

# A Global Village

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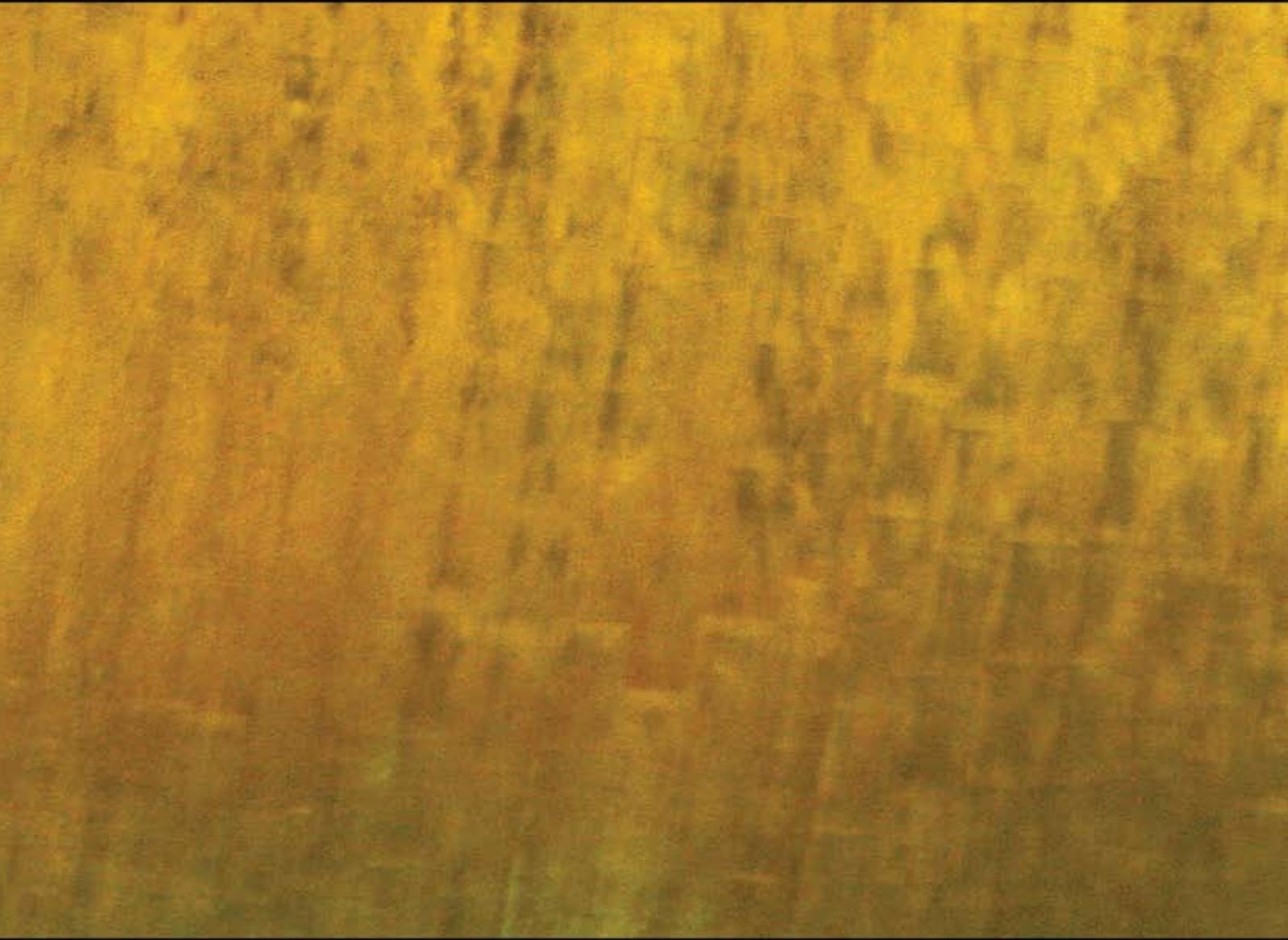


The Population Explosion: Sustainability and Control

The United States and Iran: Power Plays in the Middle East

Adaptation to Climate Change: Addressing the Unavoided and Unavoidable

The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda: Peacekeeping Operations in the 21st Century





*If ever there were a time to act in a spirit of renewed multilateralism – a moment to create a United Nations of genuine collective action – it is now.*

*Now is our time. A time to put the 'united' back into the United Nations.*

**Ban Ki-moon**

Secretary-General of the United Nations

*Opening speech of the 64th Session of the United Nations General Assembly*

## A Note from the Editors

It is with great pleasure that we welcome you to the first edition of 'A Global Village', Imperial College's new publication on International Affairs from the IC Model United Nations Society.

The initial idea behind the publication of this journal was to encourage members of the IC Model United Nations Society, and other Imperial College societies, to write pieces rooted in conference experience. We felt that the breadth of knowledge acquired from both pre-conference research and participation in international-level debate would allow our contributors to compose an informed analysis of many of the problems facing the world today.

As interest in this project grew we saw that a great many Imperial students were passionate about global issues from population control to climate adaption and the situation in Iran. We had submissions from students with diverse academic and personal backgrounds, many of whom had no connection whatsoever to MUN.

We hope that 'A Global Village' will continue to grow and capture the interest of the Imperial College community and beyond.

Neave and Cong

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# The Population Explosion: Sustainability and Control

**Raphael Houdmont** is a physics student at Imperial College with an interest in international relations and debating particularly in the field of demographics.



***As world population levels soar, our planet is struggling to supply us with sufficient resources such as food, water and energy. We are already consuming beyond the sustainable limit.***

***In order to avoid an eventual humanitarian catastrophe, world governments must seek to decrease the fertility rate thus ensuring manageable population levels for the future.***

***Many ethical questions must be considered such that any action taken garners broad public support and ensures lasting prosperity for humanity.***

We live in an era of ever-increasing wealth and consumption, but also of impending instability, uncertainty and upheaval as a result of climate change, energy shortages and economic turmoil.

Indeed, predictions of imminent catastrophe as a result of overpopulation have circulated since Thomas Malthus published his landmark 'Essay on the Principles of Population' in 1798. Too many people, too little food, went his argument. Malthus was the first to argue for the British government to implement strict population control measures.

*'Can we achieve the standard of living for everyone that, at present, is reserved for just one sixth of the population?'*

Six years later, in 1804, the total world population broke the one billion-person milestone. Today, 6.8 billion individuals, far beyond Malthus' expectations, inhabit the Earth. This number increases by one billion approximately every twelve years.

How, given the limited amount of land and natural

resources available on our small planet, can we hope to satisfy the needs and wants of such a vast number the people?

Can we achieve a standard of living for everyone that, at present, is reserved for just one sixth of the population?

How can we ensure that what is consumed today will not become a debt to be shouldered by future generations?

## **A Fragile Equilibrium**

Crucially, population levels seem to be the single greatest factor behind many of today's problems. This is simply due to the fact that any activity on a massive scale can destabilize nature's equilibrium. With only a handful of people, energy consumption, food production or land use would not pose problems such as those we face today.

The question is: just how many people can the planet provide for sustainably?

Malthusian arguments proclaiming that humanity is in a state of overpopulation with regards to the sustainable carrying capacity of the Earth are back in vogue. This time round, however, it seems that there may be some truth in his argument after all.

## **Food Fights and Famines**

According to estimates from the United Nations, the total number of 'hungry' people worldwide topped one billion in June 2009 for the first time in human history. This may be partially attributed to the global economic decline but is largely due to the continuing long-term trend in increasing population levels and decreasing food supplies.

What did Malthus say about this phenomenon in 1798?

Malthus' theory rested upon a mathematical assumption that population grows geometrically (e.g. 2, 4, 8, 16, 32), while food supply can, at best, only grow arithmetically (e.g. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6) over a period of 25 years.

*'Certain nations have initiated a new practice of buying up vast planes of foreign land to feed their domestic populations'*

Quickly population levels will be too large to be sustained by relatively diminishing food supplies and people will starve. His dire predictions didn't come true, however, as this model was overly simplistic.

Malthus had failed to foresee the green revolution in agriculture that swept Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and Asia in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. These saw crop yields increase enormously, up to tenfold for some rice plantations, with the use of modern agricultural techniques and fertilizers.

Malthus, however, was not wrong when he said that improvements in agricultural techniques couldn't increase food production on a par with population growth rates. Indeed, we are now witnessing the effects of population growth that outstrips advances in food production.

Not only is most arable land already being used but also a significant amount of it has been over-farmed. Modern agricultural methods have eroded the topsoil layer, which is only 6 inches thick and requires hundreds of years to form, so that plants can no longer grow in the nutrient-deficient ground.

Worse still, much of the boom in agricultural activity was due to a plentiful supply of water drawn from large underground freshwater reservoirs known as aquifers. These have, however, become seriously depleted and cannot be relied upon for much longer.

Furthermore, as the climate warms, and mountain glaciers shrink, many of the world's rivers around which populations tend to conglomerate could also dry up. Combined, these two factors have already caused food production to fall in many parts of the world.

And yet, according to the United Nation's Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), food availability in

developing countries will have to double by 2050 if it is to meet the needs of the booming populations there. This does not seem likely however, not only due to limits on production growth as mentioned above, but also because of a new phenomenon, land grabs.

Resulting from the 2008 spike in food prices, certain nations have initiated a new practice of buying up vast planes of foreign land to feed their domestic populations. Indeed, mainly Arab and East Asian countries have purchased huge swathes of African and South-East Asian nations.

Cumulatively, these lands are equivalent to the area of France. Food grown in countries such as Madagascar, Sudan, Congo and the Philippines will be shipped back to the landlord countries such as Saudi Arabia, U.A.E., China and South Korea to meet local demand for food there. Already, such moves have toppled a government in Madagascar in early 2009, and threaten to further provoke violent reaction from local populations.

Furthermore, the population explosion will not only put unsustainable pressure on the food supply but also on a multitude of other non-renewable resources such as oil and gas, metals and minerals. Resources that should be renewable, such as fish, forests and fresh water supplies, will no longer have sufficient time to recover. Together these effects ensure a worsening of famines to come.

### **Baby Boom to Baby Bust**

As a consequence of this population explosion, and the resulting shortage of food and other vital resources, it will be necessary to reduce, and eventually reverse, human population growth rates.



