their agenda and sometimes took action against it. An important milestone was achieved in 1995, during the fourth World Conference on women in Beijing, where the special needs of „the female child“ were recognized in the strategic objectives L1 to L9. In strategic objective L1; „Eliminate all forms of discrimination against the girl-child“, it was agreed that nations have to „develop and implement comprehensive policies, plans of action and programs for the survival, protection, development and advancement of the girl child to promote and protect the full enjoyment of her human rights and to ensure equal opportunities for girls; these plans should form an integral part of the total development process“ (UN-women 1995). Fundamental is the last part, which should ensure that development policies do not leave policies regarding women as an afterthought, but as a first thought (Todaro and Smith 2012, 240). Unfortunately, this goal is often missed because government programs to combat poverty usually target men, which means that the bargaining power of women compared to men is reduced and that fewer resources reach the children (Todaro and Smith 2012, 239). The same is true for minorities, inhabitants of rural areas and households headed by women, which is a reason why women, children, minority ethnic groups and indigenous people are especially economically vulnerable (Todaro and Smith 2012, 236). However, research has also led countries to develop incentive programs that address core problems of inequality and underdevelopment more correctly. A good example is the PROGRESA program in Mexico, which will be elaborated upon in more detail in Section 3.2.

In addition to development programs, other more direct measures have been brought forward to combat the missing girls problem. India and mainland China have jointly prohibited the use of ultrasounds for sex-selective abortions, in response to international pressure. Sadly, economists have identified a potential consequence: when implemented in situations where parents strongly favor boys, such bans could contribute to a rise in female infant mortality (Croll 2001; Lin et al. 2014). This clearly demonstrates that incentives and substantial changes are needed to combat the problem, rather than prohibitions.

#### 3.1 Reducing Mortality

In addition to influencing the decision on how much parents invest in their daughters, there is also a more direct way to reduce child mortality among young women: preventing situations in which parents have to choose between their children. When a household is hit by an income shock, the parents typically react with two measures. On the one hand, they reduce expenses where they think it is possible, e.g. by spending less money on food. On the other hand, they reduce long-term investments, by selling land and animals, using savings, taking loans with large interest rates and getting kids out of school for child labor (Garcia-Mandicó et al. 2021). Girls are the most likely to suffer from these shocks, because they have to endure disproportionate losses and are more likely to be pulled out of school. Therefore, protection against income shocks helps girls in particular. The economists Garcia-Mandicó et al. (2021) studied the value of a large insurance program in Ghana and found that households avoid costly means of consumption smoothing, especially by reducing child labor and lower educational investments. Their conclusion emphasizes the substantial social value of income safety nets due to their role in safeguarding long-term investments.

### 3.2 Using the Right Incentives

Incentives serve as a potent tool for encouraging parents to act in opposition to their social and cultural norms, to create an environment that proves discriminatory beliefs to the society as wrong. Several existing programs try to incentivize parents to keep their kids in school, like the Mexican “Oportunidades Human Development Program”, known by its Spanish acronym PROGRESA (Todaro and Smith 2012, 404 - 407). PROGRESA revolves around the advocacy for a comprehensive approach to enhance the educational, health, and nutritional well-being of impoverished households. It offers financial assistance to economically disadvantaged families, facilitates family clinic visits, distributes nutritional supplements, and provides additional health advantages to pregnant and lactating women and their offspring below the age of 5. Certain benefits are contingent on the consistent attendance of children at school and health clinics, leading to the classification of such initiatives as conditional cash transfer (CCT) programs. Since mothers are a more efficient target for such payments, the PROGRESAS cash transfers are mostly paid to mothers.

PROGRESA has been evaluated by many scientists and the overall success of the program is seen as significant (Bando et al. 2005; Behrman and Hoddinott 2005; Behrman et al. 2005; Buddelmeyer and Skoufias 2004; Skoufias et al. 2001). The effects on educational attainments were also especially prevalent for indigenous children (Bando et al. 2005). Due to its success, PROGRESA has been replicated, often partially, in 29 countries, with the majority located in Latin America (Todaro and Smith 2012, 404 - 407).

PROGRESA is a good example of how a program can follow a holistic approach to target multiple development goals at the same time and combat gender inequality efficiently. It successfully improves health and education, reduces poverty of targeted children, increases the bargaining power of mothers within the household and thus also leads to a higher status in the household and in the communities as a whole (Adato et al. 2000). Additionally, it decreases fertility, demonstrating that a development policy emphasizing incentives provides a decidedly more ethical and likely more sustainable path out of poverty compared to a one-child policy (Parker and Ryu 2023; Deaton 2013).

Sadly, in some regions like north and west India, the gains through women empowerment on the girls’ value for parents are cannibalized by the factor of cultural discrimination (Rosenberg 2009). A potential consequence of increasing female education is the heightened probability of sex-selective abortions, contributing to a rise in the male-to-female sex ratio. This phenomenon is probably driven by educated women realizing the unequal opportunities for their male and female children within their society (Mukherjee 2013). „When women’s power increased, they used it to favor boys“, wrote the economists Lisa C. Smith and Elizabeth M. Byron (Rosenberg 2009). The position of education as a panacea is also contested in the analysis conducted by the development economists Lourdes Benería and Gita Sen. They name two main problems that limit the success of education: On the one hand, the high unemployment of educated people in developing countries, a problem that requires structural development policy to be solved and on the other hand the cultural constraints, especially those related to child care and domestic work (Beneria and Sen 1981).

The empowerment of women through education and income is essential to create better prospects for girls and is a cornerstone of development. However, the various results again provide evidence that progress must happen on several levels in order for the measures to be effective, shown by the findings of Jensen (2010b) evaluated in Section 2.2. This includes both enabling development through a fitting institutional framework (Deaton 2013; Robinson and Acemoglu 2012; Moyo 2009) and eliminating discriminatory behavior against women.

### 3.3 Create better perspectives

In addition to creating attractive programs that encourage parents to send their children to school, there is also the possibility of improving the job prospects of women, such that parents send their girls to school because of the long-term benefits. Numerous effects outlined earlier contribute to the finding that heightened female labor force participation or wages are associated with improved human capital and survival outcomes for girls - a correlation substantiated by an extensive body of literature (Kishor 1993; Murthi et al. 1995; Agnihotri et al. 2002; Rosenzweig and Schultz 1982; Jensen 2010b). The economist Robert Jensen organized recruiting sessions for young women in three different states in northern India (Jensen 2010b). The selected villages were in rural areas and the girls were employed in business process outsourcing centers. Despite these regions of India being notorious for gender discrimination, there has been a noticeable improvement in school enrollments and an increase in the weight of young girls three years into the project (Duflo and Banerjee 2011; Jensen 2010b). Parents seem compliant to invest more in their girls when they believe that the economic prospects of girls have improved. The cheapest way to improve school years and educational performance seems to be informing the parents of the actual educational returns (Duflo and Banerjee 2011, 99). A Madagascan initiative, which simply conveyed information to parents about the average income improvements linked to an extra year of schooling for children with similar backgrounds, resulted in notable enhancements in test scores (Nguyen 2008). Particularly, parents who realized they had undervalued the benefits of education experienced gains that were twice as significant. Similar findings were observed in a previous study involving high school students in the Dominican Republic (Jensen 2010a).

### 3.4 Conclusion

From all of these theories and observations, two core solutions can be identified. Firstly, progress in the fight against the missing girls calamity is closely linked to economic development. The components of the human development index developed by Amartya Sen - health, education and income - are all fundamentally important in influencing the decisions of the parents as to how they deal with their daughters, or whether they even want to have a daughter. Secondly, cultural discrimination suppresses the positive effects of development on female children, even to the point where girls don't benefit from development at all. Since development highly benefits from equal market participants and equal opportunities, cultural discrimination not only leads to the fatal neglect of girls but also to a slower rate of development, which in turn has negative effects on the missing girls problem.

These results are highly consistent with Amartya Sen's work which he published in his book "development as freedom" (Sen 2014). He concludes, that development depends on three different types of freedoms which are deeply interlinked with each other: political freedom, freedom of opportunity and freedom from severe poverty. Every effect responsible for the missing girls problem relates to at least one of these freedoms. Following his thought, the challenge of addressing the missing girls crisis cannot be effectively confronted unless there is progress in all of these freedoms. A pervasive theme throughout the chapters is the demonstration of how cultural constraints can undermine or obstruct the achievements of development, reducing the freedom of opportunity, often also the political freedom and through these two the freedom from abject poverty.

If the abolition of cultural discrimination and the resulting freedoms for women are a prerequisite for development, then the question arises as to what measures can be taken to create an environment in which the above-mentioned development measures can best bear fruit to fix the missing girls problem. Incentives like the PROGESA program presented in [Section 3.2](#) can contribute to such changes. There is also evidence on the power of television, enhancing the role of women in rural India (Jensen and Oster 2009). But oppressive aspects of a given culture aren't solely self enhancing, they are recreated and maintained (Butler 1986), implying the existence of stakeholders which profit from a system which oppresses women and minorities. Changing the distribution of power and abolishing discrimination is always a political task and must therefore also take place at the political level. The likelihood of successfully accomplishing this task is closely tied to the government's commitment to actively endorse pluralism and facilitate meaningful exchange, echoing Amartya Sen's viewpoint in [Section 2.3](#). Consequently, a serious agenda against the missing girls calamity must always be accompanied by concrete measures for gender equality.

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## 2.9 Paper



## The Two Informal Learning Spaces Supporting Climate Science Education in New York

by **Eva Maria Knechtl**

Advisors: **Ms. Larisa Schelkin and Prof. Michael Jabot**

### Key words

Chip manufacturing, semiconductor, science advanced technology, raphy, EUV, geopolitics, international relations, ASML, international security, SDG's

**“Power play of the most complex machine on earth”** (Hijink, 2023 b)

### I. Introduction

The evolving landscape of technology influences global developments. In particular the interplay of geopolitics and technology in the field of advanced chip manufacturing, has exposed Europe's most valuable tech company ASML to diplomatic strategies and maneuvered the Netherlands into a geopolitical crisis. This paper elaborates on how technological advancements are influencing and being influenced by geopolitics international relations, diplomatic strategies and last but not least, the sustainability agenda. The case of ASML illustrates a new era of science diplomacy. This publication first defines science diplomacy (II.), then goes on to outline ASML and its advanced technology (III.), followed by a discussion on the geopolitical conflict (IV.) It continues with a discussion of science diplomacy beyond technological advancement (V.) leading to final conclusions (VI.).

## II. Science diplomacy

While science diplomacy is not a new practice in the field of international relations, its' importance, urgency and popularity have increased over the years.. In particular, the COVID-19 pandemic highlighted its' significance. "Science diplomacy is the use of scientific interactions among nations to address the common problems facing humanity and to build constructive, knowledge-based international partnerships. There are many ways that scientists can contribute to this process" (Fedoroff, 2009).

According to the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) and the The Royal Society (2010) there are three dimensions of science diplomacy:

1. Science in diplomacy: informing foreign policy objectives with scientific advice,
2. Diplomacy for science: facilitating international science cooperation,
3. Science for diplomacy: using science cooperation to improve international relations between countries.

Science diplomacy is a unifying concept and vital for global collaboration on shared challenges. It transcends individual country interests, necessitating collective action and collaboration between science, technology, innovation, and foreign policymakers (S4D4C, 2021). Science diplomacy also transcends bilateral or multilateral collaboration in technology, setting itself apart by actively contributing to policy innovation and the cultivation of soft power for nations (Yakushiji, 2009).

## III. ASML and its advanced technology

ASML, a company often referred to as "the most important company you've never heard of," asserts on its official website (<https://www.asml.com/en>) that they empower the world's leading chipmakers to efficiently produce patterns on silicon (ASML, 2023a). The relatively obscure Dutch company, as BBC once called it (Kelion, 2020), was founded in 1984 in the small town of Veldhoven, the Netherlands and now employs about 40.000 people with 143 nationalities at more than 60 locations (ASML, 2023a). The company dominates the global market of microchip manufacturing. The acronym ASML stands for Advanced Semiconductor Materials Lithography. In this paper the terminology "semiconductors", "chips" and "microchips" are used synonymously.

