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# Brief Overview of the Prominent Issues in the Middle East

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## Israeli-Palestinian Peace Talks

Under the stewardship of Secretary of State John Kerry, the United States began comprehensive peace talks at the end of July 2013 with the Palestinian Authority and Israel. The peace talks are set to last for approximately nine months and an agreement is expected by the end of April. Secretary of State Kerry has met with both Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas, although neither has met the other since talks began.

The talks have continued under the direction of Martin Indyk while Kerry has been addressing other issues. The talks have consisted of ten meetings of Kerry with Abbas or Netanyahu, while diplomats from each side have continued discussions. The negotiators have met around twenty times, and. While both sides have stated that progress has been made, each side blames the other for not having reached a deal.

Recently, Kerry revealed a “framework for peace” that would establish an independent Palestinian state. He has also attempted to bring Jordan and Saudi Arabia into the peace talks to garner regional support and pressure both sides to reach an agreement.

With April fast approaching, Secretary of State Kerry is expected to focus almost exclusively on the peace process. Many believe that the issue of borders, a Palestinian state, and the fate of Jerusalem are just too difficult to tackle and that the peace process will fail. Others warn that even if a peace deal is struck it will only be between Israel and the Palestinian Authority and thus will not affect the Gaza Strip, which is controlled by Hamas, a terrorist organization. All sides have been optimistic about the process, and Kerry has stated that he believes an agreement will be reached.

## Egyptian Revolution

Egypt has been in turmoil since its political revolution and protests began on January 25<sup>th</sup> 2011. The revolution resulted in a “peaceful transition” when longtime leader Hosni Mubarak who remained defiant for eighteen days agreed to peacefully step down on February 11<sup>th</sup> 2011.

On June 2<sup>nd</sup> 2012, Mubarak was found guilty of murdering protesters. The conviction was later overturned on appeal and a retrial was ordered. Elections were held later that year. On June 24<sup>th</sup> the State Election Commission announced that the Muslim Brotherhood backed Mohamed Morsi had won the Egyptian presidential election.

Morsi struggled to gain legitimacy: large portions of the population, many in the West, and the military saw Morsi as an Islamist and a threat to the secular nature of

Egypt. Several protests erupted on June 20<sup>th</sup> 2013 by Morsi's opponents. Morsi was then removed from office on July 3<sup>rd</sup> 2013 in a coup d'état by the military.

The military has attempted to establish its rule over the country despite numerous protests and ongoing violence. On August 14<sup>th</sup> 2013, security forces dispersed pro-Morsi sit-ins and the removal caused the death of hundreds of Islamists. Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood continue to refuse to recognize the coup, and claim to be the legitimate rulers of Egypt.

The military has presented a new constitution for the country that will be voted on in early 2014. The Egyptian revolution is only one part of the Arab Spring and many other nations have gone through either revolutions of their own or fear a revolutionary onset.

## Syria's Civil War

Protest broke out on March 15<sup>th</sup> 2011 against Bashar al-Assad, the longtime president of Syria, as tensions fomented between the Sunni majority populace and the Alawite Shi'ite minority in power. By the end of April 2011, the protests were nationwide. At first, protesters wanted democratic and economic reforms, but following repression by the police and army, protesters demanded the resignation of Assad and the Ba'ath Party. Al-Assad has refused to resign despite calls for his resignation domestically and internationally. The opposition (Syrian National Coalition) has stated that it will not accept an agreement unless Assad resigns.<sup>4</sup>

In April 2011 the Syrian army attempted to suppress the protests by firing upon protesters around the nation. Protesters turned to armed rebellion, and a civil war began.

The Syrian Civil War has expanded to involve many outside forces. The terrorist organization Hezbollah entered in support of the current Syrian regime. Russia and Iran supplied the Syrian regime with weapons, and China has been supportive of the regime but has not actively armed it. The United States, European Union, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia have supported the rebels including through the transfer of weapons.

Today's situation is more complex due to disagreements between moderate and jihadist rebel forces. The Syrian rebels began to take increasingly Jihadist tendencies, and the radical Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS) has gained more influence with the rebels as a whole. However, the Islamic Front, a seemingly radical group has surprisingly had a moderating and secularizing force on the rebels. Internal friction between the rebel groups has led to fighting among the rebels, and the current civil war is being fought between jihadists, moderates, and the Syrian regime.