**Little room to roam: Cattle migrate in search of food**

There are two routes by which this goal can be achieved: via the intervention of man or nature itself.

Nature will act by increasing the death rate through what Malthus called 'positive checks'. As food becomes scarce, large swathes of the human population will succumb to widespread famine. For example, the 1958-1962 famine in China, caused by the Great Leap Forward, left some 10-30 million people dead.

Whilst historically populations have recovered quickly from famines, as many of these were due to improper *distribution* of food, it is likely that a future famine will permanently decrease world population levels due to a *lack* of food.

Before a famine occurs however, a conflict between nations may erupt as states desperately attempt to appropriate resources for themselves. This may lead to war and hence also to population decline.

And so we turn to man's 'preventative checks', which aim to reduce the birth rate through various voluntary, or legally enforced, measures. Approaches include family planning, contraception, abstinence, abortion, birth permits or sterilizations.

While many of these tactics are far from desirable, do they perhaps comprise the lesser of two evils when measured against the possibility of war or famine?

Fortunately, it appears that one of the most efficient methods of bringing down the fertility rate is also the most desirable: educating and empowering women. Indeed, a well-established trend indicates that the better educated a woman, the fewer children she will bear.

According to statistics from the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis, women with no schooling have an average of 4.5 children, whereas those with a few years of primary school education have just 3.

If a woman completes just one or two years of secondary education she will have on average 1.9 children while with a couple of years in college this falls to 1.7. Any value below about 2.1 is deemed to be below replacement levels and will lead to a shrinking population.

This is because, as evidence suggests, women do not necessarily want to have more children, but rather to have *more for fewer* children.

Educating women, especially in countries where the birth



Life today as it was 100 yrs ago: Women prepare the daily meal

rate is high, such as in Africa, South America, and some parts of Asia, would shrink the populations, while simultaneously unlocking vast potential for economic growth and development.

*'Women do not necessarily want to have more children, but rather to have more for fewer children'*

But will this change occur fast enough? Is it sufficient? In conjunction with an improved education in general, governments must also provide better sex education. In Iran for instance, men and women attend compulsory sex education, leading to substantially decreased birth rates.

Another effective measure, which should encounter little opposition, is to reduce infant mortality. While this initially may seem to increase population levels, the evidence clearly indicates that when child mortality levels fall, birth rates fall even more dramatically. This is due to an increased confidence in the survival of a child to adulthood and can be achieved, for example, through better access to medicine or the distribution of mosquito nets in sub-Saharan Africa.

Should these measures fail, governments may have to resort to birth permits, allowing each family to have, say, two children. China has already successfully implemented a 'one-child' policy in its urban centres, with a 'two-child' policy in rural areas, which, according to some estimates, has averted the birth of some 400 million people.

Such schemes can be hugely successful, but can also end in disastrous failure, such as India's sterilization programs to keep population in check in the 1970s. The 1968 book *The Population Bomb*, by Paul R. Ehrlich, in which he proposes a mechanism by which governments could effectively control population levels, inspired many such programmes. Ehrlich is a proponent of "compulsory birth regulation... [through] the addition of temporary sterilants to water supplies or staple food", suggesting "doses of the antidote would be carefully rationed by the government to produce the desired family size".

Evidently, the ethical issues that arise are complicated, and should not be dismissed. It must first be determined whether there is a justifiable need for an enforceable government-level intervention in family planning.

Will such measures be acceptable to the populations of the free world?

When considering the ethical aspects of population control, there are five principles that must be addressed: freedom, justice, welfare, truth, and survival. Forced abortion or compulsory sterilization, for example, violate human freedom, justice and welfare. It is certainly no easy task to make people accept that they no longer have control over the size of their own family!

Could governments avoid the need for population control altogether?

Arguably, food production can be further increased, and food waste decreased in developed countries, by intervention in the agricultural sector.

But flawed government interventions can also create problems such as the 'butter mountains' and 'wine lakes' of Europe which serve to prop up prices thus protecting farmers at the expense of consumers.

*'But is the collective freedom of society, the freedom of the human species ... more important the right of the individual today?'*

In any case, the developed world is a net exporter of food. Most of the progress to be made will not be achieved through economic incentives for European or American farmers to produce more, but instead by encouraging African farmers to use modern agricultural techniques and improve their use of arable land.

### **The Loyal Opposition**

Despite the dire consequences of overpopulation, and despite the benefits of reduced population levels, there are some vociferous opponents to many of the propositions that have been outlined above.

Indeed, many people refuse to believe that the Earth's resources are so limited. Numerous governments, for instance, are eager to see their population *grow*, as a larger population will credit a state with greater political and economic power. True, a country's gross domestic product (GDP) may grow yet the GDP *per capita* cannot grow indefinitely as it is so closely tied to the fixed and



**Hard at work in the fields: Children are a source of income and security in later life for vulnerable parents**

limited amount of available resources.

Instead, if a population is manageably and progressively reduced, the same quantity of resources can be distributed to a smaller group, and so all stand to benefit. Great reductions in poverty can be achieved.

It is then imperative that countries, such as Germany, Russia, Australia, and many others which have provided huge incentives for large families, including cash payouts for each child, extended paid maternity leave, free childcare services, and others, abolish these measures immediately, and instead of relying an increasingly large base to pay for pensions, tackle the political minefield of reforming the pension system itself and push back the retirement age.

In direct contradiction to the Biblical command to 'be ye fruitful and multiply' (Genesis 9:7), perhaps the greatest institution at odds with population control is organized religion.

The Roman Catholic Church, particularly under the direction of Pope Benedict XVI, has repeatedly condemned the use of contraception and abortions to terminate unwanted pregnancies.

This same institution has greatest power in countries with the fastest population growth – in sub-Saharan Africa, and in some Latin American nations. The Church's moral objections however, seem frail in comparison to the alternatives, notably severe food shortages and possible famine. The Church has successfully modified their moral code over the centuries, despite the immutability of the

written word of the Bible, and in time will once again have to change and adapt to the realities of modern day life.

Further opposition will come from free-minded people who simply want more children, claiming that such is their right, and any attempt to prevent them from doing so is an assault upon their personal freedom.

But is the collective freedom of society, the freedom of the human species to survive long into the future, not more important the right of the individual today?

When this collective freedom, the freedom for all humans to prosper, and not just a particular group, is taken into account, such claims can be seen to be nothing shy of selfish. For indeed it is selfish to forcefully appropriate for oneself a greater share of the resources, and thereby reducing the share of some other unfortunate soul at another point in time and space.

### **Less is More**

In short, a smaller population, which efficiently manages the Earth's limited resources will benefit from higher standards of living than ever before.

Slower population growth could save one to two billion tons of carbon emissions per year thus contributing enormously to the fight against global warming.

Ecosystems, which have been under such unnatural strain in recent years, will, perhaps, be able to recover from the onslaught of human industry. Biodiversity could once again flourish. We would lessen the risk of pushing nature beyond the tipping point.

A population catastrophe may be imminent, and could easily occur within our lifetime. It is imperative that governments act immediately, and collectively, in an effort to manage their population levels ensuring sustainability of resources.

This will not be easy, and it will not be pleasant. It will require difficult negotiation, concessions from all sides, and the wilful, informed support of the populace itself. But if this is not achieved, nature will always find a way to keep us in check, by the cruellest means if necessary.

## 30 Years On: The Second Iranian Revolution?

**Marcelo Vasquez Rios** is a fourth year medical student undertaking a BSc in Management at Imperial College. He was inspired to write this piece by a recent trip to the Middle East where he experienced first-hand the clash of world cultures.

*Teheran, June 2009: men and women, arms knit in defiance, protesting against the corruption of few for the rights of many.*

*Could the changing face of technology, the emergence of an empowered female intelligentsia and a youthful population propel Iran into a new era of secular liberalization?*

*Have we just seen, 30 years later, the counter-revolution of 1979?*

Iran has endured a volatile political history. Before the 1953 coup d'état, orchestrated by the British and US governments in response to an attempted nationalisation of the oil industry, Iran was one of the most progressive and democratic countries in the Middle East.

*'A bitter working class were convinced by Ayatollah Khomeini that a great Islamic Republic would unite its people spiritually and perhaps one day re-forge a modern United Arabia in the East*

After the coup this liberal state was, over the following 25 years, ruled by an increasingly oppressive and brutal regime. Under the Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, all other political parties were eliminated and Iran became an autocracy.

The face of the Shah had become ubiquitous with an Orwellian nightmare and the populace was driven to starvation by corruption and unemployment. Accused of being a Western puppet, the Shah was criticized by Iran's Muslim leaders for his policy on secularisation and rapid modernization.

After the 1978 Iranian Revolution, the exiled Ayatollah Khomeini returned to Teheran. In April 1979 a national referendum overwhelmingly proclaimed Iran an Islamic Republic. A few months later Ayatollah Khomeini became

the Supreme Leader as the people voted for a theocratic constitution.

Was the recent turmoil in Iran a sign of frustration with the current theocracy?

The alleged election fraud of 2009 split the country. Supporters of the progressive opposition leader Mousavi demanded a recount, a request promptly rejected by the current President, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, through force and censorship.

Are there similarities between the conditions in Iran in 1979 and 2009 that drove people to protest?

### Champagne and Caviar

In 1979 Iranians were hopeful: the new government would uphold the values and ideals promised by the new Islamic State and that proceeds of Iran's abundant oil reserves could finally be shared amongst the people.



Summer, 2009

The 1979 revolution was a response to a grossly corrupt monarchy that marginalised all but the elite. A bitter working class, joined by liberal leaders, were convinced by Ayatollah Khomeini that a great Islamic Republic would unite its people spiritually and perhaps one day re-forge a modern United Arabia in the East.

Ironically for those who fought in 1979, these days drug addiction, prostitution and widespread corruption in Iran go hand in hand with the harsh realities of enforced Islamic law. Poverty and unemployment are rampant.

Whilst the current government does not display acts of

extravagance and elitism as before, there remains widespread corruption and great constraints on basic civil liberties.

### Islam: The Rise of Anti-Western Sentiment

The 1979 revolution was heralded as a great victory for Islam; for the first time through popular support a broad spectrum of political groups joined together to establish a theocracy via democratic means.

Yet arguably the 2009 protests were largely an intellectual revolt, staged mostly by urban students for whom religion is becoming less relevant.