According to a New York Times article about Tech Cold Wars, an IBM executive claimed that ASML's machine is considered the most complicated machine humans have ever built (Clark, 2021). They produces machines that are used in computer chip manufacturing and their advanced technology is highly incorporated in our daily life in products such as electric tooth brushes, alarm clocks, smart phones, cars, laptops, door bells, smart watches or coffee machines.. The list is endless and according to Maarten Voncken (2023), director of research metrology at ASML, more or less everything that has a battery or a plug comes with a chip

produced by an ASML machine. ASML delivers about 90% of the lithography machines, that are used by chip producers and holds an effective monopoly on the global market (Hijink, 2023c). Their extreme ultraviolet (EUV) lithography technology makes mass production of the world's most advanced microchips possible (ASML, 2023c).

The general trend is that chips decrease in size and increase in performance and power. A modern smart phone is millions of times more powerful than the computers used by NASA for the first moon landing (Puiu, 2023). Approximately every two years, the number of transistors on a chip doubles while there is only a minimal increase in price. This rule of thumb is referred to as Moore's law, or Moore's golden rule for the semiconductor industry, and is based on an observation by Gordon Moore, co-founder of Intel, in the nineteen sixties (Intel, 2023). This rule has however been revised to a three year timeframe. According to Voncken (2023) this law has the potential to continue for the next 20 years if economists don't intervene. He predicts that ASML will probably use today's EUV wavelength for the coming two decades. ASML sources components from around the world, while assembly is a high-precision task that takes place in one of the cleanrooms in the Netherlands, USA, Taiwan (Republic of China), or Korea (Republic of Korea) (ASML, 2023a).



Image 1: Cleanroom at ASML Manufacturing

ASML, 2023



## IV. Geopolitical Conflict

The world needs microchips and societies around the globe are dependent on them due to rapid digitalization and the emergence of Artificial Intelligence (AI). Chips are an integrated part of our daily lives, from daily life products to medical care as well as military applications. The multilateral Wassenaar Arrangement, which is signed by 42 countries, limits export of EUV (extreme ultraviolet lights) products and technology that could potentially be used in warfare (Wassenaar Arrangement Secretariat, 2019). ASML machines are categorized as “Dual-Use” products, meaning that the technology can be applied for civilian and for military purposes (Knoop et al., 2020). Consequently, ASML needs a specific license for export. ASML’s advanced technology has become a matter of international security and a strategic asset.

ASML found itself in the midst of a global power play and unintentionally became a subject of foreign affairs and science diplomacy. ASML had the license to export and received the first order from the People’s Republic of China in 2018 (Jessayan, 2018). A machine that will not be delivered. The same year, the Trump Administration started a lobby campaign and several encounters with the Dutch government followed (Alper, et al., 2020). Global powers such as the United States of America (USA), European Union (EU) and China are competing with each other in the field of the emerging semiconductor manufacturing industry, which leads to shifts in global economic and security strategies. This leads to the countries considering each other as a threat.

International security through technological innovation has become a vital focus point. Marc Hijink (2023c), a journalist who followed ASML for multiple years describes ASML as a crucial utility, providing technology indispensable for endeavors like the energy transition and healthcare improvement. Conversely he says, Americans view this technology as a potential weapon, resulting in its classification as a prohibited commodity for the Chinese (Brouwers, 2023). The U.S. defense system itself highly depends on semiconductors, which are mainly manufactured in Taiwan (Shivakumar & Wessner, 2022). The Netherlands developed a China-Strategy and pays close attention to potentially intertwined civil and military goals (Government of the Netherlands – Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019). In 2019, Dutch authorities decided, under high pressure of the USA, to not extend the export license for ASML (Alper et al., 2020). Joris Teer, a strategic analyst, highlighted the Netherlands’ diplomatic challenge in managing relations and navigating between the EU, USA and China (2023).

In a BBC interview in 2023, Teer cited a case where the Dutch government considered restricting ASMLs’ EUV machinery export. The Chinese ambassador warned against yielding to USA pressure, while the American ambassador expressed concerns about placement of sensitive technology. This incident underscores the complexities faced by smaller USA allies engaged in substantial business with China (Teer, 2023).

ASML entered the global political stage in 2000 when it announced its’ acquisition of the American company Silicon Valley Group. This move immediately drew the attention of the Pentagon and became a focal point in discussions on ensuring the sustainability of critical technology within the United States (Hijink, 2023a). During this period, intensified global competition between foundries, semiconductor equipment suppliers, and semiconductor producers has been intensified. Beyond the United States, other significant players in the semiconductor industry include China, Taiwan, the Netherlands, South Korea, and Japan (ASML, 2022).



The global distribution of chip manufacturing is uneven with shortages in semiconductor industries becoming more frequent. In this globalized industry, governments and private sector are highly interdependent through resources and knowledge. It seems impossible to replicate the supply chain and architecture for chip manufacturing in a single country (Ting-Fang and Li, 2022). In order to compete on the global market, various forms of foundries have been installed. For instance, the European Commission (EC) has launched the European Chips Act recently with the goal to compete globally in the field of semiconductors and to succeed in the digital and green transition (European Commission, 2023).

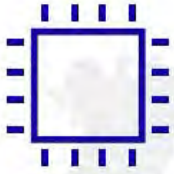
Peter Wennink, CEO at ASML, stressed through various channels that ASML's interest lies in selling their advanced EUV machines to everyone, including China (Koc 2022). Recently, he highlighted again that we should not forget the mutual dependence between the West and China (Kastelijn & Wiessing, 2023). However, "it's no longer an era of free trade", the president of a Taiwanese chip manufacturing supplier said in an interview with Nikkei (Ting-Fang and Li, 2022).

## V. Science diplomacy beyond technological advancement

The relationship between technology and international relations is reciprocal: technology shapes diplomatic affairs, and simultaneously, diplomacy plays a role in influencing the advancement and implementation of technology (Chiang, 2021). From a science diplomacy's point of view, it is of utmost relevance to understand how technological advancement can serve as a tool in international relations and if it could ease tensions.

Addressing the risks and uncertainties such as the connection between AI, cyber-attacks and weapons of mass destruction is equally critical. As an example, advanced technology in the military influences the balance of power globally. The World Economic Forum (WEF) conducted a survey amongst business as well as cyber leaders recently and both groups responded with a high score on likelihood that instable geopolitics will lead to a catastrophic cyber event within the next two years (2023). This is an urgent call for science diplomacy. Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's) is therefore not a nice to have but pivotal for a better world.

# The world is changing fast and technology can help unlock the potential



## Connected world

- Cloud infrastructure
- Hyperconnectivity
- Artificial intelligence
- Edge computing



## Climate change and resource scarcity

- Energy transition
- Agricultural innovation
- Electrification, smart mobility
- Smarter use of limited resources



## Social and economic shifts

- Working, learning remotely
- Healthcare, medical tech
- Technological sovereignty
- Automation

On the other hand, ASML's annual report of 2022 points out that the rise of digitalization creates opportunities for building a more environmentally and socially sustainable society. Through science diplomacy, high-tech companies such as ASML can solve the toughest challenges and play a crucial role beyond advancement. Contributing to the

During the ASML Investor Day 2022, ASML's CEO spoke about megatrends, foundry competition as well as technological sovereignty. These are topics of significant influence on ASML's future strategies (ASML, 2022) and must be addressed in unison. How science diplomats interpret and understands these topics will significantly influence our ability to move the global sustainability agenda forward.

ASML reports on a wide range of conscious actions on environmental (SDG12, SDG 13), social (SDG 4, SDG 8, SDG 9, SDG 11, SDG 12) and governance (SDG 8, SDG 12) levels (2022a). Partnerships play an important role in working on their sustainability agenda. Examples of collaboration with partners include; workshops for suppliers to incorporate re-use programs and to foster circular economy, support to customers to produce chips more energy efficiently, preparation for a digital future through cooperation with education institutes, stimulation of innovation through collaboration with research consortia and many more (ASML, 2023b).

Tackling world's challenges needs local and global partnerships. No region on our planet can be left behind or ignored. The 2030 agenda for sustainable development has been adopted in 2015 (United Nations, 2015). The efforts of ASML illustrate the perceived importance of the SDG's by industry, however eight years later and closer towards the end of the agenda the reality is that the achievement of these goals is still far off.

## VI. Conclusion

One message is clear from all speeches and news reports from and about the semiconductor industry: mass-production, continuous innovation and global partnerships are key for a more sustainable future. There is no energy transition nor any other form of climate change mitigation without advanced technology. Emerging technology must be available in order to enhance the global sustainability agenda. It can be used for the good and for the bad cause. The use for military purposes is considered a threat and is therefore of high importance on security agendas. Companies such as ASML are gaining more relevance and can play a significant role in moving the global sustainability agenda forward and at the same time in assisting in national security matters. The nexus between semiconductors, sustainability agenda, international and national security has been acknowledged. There is a need for a new approach and new types of partnerships

between governments and private sector. Science diplomats play a critical role in building these future partnerships as well as in addressing proactive measures on emerging challenges and opportunities at the nexus of technology, security, sustainability and diplomacy. Proactive measures, such as building relationships and providing policy recommendations, will offer valuable guidance to policymakers, industry leaders, and other stakeholders. This paper serves as an inspiration for continued dialogue and exploration within the realm of advanced technology policy and governance. To develop a comprehensive understanding of this complex subject, it is essential to illuminate critical aspects: Who holds the authority to determine what is considered 'good' or 'bad' in the context of advanced technology? Can the use of advanced technology in warfare be effectively regulated or partially permitted? How can science diplomacy contribute to building trust between global powers, particularly in the era of rapidly evolving technologies like AI? How can science diplomacy effectively incorporate and leverage emerging technologies such as AI? In what ways can science diplomacy forge and strengthen relationships between governments and the private sector? How can science diplomacy effectively incorporate and leverage emerging technologies such as AI? In what ways can science diplomacy forge and strengthen relationships between governments and the private sector? How can science diplomacy promote equitable distribution and maintain a balance between open science, global security, and commercial interests?

As a result of the literature research conducted for this paper, the following recommendations are proposed to inform decision-making and foster responsible governance of advanced technology, such as ASML's semiconductor technology: (1) Establishment of a Global Science Diplomacy Taskforce: Create a dedicated taskforce comprising representatives from governments, academic institutions, industry leaders, and international organizations. This taskforce will serve as a platform for knowledge exchange, dialogue, and consensus-building, aiming to develop science diplomacy initiatives that address the challenges of emerging technologies on a global scale. Additionally, the taskforce should organize events, including conferences, publications, and seminars, to disseminate insights to the global community. (2) Promote Education for Transdisciplinary Competence: Develop educational programs based on the quadruple helix model, involving government and non-governmental international organizations, higher education, industry, and citizens. These programs should focus on diplomats and policymakers, providing them with the skills and competences needed to navigate the complex intersections of technology, security, sustainability, and diplomacy. Utilize methods such as round table events, guest lecturing, and challenge-based learning initiatives. Incorporate futures research (Foresight) to encourage holistic thinking and scenario-based approaches, fostering resilience and agility.

While we cannot predict the future, we can analyze probabilities and explore possibilities. The practice of science diplomacy may be indispensable in addressing uncertainties. Without collaborative endeavors, equitable access to technology, and fair distribution, our ability to safeguard our planet and our species remains uncertain. This future scenario is a distinct possibility.

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## Images and Graphics

Image 1: ASML (2023) Manufacturing. Available at: <https://www.asml.com/en/careers/working-at-asml/netherlands/manufacturing> (Accessed: 17 November 2023)

Image 2: ASML (2022) Investor Day. Available at: <https://www.asml.com/en/investors/investor-days/2022> (Accessed: 18 November 2023)



## 2.10 Paper



# Franco-Thai war: Does Japan matters?

by **Lee Dana**

Advisor: **Dr. Angel Angelov**

## Research Question:

Does Japanese's foreign policy precipitates to the cause of Franco-Thai War from 1940 to 1941?

