



**COOPERATION BETWEEN PARLIAMENTS AND THE UNITED NATIONS IN
PROMOTING WORLD PEACE, PARTICULARLY FROM THE PERSPECTIVES OF THE
FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM AND ENERGY SECURITY**

***Draft report prepared by the co-Rapporteurs
Mrs. Hlengiwe Mgbadeli (South Africa) and Mrs. Asta Möller (Iceland)***

INTRODUCTION

1. In light of global developments, the past years have seen greater emphasis placed on terrorism and energy security at the United Nations and within various United Nations bodies. In terms of recent developments, access to energy and energy security were addressed by the United Nations Summit at the 60th General Assembly. The Summit emphasized the link between meeting energy needs and sustainable development.

2. The United Nations Summit also strongly condemned terrorism in all its forms and manifestations irrespective of who committed them, where and why. In particular, the Summit identified the dangers of nuclear terrorism. Following the Outcome Document, the Secretary-General has delivered Recommendations for a Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy.

3. Parliaments are also actively working in these areas and bear a great responsibility to keep government accountable and ensure that the fight against terrorism and issues of energy security are given priority domestically and internationally. Parliaments must also ensure that legislation keeps up with international developments. Looking to the challenges ahead, it is important to increase cooperation between parliaments and the United Nations in promoting world peace, particularly from the perspectives of the fight against terrorism and energy security.

TERRORISM

4. Terrorism has been around for a long time. What has changed, however, is the magnitude and propensity for destruction. Terrorism has posed a global threat in an unprecedented way. The aim of terrorists is to maximize civilian casualties and global terrorist groups would be willing to use nuclear weapons to that end. Terrorists want to change the world in a fundamental way and terrorism is beyond a doubt an attack on the international community as a whole; it is an attack on fundamental freedoms and the rule of law. Terrorists are not interested in playing a responsible role in effecting change for the better. Terrorism is not a manifestation of incompatibilities between different religions or cultures. The fact is that terrorists abuse and misinterpret facts and religious ideologies in order to fuel political frustrations. The use of violence against unarmed and innocent civilians to achieve any political objective is condemned outright.

5. Terrorism in any form is inexcusable. When anyone starts rationalizing and making excuses for certain groups or causes, when a government gives lip service to the fight against terrorism and then turns around and enables terrorists, advertently or inadvertently, when good and decent people of different faiths and cultural background refuse to work together to stop terrorism against all peoples, that is when terrorists win. Terrorism today attacks the international community as a whole, and in fact often ends up hurting the very people terrorists pretend to care about. When we stand together to defend the rule of law, liberty and democracy and commit ourselves to achieving peace and security and also to increasing prosperity globally, that is when we can expect to fight terrorism successfully.

6. It must be recognized that the international community must substantially strengthen its worldwide commitment to eradicate poverty and underdevelopment. Parliaments in both developed and developing countries need to work together to ensure that the issue of terrorism does not push development off the international agenda.

7. Parliaments also have a fundamental responsibility to ensure that the fight against terrorism does not take place at the expense of civil liberties, human rights and the rule of law.

8. In today's globalized world, no country is isolated from the repercussions of terrorism. Even if a country is not directly affected in terms of casualties and other on-site devastation, every country will be affected by the human trauma, the political and economic consequences and the possible environmental impact. Only joint international measures will work to prevent and eventually eradicate terrorism.

9. We must face the fact that a nuclear terrorist attack is not only possible but also increasingly plausible. The global community must not tolerate any violation of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT) or other international arms control agreements. Non-compliance must be met by a credible international response, including sanctions by the United Nations Security Council. The non-proliferation treaty remains an essential element to limit the spread of nuclear weapon capabilities. The Chemical Weapons Convention is also crucial, as is the Biological Weapons Convention, despite its lack of a verification mechanism.

10. The United Nations continues, through its principal organs, to play a vital role in formulating the international community's response to international terrorism. The General Assembly and the Security Council specifically have made significant contributions to the global fight against terrorism.

11. The 2005 Summit Outcome Document of the United Nations acknowledges that peace and security, development and human rights are the pillars of the United Nations system and the foundations for collective security and well-being. The document recognizes that development, peace and security and human rights are intrinsically linked and mutually reinforcing. The protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all is essential to development, peace and security.