Indeed, the banning of condoms at the beginning of Islamic rule, later reversed, led to an unprecedented growth in birth rate. With two-thirds of the country under the age of 30, anti-religious sentiment is growing.

However, the events of 9/11 and the subsequent occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq have sparked renewed Islamic zeal across the Middle East.



**Battered and bloody: The Iranian government attempted to silence protesters in Teheran**

In addition to US hunts for Al Qaeda, the ongoing and unresolved Israeli-Palestinian conflict creates an ongoing tension between East and West in the region. This fact is often used as a pretext by the Iranian government to rile the people employing religious and anti-semantic rhetoric.

### The Twittering Revolution

One of the main reasons for the success of the 1979 revolution was the compelling oratory skill of Ayatollah

Khomeini. He preached to an isolated and religious audience thus facilitating rapid and unopposed reform.

*'In Teheran, young bloggers kept the world updated on the protests via real-time news posts and analysis'*

However, with the advent of easy Internet access, information from diverse sources has become easily attainable. In this day and age, a government's capacity to coerce and influence a population with propaganda has been greatly diminished.

Thus technological advances have promoted the breakdown of cultural borders between the East and the West particularly among young people.

In Teheran, young bloggers kept the world updated on the protests via real-time news posts and analysis. Western news ran videos posted on YouTube provoking an international reaction.

### The Underdogs

Similarly, globalisation has enabled the flow of modernist ideas into Iran; the rights of women have become a major political chess piece.

Women played an important part in the recent protests, taking to the streets and making public speeches. Whilst they still may not have the same public or political influence as men in Iranian society, their appeasement will, within the next few years, be of vital importance to the success of any political leadership.

The single most influential factor in the last decade of Iranian struggle for liberalisation is the formation of a large and powerful student movement. On one hand, the increasingly liberal press and academia has opened the door to quiet criticism of government.

On the other hand, it has provoked fears in government circles of a popular uprising. In response to a protest calling for greater press freedom in 1999 by students, right wing vigilantes killed several of those involved in their dormitories.

## Revolution?

Today, without a doubt Iranians are much more cynical of a religious and social utopia; many are starting to appreciate the worth of a government delivering equality and economic growth. In 2009, most Iranians are not better off than they were pre-1979.

*'The single most influential factor in the last decade of Iranian struggle for liberalisation is the formation of a large and powerful student movement'*

The 2009 protests were not a counter-revolution of 1979; Iran is still an Islamic nation without the desire to become a secular nation. But the unstoppable progression of globalisation and the clear appetite for modernisation and reform shown by Iran's people ensures that dissent will flare and continue to build momentum.

After days of street violence and several deaths during the summer, there appear to be no quick solutions. Together with the backing of Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, Khomeini's successor, Ahmadinejad has out rightly denied all allegations of electoral fraud and has

shown he will use force to quell any, and all dissent.

This may not have been a second Green Revolution - but could nonetheless be a turning point in Iranian and Middle Eastern politics.

Whilst there is insufficient political momentum or due process to instigate great change from within the Iranian government, incremental reform may increase opportunities for women and allow a greater degree of freedom for the press.

It is likely, however, that as long as the current theocratic political system is in place there will be little manoeuvre; supported by extreme religious and political factions any concession will be seen as a sell-out to the liberal movement.

Iran will change but it may be a long road.



Flying the flag high: Bloggers in Teheran sparked international furore

# Adaptation to Climate Change: Addressing the Unavoided and the Unavoidable

**Nicola Peart** was an MSc student at the Centre for Environmental Policy at Imperial College. She wrote her thesis on climate change adaptation, and the UNFCCC process. She has attended the negotiations since the start of 2009 and is currently working for the World Wildlife Fund. She is also part of a coalition supporting the formation of an International Court for the Environment (ICE). Her main interests are the development of second order adaptation policy as well as the wider legal aspects of the climate talks and the UNFCCC negotiating text.

***Confronting climate change requires global cooperation, recognition of past mistakes and failures, and the understanding that ecological interdependence ignores the artificial boundaries imposed by state sovereignty.***

***The 15th Conference of the Parties (COP-15) in Copenhagen, December 2009, must deliver an outcome that addresses avoidable, unavoids and unavoidable damage from climate change, and introduce a new paradigm of adaptation needs.***

It is unequivocal that the cause of climate change is the anthropogenic emission of greenhouse gases (GHGs). Scientific reports have found that most of the warming of the Earth since the 1950s has been due to man's own actions, specifically the burning of fossil fuels. The Earth's atmosphere has been treated as a public good with the assumption that the use of carbon space does not reduce the ability of others to do the same.

It is clear that we have exceeded the carbon capacity of the atmosphere, resulting in negative externalities with transboundary consequences. As David Held, Professor of Global Governance at LSE, describes it, '*the quality of the lives of others [has been] shaped and determined in near or far-off lands without their participation, agreement or consent*'.

Thus through overconsumption of fossil fuels in the industrialised world, the North has largely been responsible for altering the global climate system, perturbing ecological cycles beyond repair, and permanently impacting the livelihoods of some of the world's least developed and poverty-stricken communities.

The need to address the impact of climate change is discussed in this article beginning with an introduction to state sovereignty in the context of environmental damage



Sun, smog and CO<sub>2</sub>: Have we engineered our own demise?

and the UN as a forum for the drafting of international agreements dealing with climate change.

The impacts of climate change that need to be addressed within this UN framework are outlined with an emphasis on unavoidable harm and the need to recognise that adaptation is no longer an 'in situ' process. A global deal to address climate change requires recognition of all three types of impact, emphasising the responsibility of Polluting Parties to support unavoids impacts. Finally, a new definition of 'second-order' adaptation is proposed in acknowledgement of the unavoidable impacts to be faced in the future.

### Pollution knows no borders

Climate change is a problem for a global community:

***“Damage done to the environment... is damage done to humanity.”***

- Armando Postiglione, author of 'An International Court for the Environment', 2001.

The organising structure of state sovereignty (i.e. the competence, independence and legal equality of states) does not correspond well with an environmental order consisting of interdependent ecosystems that do not respect artificial national territorial boundaries.

Principle 21 of the UN Charter formally adopts the principle of state sovereignty in the context of international law, allowing, *“States have... the sovereign right to exploit their own resources pursuant to their own environmental policies”*. Yet the same principle mandates that the States ensure *“activities within their jurisdiction or control do not cause damage to the environment in other States or areas beyond the limits of national jurisdiction”*.

***‘Today carbon concentrations in the atmosphere are at 390ppm, exceeding what is widely considered to be the safe upper boundary’***

Thus ecological interdependence and transboundary harm in a governance structure founded on state sovereignty pose significant challenges that must be



**Sudan, submerged?**

addressed through global cooperation.

### The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

In this context, States established a 'framework' within which to address the global concern of climate change. Set up in 1992, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) was formed to bring States together with the explicit aim of mitigating potential future damage to the environment caused by climate change. Those states party to the convention, agreed to *“achieve... the stabilization of greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous interference with the climate”*.

In pursuit of this objective, these Parties negotiated a protocol under the convention – the Kyoto Protocol – that sets emission limits for ratified countries. But the protocol has failed to achieve the UNFCCC objective: today carbon concentrations in the atmosphere are at 390ppm, exceeding what is widely considered to be the safe upper boundary. Indeed, there appears to be little political will, particularly outside Europe, to ensure a net reduction in emissions over the next few decades.

The protocol failed because it was unable to secure the signature of the world's largest GHG emitter at the time – the USA – delaying entry into force for 8 years. Furthermore, it has been unable to sanction those States who failed to comply with their targets. The failure to fulfil the UNFCCC objective has seen the emergence of those same 'dangerous impacts' that the convention set out to avoid.

### The Avoidable, Unavoided and Unavoidable

There are three categories of impact that arise from transboundary harm and climate change: avoidable, unavaoided and unavoidable impacts.

**Avoidable** impacts are foreseeable, predicted by modelling and forecasting. Such impacts are avoided through the mitigation of GHG emissions – the priority of the Framework Convention.

However, some foreseeable climate change impacts will not be **avoided** because of delay or insufficient mitigation efforts, and delay in accessing adequate funding, technologies or capacity-building support.

Finally, some loss and damage from climate change impacts is **unavoidable**, regardless of future mitigation and resilience-building efforts. This last category of damage includes land that will be lost due to a rise in sea levels; agricultural land lost to persistent droughts and lives lost due to increasingly severe extreme weather events.



**Tackling climate change: Tilting at windmills?**

It is useful to delimit these categories of impacts, because although the UNFCCC objective targets *avoidable* impacts, it has proved inadequate in ensuring that *unavoided* damage is sufficiently addressed, and fails to acknowledge that dealing with *unavoidable* impacts is critical to the stability of our future world order.

### Talking Shop: the Adaptation Discourse

It is critical that Parties to the UNFCCC take responsibility for historic emissions, recognise avoidable

impacts through ambitious mitigation efforts, and establish a mechanism that addresses the unavaoided and unavoidable impacts based on the principle that the Polluter Pays.

However, the development of an understanding of how it is best to build resilience to unavaoided and unavoidable climate change impacts has been slow. This is due to the lack of explicit provision for ‘adaptation’ within the UNFCCC and diverse political obstacles.

Dealing with unavoidable and unavaoided damages has in the past been considered as a ‘defeatist’ option. Support for this type of impact was considered an acknowledgement that mitigation efforts had been insufficient or ineffective.

***“To admit the need to adapt sounds defeatist to negotiators, and also ... adaptation seems more complicated than mitigation.”***

- R. Verheyen and P. Roderick, authors of ‘Beyond adaptation’, 2008.

Adaptation discussions were also characterised as being ‘denialist’: discussion surrounding the funding of adaptation was considered an implicit acceptance of responsibility for climate change damages.

***‘Funding of adaptation was considered an implicit acceptance of responsibility for climate change damages’***

Therefore, although the Convention was established in 1992, it took until 2007 for Parties to recognise the urgent need to address adaptation. The route to Copenhagen, the Bali Action Plan, aimed to develop a new global ‘deal’ to address climate change. This deal was due to be signed at the 15<sup>th</sup> Conference of the Parties (the COP-15) in December 2009.

### Money Please

The political and epistemological barriers to addressing unavaoided and unavoidable impacts of climate change have not disappeared and there are significant ‘gaps’ in the draft text of this new global deal.