## Introduction

Even though Japan had emerged as the great power after the defeat of Russia during the Russo-Japanese War from 1904 to 1905, this country had reached the peak of its expansion during the Second World War, when it was recognized in the Tripartite Pact as the major power in Asia. Looking into the territory issue between Thailand and Franco-Indochina, it is important to discuss the change in Japanese foreign policy under the expansionist military dictatorship that triggered the arm attack between Thailand and Franco-Indochina. Does Japanese intervention contribute to the cause of the Franco-Thai War from 1940 to 1941? This paper argues that Japan's foreign policy in the war triggered Thailand's decision to go to war, and therefore the author analyzes the balance of power between the rising Japan and the status quo that contributed to the rising tension in the war.

## Background

During the Franco-Siamese War in 1893, Siam (modern-day Thailand) was defeated and forced to surrender a portion of its territory to France, which was the East Bank of the Mekong River, which encompassed the majority of modern Laos. Thailand was compelled to sign the Franco-Siamese Treaty in 1904 and 1907, ceding Cambodia's northeastern provinces and the west bank of the Mekong River (Mishra, 2010).

In 1932, the Siamese revolution overthrew the Siamese absolute monarchy, and replaced it with a constitutional monarchy. Phibun Songkhram (popularly known as "Phibun") made his debut during this revolution as well. As Thailand's supreme leader after gaining sufficient political backing, Phibun oversaw the administration. Nationalistic concepts were brought to the nation under his direction. Phibun led a pan-Thai movement that aimed to reclaim the former Siam Kingdom's previous territory (Mishra, 2010). Thailand sought revenge for the humiliation it had endured with the emergence of nationalism.

On the other hand, the colony of French Indochina was a territory that consisted of what is known today as Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Following Germany's victory over France in 1940, Thailand's foreign policy started to change as Japan ascended to the top position. The fall of France altered the balance of power not just in Europe but also in Asia. Through the northern invasion, the Japanese entered French Indochina. However, they kept the southern part's government administration in tact. Thailand quickly followed the Japanese after this brief invasion.

Territorial conflicts caused tensions to increase between Thailand and French Indochina. Thailand was preparing to launch an operation against French Indochina with the goal of regaining lost territory (US Department of State's Diplomatic Papers on the Far East, 1952). In October 1940, Thailand began a military invasion of French Indochina.

## Literature Review

The Franco-Thai war was almost forgotten, as it is rarely mentioned in political debates between the two countries or in journal articles. In academic papers, scholars focus more on the rise of Thai nationalism that led to the military operation. Strate mentioned the history of humiliation, which evokes Thai nationalism and forces Thailand to seek vengeance (Strate, 2015). Some papers portray Thailand as an opportunist that decided to go to war after the defeat of France at the beginning of the Second World War. Flood (2009) also supports this claim in his paper.

However, in a global order, the decision to declare war is not made solely by two countries. This paper discusses the Japanese presence in Southeast Asia that guaranteed the decision of Phibun, Thailand's Prime Minister, to declare war.

## Methodology

The author focuses on the paper's primary data collection from the national archives of the countries involved in or influencing the war. This includes the national archives of the US, France, Japan, Thailand, and Cambodia. The record of meetings in the Japan National Archives was written in traditional Japanese. With the lack of translation into modern Japanese, the author decides to use only Japanese sources from the national news at the time, which include the audio version. Other secondary data from historical books and journal articles is used to support the argument.

## Japanese Foreign Policy under Japanese Facism

Japanese foreign policy in the early stages of World War II had shifted to support militarism and the expansion of Japan in Asia. This could be seen in the Meiji Constitution of 1889, which gave the emperor the power to declare war. To be specific, the Meiji Constitution emphasizes the power of the emperor in wartime, while the pacifist constitution prohibits the right to belligerency under Article 9. Following the Manchuria incident and Chinese control, Japan began to support its foreign policy toward the Southern Sea. The Japanese government under Prime Minister Konoe has declared a new foreign policy as mentioned in the "Main Principles for Coping with the Changing World Situation" (Murakami, 1981). This expansion has been described by the historian as "nanshinron," the intention of the Japanese government to make the southern seas a new frontier territory (Tremml-Werner, 2021).

The Japanese military promoted the rhetoric of "co-prosperity and coexistence" with Southeast Asia. With the nationalism rhetoric in Thailand under Phibun, Japan framed itself as the Asian power to assist Thailand in defending itself against European power (Land, 2018). Japan wants to persuade Thailand to join their cause at the informal liaison meeting between the imperial staff and the government on December 12 1940. Seeing Thailand's desire to reclaim lost territory, the Japanese representative in Bangkok inquires about Thai intentions regarding possible closer relations (Flood, 2009). Japan does, in fact, decide to use every possible alliance combination to impose its presence in the Indochinese peninsula and keep the powerful Anglophones from impeding its expansion there (Michelin, 2014). Under the Japanese threat of military assistance to Indochina, Phibun accepts the Japanese offer (US Department of State's Diplomatic Papers on the Far East, 1952).

The benefits that Japan would gain from the war could indicate Japanese intentions to support the war. With the policy of southern expansion and Japan's ambition to be treated equally as the European colonial power, a closer relationship with Thailand would enable Japan to put military bases in the country. Strategically, Thailand is the only country in Southeast Asia that was not under colonial power but is located in the middle of the British and French colonial countries. Therefore, Thailand is a crucial strategic site for antagonism or the planning of an attack against the French or British colonial colonies in the north or south, respectively. Since this Asian power was getting ready to strike Singapore in March following Germany's attack on the British (Murakami, 1981), Thailand's backing is even more essential at this point.



Poster for the Co-Prosperty Sphere displaying various Asian racial groups

## Thailand decision to attack

With Japan’s military support and considering the weakness of France after being defeated by Germany and the invasion of Japan in northern Indochina, Thailand should consider each country’s position before making a decision.

The following is the information gathered from France and the US diplomatic paper (U.S. Department of State, 1952; MFA France, 2009).

<b>European Position on Thailand Territories’ claims</b>	<b>Japan Position on Thailand Territories’ claims</b>
<p>The Legation’s Telegram on July 15, 1940, shows that the British position on Thai claims is weak. (U.S. Department of State, 1952)</p> <p>Thailand was in the middle of two colonial powers. Getting support from the British would put Thailand in a stronger position without needing help from Japan.</p>	<p>On the contrary, Japan promised to give the Thai “whatever they want,” recorded two days before the French rejection to modify the non-aggression pact. (Michelin, 2014)</p> <p>In comparison to the western colonial power, Japan is an emerging Asian power that can satisfy Thailand’s irredentist ambitions.</p>
<p>On the 17th of September 1940, France rejected Thai’s request to modify the non-aggression pact. (MFA France, 2009)</p> <p>This non-aggression pact does not favor Thailand.</p>	<p>The deadline for France to conclude the details of the Tokyo accord was September 22, 1940. A Japanese troop will enter Indochina on this day. (MFA France, 2009)</p> <p>Japan is already prepared to expand its control as they expect the failure of the Tokyo Accord.</p>
<p>Two weeks after that, on September 30, 1940, there was a record showing Thailand’s observation of the aide-mémoire that was more beneficial to France. (MFA France, 2009)</p> <p>This is part of the war calculation because if it were more beneficial to Thailand, Phibun would have made a different decision.</p>	

This shows that, if Thailand negotiates directly with the European power, there is a high possibility that Thailand would not receive its claimed territory. After confirming this information, it can be said that Thai was not afraid to start the incidents in October 1940.



## Conclusion

The paper, based on research of the available relevant archives, argues that Japan's foreign policy of Southern expansion at the time did strongly influence Thailand's war decision-making.

Without that influence, Thailand, a small country, would have avoided challenging a European colonial power and probably would have made the decision to negotiate for the lost territory instead of declaring war.

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## 2.11 Paper



## The Duty of Civil Society Organizations: Using CSOs to Support the Framework of Responsibility to Protect (R2P)

by **Elena McNab**

Advisor: **Ms. Jelena Pia-Comella**

### 1. Introduction

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) contribute to a country's success and overall progress in preventing conflict. Not only do CSOs work closely with citizens of a state, but they also work alongside governments and international organizations, like the United Nations, to assist in addressing regional issues. Economic and Social challenges are also usually discussed by CSOs but vary depending on the type of organization and its purpose (Clayton et al., 2000). Additionally, CSOs are instrumental in taking on more developmental roles within a country by working towards poverty alleviation, policy change, and state accountability (Ghaus-Pasha, 2005). At the same time, Responsibility to Protect (R2P), adopted in 2005, functions to prevent genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity. After failing in protecting populations in Rwanda and Kosovo, where the countries experienced severe violations of human rights, the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty published the first draft of R2P. The report specifies that each state within the international community must protect its citizens. If a state fails to comply with this duty, the international system is responsible (Hamilton, 2006). Although CSOs seemingly only tackle international development, while R2P tackles human rights violations within the international system, international development works to prevent human rights atrocities and violations by providing peace and security within a state (Uvin, 2007). In other words, the two work in conjunction, creating an undeniable link between international development and the advancement and maintenance of human rights. Countries such as Lebanon and Indonesia, where development strengthened the two countries by providing economic and social support and ultimately advancing human rights within their regions, demonstrate this. Overall, this paper aims to highlight CSOs' contribution to the R2P framework by identifying the roles and responsibilities of CSOs, explaining the purpose and role of R2P within the international system, drawing the connection between international development and human rights, and providing examples from situations in Lebanon and Indonesia.

## 2. Civil Society Organizations

As mentioned, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) are instrumental in international development. After the 1990s, the international community felt it was necessary to focus on good governance and the improvement of democracy around the globe. This emphasis on supporting democracy sparked an improved dependency on CSOs, recognizing their impact within communities worldwide (Clayton et al., 2000). In turn, many countries globally supported the success of CSOs, causing a boost in their impact and presence.

To define CSOs, Ghaus-Pasha states that these organizations encompass “all organizations and associations that exist outside the state and the market (Ghaus-Pasha, 2005).” In this sense, Ghaus-Pasha means that CSOs are separate entities outside a state government and business (Ghaus-Pasha, 2005). Recognizing this separation, many types of CSOs include non-governmental organizations (NGOs), grassroots organizations, and nonprofit organizations, which all work to elevate the voices of the people and provide support for community welfare improvement. Some of the various community topics that address welfare improvement include economic, environmental, and social challenges and improving the quality of life for community members (Ghaus-Pasha, 2005).

By creating a pathway for resource access, CSOs play a crucial role in addressing the systemic inequities faced by communities, especially within the global south. For instance, a CSO may provide economic, social, and political support where the government or market business cannot (Clayton et al., 2000). In turn, this support helps to strengthen communities economically, socially, and politically, ultimately contributing to their development. Within an international context, development and capacity building worldwide, in turn, contribute to the well-being of the international system, lowering the chances of conflict and bolstering human rights. Overall, the combination of working alongside communities and the ability to provide resources makes CSOs essential for international development.

## 3. Responsibility to Protect

On the other hand, the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) is a significant doctrine created by the United Nations to prevent catastrophic human rights violations worldwide. After discovering mass atrocities during World War II, the United Nations was created. The continuation of human rights violations worldwide is necessary for the international community to do more. More specifically, the Rwandan genocide sparked the initial creation of the Responsibility to Protect Principal Report, outlining that a state's sovereignty also means that it is responsible for protecting its citizens (Hamilton, 2006). The UN World Summit officially adopted the R2P after 2005, including the three pillars of responsibility in the adoption (Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, n.d.). As stated by the Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, the three pillars state,

*“...every state has the Responsibility to Protect its populations from four mass atrocity crimes: genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and ethnic cleansing. The wider international community has the Responsibility to encourage and assist individual states in meeting that Responsibility. Suppose a state is manifestly failing to protect its populations. In that case, the international community must be prepared to take appropriate collective action, in a timely and decisive manner and in accordance with the UN Charter (Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, n.d.).”*

The three pillars make it clear that each state has a responsibility to protect its people from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity, and other international actors must also help states in this effort.

Another significant part of the doctrine is that human rights are at the forefront, highlighting the need to prevent the four mass atrocities and referencing the UN Charter for guidance and making sure to protect vulnerable populations such as women and children. Since adopting R2P, it has been implemented in over 143 UN Security Council, Human Rights Council, and General Assembly resolutions, preventing armed conflicts and war crimes and calling on states to take responsibility for the lack of protection for their people (Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, n.d.). More specifically, R2P has protected women during conflict where countries have worked together to prevent sexual violence during conflict. An example of this can be demonstrated in *Statement delivered on behalf of the Group of Friends of R2P at the UN Security Council Open Debate on Women, Peace and Security: Sexual Violence in Conflict*, where 51 member states agreed upon 5 points that aim at preventing sexual violence (Group of Friends of R2P, 2019). Overall, R2P plays a significant role in enforcing human rights worldwide by calling on states and international actors to create a safe and peaceful environment for the people.