The current state of the conflict has seen the disintegration of the Syrian National Committee, a Western backed moderate rebel group. The Islamic Front has also refused to talk to the United States, which leaves many questioning how moderate the Islamic Front truly is and whether ISIS's radicalizing effect will dominate rebel intentions.

The conflict has also diffused across borders. Lebanon has seen an increase in Hezbollah fighting, and a rise in the number of Sunni militants. The Sunni militants have increased their opposition to Hezbollah as well as to the Syrian regime and given aid to many of the Syrian rebels.

Egypt has also seen a rise in terrorist activities from individuals returning from fighting against the Syrian regime. Egypt has had at least 358 individuals leave to fight in Syria. There are concerns that these individuals will become radicalized and battle hardened in Syria and destabilize their home countries upon their return.

Most recent estimates place the Syrian government in control of 30-40 percent of the country's land, with the population in control of roughly 60 percent. The death toll is estimated to be over 120,000. Over 10,000 protesters have been imprisoned and torture is suspected. Chemical weapons have been used during the conflict, drawing harsh international criticism and threats of United States military intervention. The use of chemical weapons has been curtailed due to international pressure and an agreement proposed by Russia that it would take and dismantle the chemical weapons of the Syrian regime.

Both sides have been accused of human rights violations. More than three million Syrians have fled the country and are refugees. In an attempt to end the violence occurring on both sides of the conflict there has begun a new round of peace talks being held in Geneva and mediated by the United Nations. The ongoing Geneva Talks are tense and the opposition has offered only partial support for an agreement. The talks struggle with Assad and the Ba'ath Party refusing to step down and the opposition refusing to accept an agreement unless they resign.

## Iranian Nuclear Talks

Hassan Rouhani was elected as the 7<sup>th</sup> president of the Islamic Republic of Iran in June 2013, and assumed office in August. He promised to open up Iran to the world and ease the crippling sanctions that have been placed on Iran by the international community.

Many in the West feel that the election is an opportunity for engagement in diplomacy with Iran. Rouhani is believed to be a moderate and a political pragmatist. Rouhani faces many challenges from the Ayatollah Khamenei (the religious leader of Iran) and other hardliners (including Orthodox, conservative and more fundamentalist leaders) who believe any discussion with the Western nations is against Islam.

In September 2013 the p5+1 talks continued and hope emerged for an agreement between Iran and the Western powers over Iran's nuclear activities. The month of September also saw Rouhani visit New York, a major diplomatic breakthrough between the United States and Iran. The trip to New York was followed with a phone call between Barack Obama and Rouhani, the highest level of diplomatic talks since 1979 between both nations.

In November 2013 a preliminary agreement was reached in Geneva regarding sanctions and Iran's nuclear program. The agreement was designed to halt Iran's nuclear advances for six months in exchange for the easing of international sanctions. The goal is to buy time to reach a final agreement.

Talks about the implementation of a final agreement with details on the specifics of the nuclear arrangement will take place between Iran and the European Union in January in Geneva.

A major issue in the ongoing dispute and negotiations is the nature of Iran's nuclear program. Iran has stated that its nuclear program is for peaceful purposes only. The West and in particular the United States and Israel have stated that Iran's nuclear program is for the enrichment of weapons grade uranium and ultimately nuclear weapons.

Rouhani has worked hard to balance between his own personal desire to acquire nuclear power while easing sanctions and maintaining domestic legitimacy. The Ayatollah Khamenei and other hardliners remain critical of the nuclear talks and believe that the agreement is a violation of Iran's sovereignty.