**Polar ice-caps are receding at unprecedented rates raising fears of a catastrophic rise in sea-levels**

Firstly, it does not seem likely that the UNFCCC deal will secure adequate funding for the full and incremental costs associated with adaptation actions. The UNDP estimates that new additional adaptation finance of at least US\$100 billion a year will be required by 2020 to meet the most basic and pressing adaptation needs.

It is not clear that proposed pledges of climate finance for adaptation are distinct from existing aid packages. It seems there is simply a diversion of funds thus shifting, but not solving, the problem of adaptation financing. Indeed, the US downplays the need to secure long-term adaptation finance for developing countries.

It is as though the scale of funding contributed by an industrialised Party represents an admission of responsibility for causing damage: adaptation is still, to a large extent, a 'denialist' discourse.

### **Stifled Development**

This leads onto the second 'gap' which is the provision of mechanisms to address unavoids impacts: those impacts that were foreseeable, but that failed to be avoided due to lack of mitigation or adaptation effort.

For many developing country Parties, dealing with unavoids impacts is a large additional burden that stands in the way of them achieving their foremost national priorities: poverty eradication and economic

development. As India recently stated, *"The adverse effects of climate change constitute an additional burden on all developing country Parties... to the extent that the incremental lifetime costs of investment in adaptation... are positive, they would have to be fully recompensed if economic and social development and poverty alleviation are not to suffer"*.

*'At least US\$100 billion a year will be required by 2020 to meet the most basic and pressing adaptation needs'*

Dealing with climate change impacts demands payments of compensation to those Parties having to deal with the additional burden of unavoids damage. The window of opportunity to mitigate these damages was not taken, the causal connection between emissions and impacts has been proven, and the lives of those least responsibility have been permanently and negatively affected.

The new deal must contain an adaptation mechanism that secures sufficient funding and technology transfer in recognition of developing Party 'entitlements' to adaptation support. Furthermore, it must enable direct access and equitable governance of this support, prioritised for the most vulnerable countries. Finally, any deal must be compatible with the UN priority of achieving the Millennium Development Goals.



### Sinking States

The third ‘gap’ in the draft text is the failure to recognise the most severe impact of climate change: the loss of entire nation states. For Parties such as the Maldives, and other small island states, the effect of radical climate change may be the loss of an entire sovereign jurisdiction, the loss of national identity, and the need to provide for millions of people subsequently displaced. The IPCC itself has noted the threat that climate change poses to the sovereignty of these Parties.

***“As for my own country, the Maldives, a mean sea level rise of 2 metres would suffice to virtually submerge the entire country of 1,190 small islands, most of which barely rise over 2 metres above mean sea level. That would be the death of a nation. With a mere 1 metre rise also, a storm surge would be catastrophic, and possibly fatal to the nation.”***

- President Maumoon Abdul Gayyoom,  
UN General Assembly, New York, 1997.

‘Sinking island states’ may be one of the most dramatic consequences of climate volatility. Adaptation opportunities for these areas will be limited *“with potential options being limited to migration.”* While human migration has always been a coping strategy for human societies, crucially we can now predict with some accuracy those communities that will need to move.

The migration or displacement of entire States is unprecedented and almost unfathomable. Yet to the extent that the loss of a state is foreseeable, efforts must be focused on anticipatory actions and addressing its collateral consequences, not least because the *“conflict stimulating potential...of such massive numbers of refugees, is obvious”* and because the anthropogenic responsibility for causing climate change obligates us to address its impacts.

Ideally, a multilateral agreement should be drafted to ensure that territory elsewhere could be ceded to an affected State. Existing instruments in international law do not provide for this and hence the new deal presents an opportunity to develop such a mechanism. In recognition of this, some experts have called for a new definition of adaptation to be incorporated into the new global deal.

*‘The migration or displacement of entire States is unprecedented and almost unfathomable’*

This ‘second order’ adaptation recognises that adaptation is no longer a process of *in situ* resilience building, understanding that some communities will need to be relocated. Yet within the UNFCCC even the terminology *“climate refugees”* is controversial, and all but a passing reference to these populations has been removed from the draft text. It would appear that the complexity and political difficulty in providing for such numbers of displaced peoples is at present beyond the scope of negotiators who cannot even agree to support *‘in situ’* – or unavoids – adaptation needs.

### A New Deal

Climate change impacts – avoidable, unavoids and unavoidable – will affect a global community. Ecological interdependence implies that we are all affected by the actions of far off lands, and that to some extent state sovereignty is redundant within this context. But despite the globe-wide implications of climate change, there remains a gross injustice: those who are most immediately and severely affected by global warming are those who have contributed least to the problem.

Delimiting three categories of climate change impacts provides a structure within which these impacts may be

addressed within a new global deal. Effective and ambitious mitigation will reduce the need for, and costs of, avoidable damage that arise inequitably across the globe.

A renewed focus must be placed on the need to learn from the past: that the original objective of the UNFCCC has failed and that asserting state sovereignty in the

context of transboundary harm creates great challenges. We are faced with an immediate and future need to address unavowed and unavoidable climate change impacts. Recognising these past mistakes is necessary in the run up to the COP-15, but it is not sufficient to ensure an adequate and fair deal in December 2009.

## The Financial Threat to Free Speech

Rhodri Oliver is a physics student at Imperial College who, amongst other things, enjoys debating and learning to fly.



***In an age where the media plays such a pivotal role in a person's life, influencing elections, careers and livelihoods, we have an increasingly corporate attitude to the public message.***

***Although this commercial approach in itself undermines the freedom of expression of the individual, the current economic climate has exacerbated the situation.***

In this time of lean credit, small newspapers and news companies are struggling, like all businesses, to survive. Indeed, unlucky ones are likely to have been absorbed by their more affluent rivals or shut down completely. This is not only an inconspicuous effect of the recession but also a threat to free speech, as we know it.

### **Spiralling Shares for Media Magnates**

Mecom, a big player in the media world, has been in

difficulty for over a year now. The company has already sold all of its titles in Norway and Germany and raised funds via a rights issue, citing a steep fall in advertising revenue for their woes. Mecom has recently seen their share price drop to as low as 0.73p from over 20p two years ago.

*'This is not just a subtle effect of the recession but a threat to free speech, as we know it'*

Johnston Press, a media company owning more than 140 titles in Britain, has recently suffered a dramatic decrease in newspaper sales. At present they are suffering crippling debts having racked up a £400 million loss this financial year.

These major companies represent the best positioned to survive a downturn.

So what about smaller, more vulnerable, companies?

It is clear that current financial stresses, and with an already failing business model, will ensure a high attrition rate for such businesses.

### **The Recession Bites**

Share prices underpin the interest on, and availability of, loans to a company from lenders such as banks. In essence, they represent what the market feels the

company is worth at any given time.

Thus for any company, but particularly for the exposed media sector, refinancing becomes much more costly and perhaps impossible as a result of poor share price performance. In essence media companies suffer the same financial stresses and strains as other sectors however, in this case, the stakes may be higher.

*'This may contribute to a polarisation in viewpoint within a population, possibly encouraging radical factions to emerge and stifling more moderate, unifying voices'*

As a result of tighter credit lines, newspaper closures and job cuts in the media industry have become the norm. This trend clearly damages the diversity and quality of the newspapers available and, in particular, threatens to impede a wide and balanced reporting of both topical and sensitive issues.

### News Surfing

The dawn of the digital age has heavily impacted newspapers and media outlets. This has resulted in a fall in hard copy sales as a proliferation of free news sources has become available online.

Recently, however, Rupert Murdoch declared that customers would have to start paying for online news content. This drastic step was proposed as revenue from advertising, a key source of income for most news websites, has been all but eradicated by the recession.

Whether to charge for online content is currently a very real debate among media groups as competition from free news providers such as the BBC has dampened any appetite for online pay-per-view services.

A secondary, but related question, of payment methods is also under discussion. Both subscription-based services and micropayment systems exhibit drawbacks. Few are willing to commit to a lengthy subscription, but intermittent income from micropayments is not attractive to companies and a hassle for consumers. The industry appears to be far from consensus on the issue.

### A Responsibility To Act Impartiality?

The key problem is that when small newspapers die so does the unique viewpoint that came with them. This results in a loss of angles, and opinions, and therefore a less balanced reporting of the news.



**Rupert Murdoch: How to win friends and influence people**

For instance, certain newspapers owned by Rupert Murdoch, which supported Tony Blair back in 1997, now attack Gordon Brown with vitriol. This political bias, grounded in commercial interests, exacerbates an unbalanced spectrum of reporting.

Likewise in America, certain radio and television stations have a blatant bias towards a particular political ideology whether it be conservative or liberal. This may contribute to a polarisation in viewpoint within a population, possibly encouraging radical factions to emerge and stifling more moderate, unifying voices.

*'This trend threatens to impede a wide and balanced reporting of both topical and sensitive issues'*

Indeed, such a saturation of the market by any single actor, that actor not accepting a responsibility to act impartiality, will inherently affect the public's perception of issues and events to an unacceptable level.

Thus for the same reasons that we abhor censorship we should fight to maintain the diversity of media production and ownership across the world.

### Hyperbole

The growth of international media conglomerates has given rise to an increase in the number of enterprises more concerned about their bottom line than the reporting of salient events.

Thus we are enduring the rise of sensationalism and hyperbole as newspaper giants seek to inflate their readership through shock tactics and big headlines. We are reading an increasingly centralised set of opinions with newspapers bombarding the everyday reader with stock edits.

### Post-War Propaganda Machine

An abuse of position and influence with regards to freedom of the press may originate not only in industry but in government too.

Italy's Berlusconi has an entire media empire at his disposal that has been used relentlessly to attack political opponents and defend some of his less popular social and political moves.

*'Is it acceptable that those in power may influence public opinion from such a vantage point as the media itself?'*

Similarly in the US, Fox News is seen as the voice of the Republican Party as the line between commercial and political interests blurs.

Is it acceptable that those in power may influence public opinion from such a vantage point as the media itself?

### Encouraging Diversity

Can we prevent any further slip in the diversity of news outlets available in Britain?

Firstly, supportive grants and funding may be provided to smaller publications that are starting up or provide a small independent circulation. The use of advertising by newspaper companies on television could be regulated thus helping to level the playing field for those smaller providers who would not be able to afford such television exposure.