## 4. International Development, Human Rights, and the Connection between CSOs and R2P

Now, international development and human rights are the foundations of CSOs and R2P. However, it is essential to understand the connections between international development and human rights to know how CSOs support R2P. Global development is critical to maintaining human rights around the world. Although the UN created the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, acknowledging the needs of people worldwide, there is yet to be a concrete way to ensure that these rights are granted to people across the globe (Sano, 2000). Recognizing this gap and acknowledging that human rights are not attainable for all, international development addresses these needs by creating pathways for people to obtain rights that otherwise would not be granted. Development can be over time through service, monetary support, and political change, and work towards achieving human rights through capacity building. Though there is some debate on specific development strategies, the goal of development is ultimately to support and maintain human rights (Uvin, 2007).

With the understanding that international development is the factor in achieving human rights for all, it is no far leap to understand that CSOs are essential in supporting R2P. As mentioned, CSOs are an outlet for creating development in the international system by elevating a community's voice and providing the resources necessary to assist in its advancement (Clayton et al., 2000). In the context of R2P, one of the three pillars specifically calls on the international community to take action to assist states in protecting their citizens from mass atrocities (Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, n.d.). CSOs assist states by offering resources and aid to local communities and amplifying the community's needs to better advocate for its overall well-being (Ghaus-Pasha, 2005). Overall, the mission of CSOs directly correlates with the purpose of R2P.

Further evidence to support this claim is demonstrated in countries such as Lebanon and Indonesia, where CSOs were instrumental in elevating human rights to avoid conflict within the region. First, in Lebanon, there is a struggle between rural and urban populations, with unemployment and a significant lack of resources for the rural populations (Bissat, 2002). In this case, Jihad Al-Binaa Development Association worked with the Lebanese government to create policies for balanced development while also creating activities and programs within the community to promote economic and social development (Bissat, 2002). From this work, the CSO created regional change and worked towards eliminating economic and social challenges that cause conflict, which can spiral into human rights violations. In a similar sense, CSOs were also essential in capacity building within Indonesia, where various CSOs banded together to create public access information legislation and were used as tools to disseminate public information. The development of public access information between the Indonesian government and CSOs eventually led to better communication between the government and its citizens while also changing laws to ensure citizen's rights to information. In Indonesia, CSOs were instrumental in bringing about legislative change, giving more rights to their citizens, and preventing internal conflict perpetuated by the state's lack of information sharing (Antlöv et al., 2010). These examples from Lebanon and Indonesia demonstrate some of the advancements CSOs made in human rights, ultimately contributing to R2P.

On the other hand, one of the difficulties for CSOs in significantly contributing to R2P is the ability to maintain the funding necessary for projects and programs. CSO's primary form of funding comes from major donors and, in some cases, government funding, which allows the development of new programs for initiatives. Clayton et. Al questions the sustainability of CSOs because of this funding issue, though CSOs create sustainable outcomes in communities worldwide (Clayton et al., 2000). Using the examples from Lebanon and Indonesia, the CSOs within both countries made a long-term impact by working with states to make policy changes that would allow for a better quality of life in the region for years to come.

## 5. Conclusion

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) significantly impact a country's success and efforts to prevent conflicts. CSOs work closely with the people and collaborate with governments and international organizations, like the United Nations, to tackle regional issues. Most importantly, CSOs take up roles in a country's development by working towards reducing poverty, changing policies, and holding states accountable (Ghaus-Pasha, 2005). At the same time, Responsibility to Protect (R2P), adopted in 2005, is about the prevention of genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity, which came after the UN was involved in conflicts in Rwanda and Kosovo. Serious human rights violations occurred in both regions, making it necessary for the UN to act. The International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty initially published the R2P report, stating that every state must protect its citizens. If a state fails to do so, the international community will then step in to protect the people (Hamilton, 2006). Even though CSOs seem to focus on international development while R2P deals with human rights violations, international development prevents human rights abuses by promoting peace and security within a state (Uvin, 2007). This means that international development's impact on human rights makes the link between CSOs and R2P extremely clear. Lebanon and Indonesia are good examples of countries where development strengthened them by providing economic and social support, advancing human rights in their regions, and preventing human rights violations.

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## 2.12 Paper



## Navigating the Nexus: Strategies for Climate Change Mitigation and Sustainability in Urban Governance

by **Ms. Saiaiswarya Nagendra**

Advisor: **Ms. Larisa Schelkin** and **Dr. Michael Jabot**



### Introduction

While Earth's climate has changed through its history, the current warming is happening at a rate not seen in the past 10,000 years. According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, "Since systematic scientific assessments began in the 1970s, the influence of human activity on the warming of the climate system has evolved from theory to established fact." Scientific information taken from natural sources (such as ice cores, rocks, and tree rings) and from modern equipment (like satellites and instruments) all show the signs of a changing climate. From global temperature rise to melting ice sheets, the evidence of a warming planet abounds. The purpose of this essay is to explore strategies for climate change mitigation and sustainability within urban governance. This topic is crucial for the UN's agenda, and that two of its 17 SDGs directly focus on climate change and sustainability SDG 13 on Climate Action aims to take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts. It calls for strengthening resilience and adaptive capacity to climate-related hazards, integrating climate change measures into policies and planning, building knowledge and capacity to meet climate change, and improving education on climate change mitigation. SDG 11 on Sustainable Cities and Communities aims to make cities inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable. It includes objectives like ensuring access to safe and affordable housing, improving public transport, creating green public spaces, and improving urban planning and management in a way that is participatory and sustainable.

## I. Current challenges for sustainable development

As of 2023, the urban population is expected to make up 64.6% of the total global population. The annual rate of urbanization between 2020 and 2025 is estimated at 1.29%. By mid-2023, 57% of the global population, which is approximately 4.6 billion of the more than 8 billion people worldwide, are expected to live in urban areas. By 2030, this percentage is expected to increase to 60%. Over 4.3 billion people currently reside in urban areas. This signifies that more than half of the world's population (55% in 2017) lives in cities and towns. This shift toward urban living became more pronounced around 2007 when the number of people living in urban settings surpassed those in rural areas. The World Bank notes that about 56% of the world's population, or 4.4 billion inhabitants, were living in cities as of their latest data. This urbanization trend is set to persist, with projections indicating that the urban population will more than double by 2050, at which time nearly 70% of the population will be urban dwellers. As of mid-2023, it's noted that there are 34 cities worldwide with more than 10 million inhabitants, underlining the growth of mega-cities as focal points of urbanization.

There are several challenges urbanization poses to climate change mitigation and sustainability. Cities often have higher energy consumption, leading to increased emissions of greenhouse gases from vehicles, industries, and residential heating and cooling. The concentration of populations in urban areas leads to a significant increase in the demand for energy, putting pressure on the energy supply systems and often relying on fossil fuels. Higher population densities generate more waste, and managing this waste sustainably becomes a significant challenge. Urban areas require vast amounts of water for domestic and industrial use, often leading to over-extraction of water resources and pollution. The prevalence of concrete and asphalt in cities absorbs and retains heat, increasing local temperatures and exacerbating the effects of global warming. The expansion of urban areas can lead to the destruction of natural habitats, parks, and green spaces that are crucial for carbon sequestration and local climate regulation. Increased reliance on motor vehicles in urban areas contributes to air pollution and greenhouse gas emissions, while also creating traffic congestion. Existing urban infrastructure, like roads and drainage systems, may not be able to cope with the rapid pace of urbanization, leading to inefficiencies and increased pollution. Often, the poorest communities in urban areas live in the most environmentally degraded areas, lacking access to services that could help mitigate climate change impacts. Inadequate urban planning can lead to sprawl and inefficient land use, making it harder to implement sustainable transportation and energy solutions.

The UN's current involvement and interest in urban governance related to climate change. The UN family is at the forefront of the effort to save our planet. In 1992, its "Earth Summit" produced the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change as a first step in addressing the climate change problem. By 1995, countries launched negotiations to strengthen the global response to climate change, and, two years later, adopted the Kyoto Protocol. The Kyoto Protocol legally binds developed country Parties to emission reduction target. The Paris Agreement builds upon the Convention and – for the first time – brings all nations into a common cause to undertake ambitious efforts to combat climate change and adapt to its effects, with enhanced support to assist developing countries to do so. As such, it charts a new course in the global climate effort. The Paris Agreement's central aim is to strengthen the global response to the threat of climate change by keeping the global temperature rise this century well below 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels and to pursue efforts to limit the temperature increase even further to 1.5 degrees Celsius.

## II. Challenges for my generation

There are many personal or professional experiences that motivate my interest in this field. I have told my Member of Parliament, local councillors and city mayors why I think action on climate change is important. A prosperous future for the United Kingdom depends on their decisions about the environment, green spaces, roads, cycling infrastructure, waste and recycling, air quality and energy efficient homes. Ultimately, steps to reduce carbon emissions will have a positive impact on other local issues, like improving air quality and public health, creating jobs and reducing inequality. I have joined several organisations in their plight on environmental activities or gets everyone talking about climate change action. There are a wealth of groups out there - such as the Youth Strike 4 Climate, Possible, the Woodland Trust, The Conservation Volunteers, or Extinction Rebellion. I have worked with the Woodland Trust which aims to help people plant millions of trees each year. Planting a single tree in your garden, or a whole wood is a brilliant method of preservation. The UN fellowship will help me achieve my goals related to urban governance and sustainability. I can use this as a platform intended to give persons entrusted with functions important to the development of their countries the opportunity to broaden their professional knowledge and experience by acquainting themselves with advanced methods and techniques. The main purpose of fellowship is to enable the holders to derive from their training the knowledge and professional competence which will enable them to participate more actively in the economic and social development of their countries, and to increase their ability to help solve practical problems upon their return home.

## III. Moving forward

As a Call to Action, I encourage the adoption of the strategies by urban policymakers and stakeholders. There are various strategies for climate change mitigation: plans and actions that can be taken to lessen the severity of climate change. For example, reducing greenhouse gas emissions or developing clean energy sources. Regarding Sustainability in Urban Governance we must ensure, that our actions today don't harm the ability of future generations to meet their needs. I aim to continue making decisions that help cities continue to thrive without damaging the environment. I also have delivered awareness campaigns and community engagement. There are several success stories providing examples of cities that have implemented successful strategies for climate change mitigation and sustainability.

Whales, wolves and caribou. Deer, moose and bald eagles. The wildest, tastiest salmon on Earth fattening up the planet's biggest, bossiest bears. Alaska's incredible landscape supports some of North America's most iconic wildlife. These charismatic species are front and center in our global campaign to prevent some of the most catastrophic impacts possible due to global climate change. The Nature Conservancy in Alaska is working hard to address the threat of climate change here at home and around the world, by helping Alaska, its tribes and communities preserve Alaska's vast natural carbon stores like forests and peatlands, transition to renewable energy and plan for climate adaptation. Over the last century, Southeast Alaska was the site of intense timber harvest that significantly changed the forest by logging the rare old-growth forest stands with the biggest trees—the trees most critical to the Sitka black-tailed deer's survival. It is estimated that as much as half of the big old-growth trees have been logged. While the forest is slowly growing back,

the dense new young-growth tree stands that replaced the old-growth trees block out the sun. These areas contain little to no vegetation for deer to eat and are unable to shield deer from snow like the large canopies of the old-growth forests did. This damaged habitat leaves Sitka black-tailed deer increasingly vulnerable to heavy winter snows. Without restoration, their forest habitat will continue to deteriorate, sending ripples through the ecosystem and affecting species throughout the food web. Working with partners like the U.S. Forest Service and regional community forest partnerships to use that science to decide which forests and streams we need to restore. Working with the U.S. Forest Service to ensure that the forests are managed in a way that supports wildlife. Reaching out to the public and educating them about the benefits of healthy forests for Sitka black-tailed deer.