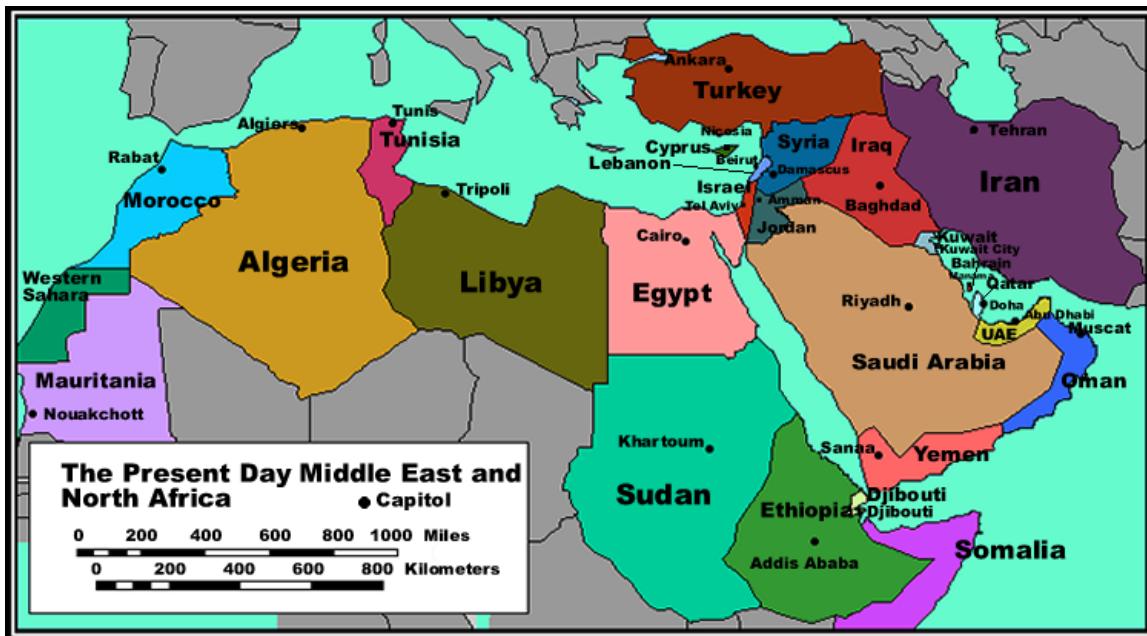
Current talks focus on Iran's centrifuge research and the suspension or reduction to 5% of production, and allowing Russian nuclear plants to run within the country instead of Iranian nuclear facilities. The heavy-water reactor at Arak, which could be used to make weapons grade material, has also been a large part of the disagreement.

The United States has faced its own internal challenges on the issue. Republican and Democratic lawmakers are attempting to place new sanctions on Iran that would be implemented if Iran violated the interim nuclear deal. The House of Representatives approved similar legislation in July and if a vote for sanctions takes place in the Senate it will likely pass. Obama has attempted to hold off a Senate vote, and has spent substantial political capital on holding it off and threatening a veto if the legislation is passed. Obama believes that passage of the sanctions during the current negotiations risks collapsing the entire nuclear deal.

## Terrorism in Iraq

Al-Qaeda has recently taken over the cities of Ramadi and Fallujah. The United States has sought to support the Iraqi government in removing al-Qaeda from the two cities. This support has been limited, however, as the United States has been reluctant to place troops on the ground after their removal in accord with the Status of Forces Agreement between the U.S. and Iraq. The Prime Minister Maliki of Iraq has also rejected retaining U.S. troops since 2011, and is under domestic pressure to continue to stabilize the government without Western involvement.

## Map of the Region



(Map credit: University of Notre Dame OCW)

# The People's Republic of China

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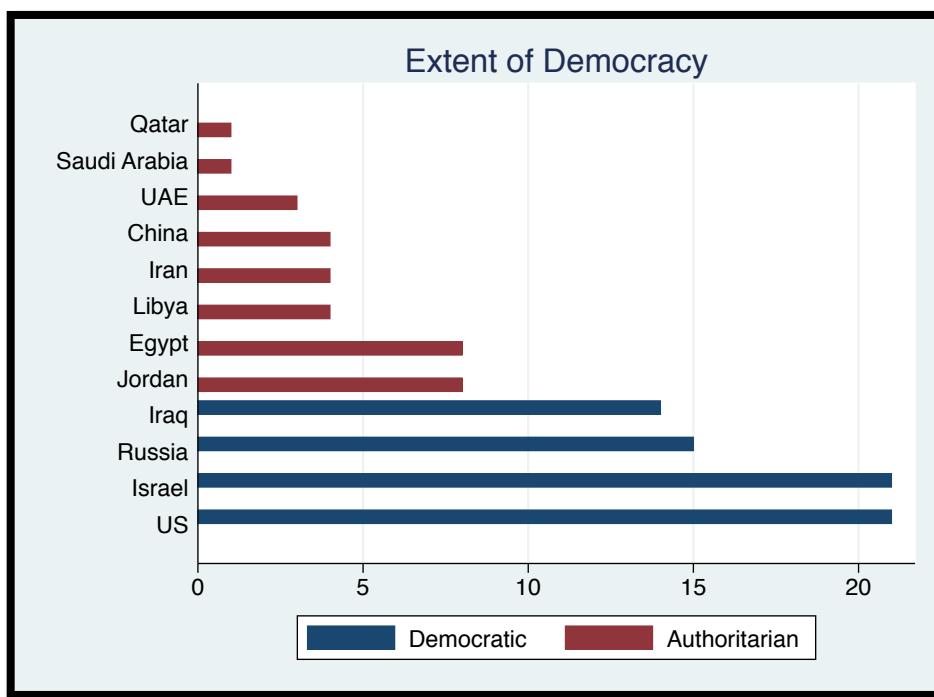
## China and Nuclear Weapon Free Zones