Finally, regulations should be introduced that make charging for online news content a favourable option for content providers. This would then encourage more readers to buy newspapers and prevent large companies from dominating the news market with free online services.

*'We are enduring the rise of sensationalism and hyperbole as newspaper giants seek to inflate their readership through shock tactics and big headlines'*

These measures should ensure healthy competition between media companies of all sizes such that the public hears and reads a diverse set of voices and opinions.

### Preserving Freedom of Speech

Media, in the form of written, spoken and visual mediums, should be an asset to society.

It should inform cogently and objectively via a wide selection of opinions, stories and approaches. However, the recession and strength of multi-national companies is leading to a homogenization of the printed word, a rise in sensationalism and a drop in the quality of political and domestic dialogue.

Free speech is about choice and it is imperative that we have that choice - the option to access news from many angles, voices from all walks of life and stories about our neighbours both near and distant.

# The United States and Iran: Power Plays in the Middle East

**Cong Sheng** is a 2<sup>nd</sup> year student of chemistry at Imperial College. He is a keen debater, MUN participant, and Co-founder and Deputy Editor of 'A Global Village'.

***The United States of America and the Islamic Republic of Iran have endured terse relations from the time of the Islamic Revolution in 1979.***

***The current standoff, ostensibly centred on Iran's nuclear program, arises from both clashes in geopolitical strategy and ideological differences between the nations.***

***The United States will need to secure the cooperation of major powers such as Russia in order to exert influence on Iran, and realize that both negotiation and compromise will be required to further its foreign policy objectives in the region.***

The Iranian issue is particularly significant for the United States: political volatility in Iran may destabilize the entire Middle East, posing both strategic and energy security challenges to US interests in the region.

Iran has been known to behave unpredictably and uncooperatively in the political arena, particularly in response to US demands for greater transparency in the area of nuclear technology. This, and the recent domestic unrest during last summer's elections, have cast the Iranian government as a rogue on the global stage and have, without a doubt, contributed to the current instability in the Middle East.

***'The main concerns of the Iranians are clear: uncompromised physical and energy security for Iran'***

Seemingly unconcerned by this adverse publicity, the main concerns of the Iranians are nevertheless clear: uncompromised physical and energy security for Iran.

## **A Thirst for Energy**

Perhaps unexpectedly, Iran is a net importer of gasoline

for civilian and industrial use. Although Iran has the third largest proven oil reserves in the world, and also is the third largest exporter of oil, the country's oil refinery infrastructure does not have the capacity to provide independence in the energy arena.

This strategy plays on Iran's comparative advantage arising from natural resources, yet although making economic sense; Iran has become dependent on nearby energy exporting nations to meet approximately 40% of its energy needs.

***'Iran is the only nation in the world to possess a significant quantity of enriched uranium – nearly 1.5 tonnes – yet has no has civilian infrastructure to utilize this material'***

Nuclear energy offers an alternative source of power. There is overwhelming domestic support for development of civilian nuclear technology within Iran. Indeed, nuclear power generation has the popular advantage of low carbon emission levels, although long-term storage of nuclear fuel presents both a non-trivial security and technical challenge.

Furthermore, the importance of energy security in the Middle East's troubled geopolitical climes boosts the Iranian bid to develop civilian nuclear capacities. In principle such development is not precluded under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), although all such activity must take place under the supervision of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

However, Iran has rejected such a partnership, flouting the IAEA rules at every turn. It is possible that regional volatility has bred uncertainty such that states have started to prioritise domestic concerns over participation in an international system, such as the framework of the NPT and the IAEA.



A US B-52 bomber in flight, built to carry weapons during the Cold War

### Building Nukes

Iran's nuclear programme is widely believed to be a civilian venture with a substantial military arm, involving teams attempting to design and build a nuclear weapon. Suspicion is compounded by the fact that Iran is the only nation in the world to possess a significant quantity of enriched uranium – nearly 1.5 tonnes – yet has no civilian infrastructure to utilize this material.

Indeed, the ever-narrowing divide between civilian nuclear technology and military use of this expertise makes it relatively easy for a determined nation with sufficiently developed civil nuclear facilities to make the transition. There are nonetheless major technical, and diplomatic, challenges for such a state. These, however, have been overcome by many non-P5 nations, notably India and Pakistan, which have developed nuclear weapons in the last few decades.

A common route exploits the nature of most civilian nuclear power generation processes. The uranium fuel used in power generation is the approximately 5% enriched uranium-235 which can undergo fission and produce energy. The remainder is uranium-238 which is not itself fissile, yet can absorb neutrons released from the fission of uranium-235. This may turn uranium-238 into uranium-239, which undergoes beta decay to create

*'Segments of the Iranian population prioritise domestic security, by viewing the acquisition of nuclear arms as the ultimate deterrent'*

plutonium-239. This fissile isotope of plutonium has been used in the construction of crude nuclear weapons, the most recent being those detonated by North Korea during nuclear testing.

The question remains as to whether Iran perceives the benefits of acquiring a nuclear weapon as sufficiently outweighing the international political backlash and immense costs incurred in pursuing the project. At home, the Iranian government enjoys broad support on this matter both from extremists and conservatives in power. Furthermore, uncertainty and volatility in the Middle East has seen segments of the Iranian population prioritise domestic security, by viewing the acquisition of nuclear arms as the ultimate deterrent.

### The Ultimate Deterrent

At the forefront of Iran's political agenda is the security of the Iranian Republic.

From the time of the Islamic Revolution 30 years ago, Iran has faced sanctions worth billions of dollars imposed by the US. Furthermore, the American role in the 1980-1987 Iran-Iraq war and the 2003 invasion of Iraq has made Iran deeply suspicious of the West.

By no means an endorsement of Iranian designs, the leading Israeli military historian Martin van Crevald remarked in the International Herald Tribune in 2004: "Had the Iranians not tried to build nuclear weapons, they would be crazy."

Negotiation between the US and Iran, on a wide range of matters including the nuclear issue, has reached a stalemate: hard-line positions taken by both sides on top of nearly a decade of diplomatic silence under the Bush Administration has taken its toll on talks. Furthermore, there is strong opposition, both domestically and politically, to reaching a compromise with an 'evil' regime – a sentiment shared by both sides.

Iran may hence perceive a nuclear deterrent as a bargaining chip to be used as leverage against the United States in an attempt to address its key security concern: a guarantee that the US will not seek regime change within Iran within the foreseeable future.

Such a rationale is unfortunately aided by the recent removal of North Korea from the US State Department's 'terror list'- despite the detonation of two nuclear devices. This response may lead Iran to believe that it may develop military nuclear capacities without serious repercussions, while retaining the benefits of deterrence and military superiority in the region.

Iran's first nuclear weapon may only be a matter of time.

### First Strike

Israel warns that it is prepared to strike pre-emptively in order to cripple Iranian nuclear capacities. Political rhetoric aside, however, such a strike, with or without Western support, is unlikely. Estimates put Iran's military as one of the strongest in the Middle East, with missiles reaching as far as some NATO members in Eastern Europe. It warns of a 'limitless' response to any attack: a threat not taken lightly. Furthermore, neither Israel nor the United States has an overwhelming military superiority over Iran.

*'A strike by the U.S. or a Western force is unlikely in the short-run'*

In any case, an attempt to disable Iran's nuclear facilities would be a challenging undertaking. Notably, we have seen that there are inherent difficulties in destroying over-ground reactors such as Iraq's Osirak reactor: it took a pre-emptive Iranian strike in 1980, a pre-emptive Israeli strike in 1981, and finally an American attack in the Gulf War to fully destroy this facility. Further complications arise as the location of *all* of Iran's nuclear sites is unknown, and many existing facilities are reinforced or underground such as at Qom.

The lack of any foreseeable benefits from a pre-emptive strike, coupled with an inevitable Iranian response, is convincing evidence that such a strike by the U.S. or a Western force is unlikely in the short-run.



US troops during an exercise in the Baltics: Withdrawal of the BMD installations may induce Russia to cooperate on Iran

### Desperate Measures

A deepening of 'soft' measures, such as economic sanctions, may prove to be a viable alternative. However, political arm-twisting requires partners.

As many of Iran's oil and banking contracts are held with European-based companies, this unique situation allows the United States to exert leverage over Iran through the imposition of further financial sanctions and, crucially, by being able to constrict if not cut off Iran's supply of gasoline.

Indeed, contracts worth billions of dollars have already been withdrawn. Over the last few months, Iran has responded by hoarding enough gasoline for four months energy supply.

Sanctions have the potential to not only cripple Iran's economy, but by targeting the civilian population, may also spark massive social unrest due to rising prices in the currently heavily subsidized domestic gas market.

### In step the Russians

The United States cannot implement such sanctions unilaterally, depending on Russia for support. Russia is the world's largest refiner of gasoline, and can either supply Iran directly with gasoline or indirectly through satellite states such as Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan.

This fact alone bestows huge influence on Russia with regards to the enforcement of energy sanctions by the US; Russia can single-handedly render such sanctions ineffective via supply of the Iranian gasoline market.

*'Russia can single-handedly render such sanctions ineffective via supply of the Iranian gasoline market'*

It is thus unsurprising that Russia has been courted at the international negotiating table. While Russo-Iranian relations are not warm, Russia is naturally reluctant to reduce gasoline profits by supporting sanctions on Iran without incurring considerable gain. Indeed, any settlement must be forged with the explicit consent of the

Russians.

The US has thus taken an increasingly conciliatory approach to securing Russian support for action to halt the Iranian nuclear programme. In a move criticised by former U.S. ambassador to the UN John Bolton as giving up the United States' cards for no palpable gain, the U.S. withdrew their plans for the Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) installations in Poland and Czechoslovakia in a hugely significant move.

### Baltic Manoeuvres



**Both practically, and diplomatically, a delicate exercise: IAEA inspectors at work**

Since Tsarist times, Russia has favoured surrounding itself with what are effectively satellite states – states that are subject to overwhelming Russian influence. This practice has allowed the Russians to maintain a sphere of influence extending to the Baltics thus forming a wall of states buffering it from Western Europe.

The BMD installations in Poland and Czechoslovakia were thus viewed as an effort by the United States in particular to restrain Russian ambitions in the region. This is not least due to the presence of the BMD systems, which limit the ability of Russia to project power, but also their operation by a large number of NATO and American personnel in former Warsaw Pact nations.