### a. Climate Change Mitigation

It is important to develop policies that incentivize renewable energy, green building, and sustainable transportation. Regarding energy security, they promote energy independence by reducing reliance on imported fossil fuels. Incentives can stimulate job creation and economic development in the green technology sector. Reducing pollution from traditional energy sources improves air quality, which can lead to better overall public health outcomes. Sustainable infrastructure and transportation make cities more resilient to climate change impacts. Policies that encourage sustainability can drive innovation in technology and urban planning. Renewable energy and efficient buildings can lead to savings on energy costs over time. Sustainable transportation initiatives can improve access to mobility for all socioeconomic groups. Such policies help countries meet their international obligations under agreements like the Paris Climate Accord. We must explore how new technologies can be harnessed for cleaner energy production and smarter urban planning. Using digital technology to improve the reliability and efficiency of the electrical grid, allowing for better integration of renewable energy sources and more effective distribution of electricity. Developing advanced battery storage technology to store excess energy from renewable sources, making it available during periods of high demand or when conditions are not suitable for energy production (like at night for solar power). Implementing systems that utilize data and connectivity to improve traffic flow, support electric vehicle infrastructure, and provide real-time information to reduce congestion and emissions. Using BIM software for the planning and construction of buildings to optimize energy use, resource management, and lifecycle performance. Deploying IoT devices to monitor and manage urban infrastructure, water supply, waste management, and energy use in real-time, enhancing efficiency and sustainability.

Collaborations between governments and private entities can drive sustainable urban development. Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) can facilitate the construction of sustainable infrastructure such as public transportation systems, renewable energy plants, and energy-efficient buildings. By combining public policy support with private sector investment and expertise, PPPs can deliver

projects that might be too costly or complex for the public sector alone. In terms of innovation and research, governments can work with private companies to fund research and development of new sustainable technologies. These collaborations can result in innovations that make urban living more sustainable, such as advancements in green building materials, energy-efficient appliances, and waste-to-energy technologies. Governments can offer tax breaks for green energy usage, subsidies for developing green spaces, or grants for projects that aim to reduce carbon footprints and promote sustainable urban living.

## b. Sustainability in Urban Governance

Community Engagement emphasizes the role of community involvement in governance and decision-making for sustainable urban development. With Sustainable Resource Management we can detail strategies for managing resources like water, waste, and green spaces within urban areas. We must discuss the importance of creating urban areas that are resilient to climate-related disasters. I can provide examples of cities that have implemented successful strategies for climate change mitigation and sustainability. The USA advanced its waste management by diverting 80 percent of its waste from landfills since 2013 and aims to reduce its solid waste by 50 percent compared to 2015 levels by 2030. The USA set a goal to decrease vehicle miles travelled per capita by 20 percent by 2050, creating integrated multi-modal transportation systems and using Transit Oriented Development to increase the number of people living near transit.

## Conclusion:

There were several main strategies discussed and the importance of integrating them into urban governance. I would like to end with a reflective or forward-looking statement on the future of sustainable urban governance in the context of climate change. Kofi Annan, Former Secretary-General of UN stated “The world is reaching the tipping point beyond which climate change may become irreversible. If this happens, we risk denying present and future generations the right to a healthy and sustainable planet – the whole of humanity stands to lose.” Leaders such as Pope Francis, 266th Catholic Pope has argued “The time for seeking global solutions is running out. We can find suitable solutions only if we act together and in agreement.” There are several challenges urbanization poses to climate change mitigation and sustainability. Cities often have higher energy consumption, leading to increased emissions of greenhouse gases from vehicles, industries, and residential heating and cooling.

## Reference list:

These are authors and institutions that have made some of the arguments discussed in the essay outline. Use them to develop your arguments.

### Authors:

1. Jan Gehl - Author of "Cities for People" which discusses how urban design can improve quality of life.
2. Peter Newman - Co-author of "Sustainability and Cities: Overcoming Automobile Dependence";
3. Saskia Sassen - Author of "The Global City," examining the impact of globalization on urban life.
4. Elizabeth Kolbert - Author of "Field Notes from a Catastrophe," detailing the impact of climate change.
5. Bill McKibben - Environmentalist and author of "The End of Nature," discussing climate change issues.
6. Mike Davis: "Planet of Slums" (Verso Books) - Discusses urbanisation and the growth of slums in relation to global poverty and inequality.
7. David Satterthwaite: in journals such as "Environment and Urbanization," published by the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), covers various topics including sustainable cities and climate change adaptation.
8. Edward Glaeser: "Triumph of the City" (Penguin Books) - Explores how cities can be centers of innovation and sustainability.

### Institutions:

1. International Energy Agency (IEA) - Produces a wide range of research on energy policy, including the role of cities in transitioning to sustainable energy.
2. ICLEI – Local Governments for Sustainability - Provides studies and guidance on sustainable urban development.
3. United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) - Offers extensive research and policy advice on environmental issues, including urban sustainability.
4. The Urban Institute - Conducts economic and social policy research, including work on urban planning and sustainability.
5. The Lincoln Institute of Land Policy - Focuses on land policy and urban development, providing insights into sustainable urban growth.
6. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC): Its assessment reports, special reports, and methodology reports provide scientific information about climate change, its impacts, and future risks, as well as options for adaptation and mitigation.
7. United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat): Reports and global assessments on urban issues, including the "World Cities Report" which addresses urban development and sustainability.
8. World Resources Institute (WRI): reports on sustainable cities, climate, energy, and resources, published through their own platforms.
9. C40 Cities Climate Leadership Group: Case studies and reports on initiatives and programs led by cities around the world to address climate change.



## 2.13 Paper



## Virtual Space and AI: Two Potential Elements of Future Diplomacy

by Juno Robertson

Advisor: Professor Laszlo Molnar

The processes and systems of diplomacy have in several ways been evolving in past decades, shaped by globalization, technological change and shifting attitudes towards bureaucracy and public policy. Notably, as characterized by ‘new diplomacy’ – describing the arrival of a wide range of nontraditional actors to the diplomatic stage, from NGOs to celebrities – diplomacy is increasingly veering from the traditional idea of elites shaking hands behind closed curtains<sup>1</sup>. Indeed, in future years we may see the gradual breakdown of traditionalist diplomacy, replaced by a form more representative of populations; or, at the very least, one where lack of representative potential is increasingly visible to the public eye. In this paper, we look at some of the shapes future diplomacy may take, focusing primarily on two technologically-driven ideas, namely: virtual space and artificial intelligence. We analyze these ideas – highlighting areas for discussion and bringing forward concerns; we also suggest potential solutions and their feasibility.

Virtual space is one area worthy of discussion. In popular media since at least the 1980s there has been a steady rise in interest in the concepts of virtual space – spiking in 2021 with Mark Zuckerberg’s plans for the Metaverse (the term ‘metaverse’ subsequently ‘became one of the hottest buzzwords in 2021’)<sup>2</sup>. Virtual realities – where through a network of shared virtual environments individuals can interact, through visual representations of themselves, or avatars – are increasingly seen as a soon-to-arrive reality, particularly with advancements in technologies such as cloud computing, broadband access, augmented reality, virtual reality, digital currencies, and NFTs<sup>3</sup>. The applications of such virtual realities may be widespread, be it in education, entertainment, community-building or business. Concerning education, virtual space options

<sup>1</sup> Ole Jacob Sending et al, “The future of diplomacy: Changing practices, evolving relationships”, p. 533.

<sup>2</sup> Yogesh K. Dwivedi et al, “Metaverse beyond the hype”, p. 15

<sup>3</sup> Yogesh K. Dwivedi et al, “Metaverse beyond the hype”, p. 15

offer not only increased potential from the additional inclusion of traditionally restricted groups – such as those with disabilities – but also may be more effective than textbook-based studying; learning through ‘doing’, in realistic and diverse environments that are not ‘fixed’, but modifiable and replicable, may prove a valuable method of concrete learning<sup>4</sup>. Likewise, there is much to suggest there may be significant applications for virtual reality in diplomacy.

Consider virtual spaces as a potential ‘training ground’ for future diplomats. This has already been experimented with in the Chinese Academy of Governance, a key training school for government officials. Students appear as avatars, and in a three-dimensional space are encouraged to study culture by examining historical relics, and listen to virtual narrators discuss ‘current hot topics and knowledge’<sup>5</sup>. The system has saved time and travel costs, and is said to be effective in creating an engaging space better suited for ‘party building’. There is still much room for development and expansion, and this experimentation is very much only the beginning of a larger trend. Imagine such virtual training grounds with the addition of realistic diplomatic simulations, where trainees with little to no experience could gain valuable experience. Practice is valuable, no doubt, and a space where mistakes can be made and lessons learnt without real-life ramifications may be crucial in building a more effective – and certainly, less costly – generation of diplomats and government officials. Certainly, the notion of an accessible digital space for citizens to learn diplomacy would be beneficial for more widespread participation and inclusion – particularly in nations where diplomats continue to be produced largely from upper-class backgrounds (perhaps surprisingly, even today this is not at all an uncommon reality – even in advanced democracies such as the UK, it was not until the 2010s that socioeconomic diversity was so much as considered in the civil service)<sup>6</sup>. On another level, virtual space for diplomacy leads to another exciting question: what if virtual space could be utilized as a replacement for the conventional diplomatic meeting place; conferences held online, with secure bilateral and multilateral discussions – both informal and formal? Economically speaking, certainly, the transition to virtual meetings, with little to less need for physical travel, translators, administrative and logistic support, would save phenomenal amounts of taxpayer dollars. This is especially considering the extent of current expenditures, even in developed democracies – in Australia, prime minister Kevin Rudd in 2008 spent \$427,539 of taxpayer funds on an 18-day world trip<sup>7</sup>. More recently, within the 2021-2022 financial year Australian public servants cost taxpayers an alarming \$3.7 million in domestic flights alone, hundreds of which were under two hours<sup>8</sup>. Going beyond elementary virtual spaces for diplomatic discussion, imagine the large-scale mirroring of international organizations – crucially, the UN and its related bodies – into the virtual world. If officially maintained, globally accessible virtual spaces could be developed, the benefits would be innumerable. More than reduced costs, such an innovation would have implications for the greater goal of democratic society. Modern-world democracy has long been limited by the logistics, as not fully ‘by the people’ nor ‘for the people’; instead we have long utilized forms of, to different extents, representative democracies. Established virtual spaces may offer the potential for increased levels of citizen participation; we may even be able to dream of a far future in which as a society we border the level of a true direct democracy.

<sup>4</sup> S. Kaddoura, “The rising trend of Metaverse in education”.

<sup>5</sup> Xinmei Shen, “Communist Party school in China taps metaverse concept to train cadres”.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. James Southern, “A Class of its Own?”, p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Sandra O’Malley, “Kevin Rudd spends \$600,000 on travel”.

<sup>8</sup> Anthony Galloway, “Public servants spent more than \$3.7m on domestic business class flights”.

Virtual spaces as a mirror to conventional diplomatic conferences and summits are presently speculative and largely optimistic, and for the short-term future certainly may be improbable, considering cybersecurity concerns and encryption limits. Nevertheless, the notion of virtual space for nations lead to some interesting ideas. Considering nations such as Tuvalu, disappearing due to rising sea levels, the future may be characterized by a rethinking of nationality – what does it mean to be a nation? Indeed, the government of Tuvalu has expressed ideas of preserving and administering its sovereignty and cultural continuity in the digital realm<sup>9</sup>. On a very limited level, we can partly imagine what virtual presence might look like for a country – in 2007, Sweden created a virtual embassy in Second Life, with the embassy in the US as its canvas, virtual IKEA furniture and a regular staff presence<sup>10</sup>. Although there were no real applications government-wise, we can look at this as a glimpse at what one fraction of virtual government may resemble. In an age that may well be defined by climate disaster and conflict, virtual space may be one part of an interesting equation seeking to answer questions of efficiency, representation and concepts of sovereignty. Nevertheless, there would be risks to navigate. A key area to discuss when considering the utilization of virtual space is cybersecurity. Clearly, the importance of cybersecurity and the extent to which cybercrime and cyberwarfare will play a role in the future has become evident in recent years. Russia's invasion of Ukraine began with cyberattacks – a distributed denial of service (DDOS) attack disrupted access to several government websites and the two largest banks in Ukraine; researchers have also discovered wiper malware, which 'destroys or corrupts data', on Ukrainian systems<sup>11</sup>. The war has shown the world the relevance of cybersecurity, with Ukrainian and US cyber defence measures leading to critical achievements such as the disruption of a Russian government botnet before it could be used, and intermittent interferences with Russian digital attacks and communications.