As one of the most powerful nations in the world with its large population, economy, and status as a nation possessing nuclear weapons, The People's Republic of China is a nation with a vital interest in and strong influence over the negotiations for a nuclear weapon free zone in the Middle East. China has been in favor of nuclear weapon free zones in the past: the government has created multiple agencies devoted to the development of the NWFZ and it appears to be a unified policy of the government. China ratified treaties to adopt nuclear weapons free zones in Africa, Latin America, and the South Pacific. China is also in support of establishing a NWFZ in South East Asia. China publicly states support for establishing a NWFZ in the Middle East. China has also stated that Israel should join the Non-Proliferation Treaty as a non-nuclear state with increased monitoring, and has stated a desire to place all Israeli nuclear facilities under the comprehensive safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency. China has been supportive of peaceful Iranian nuclear energy. China believes that Iran has a right to nuclear energy but must follow its international commitments.

## Domestic Political Constraints

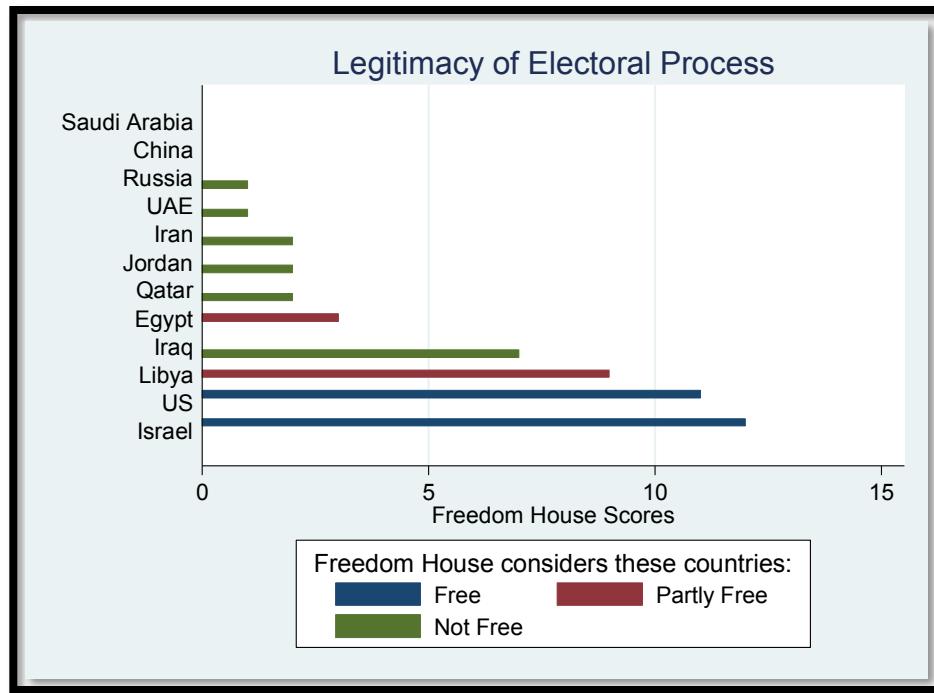
While some political leaders can agree to any policy even if they lack domestic support, other leaders carefully weigh policies that balance the risks of electoral or other political repercussions. The threat of domestic accountability can affect what leaders will and will not agree to in international negotiations.