Withdrawal of these installations signals a deceleration of US expansionary policy in Eastern Europe characterized by the extension of NATO membership to Germany, Turkey and former Warsaw Pact Members, such as Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Poland over the last two decades. It is with these gestures that the US is

courting Russia; in return cooperation on the Iranian issue is expected.

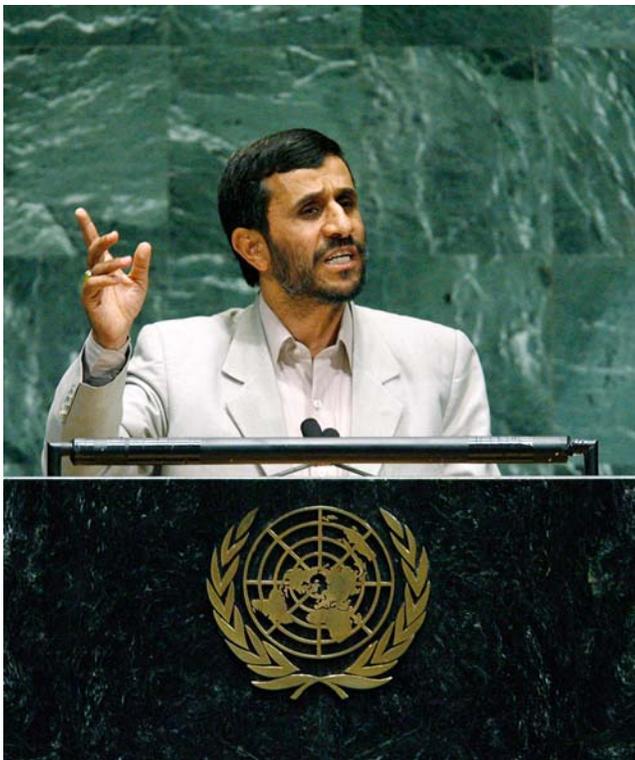
### Deal or No Deal

October 2009 saw an offer on the table for Iran agreed by the U.S., Russia and France. Under this proposal Iran would stop enriching uranium, send pre-processed uranium to Russia for enrichment, and finally receive the enriched uranium for civilian use.

In this way, assuming all commitments were upheld, Iran would not be able to acquire nuclear fissile material for military purposes. An increased sense of security for the U.S. and a 'guaranteed' supply of nuclear fuel for Iran ensured that this was a serious proposition for Iran to consider.

### Trust Issues

The Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), Mohamed ElBaradei, said on the 20<sup>th</sup> of November 2009 that Iran has 'every reason to be distrustful' of the West (Stratfor). Indeed, Iran views US commitments as being transitory, and fears that a change in Administration may undermine previous assurances.



Though this be madness, yet there is method in it

This is true also in a more general, inter-state, sense. A deterioration of relations between any parties involved may precipitate a situation where Iran has the most to lose. Iran would have relinquished its nuclear capability and physical uranium stock, and hence control of a large proportion of domestic energy supply, putting Iran in a potentially precarious position.

### Rational Irrationality

Negotiations appear to be at an impasse.

Employing a strategy similar to that of states such as North Korea, Iran both acts, and says it will act, in ways that appear to be irrational. Outsiders are confounded in trying to fathom Iran's true position and policy.

Indeed, hostile activity, including recent war-games and threats to retaliate overwhelmingly in the face of any Israeli attack, has exacerbated the situation. While Iran knows that any aggressive action against Israel will most likely result in a major war and its destruction, Iran nonetheless wishes to be seen as crazy enough to attempt such an act.

The uncertainty, and fear, that this behaviour generates plays into the hands of the Iranians. However unlikely, political and military leaders are forced to evaluate all threats to international security.

In November 2009, Iran stated that it would agree to the proposed programme by and large but insists on keeping the majority of its fuel within Iranian borders. This demand is directly contrary to the central thrust of the deal, which aims ensure nuclear material is not directly under Iranian control.

Since then, further aggravating the situation, Iran has announced its intention to build ten new uranium plants. What happens next depends on the willingness of the United States to either negotiate or punish, how much the Russians will cooperate, and how far Iran will dare to push both sides. The global political landscape has changed; US approaches in foreign policy must change with it.

### End Game

Iran will have to compromise on the nuclear issue eventually. Being outside the international system with regards to nuclear technology, while permitting experimentation, is detrimental both politically and economically for the State. Playing will continue until this is a done deal.

One thing is clear. The United States has come to realize that it cannot influence foreign nations in the same manner as the previous Administration. It is forced to rely more on diplomatic cooperation with other nations such as Russia in an effort to forge multilateral solutions to global problems.

The global political landscape has changed; US approaches in foreign policy must change with it.

## Global Warming: Who will Pay? *Passing the Buck*

**Agneish Dutta** is a 2nd year Medical student at Imperial College who currently sits on the Student Union Council. His brother **Rishi Dutta** is a student at St. Olave's Grammar School.

*Climate change is expected to have a profound effect on the environment in which we live today. Indeed, the modern life-style, as we know it, will become unsustainable in the volatile and energy-parched world of the future.*

*Every person has a role to play in affecting that collective future, yet not many people are aware of the extent to which their individual activities and actions contribute the whole.*

*Do you wonder how to calculate that contribution? Can we continue to pass the buck?*



### Flying to Eternity

Nearly three million passengers travelled between London and New York alone last year.

These commuters travel in style: a comfortable departure lounge with complimentary in-flight services such as meals and the latest blockbuster.

This journey is a far cry from the transatlantic ocean liners in operation only 50 years ago. Fast, comfortable and now affordable, air travel has revolutionised modern transport.

Today we do in fact live in a global village, so what is the catch?

Although the airline business is a relatively small industry, it has a disproportionately large impact on the environment, presently accounting for 4-9% of total carbon emissions from human activity.

This means that both you and I have directly contributed to the warming of our planet. Aside from minimizing air-travel to essential journeys, what can we do to reduce the impact of jumping on that Ryanair flight?

Already included in your ticket price are contributions to environmental-regulatory costs incurred by the airline for energy efficient machinery, catalytic converters and filters etc.

But what about a direct carbon tax for future damages to the environment?

### Calculating Your Carbon Footprint

A term that has recently been employed to quantify impact on the environment is 'carbon footprint'. It is

defined as 'the total set of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions caused directly and indirectly by an individual, organization, event or product'.

Working out one's personal carbon footprint enables one to begin to understand the potential magnitude of an individual contribution to this global problem.

*'It is a bittersweet truth that people in the West enjoy high standards of living, but are currently responsible for most of the damage'*

This calculation, however, is not so simple. It involves taking into account a number of factors, including household appliances, travel tastes (air, bus, rail and car etc.) and secondary footprints. A secondary footprint may include factors such as diet, recycling habits, furniture and even fashion tastes.

The average footprint for a citizen in the United Kingdom is 9.80 tonnes of CO<sub>2</sub>, far above the worldwide average of 4 tonnes. Indeed, in order to combat climate change effectively, the worldwide average needs to be just 2 tonnes.

A return flight to New York alone emits 1 ton of CO<sub>2</sub>. Does this fact alone induce a tinge of guilt?

### Find Out Yours

The website [carbonfootprint.com](http://carbonfootprint.com) provides a quick and easy facility to calculate your own carbon footprint. The National Energy Foundation (NEF) provides a technical

calculation, more suited to industry, requiring significant input information such as energy usage figures.

In fact energy and carbon emission consulting is a growing field with new and existing firms breaking into this market.

A leading example is the Carbon Trust, an independent company set up by the UK Government in 2001, which advises firms on both carbon cutting and energy saving measures. The trust estimates that it saves UK business £1 million every day.

### To Tax, or Not to Tax, that is the Question

The excesses of the last decades in the West have taken their toll on the climate. Now we must pay.

But how do we go about taxing ourselves for past and current excesses?

A leading proposal is based on the idea that the Polluter Pays; economic policy advises the introduction of pigouvian taxation. Here the buck would literally stop with the polluting companies.

Yet employing government levies may simply induce companies to raise prices and directly pass the cost onto consumers. Inflationary worries aside; this is potentially a just approach, as consumers of high carbon emitting goods would pay directly for that privilege.

An alternative scheme is for the government to levy an



On approach to Manhattan, New York: A return flight from Heathrow alone emits 1 tonne of CO<sub>2</sub>

'environmental tax' directly on high energy consumers (a specific VAT), with a similar effect as the above, or a universal tax. The latter suffers from the problem that a higher proportion of income is levied on the poor; the tax is regressive.

### Every Little Helps

Taxation alone will not solve the problem; we cannot simply buy our way out of trouble.

Consumers will simply have to reduce energy usage as oil stocks dwindle in the next decade or two. In fact the ability of a state to become energy efficient will soon become synonymous with economic growth.

It is the responsibility of the individual to participate in this effort – energy efficient light bulbs, turning off air-conditioning and cycling to work are ways in which we can all contribute.

*'The ability of a State to become energy efficient will soon become synonymous with economic growth'*

Western consumers will have to both compensate for past damage to the environment and radically change the way energy is used in the future through taxes and savings. Life-styles will change but we will adapt.

The Eurostar anyone?

## Glue Sniffing in Nepal: Forgetting Reality

Ali Dattoo is a graduate of Aerospace Engineering at Imperial College.

***Solvent abuse is a relatively new phenomenon among street children in Nepal. Low prices, and the relative ease at which this drug may be obtained, has enabled these youngsters to quickly develop addictive habits. The situation in Nepal is exacerbated by the lack of available educational facilities in addition to repercussions from the decade-long civil war that ended in 2006.***

14-year-old Rajen Subba works as a rag picker in Kathmandu having fled his home in the Jhapa district of South-east Nepal. He has been living on the streets in Kathmandu for the past six years and cannot afford regular food or clothing to keep warm. Rajen tries to forget his poverty and hunger by inhaling the carpet glue Dendrite.

*'The glue makes these children ... forget the realities of their lives'*

Khemraj Puri, another Nepalese street child, collects plastic bags and rubbish in order to sell them, yet the money he makes for a whole day's work is not even enough for one meal.

Rajen and Khemraj are not so different from a Western child playing with a new toy - yet these children have only

the rags littered on the streets for their playthings.