Going beyond cyberwarfare, across the world, the broader significance of cyberattacks and cybersecurity have become more visible to the public. In Australia, the Annual Cyber Threat Report 2021-2022 recorded 76,000 reports of nationwide cybercrime – a 13% increase from the past financial year<sup>12</sup>. Major failures such as the September 2022 Optus Telecommunications data breach, which led to over 10 million customers – nearly half the national population – having personal data stolen has led to major decline in public trust in key institutions and corporations<sup>13</sup>. The significance of cybersecurity is certainly becoming clearer to both governments and individuals, and the question of who should be responsible possibly speaks to the greater problems of New Public Management and the privatization of traditionally government-managed departments. Certainly, as a reaction we have seen increasingly heavy investments in cybersecurity measures – in Australia, the 2020 Cyber Security Strategy included a planned \$1.35 billion dollar investment in cybersecurity over the next decade<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Colette Mortreux, "Finding hope in Tuvalu's Digital Nation".

<sup>10</sup> Stina Bengtsson, "Virtual Nation Branding: the Swedish Embassy in Second Life", p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Kristen E. Eichensehr, "Ukraine, Cyberattacks, and the Lessons for International Law", pp. 145-149.

<sup>12</sup> Isabella Voce, Anthony Morgan, "Cybercrime in Australia 2023", p. 8.

<sup>13</sup> Nicholas Biddle et al, "Public exposure and responses to data breaches in Australia", pp. 1-12.

<sup>14</sup> "Australia's Cyber Security Strategy 2020", p. 4.

Undoubtedly, security will be a key area for concern in the increased utilization of virtual space. Could such a valuable space ever be safe in the online world? Some national institutions have responded to this concern by largely avoiding technology altogether. Despite recommendations to incorporate more elements of electronic voting, and suggestions that partial digitization would lead to greater geographical coverage and less time stress, the Australian Electoral Committee continues to use largely analogue systems in the polling process, using phone-book style records to check-in voters<sup>15</sup>. Consequently, at the 2023 referendum, lines stretched around polling centers and citizens waited hours to answer a simple 'yes' or 'no'. The total rejection of technology clogs the gears of the system, and even, the process of democracy itself. Increasingly, complete rejection of technology can not be considered sustainable in a rapidly transforming reality – despite the risk involved in innovation, perhaps in coming years it may be necessary to revise traditionalist, paper-based methods.

Certainly, there is risk involved. It is common understanding that in network security anything connected to a network can be exploited; if not now, then soon enough with advancement in methods. With the (already beginning) rise of quantum computing, there is even concern that through store now decrypt later methods, all prior encrypted information will no longer be safe, and nations will have to react rapidly. What is secure today is not necessarily secure tomorrow. All this being said – there is nothing to say this risk cannot be carefully managed. If not through heavy investment in cybersecurity measures, and a large, competent taskforce, then certainly at the very least through minimalism and avoidance. Indeed, there is nothing to say such a virtual space would require the storage of sensitive information at all – consider existing commercial and creative virtual spaces, be it Red Dead Redemption or Second Life: many of these spaces require only a nickname and an email address. The primary issue of concern, then, may be necessarily discreet conversations between national leaders. Perhaps, then, the answer may be that these international virtual spaces could be reserved for only transparent discussions and conferences – and there are certainly already a multitude of these. If this should be the case, then not only would it not matter if the progress and outcomes of these diplomatic meetings be 'leaked', but it would be beneficial for these to be spread, entirely accessible by the public – this would be of paramount benefit to the generally disinterested population. Presently, far too many crucial diplomatic developments – even those that are not at all discreet – are made behind curtains, contrasting with the ideas of democracy, transparency and equal access to information.

If virtual space as an international ground for collaboration, bilateral and multilateral summits, and as a training ground for diplomats seems speculative, certainly a core element of the future for diplomacy might be in artificial intelligence. In recent years, advancements in AI technology have become increasingly visible to the public. In just three years 2017-2020, AI systems have proven superior to human counterparts in image recognition, speech transcription and direct translation; we have also managed to cultivate AI systems capable of identifying relevant information in paragraphs and even systems capable of driving cars<sup>16</sup>. Across governments, political actors are beginning to view AI technology as one critical for developments in 'economics, politics, and national defense' – at least 27 national governments have articulated an interest in 'encouraging and managing the development of AI technologies'<sup>17</sup>. AI is increasingly appearing on the

<sup>15</sup> "Internet voting in Australian election systems", p. 17.

<sup>16</sup> Stephan De Spiegeleire, "AI – TODAY AND TOMORROW", p. 44.

<sup>17</sup> Camino Kavanagh, "Artificial Intelligence.", p. 16.

agendas of UN bodies, a number of which in collaboration with academics and industry actors are seeking to determine methods in which AI might contribute towards ‘global humanitarian and development challenges’ and how they might fit into the Sustainable Development Goals<sup>18</sup>. More specifically concerning applications of AI in diplomacy, it has been suggested that AI can aid in descriptive analytics – aiding diplomats by monitoring in real time a wide range of foreign media (across several languages), flagging emerging risks and trends<sup>19</sup>. Going further, predictive analytics can aid in looking to the future – in anticipating potential social or political tension, and indeed alongside descriptive analytics, identify misinformation and further aid diplomats in better allocating their attention<sup>20</sup>. Perhaps most futuristic-sounding is the idea of AI aiding diplomats in formulating decisions, referred to as prescriptive analytics. Accordingly, AI can help develop specific courses of action, depending on a set of criteria. Applications of AI in such ways are yet to be widespread; nevertheless we can see the allure – consider that the traditional flaws in human analysis, prediction and decision making, at times tainted with emotionally-driven or personal motivations, may be largely bypassed. After all, if AI defeated humans in chess as far back as 1997, it does not sound entirely far-fetched that AI may prove a valuable tool in the much more complex game of diplomacy; in coming years we may indeed find AI to be greater decision-makers than ourselves. And make no mistake – human bias and error is rife in modern governance and diplomacy. Consider the COVID-19 pandemic, and the ‘biased global health diplomacy and policy making’ and resulting widespread counterproductive measures and border management<sup>21</sup>.

AI is yet to reach its full potential, and there will likely be a range of applications for AI across the field of diplomacy. Yet there are potential problems to examine. One suggested concern is the idea that with the implementation of AI in diplomacy, and the lessening of cognitive effort required (with AI providing such reliable and easily understandable answers to complex questions), diplomats may grow overly reliant on AI and lose their competency<sup>22</sup>. This is an interesting question, certainly, though perhaps a debatable one. We may draw parallels to the greater technologization of the population – with the widespread adoption of the Internet, have the general population necessarily lost skills in research and information absorption? The

modern human might not go about retrieving information in the traditional way (i.e. visiting a library for a book), but they are simultaneously capable of being far more productive, and reaching far higher levels of information. Perhaps this may be the case in diplomacy – perhaps we cannot be too fast to assume the usage of AI will ‘dumb down’ the diplomat, any more than we may fear humans watching Youtube book reviews would prevent them from being able to understand literature. Diplomats might lose touch with traditional tactics of diplomacy, but only because such methods have become obsolete; instead, we may find diplomats developing entirely new skills, such as searching for errors and misinformation in AI,

<sup>18</sup> Camino Kavanagh, “Artificial Intelligence.”, p. 17.

<sup>19</sup> Jérôme Duberry, “AI Diplomacy: what vision for the future of multilateralism?”.

<sup>20</sup> Jérôme Duberry, “AI Diplomacy: what vision for the future of multilateralism?”.

<sup>21</sup> Amanda M. Buch et al. “Engineering Diplomacy”.

<sup>22</sup> Jérôme Duberry, “AI Diplomacy: what vision for the future of multilateralism?”.

or optimization of AI-generated results – much as the individual who no longer visits the library for a book instead spends that time fact-checking and comparing ten books through the Internet. At the very least, the adoption of AI might be viewed as a tradeoff, where traditional skills are lost, in exchange for greater efficiency and higher levels of ability and innovation. That being said, it is admittedly difficult to ascertain the true risk of such rampant adoption of technology – simply because the information age is unfolding too fast for us to truly grasp long-term ramifications. Whether or not potentially losing out on foundational skills will be sustainable is a difficult question to answer, and perhaps rests on our long term ability to maintain stable technological presence and development.

Perhaps it may be important for the time being to be cautious of over-dependence on AI, and maintain a capable and effective force of diplomats, wary of foundational methods and basic skills. AI may be best utilized alongside humans through a 'hybrid foresight process', where AI does not commandeer diplomats so much as diplomats utilize AI, as a 'proverbial crystal ball' to be consulted with<sup>23</sup>.

There are more larger questions, few of which as of yet have concrete answers – what happens when AI makes a mistake; who is responsible? And what about any biases AI may be preconditioned towards? All of these are questions that will have to be addressed as we move towards the increased usage of AI in diplomacy. Certainly, the integrity of any AI tools would have to be transparent, and careful eyes kept open for potential flaws in the system.

Ultimately, the adoption of AI to some extent is inevitable, and along with virtual spaces will certainly comprise one part of the larger diplomatic picture in coming years. Questions for the future are difficult to answer, particularly so in such a rapidly transforming reality. Increasingly, we are finding that no single actor exists in a vacuum – network science in the study of politics has shown us that political agents' choices affect overall structure, and this structure in turn affects individual agents; we exist in a complex set of networks built on interdependent relations where every minute choice can impact another<sup>24</sup>. In such a complex reality, it is more important than ever that effective, ethical and accessible innovations are undertaken, with meticulous consideration to potential issues and foresight for the long-term; remembering, of course, that if there is one thing we can be certain of, it is the fact that nothing will stay the same for very long – not all diplomatic practices, no matter how effectively implemented in the past, will remain sustainable in coming years.

<sup>23</sup> Matthew J. Spaniol, Nicholas J. Rowland, "AI-assisted scenario generation for strategic planning".

<sup>24</sup> Zeev Maoz, "Network Science and International Relations".



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## 2.14 Paper



## Vertical Development as a tool for transforming diplomacy: Another step towards achieving the Sustainable Development Goals

by Aenslee Tanner

Advisor: Ms. Larisa Schelkin

### Introduction

The 2023 Global Sustainable Development Report states, “At the halfway point of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the world is far off track as shown in the figure which captures current status of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). Without urgent course correction and acceleration, humanity will face prolonged periods of crisis and uncertainty” (United Nations, 2023).

While there is much focus on external factors as potential solutions to get us back on track – from technological innovations to policy changes, financial investments, etc. – the report also touches on how inner, personal change is also required of each of us when it says, “The only way forward is to transform how we think...” (United Nations, 2023). The intent of this paper is to zoom in on this often less talked about yet arguably critical aspect required for us to successfully navigate the existential crisis we face.

Researchers in the field of adult education have written, “There is mounting evidence that the Western worldview is the source of this crisis, indicating that turning the tide requires a paradigm shift at all scales. Surviving and thriving requires transforming people’s fundamental cosmological, ontological, and epistemological perspectives towards a worldview that will foster healing and multiple ways of knowing” (Buergelt et al., 2021).

Any calls for change at the national, government, organizational or other collective levels ultimately require change at the individual level. More than just “political leadership and ambition” (United Nations, 2023), shifts in people’s worldviews, consciousness and ways of thinking are needed. Therefore, this paper will explore why Vertical Development is an important consideration for diplomats, political leaders and any other change agents who wish to “embrace transformations with the urgency needed to accelerate progress toward the Sustainable Development Goals” (United Nations, 2023) and who seek to equip themselves to be as effective as possible for addressing today’s many intractable, complex, global challenges.

## Transforming how we think

What does it mean to transform not just what we know but how we think?

When we're not satisfied with something and know change is needed, it's often easiest (and least resource intensive for our brains) to identify a source outside ourselves that needs to change. For example, many people are hopeful that technological advancements will save us from climate catastrophe. But what if it's our prevailing worldview that says, 'humans are separate from nature and each other; prioritize productivity and growth above all else; and seek to dominate others and natural forces' that's causing us to stagnate on our climate goals?