China is dominated by a one-party system in which the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has long held control. However, there are several violent and nonviolent political opposition groups who seek a more democratic government or their own political power: these groups continue to challenge the CCP. By Robert Dahl's definition, democracy requires not only free, fair, and competitive elections, but also freedoms that make such elections meaningful.<sup>1</sup> These freedoms include the right to assemble, the freedom of expression, the access to alternative sources of information, and that the government policies and elected officials are a direct reflection of the citizens' desires.<sup>2</sup> The Freedom House is an independent watchdog association dedicated to the expansion of freedom around the world. China is rated **Not Free** by the Freedom House, its elections are considered **Not Legitimate**, and the extent of democracy is **Low**. These indicate that the Chinese population faces significant limitations in terms of its political participation and freedoms, which allow the CCP to make policy choices without consulting constituent preferences.



<sup>1</sup> Robert Dahl, *Polarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 39.

<sup>2</sup> Larry J. Diamond, "Thinking About Hybrid Regimes," *Journal of Democracy* 13, Vol. 2 (2002): 21.

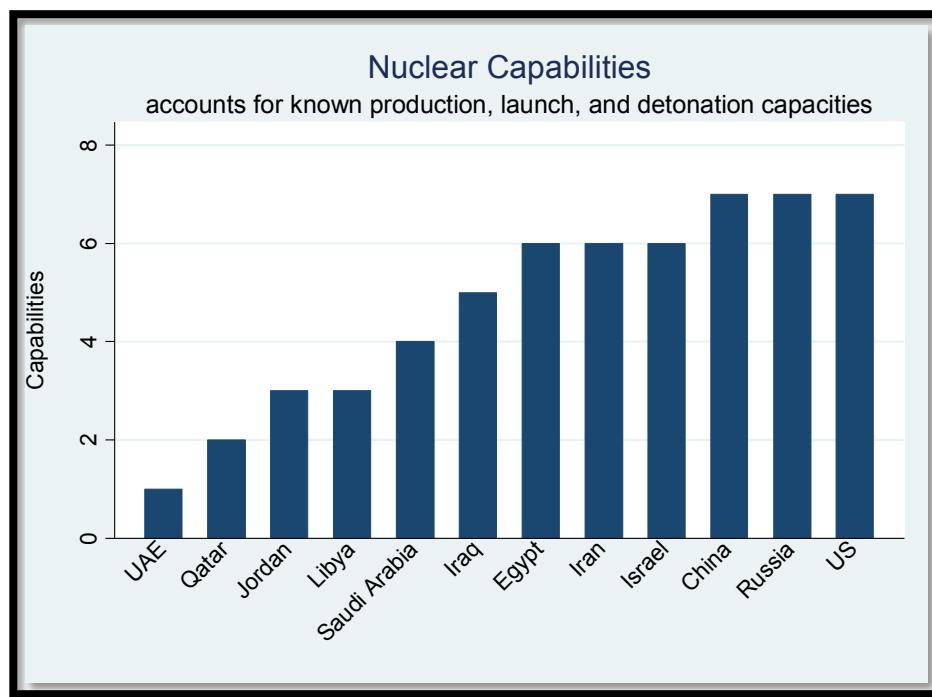


## China's Nuclear Policy

China's nuclear policy consists of many defensive tactics.

- Nuclear capacity: 240 nuclear warheads with many more missiles that could launch the warheads.
- Secure second strike: mobile and hidden nuclear weapons, sometimes hidden in mountain caves.
- Ballistic Missile Defenses: land-based Ballistic Missile Defense system has been developed to protect specific regions and cities. China has also successfully tested anti-satellite weapons.
- Official Deterrence Policies (Mutually Assured Destruction):
  - No First Use policy: China follows an official policy in which it will use nuclear weapons only if it is attacked with nuclear weapons first.
  - Counter-value Target policy: If attacked with nuclear weapons, China will target cities or other targets of equal or similar value to that which was attacked, instead of counterforce targets such as the enemy's military.

Below is a graph that summarizes the nuclear capabilities of countries in this negotiation. This graph can be used to understand both a country's own nuclear policy and its power relative to the other countries.



### Relations With Other States

Relations with other nations are important for any negotiation process. Below is a brief summary of China's bilateral relations. A few graphs show China's formal alliances and a more informal measure of relations that uses the similarity of United Nations voting records. This gives some expectation of how other countries are likely to behave and whether their interests are aligned with China's.