### Glue highs

The most common form of glue used by children is Dendrite. This adhesive glue contains toluene, a sweet smelling and intoxicating hydrocarbon. The solvent dissolves the membrane of brain cells and causes hallucinations as well as dampening pangs of hunger. The glue makes these children sleep easier and forget the realities of their lives.

A shocking survey conducted by Child Workers in Nepal (CWIN) found that around 95 percent of the 1,200 street children living in the capital sniff glue. Indeed, children as young as five have been known to become involved. Krishna Thapa, Director of Voice of Children, a local NGO, feels "sniffing glue empowers these vulnerable children to cope with any situation on the street."

### Civil Strife

Nepal is one the poorest countries in Asia and is facing an uncertain political future. The Civil War, from 1996-2006, has taken a toll of around 13,000 lives. The conflict has hampered government efforts to deliver basic services

such as health and education. The fighting has stopped, but efforts to rebuild society and restore services are slow.

This uncertainty has led to a breakdown in family and community networks. The majority of street children come from orphanages and poor families who cannot afford to send them to school. A survey conducted by the World Health Organisation (WHO) confirms that children leave their homes due to dire poverty, to find shelter or to escape domestic violence or poorly run orphanages.

Children have also been known to leave home to make room for siblings; Khemraj explains that his siblings “worked in a carpet factory for very little money which wasn't enough for food and housing”. In desperation he left his parents and began a life on the streets.

#### Angels and NGOs

Many community-based organisations believe that schooling for street children can pull them out of poverty. For instance, the Nawa Asha Griha Foundation provides food, clothes and shelter in an educational environment.

The government of Nepal has only been active in the field of education for the past 50 years. Before that, the ruling monarchy believed it unwise to educate the masses. Even today the focus of education is on building as many

schools as possible, rather than making schools accessible to the poor, training or recruiting teachers.

Indeed, according to the Rural Education Development Centre (REDC), many children do not go to school as families cannot afford the cost of books, stationary and uniforms.

#### The Path Forward: Education is the Key

Education is paramount to human development; the Nepalese recognise this and are committed to providing universal education. Despite the fact that substantial progress has been made in this direction, much still remains to be done.

Nepal is still trapped in a vicious cycle of poverty, illiteracy and tradition. In the 1990s, the State clearly moved towards democratisation; nonetheless, an unstable government and tenuous leadership have not yet yielded clear benefits for the masses. A lack of financial support, too few teachers and inadequate physical infrastructure plague the educational system.

No child dreams of being a drug addict, homeless, lonely and illiterate. Like any other child, Khemraj aspires to be an astronaut or a doctor.

Education can make this dream a reality.



The lucky few

# The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda: Peacekeeping Operations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

**Neave O'Clery** is a Doctoral student in Bio-mathematics at Imperial College and Co-founder and Editor of 'A Global Village'. She is also Secretary of the IC MUN Society and Deputy Director-General of Model European Union 2010 at the European Parliament in Strasbourg.

**"If the UN has a 'responsibility to protect', it must also have a 'capacity' to protect."**

- Annual Review of Global Peace Operations, 2008.

**General Romeo Dallaire, a Canadian who served as Force Commander of UNAMIR in Rwanda during the 1994 genocide, wrote of his experiences in his book 'Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda'.**

**His story is one of the struggles of the UN troops to uphold the values of the United Nations in the face of overwhelming logistical difficulties, ill-trained troops and an ill-defined mandate. Events transpired against a backdrop of political manoeuvring cumulating in the murder of up to one million Tutsis and moderate Hutus within a period of only 100 days.**

**The question of Western responsibility for the genocide in Rwanda weighs heavily on the minds of many.**

We ask what role did nations such as France and the U.S. play in preventing the necessary intervention on the ground? Did we apply lessons from Rwanda when faced with a deteriorating situation in Sudan in 2003?

From an operational and logistical viewpoint, where did things go wrong? What has been and can be done to ensure the success of future Peacekeeping missions?

## The Collective Will

**'To save succeeding generations from the scourge of War'**

- Charter of the United Nations, 1945.

Enshrined in the preamble of the United Nations Charter lays one of the fundamental ambitions of the UN. Practical implementation of this objective, however, has

been fraught with difficulty.

Established to intervene in regions of instability and war, as mandated by the UN Security Council, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) has assumed a leading role in hands-on efforts by the UN to mediate and assist peace-efforts on the ground. Peacekeeping Forces are tasked with an immensely difficult catalogue of responsibilities including civilian protection and even nation building in often-harsh climes.

Indeed, many look upon the success or failure of Peacekeeping Operations as the success or failure of the United Nations itself.

Hence it is nation states, under the

umbrella of the United Nations Security Council, that act in defence of civilians not protected by their own governments in times of crisis. The execution of such mandates falls to multi-national Peacekeeping forces under the DPKO.



**Orphaned during the genocide: Hundreds of children were dropped off at the UN compound in Kigali as their parents desperately tried to rescue more distant relatives**

*'The question of Western responsibility for genocide in Rwanda weighs heavily on the minds on many'*

It is clear that a successful intervention requires that both of these components function. Has this taken place in the

past, and will it occur in the future?

## R2P

One could claim that theory and practice have diverged as states have failed in their 'responsibility to protect' on numerous occasions.

The 'responsibility to protect', often tagged with the catchy R2P, strengthened as a concept in response to events in Rwanda and the Balkans in the 1990s.

In essence, a state has a responsibility to protect its civilian population from mass atrocities or human rights violations. This charge is essentially opposing the fundamental right a state has to determine its internal affairs, or state sovereignty.

*'R2P affirms the collective responsibility of the international community to act in times of calamity'*

In practice R2P provides a legal and ethical framework within which bodies such as the UN, or indeed another state, may intervene in a humanitarian crisis with or without the consent of the host nation state.

In effect, R2P affirms the collective responsibility of the international community to act in times of calamity, so what happened in 1994?

## Genocide

Rwanda in the 1990s was a volatile nation resulting from tensions between two ethnic groups: the minority Tutsis and the then ruling Hutus.

Belgian colonial rule differentiated between these two groups in the 1920s based on superficial physical differences, designating the Tutsis to be the superior race. This ensured that Tutsis had better career prospects and access to educational opportunities.

*'Many look upon the success or failure of Peacekeeping Operations as a success or failure of the United Nations itself'*

In 1959, the Hutus were responsible for extensive rioting and proceeded to marginalize the minority Tutsis. The Hutus were then to take control of Rwanda when the Belgians departed in 1962, remaining in power until 1994.

Mandated to oversee the implementation of the Arusha Accords, and intended to oversee the formation of a power-sharing Hutu-Tutsi government, the United Nations Assistance Mission For Rwanda (UNAMIR) went to Rwanda under the command of General Romeo Dallaire in 1993. Originally UNAMIR was to supervise the installation of members of the Tutsi tribe into the existing Hutu government.

Violence escalated, however, as it slowly emerged that extreme Hutu factions had no intention of sharing power. Dallaire found himself, with an ill-trained, ill-equipped force, in the midst of rising tensions in the capital of Rwanda, Kigali. Soon evidence emerged of targeted killings of both Tutsis and moderate Hutu leaders. Subsequently ten Belgian soldiers, ordered to protect the new Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana (a moderate Hutu), were found dead at the hands of Hutu Rwandan government forces.



Bringing the dead ashore: Boatmen salvage bodies from Lake Victoria



**An epitaph to Rwanda: Skulls at the Nyamata Memorial Site**

Dallaire pleaded to the UN Security Council for reinforcements and logistical support but his plea was rejected, largely based on a US reluctance to risk the lives of their soldiers on foreign soil. He despaired; even requests for basic rations were difficult to obtain under the 'pull' system at the UN.

*'Dallaire found himself, with an ill-trained, ill-equipped force, in the midst of rising tensions in the capital of Rwanda, Kigali'*

Belgian troops, the best-trained men on the mission, began to evacuate as the situation deteriorated on the ground. Dallaire attempted to provide a safe-haven for thousands of vulnerable Tutsis and Hutus in urban areas but, due to a lack of working equipment and manpower, he was not able to prevent mass-murder in rural areas.

Not mandated, and expressly forbidden by headquarters in New York, to use force, marauding and murderous gangs roamed the streets of Kigali. Before long chaos reigned in the capital.

In his book, 'Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda', Dallaire gives a vivid and shocking account of the hardships, injustices and sheer mismanagement endured by his mission in Rwanda. While acknowledging the dedication of contingents such as the Belgians, Ghanaians and Tunisians, he strongly criticizes the Bangladeshis in their preparation and

commitment to the mission. Both the DPKO and troop/equipment contributing countries are exposed for their lack of planning and forethought.

Furthermore, Dallaire blasts the inaction of the UN Security Council and notes the lack of practical commitment to such missions from Developed World States in terms of troops and equipment.

The need for a robust mandate, under constant review in response to events on the ground, and an adequately resourced DPKO to execute that mandate is the resounding message behind Dallaire's harrowing tale of his inability to save those expecting him to rescue them.

*The UN was in Rwanda in 1994, why did one million people die?*

#### **Victims of Vetoes**

So what happened in New York during the summer of 1994?

Under international law and the 1948 Genocide Convention, in order for the UN, or another entity, to send forces into another nation state to prevent mass murder the situation must fall under the legal definition of genocide.

Long a contentious issue, the 1948 Convention defines genocide to be "acts committed with intent to destroy, in

whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group...”.

France, having long-standing close defence and trading links to the ruling Hutu forces, used its veto power at the United Nations Security Council to stop an invocation of this convention claiming that many had died as casualties of the ongoing civil war, not as victims of mass butchery.

Eventually a French force did go into Rwanda, known as Operation Turquoise, as international outrage grew and it became clear that UNAMIR had neither the means nor the mandate to intervene in the killings.



**Black hawk down: The UN missions to Mogadishu ended in unmitigated disaster**

British investigate journalist Linda Melvern argues that records show that the then French President Francois Mitterrand feared an Anglophone plot by the Tutsis, in cohorts with the Ugandans, to turn French-speaking Rwanda into an Anglophone state. She concedes, “the French did create a safe zone, but this allowed the political, military and administrative leadership of the genocide to flee”.

The United States failed more by inaction than feat to prevent events unfolding in Rwanda. Refusing to contribute manpower and, supporting the French in a refusal to employ the term ‘genocide’, the Americans stalled until it was too late to meaningfully intervene in the conflict.