What might a more helpful worldview look like? Perhaps one that sees us not just as separate, competitive entities but also as interdependent parts of a greater, integrated whole? One where care, wellbeing and respect for all humans, the environment and natural cycles are prioritized? One where a "devotional attitude" (Eisenstein, 2022) is adopted? What might shift if we were to look through a more expansive lens like that?

## An introduction to Vertical Development

What does it take to transform how we think? Let's look at the critical differences between learning and development.

The terms learning and development are so frequently used together that they are often mistaken for synonyms. But the distinction is an important one – just because someone knows what to do (e.g. hold a diverse range of perspectives) or who they want to be (e.g. calm under pressure) doesn't mean that this person can automatically do or be it. The knowledge imparted through learning does not automatically translate into capability.

Consider the metaphor of your mind as a cup. Pouring more knowledge, skills, and experiences into the cup can be thought of as learning or horizontal growth. Expanding the size of the cup so that you have greater capacity to do more with whatever's in the cup can be thought of as – what's referred to in the realm of adult development research as – Vertical Development.

While learning is important for increasing the information you have available to you (what you know), it's Vertical Development that enables you to expand your worldview, transforms how you think and how you are able to be (e.g. more confident, composed, strategic, etc.).

Developmental psychology research has found that people have the potential throughout their lives to continue to develop through consecutive stages of increasingly sophisticated, wise and creative ways of being, thinking, relating, collaborating and acting. Numerous studies have shown that growing into the later (post-conventional) stages of consciousness (also known as action-logics) enables people to be more effective leaders and change agents in their environments (Rooke & Torbert, 1998 & 2015; Boiral et al., 2009).

In contrast, there is evidence that the lack of progress we’re making, for example, with respect to “complex and broad environmental issues [...] could be linked to the prevalence of limiting conventional or pre-conventional [stages of consciousness]” (Boiral et al., 2009). To quote developmental researcher Susanne Cook-Greuter (2004), “In general, transformations of human consciousness or changes in our view of reality are more powerful than any amount of horizontal growth and learning.”

## The stages of consciousness

Much like how trees grow by adding new rings on top of existing ones, humans have the potential to grow through increasing stages of cognitive maturity throughout their lives, adding new capacities on top of their existing ones (which they continue to have access to) as they go on developing. These stages of consciousness “may be defined as coherent systems of meaning making that shape the way people know and experience reality” (Boiral et al., 2009).

“The pre-conventional stages are generally associated with impulsive and opportunist thinking, and with behavior characterized by a low level of psychological maturity. The conventional stages are marked by the integration of the dominant social conventions and the search for efficacy with a framework of established social norms. Finally the post-conventional stages are characterized by a reappraisal of accepted conventions, a better understanding of the complexity and interdependence of problems, and an interest in both individual and societal transformation” (Boiral et al., 2009).

However, it’s important to note that while the potential is there, this type of personal growth is not guaranteed. As can be seen in Table 1 below, most of the sample population, which included thousands of managers and professionals from a diverse range of organizations and industries, can be found at the conventional and pre-conventional levels.

Level	Action-Logic / Stage	Orientation	Percentage of research sample
Pre-conventional	Opportunist	Wins for self	5
Conventional	Diplomat	Wants to belong and fit in	12
	Expert	Focuses on logic and expertise	38
	Achiever	Driven by personal and team achievement	30
Post-conventional	Redefining	Uniquely reframes complex dilemmas	10
	Transforming	Generates personal and organizational transformation	4
	Alchemical	Integrates material and spiritual transformation	1

Table 1. Modified from Rooke & Torbert, 2015 and Boiral et al., 2009.

## Performance and effectiveness at each stage

*“Our souls are riven. Covid 19 and “I can’t breathe” expose differences in leadership capacities as never before. Only the Redefining, Transforming, and Alchemical action logics reliably support the action inquiry of collaborative transformation within families, neighborhoods, companies, and countries.”*  
- William R. Torbert and Elaine Herdman- Barker (Torbert, n.d.)

As you may be starting to sense, one’s effectiveness as a diplomat, political leader or other change agent is significantly influenced by the stages of consciousness they have grown through. The action-logic someone is operating from has been found to have “wide-ranging implications in all dimensions of political leadership” (Wagner & Fein, 2016). Research backs this up showing, for example, “that post-conventional leaders perform better as a rule and are better agents of change” (Boiral et al., 2009).

More specifically, late-stage leaders have been found to perform more effectively in terms of their ability to:

- Challenge existing processes
- Inspire a shared vision
- Manage conflict
- Solve problems
- Delegate
- Empower
- Build relationships” (Kegan & Lahey, 2009).

In addition, as people grow through the stages they gain “increasing capacity to deal with complexity, especially of the kind that threatens a personal sense of security” (Bradbury, 2022), which enables those at later stages to collaborate more effectively through conflicts.

To further illustrate how one’s effectiveness can be enhanced by engaging in Vertical Development, Table 2 below takes two concepts relevant for diplomacy – power and inquiry – and explores how one’s relationship to both evolves to become increasingly complex and flexible at each progressively later stage of consciousness.

Action-Logic / Stage	Relationship to Power	Relationship to Inquiry
Opportunist	<b>Coercive power:</b> “hard power”; using unilateral force – and the threat of unilateral force – to get desired results; believes that “might makes right” (Hobbes), only the right behavioral stimuli generate the desired responses (Skinner).	<b>Inquiring for quick personal wins:</b> Minimal inquiry, maximum advocacy; questions for self-advantage or exploitation: “Can you match the competitor’s offer?”
Diplomat	<b>Positional/Historical power:</b> Power rests on historical authority, relying on group membership and status. Sometimes “soft power” using charisma, seduction, covert manipulation to attract support.	<b>Inquiring into others’ preferences:</b> Questions to discover the preferences or norms of other people or groups, so as to create harmony: “What would you like to drink?”
Expert	<b>Logistical power:</b> “smart power”; use of logic, argument, professional disciplines, systems analysis & of institutional position or process to get something done.	<b>Inquiry into theory and facts:</b> search for ‘truth’; professional or scientific fact-finding; deference to expert authority; deliberate, critical, detail-oriented questions: “What evidence supports that argument?”
Achiever	<b>Productive power:</b> ...or pragmatic power which is exercised to achieve an	<b>Inquiry to achieve practical goals:</b>
	outcome. produce a product, service, or action valuable to self or others. Most often used in coordination with a team. Welcomes constructive, behavior-changing single-loop feedback that helps reach goal.	Single-loop questions to assess current behavior and tactics; Questioning whether current action is leading to desired outcome; “Am I talking too fast?” “Do you have objections to what I am proposing?”
Redefining	<b>Visioning power:</b> Eager to discover a new way to succeed as an individual or system; challenges group and personal norms; using imaginative, artistic, mutually-trust-building faculties and disciplines, alone in nature and with committed colleagues or friends in society; to create new visions of the future.	<b>Inquiring into new possibilities:</b> tilt to more frequent inquiry; awareness of multiple perspectives and of the difficulty coordinating them; questioning assumptions; “What if we used a different metaphor?”
Transforming	<b>Collaborative power:</b> inquiring with (and directing) others, to spot, articulate, and correct incongruities between theory and practice, thus increasing individual, relational and organizational integrity, alignment, and efficacy; structure-challenging double-loop feedback especially welcome.	<b>Collaborative inquiry:</b> inquiring with others and alone, to spot, articulate, and correct incongruities; especially between espoused values and actual patterns of behavior. “Are we at a point when we can delegate the decision details to a subgroup and get out of the way?”
Alchemical	<b>Mutually-transforming power:</b> 1st-, 2nd-, and 3rd-person practices of vigilant and vulnerable presence to one another that generates power via love and inquiry; interweaves previous types of power. Welcomes paradigm-questioning triple-loop feedback (e.g. MLK’s 1963 ‘I have a dream’ speech and the non-violent civil rights movement).	<b>Moment-to-moment inquiry:</b> challenging oneself and others to be continuously aware; questioning how apparent contradictions can become creative tensions; assessing alignment of intent, strategy, pattern of action & outcome; ‘triple-loop action inquiry’; “How can I express my anger constructively right now?”



## Supporting Vertical Development

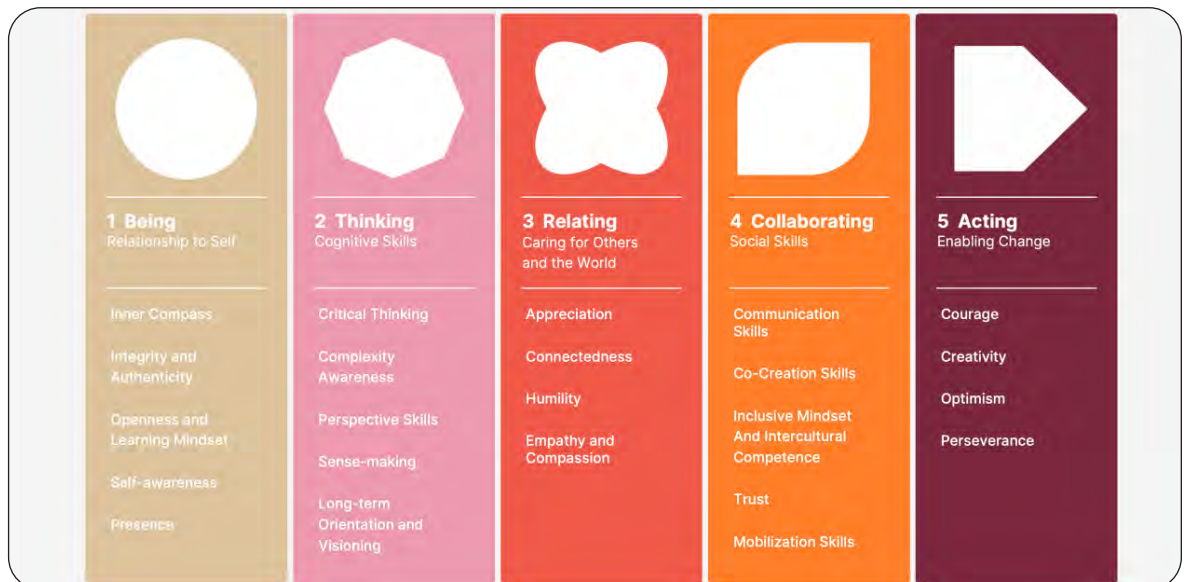
Torbert (n.d.) states that “Leaders are found at all seven action-logics, but in general become more effective – over longer periods, in more complex environments, and in conditions requiring organizational transformation – at the rarer, later action-logics.”

If you wish to support your (and others’) Vertical Development, here are a few potential resources to explore.

**Stage assessments:** If you’re curious to orient yourself as to where on the path of adult development you are – and what steps you can take to support your development to the next later action-logic – you can complete one of the assessments specifically designed for this purpose. Examples include the Global Leadership Profile, the Maturity Assessment Profile, and the Subject-Object (or Growth-Edge) Interview, among others.

**Collaborative Developmental Action Inquiry:** Torbert (2017) states, “Action inquiry is a lifelong practice for intentionally interweaving action and inquiry, both in the midst of action and in scientific inquiry, in order to achieve more frequent and more far-reaching timely and transforming action in new situations.” The Action Inquiry approach has been shown to have a statistically validated impact on individuals’ transformations to later developmental action-logics (Torbert, 2017). The book, “Action Inquiry: The secret of timely and transforming leadership” (Torbert 2004), provides guidance on how to engage in the practice.

**Inner Development Goals (IDGs):** According to the IDG website, “The current IDGs framework represents 5 dimensions and 23 skills and qualities which are especially crucial for leaders who address SDGs, but fundamentally for all of us! It is the greatest possible accelerator to reach the Sustainable Development Goals and create a prosperous future for all humanity” (Inner Development Goals, n.d.). The IDG framework provides relevant focus areas for personal development along with supportive resources and events on their website.



**Action Research for Transformations (ART):** According to the Action Research Plus website (n.d.), “ART seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory and praxis, in participation with others, in pursuit of solutions to the Eco-Social crisis of our time.” A research journal, participatory CoLabs and curated content are amongst the resources available on the website.