12. The Outcome Document also acknowledges the diversity of the world, recognizing that all cultures and civilizations contribute to the enrichment of humankind. It emphasizes the importance of respect and understanding for religious and cultural diversity throughout the world and states that in order to promote international peace and security, Member States should commit themselves to advancing human welfare, freedom and progress everywhere, as well as encouraging tolerance, respect, dialogue and cooperation among different cultures, civilizations and peoples.

13. In light of the above, it becomes imperative for global campaigns against terrorism to be organized within the framework of the United Nations and its structures. The proposal by the United Nations Secretary-General and his Recommendations for a Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy deserve careful consideration. The Recommendations rest on five main pillars, namely:

- Dissuading groups from resorting to terrorism or supporting it,
- Denying terrorists the means to carry out an attack,
- Deterring States from supporting terrorist groups,
- Developing State capacity to prevent terrorism,
- Defending human rights in the context of terrorism and counter-terrorism.

14. Cooperation between parliaments and the United Nations can be maximized by parliaments as institutions for Public Representatives to creatively and consciously raise public awareness on what their States/governments say and/or do about the following United Nations conventions¹ that form a global counter-terrorism framework:

- Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation (1971);
- Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft (1962);
- Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft (1970);
- Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Identification (1991);
- Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airports Serving International Civil Aviation, supplementary to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation (1988);
- International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings (1997);
- International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism (1999);
- International Convention Against the Taking of Hostages (1979);
- Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes Against Internationally Protected Persons, Including Diplomatic Agents (1973);
- Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Maritime Navigation (1988);
- Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Fixed Platforms Located on the Continental Shelf (1988);
- Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Materials (1980);
- Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism (2005).

15. These international agreements set the minimum standards for behaviour in a number of important areas. It is important that all States which have not yet ratified one or more of these conventions demonstrate their commitment to fighting terrorism by speeding up the ratification process. However, ratification is not enough. All States must also implement the conventions in a meaningful way.

16. While the above-mentioned instruments certainly constitute important progress, the United Nations and the international community must now succeed in making a comprehensive convention against terrorism, including a clear definition of terrorism [the

¹ <http://untreaty.un.org/English/Terrorism.asp>

indications of a workable definition were presented by the United Nations Secretary-General. Unfortunately, it is now unlikely that this will be concluded before the end of 2006.

17. Parliaments must also must also popularize the several resolutions² adopted by the Security Council since the attacks of 11 September 2001. These resolutions, mostly adopted under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, imposed a set of mandatory obligations on all United Nations Member States with a view to combating international terrorism. They are:

- Resolution 1267 (1999),
- Resolution 1373 (2001),
- Resolution 1390 (2002),
- Resolution 1455 (2003),
- Resolution 1540 (2004),
- Resolution 1535 (2004),
- Resolution 1624 (2005).

Most of these resolutions carry reporting obligations. It should be noted that all United Nations members have reported to the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) on domestic efforts to counter terrorism as provided for under United Nations Security Council resolution 1373. Further action is required. It would now be timely to move forward to develop formal criteria for evaluating country capacity and compliance.

18. Some would argue that the United Nations has neither the manpower nor the specific skills to be effective in the fight against terrorism. They would point to bureaucracy surrounding the United Nations' work, the difficulty of reaching consensus, turf battles, overlapping responsibilities and institutional resistance to innovation. Arguments have been made that a more radical approach is necessary. Ideas in this area include consolidation of the work of the existing Security Council bodies into one entity to foster greater coherence and effectiveness. The idea of a United Nations high commissioner on terrorism was discussed at the United National General Assembly, although it was at the time rejected. The rapporteurs wish to mention in this respect the Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate (CTED), which was created by Security Council resolution 1535. This was a vital step in the United Nations fight against terrorism. The CTED is now fully operational and should be given full support and a chance to show what it can do.

19. Finally, it should be noted that the terrorist threat is transnational and governments rely largely on intelligence to fight terrorism. Thus, the intelligence that leads to a response on terrorism and energy security must also be transnational. This calls for greater and more effective cooperation between intelligence agencies.