The West failed to act in Rwanda. Did we do any better in Sudan?

Conflict in Darfur began in February 2003 when the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) and Justice and Equality Movement

(JEM) in Darfur took up arms, accusing the government of oppressing black Africans in favour of Arabs. Between 2003-2008, it is estimated that up to 400,000 people have been killed.

The US has termed the conflict genocide but the UN has resisted, claiming events in Sudan do not fulfil the legal requirements for genocide under the aforementioned Convention.

Nevertheless, a 26,000-troop hybrid African Union-UN Peacekeeping force called UNAMID arrived in Sudan in late 2006. Ironically, this force comprised a sizable contingent of Rwandan troops eager to prevent a repeat of events in 1994.

In a turn of events, it was the US and France pushing for an intervention in the face of resistance from China and Russia, these latter countries having economic interests in the region. No veto was employed however at this juncture, largely due to international pressure originating in outrage at the previous inaction on Rwanda.

Crucially, the mission in Sudan was mandated under Chapter 7 of the UN Charter, thus permitting military and non-military action to “restore international peace and security”. This was in direct opposition to the restrictions placed on the ‘peaceful’ mission to Rwanda under a Chapter 6 mandate.

*‘The French President Francois Mitterrand feared an Anglophone plot by the Tutsis, in cohorts with the Ugandans, to turn French-speaking Rwanda into an Anglophone state’*

Pronounced to be ‘foreign invaders’ by the Sudanese government, directly targeted by militia forces and plagued by financial and organisational difficulties, this hybrid force has, however, been credited with some success in stabilizing the situation in Darfur.

Diplomatic games aside, it is the Peacekeepers on the ground who face the grim reality and daily grind in foreign climes.

### The Men in the Blue Helmets

**“The planning of peacekeeping operations is the ultimate challenge because you never know where you have to operate; you never know what they want you to do; you don't have the mandate in advance; you don't have forces; you don't have transport; and you don't have money! We always have to start from zero. Each and every operation that we start, we start with nothing.”**

- Major-General Frank van Kappen, Military Advisor to the Secretary-General, March 1997

The Blue Helmets initially enjoyed success in the field of Peacekeeping Operations since the inception of the DPKO in 1961.

But as demand for Peacekeeping missions swelled and resources and available manpower dwindled, the 1990s saw UN intervention fail in some of the bloodiest conflicts in the remotest parts of the World.

A case that still resonates to this day is the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM I) in 1992 when the UN attempted to monitor a fragile ceasefire in the Somali capital Mogadishu following the outbreak of civil war in 1991.

Tasked to both increase security in the capital and provide humanitarian relief, UNOSOM failed to quell violence in the region and thousands of people starved due to inefficient food distribution mechanisms. Indeed troop strength never reached mandated levels as hostile local forces targeted the Peacekeepers directly.

*“The mission in Sudan was mandated under Chapter 7 of the UN Charter, thus permitting military and non-military action to “restore international peace and security”*”

Finally, a multinational force under American leadership took over in 1992 (UNITAF) that paved the way for the establishment of UNOSOM II in 1993, mandated to ensure a secure environment for delivery of humanitarian supplies.

Violence escalated, however, culminating in the Battle of Mogadishu (1993). Ultimately, all efforts on the part of peacekeeping forces to mediate on the ground failed. All forces retreated by the end of 1994 – the UN missions to Somalia ended in unmitigated disaster.

And then there was Rwanda.

One man felt the weight of the world on his back, how did he cope?

### Pointing the Finger

While popularly lauded as a man thrown to the lions with his hands tied behind his back, there have been those who have questioned General Dallaire's handling of the situation in Rwanda.

Retired Maj. Gen. Lew MacKenzie, leader of the UN force in Sarajevo in 1992, contends that "in some circumstances, ill-conceived and impossible to execute orders ... should be ignored or disobeyed." An inexperienced commander, faced with risking the lives of his men without a clear mandate, Dallaire refused to disregard orders from New York.



**Keeping the peace: A Blue Helmet on patrol in the Congo**

Dr. Francis Deng, a former Sudanese diplomat and current UN Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide and Mass Atrocities, said recently in London that “in the end it was up to commanders in the field” to respond to events on the ground.

Was this perhaps a veiled criticism of General Dallaire's actions?

Dr. Deng went on to comment that, in particular, Rwandan Peacekeepers had acted somewhat differently during their mission with the African Union more recently in Sudan. This AU force, however, had the benefit of hindsight and the backing of the international community to prevent and intervene where possible in Darfur and throughout Sudan.

*'In the end it was up to commanders in the field to respond to events on the ground'*

Far from decision making in the field, many operational and logistical issues dogged Dallaire's forces in Rwanda and currently plague the AU in Sudan.

Two far-reaching studies, looking at reform of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, have been undertaken in the past decade. These are the *Brahimi Report* in 1999 and the reform strategy *Peace Operations 2010* in 2006.



Volumes of vans: Will these SUVs arrive on time?

### Show us the Money ... and the Men

Both of these reports identified key structural and operational areas within the DPKO requiring reform. The commitments, or lack thereof, of troop and equipment contributing countries are also highlighted.

There are a growing number of contributors of military staff, but most UN Peacekeepers are provided by a core group of developing nations including Pakistan,

Bangladesh, India, Nigeria, Nepal and Rwanda.

Not one of the P5 Nations, those holding a permanent seat on the UN Security Council, is a major-troop contributing nation.

Indeed, the former DPKO Under-Secretary-General, Jean-Marie Guéhenno, has emphasised that such provision is the "collective responsibility of Member States. Countries from the South should not and must not be expected to shoulder this burden alone".

Furthermore, due to the fact that countries with a low GDP contribute the most troops, problems arise in the levels of troop training and subsequent issues on the ground when they are deployed in tandem with highly trained troops from developed countries.

### Pushing and Pulling

Dallaire spoke of burst tyres in Rwanda, and no tape to fix them. In the midst of anarchy, his UN volunteers desperately tried to repair the holes with homemade gum.

There has been much criticism of the UN 'pull' system where requests must be made for everything down to toilet paper and matchsticks. A 'push' system would anticipate such demands and supply missions accordingly.

A UN logistics depot for military equipment and troop supplies was established at Brindisi, Italy in 1995. Although progress has been made in development of mission supply chains, several issues have nonetheless afflicted both the missions in Rwanda and Sudan.

*'Not one of the P5 Nations, those holding a permanent seat on the UN Security Council, is a major troop contributing nation'*

Notably, prior to mandate, supplies must be available to Peacekeeping Operations during the frantic pre-mission planning phase. The arrival of incoming materials must be assured by, and domestic transport on the ground must be organised in tandem with, local factions. In essence ports must be open and roads safe to use.

Failing any of these steps, the equipment simply does not arrive at its destination. This is what happened, and is currently occurring, in Rwanda and Darfur.

### **A UN Standing Force?**

For over a decade now, there have been calls for the establishment of a Standing UN Rapid Reaction Force composed of personnel from all member states ready for rapid deployment in times of crisis. Indeed, Trygve Lie, the organization's first Secretary-General suggested it in 1948.

*'In the midst of anarchy, his UN volunteers desperately tried to repair the holes with homemade gum'*

Progress has been made towards this goal as the Danish government in 1996, in co-operation with thirteen regular troop contributors, has organised a multinational Stand-by High Readiness brigade (SHIRBRIG). Recently closed due to EU pressure for the establishment of similar European force, SHIRBRIG successfully participated in multiple UN-mandated missions.

Fears, however, of logistical and financial difficulties in addition to a more general reluctance by states to contribute manpower to UN missions has stalled progress towards a cohesive UN force.

**"There is an urgent need for a UN Emergency Service - a dedicated, multidimensional 'UN 911' that can address human needs, including protection, security, health and hope. This service should be composed of military, police and civilian volunteers that are recruited globally, selected for high standards of professionalism and commitment, and then directly employed by the UN."**

- Dr. Peter Langille, Center for UN Reform

### **Twenty-first Century Peacekeeping**

The future success of the DPKO in Peacekeeping Operations, and indeed the United Nations as a whole, depends not only on the ability for this body to reach consensus on matters of international security, but for the Member States of this body to commit both men and resources in support of mandated activities both within and outside

the realm of peacekeeping.

Failure to do this would indeed signal a lack of confidence on the part of Member States in the United Nations to fulfil its role as global mediator and peace-broker.

It is therefore imperative that those who constitute the World's leading powers, particularly the USA, Russia and China, extend a material hand to the United Nations and refrain from employing their elevated status at the UN merely as a tool for diplomatic games in the greatest of arenas.



**The Blue Berets: Many look upon the success or failure of Peacekeeping Operations as the success or failure of the United Nations itself**

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# Imperial College Model United Nations

Imperial College Model United Nations (ICMUN) is a society under the umbrella of the Imperial College Union and seeks to promote student interest in current affairs the United Nations. Through our activities, the Society allows members to practise their public speaking, diplomacy and negotiating skills. Most importantly, our members develop a balanced and comprehensive understanding of global politics.

Our activities include regular simulations of United Nations bodies such as the General Assembly or the Security Council. We also send delegates to Model United Nations Conferences throughout the United Kingdom and Europe.

## 2010 Calendar

Date	Day	Time	Name of Event	Location
14th Jan	Thur	6:00-7:30	Simulation on Israel and Palestine	Imperial College SK Campus
21st Jan	Thur	6:00-7:30	Simulation on the topic of Children's Rights	Imperial College SK Campus
29 - 31st Jan	Fri-Sun		Cambridge University Model UN conference	Cambridge
4th Feb	Thur	6:00-7:30	Simulation on Venezuela and Colombia	Imperial College SK Campus
11th Feb	Thur	6:00-7:30	Lecture: The UN and Global Health	Imperial College SK Campus
19 - 21st Feb	Fri-Sun		London International Model UN conference	Kings College London
4th Mar	Thur	6:00-7:30	Simulation on the Sri Lanka Conflict	Imperial College SK Campus
5-7th Mar	Fri-Sun		Warwick Model UN conference	Warwick
13th March	Sat	13:00-18:00	MUN@IC conference on topic of Iran	Imperial College SK Campus
13th March	Sat	18:00	Cinema Night	tba
18th Mar	Thur	6:00-7:30	AGM	Imperial College SK Campus



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