Of course, this is not an exhaustive list, however, utilizing tools, resources and practices such as those mentioned above are examples of ways you can support yourself and those around you to develop into the later stages of consciousness that will enable you to engage even more effectively with the complex conflicts and challenges you encounter.

## Conclusion

The Inner Development Goals (n.d.) website states, “In 2015, the Sustainable Development Goals gave us a comprehensive plan for a sustainable world by 2030. The 17 goals cover a wide range of issues that involve people with different needs, values, and convictions. There is a vision of what needs to happen, but progress along this vision has so far been disappointing. We lack the inner capacity to deal with our increasingly complex environment and challenges. Fortunately, modern research shows that the inner abilities we now all need can be developed.”

This paper argues that achieving the SDGs necessitates a paradigm shift in individuals’ worldviews, consciousness, and ways of thinking, which can be achieved through a process known as Vertical Development. By examining the critical importance of personal transformation and its potential to drive broader societal and systemic change, this research explores the role of Vertical Development in enabling diplomats, political leaders and other change agents to address the complex global challenges of our time.

As Albert Einstein pleaded regarding the threat of the atom bomb back in 1946, “[A] new type of thinking is essential if mankind is to survive and move toward higher levels” (The New York Times, 1946). In order to overcome the eco-social crisis we face today, we are each called upon to evolve our thinking once again. The process of Vertical Development is something we can each engage in to support us with this. Ultimately it is transformation within each individual that will add up to the transformation of our collective system.

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### 3 Final Notes and Remarks – GDI Publication

UNITAR is delighted to present the Global Diplomacy Initiative (GDI) at the United Nations Headquarters every semester. GDI serves as a gateway to the UN system for students who have a keen interest in international relations and global diplomacy. Our aim is to inspire participants to pursue careers and further studies in this dynamic field. With the vision of fostering a brighter future through diplomacy, the newly-designed UNITAR Global Diplomacy Initiative provides students with a unique opportunity to engage with international relations and contemporary politics alongside experienced diplomats.

Specifically tailored for students enrolled in Political Science, International Relations, or similar academic programs at New York colleges and universities and world wide, the GDI program offers exclusive access to UNITAR's Core Diplomatic Training toolkit. Additionally, students participate in weekly three-hour seminars conducted by distinguished professors, where they delve into diplomatic methodology and analyze current affairs. Under the guidance of these experts, students are encouraged to synthesize their knowledge into an academic paper.

As part of the program, students are granted the privilege of attending various significant events held at the United Nations Headquarters. This includes meetings of the High-Level Political Forum for Sustainable Development, informal gatherings in the Economic and Social Council, General Assembly sessions, and other relevant occasions.

The UNITAR Global Diplomacy Initiative offers a comprehensive and immersive experience, blending academic rigor, practical insights, and direct engagement with the workings of the United Nations. We are excited to welcome students who are eager to embark on this enriching journey of diplomacy and international relations.



# Graduates and Faculty



MALIKA EL-MAZHAD



EVA MARIA KNECHTL

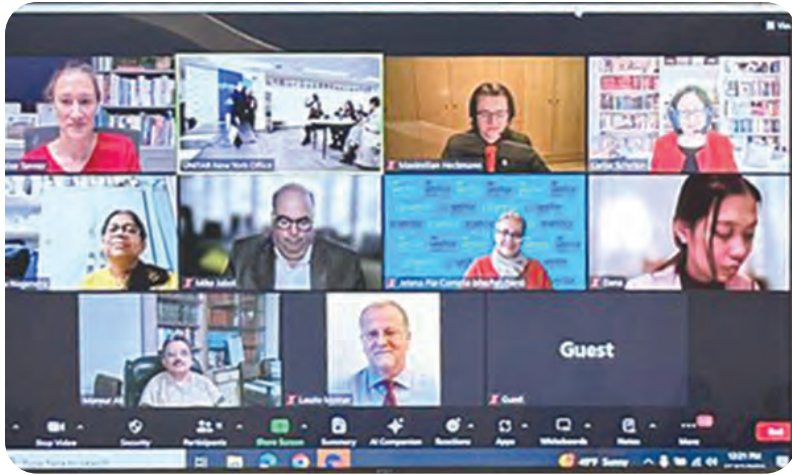


ROXANA DOBRE



ELENA MCNAB





PHOTOS BY UNITAR NYO

## 4 Biographies of GDI Professors



### **Dr. Angel Angelov**

*Consul General to Bulgaria in New York and Former Deputy Permanent Representative of Bulgaria to the UN*

Dr. Angelov is specialized in the work of the UN Security Council, with a focus on agenda items related to Europe and the Middle East. Dr. Angelov was recently elected as a Bureau member of the Special Political and Decolonization Committee for the 72nd session of the UN General Assembly. Dr. Angelov has been a visiting professor at several universities in Europe and North America where he teaches courses on different aspects of the work of the UN. He holds various academic degrees in political science, international security and regional studies from the University of Geneva, the University of Bologna and the University of Athens, respectively. Dr. Angelov was awarded numerous research grants, contributed to over 100 international conferences and workshops on foreign policy. He has published over 40 academic, media articles and book chapters. He is a member of editorial boards of a peer-reviewed journal and contributes to different think tanks.



### **H.E. Dr. Yuriy Sergeyev**

*Former Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the United Nations*

Senior Fellow and Lecturer at MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies, European Studies Council, Yale University. Ambassador Yuriy Sergeyev is a former Ukrainian diplomat and politician, having served as the Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the United Nations from 2007 to 2016 and Bahamas (2008-2015); as Ukrainian Ambassador to France and UNESCO “2003-2007”; to Greece, and Albania (1997-2000). He held various posts in the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs - Director of Information Department (1992-1994); Chef de Cabinet (1994-1996); First Deputy Minister (2001); State Secretary (2001-2003). Before joining diplomatic service of Ukraine in 1992, Yuriy Sergeyev for 12 years worked in the academic sphere as assistant professor, associate professor, professor at Kiev State University (Ukraine); at UNESCO guided Politechnical Institute in the Republic of Mali (1983-1986); and at the Scientific board of the Institute of Eastern Studies “Paris-Sorbonne IV” (France). He has a PhD degree from the Institute of Linguistics of Ukrainian Academy of Science (1987). Yuriy Sergeyev holds a rank of Ambassador of Ukraine (2000). He is a Grand Officer of the State Order of Ukraine “For Merit” (2006).



## **H.E. Dr. Laszlo Molnar**

*Senior Lecturer of Clinical Practice of New Jersey City University at the Department of Professional Security Studies, and Former Permanent Representative of Hungary to the United Nations*

Dr. Laszlo Molnar is a Senior Lecturer of Clinical Practice of New Jersey City University at the Department of Professional Security Studies, focusing on international security. He is Tom and Ruth Sharkey Distinguished Visiting Scholar of the School of Diplomacy and International Relations at Seton Hall University. He holds a Ph.D. in International Relations, studied at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and at the Harvard Kennedy School. He holds a certificate on The International Negotiation Process from the Harvard Negotiation Project and was Resident Fellow of the Institute for East-West Security Studies, New York. Ambassador Molnar served as a career diplomat with the Hungarian foreign service for two decades, held various positions in the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with the highest rank of State Secretary. He was Consul General and then Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Hungary to the United Nations in New York. He represented Hungary in the Security Council (1992-93). His international diplomatic assignments related mainly to international security and nuclear nonproliferation, he was Chair or Vice-Chair of the NPT Review Process in Geneva and New York (2002-2005). He was Executive Director of Cisco with responsibilities in government affairs, business development and cybersecurity. He was a consultant of the Paris-based Cybersecurity Advisors Network and a board member of the International Mediation Institute. He received The Knight's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Republic of Hungary.



## **Ms. Jelena Pia-Comella**

*Former Deputy Permanent Representative of the Principality of Andorra to the United Nations, Senior Consultant.*

Ms. Pia-Comella is a senior international consultant with over 25 years of experience in international relations and a deep knowledge of the United Nations system. Throughout her career, Ms. Pia-Comella has been true to her feminist principles by promoting women's rights, strengthening women's leadership, and supporting the work of activists in the fields of mass atrocities prevention and gender justice.

Ms. Pia-Comella was appointed Deputy Permanent Representative of Andorra to the United Nations in 2002 and served as *chargé d'affaires a.i./Chief of Mission* to Canada and the United States from 2001 to 2007.

From January to June 2008, she was a consultant for the Center for Women's Global Leadership and Women's Environment and Development Organization to coordinate the Gender Equality Architecture Reform Campaign (GEAR) which led to the creation of UNWomen. Until July 2018, she was the Deputy Executive Director of the World Federalist Movement – Institute for Global Policy (WFM-IGP) setting the strategy and overseeing the work of the Organization including the secretariats of the International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect and the Coalition for the International Criminal Court. Ms. Pia-Comella served as adviser on gender, peace and security issues for the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie from June 2019 to August 2021.





## **Ms. Larisa Schelkin**

*MS PE, MS CS, CEO & Founder, Global STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math) Education Center, Inc. 501(c) (3) nonprofit and President, Global STEM Education Consulting, LLC*

Larisa K. Schelkin CEO, President and Founder, Global STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Math) Education Center, Inc. 501(c) (3) nonprofit corporation; she is the Founding Director of the Science Diplomacy Center, Inc; a Science Diplomacy Advisor at the National Science Policy Network and the Chair of the Science Diplomacy Working Group at the World Council on Intercultural and Global Competency (NGO). Larisa is serving on the Governing Board of the Journal on Science Policy and Governance; she held executive positions in academia and STEM global corporations (WPI, WIT, Tufts University; TYCO Electronics Global Corporation). Larisa is a Fellow for Education Policy, Rennie Center for Educational Research and Policy & Institute for Education Leadership (IEL), Washington, DC (Class 2015); Larisa studied Global Education at Harvard University Graduate School of Education “Think Tank” in 2015-2018, Media and Technology for Education in 2020-2021 and Disruptive Innovation Strategy at Harvard Business School in 2020. Larisa is a Fellow and Board member of Massachusetts Academy of Science. Larisa is a Global Diplomacy Fellow at the UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) in New York City (Class 2021). After graduation she has joined teaching faculty at UNITAR in New York; she is teaching courses on the UN Environmental Program, Global Environmental Outlook, Climate Change, Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and NASA GLOBE. Larisa is a NASA GLOBE Partner, NASA GLOBE International Scientists and Engineers Network member; she also serves on NASA GLOBE IVSS judging team. Larisa holds BS and MS in Petroleum Engineering & MS in Computer Science. Prior to moving to Massachusetts, USA, Larisa and her family lived in Bashkortostan, Russia, India, and a few countries in Africa.



## **Dr. Michael Jabot**

*Department of Curriculum, and Instruction at The State University of New York at Fredonia*

Dr. Michael Jabot is a SUNY Distinguished Professor of Science Education in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at The State University of New York at Fredonia. Dr. Jabot is the Director of the Institute for Research in Science Teaching, a US GLOBE partner and represents the Northeast and Mid-Atlantic Region on the NASA GLOBE US Partner Forum. He is a recipient of the Chancellor’s Award for Excellence in Research as well as being recognized for excellence from numerous professional organizations.



## **Ms. Cemre Ulker**

***US Director & UN Representative of the Journalists and Writers Foundation to the United Nations Department of Global Communications***

Cemre Ulker is the UN Representative and US Director of the Journalists and Writers Foundation (JWF), an international civil society organization affiliated with the UN Department of Global Communications. Cemre leads JWF's global initiatives to promote the culture of peace, human rights, and sustainable development. She is a human rights advocate dedicated to the full implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals with a particular focus on gender equality, peaceful and just institutions, and global partnerships. Cemre also provides trainings and capacity building programs for the gender-mainstreaming of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and meaningful participation of civil society organizations. Ms. Ulker works on JWF's submissions to CEDAW, Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, Office of the Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, and NGO CSW about a variety of topics including women's meaningful leadership in the implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, protection of women refugees, gender-based crimes against women political prisoners, and civil society contribution for the gender mainstreaming of the Global Goals 2030. Cemre Ulker has a BA in Economics from the University of Maryland and completed her Master's Degree in Human Rights at John Jay College of Criminal Justice in New York.