ENERGY SECURITY

20. Energy politics have played an important role in world politics in the past. Now, energy security is once again at the forefront of international security policy. It is clear from developments over the past years that energy security will be a major issue in the global security debate of the 21st century. The politics of energy security affect every nation in the world in one way or another, be it as energy exporters, transit countries or consumers, or stakeholders in the international war against terrorism.

² <http://www.un.org/documents/scres.htm>

21. The way we approach energy security will also have a major impact on the environment. Stretched oil markets and high prices are, of course, one aspect of the energy security debate, another is concerns over future supplies and political instability. In addition, the threat of terrorism is a rising concern and one that is very legitimate. It is important to stress that the debate on energy security is not limited to oil, but must entail all types of energy. It must also take into account the different concerns of different countries and try to cater to the legitimate needs of all stakeholders.

22. Energy security is today of paramount importance. Modern society is highly dependent on energy supplies. Energy is crucial to the functioning of the global economy and its continued success. Economic development and energy security are inextricably linked. It is the basis of growth for many developing economies. The economic implications of energy terrorism are potentially enormous and some experts go so far as to say that oil terrorism is emerging as a major threat to the global economy.

23. Reconciling energy security with sustainable energy development poses a great challenge. Difficult energy policy issues will have to be addressed, such as the role of coal and nuclear energy, subsidizing indigenous energy production, the extent of new fossil fuel exploration, the role of renewable energy in the future, and how these tie in with increased energy efficiency and environmental protection.

24. Energy and energy security are central to sustainable development and poverty reduction efforts. They affect all aspects of development. Few of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) can be met without improvement in the quality and quantity of energy services in developing countries. The United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) efforts in energy for sustainable development support the achievement of the MDGs. The UNDP currently supports over 150 full-scale projects on renewable energy.

25. Global energy demands are increasing, both for power generation and transportation. Energy demand in the transport sector and in the electricity market will continue to grow. If we look at the energy market as a whole, most experts agree that fossil fuels will remain the mainstay. Oil markets are stretched, with little spare capacity, and demand is increasing with no end in sight. Stretched capacity extends to refining and gas supply. We can expect continued price fluctuations due to geopolitical risks and economic uncertainties and increasing demand, in particular from developing countries and emerging powers.

26. Demand for natural gas is expected to grow substantially. Oil will remain dominant in the transport sector for some time to come. The outlook for increased use of nuclear energy is still uncertain, but the outlook is positive. Prospects for coal are dependent on clean coal technologies, and finally we can see a significant growth in renewables, although they do not yet account for a significant contribution to global energy needs.

27. A total of 70 per cent of exportable oil and natural gas comes from the Middle East, which will continue to be the world's number one oil provider. Most of the exportable known surplus of oil lies in two countries, Saudi Arabia and Iraq. The Russian Federation is the second largest individual oil exporter and possesses the largest gas reserves. The United States and the Russian Federation are the richest countries in coal reserves.

28. After the Chernobyl accident twenty years ago, many became wary of the increased use of nuclear energy. Now nuclear energy seems to be a more acceptable alternative for an increasing number of States. The most optimistic proponents believe that within fifty years, half of the world's total electricity production will be nuclear-generated. Proponents point out that nuclear energy is cheaper, more reliable and safer than before. Increased use of nuclear energy is seen by many as a way to decrease dependence on energy imports. Opponents of nuclear energy point out that the issue nuclear waste disposal has yet to be dealt with successfully, as it takes thousands of years to disappear. They also point out that it is extremely costly to build a nuclear power industry and that it diverts funds from more environmental-friendly options. Further, they point to the dangers of nuclear energy. There is no disputing the devastation caused by a nuclear accident, with accompanying loss of life, adverse affects on the health of affected populations spanning decades and making large areas uninhabitable. Finally, the proliferation of nuclear energy increases the danger of terrorist attacks and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

29. This report deals with terrorism and energy security, so inevitably it will look at how the two subjects are interrelated. There are many causes for concern, including the instability and continuing conflict in Iraq, tensions in the Middle East, sabotage and terrorist attacks in major oil- and gas-producing countries, and the growing dependence of major consuming countries on imported energy. The threat of attacks by extremist groups on oil facilities is very real. It is no secret, for example, that attacks on oil facilities is seen by Al-Qaeda as a most effective way of furthering its terrorist ambitions.

30. The Persian Gulf contains over 65 per cent of the world's "proven" reserves. Saudi Arabia is the world's largest oil-producing country and can logically be seen as a magnet for those interested in perpetrating terrorist attacks on oil facilities. Saudi authorities have thus far been successful in thwarting attempts at major terrorist attacks on its oil facilities, despite a number of deadly terrorist attacks within the country.

31. It should also be mentioned that supply routes are getting longer and are vulnerable to terrorist attacks. Global shipping routes are vulnerable to terrorist attacks. A hijacked oil tanker in the hands of terrorists, for example, could be a greater disaster than the 11 September attack.

32. Pipelines for oil and natural gas are also targets for terrorists. Pipeline attacks have happened in a number of countries, but have been especially pervasive in Iraq. It has been raised as a matter for concern that those attacking Iraqi pipelines might transfer the expertise they have gained to other countries.

33. In light of the above, stability in unsettled regions is crucial for energy security. The rest of the world has a vested common interest in supporting political and social stability and peace in all regions.

34. One of the international community's greatest fears is the fear of terrorists getting hold of bomb-grade material. There is still a valid fear that terrorists could gain access to plutonium and high-enriched uranium. We need to increase international controls over sensitive nuclear materials, i.e. international storage of plutonium, and increased safeguards for and protection of enriched uranium and the enrichment process. Another alternative could be joint arrangements for sensitive nuclear fuel cycle activity, like regional or multinational fuel cycle ventures.

35. Sources of supply of sensitive nuclear technologies and components have multiplied and include illicit, black market transfers. Not all States adhere to agreements and guidelines on the transfer of sensitive technologies. United Nations Security Council resolution 1540 addresses this problem by requiring States to establish domestic controls to prevent the proliferation of WMDs, although the resolution is vague in some areas. Implementation of the resolution must be comprehensive and enforcement universal.

36. In light of the above, compliance with international treaties must be taken seriously and enforcement options must be credible.

37. The rapporteurs stress that when it comes to energy security, cooperation and not confrontation is required. It is obvious that energy politics are characterized by mutual dependency. We must increase energy efficiency and diversification. Furthermore, we must foster a meaningful multilateral energy dialogue.

38. We need enlightened government policies in both supply and consumer countries. In supply countries, well-defined property rights, stable and fair fiscal regimes, political, economic and social stability are crucial. In consumer countries, we need appropriate regulatory frameworks, subsidy and demand incentives for renewables, promotion of research and development (R&D) in alternative sources, and strengthening of international relations and economic cooperation.

39. The UNDP should scale up its work in the area of energy self-sufficiency. Regional cooperation is important and could work as an incentive for traditional rivals to put aside differences for economic gain.

40. We must shift to low or zero carbon technologies and increase energy efficiency. The electric power industry and the transportation industry are crucial in this respect.

41. We must promote innovative energy development. One hundred years ago, people in cities demanded to be rid of horse manure in the streets. This led to the invention of the combustion engine. This can be compared to the situation today, where air pollution is directly and indirectly responsible for a large number of deaths each year and is one of the greatest environmental problems that we face. Innovative energy development is also crucial to increasing energy security.

42. Regarding transport, the most promising innovations are in the field of hydrogen and fuel cell technology. It is of paramount importance to continue and accelerate development in this area. Fuel cell vehicles would revolutionize the transport sector. The challenge is to create an infrastructure for hydrogen, so that this source of energy becomes accessible worldwide for the everyday consumer. Most car manufacturers are now committing tremendous resources to this area. Within a few years, mass production of hydrogen cars is expected to become a reality. It is important to develop legislation, which will motivate consumers to use renewable energy. It is not only a matter of environmental protection; it is also a matter of energy security.

43. The United Nations University was founded in 1975 with the aim of building a global university and with a special focus on assisting the developing countries. Its headquarters is in Tokyo, but teaching is done in various centers around the world. The Geothermal Training Programme of the United Nations University has been operating in Iceland since 1979. The training is tailor-made to individuals and the needs of their institution/country.

44. Finally, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) should pioneer efficiency projects and promote good practices, deliver innovative financing to projects enhancing energy efficiency, make funds available for market studies, project feasibility, and technical cooperation, and grant funds to overcome transitional challenges.