**Russia:** Russia is a formal ally of China. China diplomatically recognizes Russia, and Russia diplomatically recognizes China. China and Russia have a declared formal alliance. Their alliance includes a nonaggression pact as well as a consultation pact.

**Qatar:** China diplomatically recognizes Qatar and Qatar diplomatically recognizes China.

**Libya:** China diplomatically recognizes Libya and Libya diplomatically recognizes China.

**United States:** The United States is a formal ally of China. China diplomatically recognizes the United States and is recognized diplomatically by the United States. China

and the United States have a declared formal alliance. Their alliance includes a treaty of consultation.

**Iran:** Iran is a formal ally of China. China diplomatically recognizes Iran and is recognized diplomatically by Iran. China and Iran have a declared formal alliance. Their alliance includes defensive and offensive treaties.

**Israel:** China diplomatically recognizes Israel and is recognized diplomatically by Israel.

**United Arab Emirates:** China diplomatically recognizes the United Arab Emirates and is recognized diplomatically by the United Arab Emirates.

**Iraq:** Iraq is a formal ally of China. China diplomatically recognizes Iraq and is recognized diplomatically by Iraq. China and Iraq have declared a formal alliance. Their alliance includes defensive and offensive treaties.

**Egypt:** Egypt is a formal ally with China. China diplomatically recognizes Egypt and is recognized diplomatically by Egypt. China and Egypt have declared a formal alliance. Their alliance includes defensive and offensive treaties.

**Jordan:** China diplomatically recognizes that state of Jordan and is recognized diplomatically by Jordan.

**Saudi Arabia:** Saudi Arabia is a formal ally of China. China diplomatically recognizes that state of Saudi Arabia and is recognized diplomatically by Saudi Arabia. China and Saudi Arabia have a formal alliance. Their alliance includes defensive and offensive treaties.

***On past specific issues:***

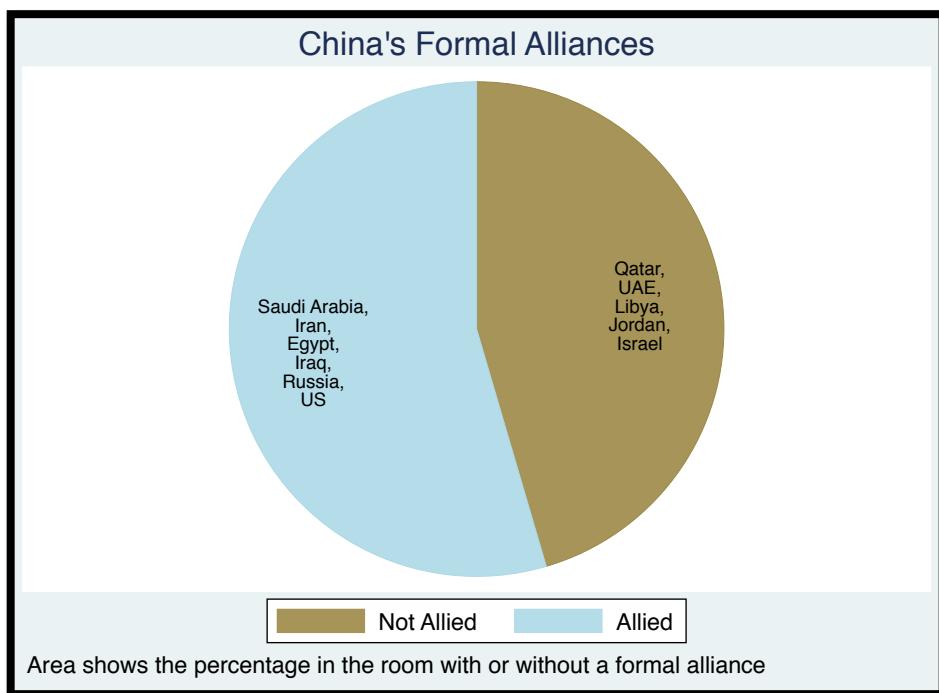
**Iran Sanctions:** China is Iran's largest trading partner. China is opposed to Iranian sanctions and imports large sums of oil from Iran. China has called for dialogue on Iran and the Iranian nuclear issue. China is opposed to unilateral sanctions by the United States and the European Union.

**Syrian Civil War:** China believes that the conflict in Syria can only be solved by dialogue. China has stated that the future of Syria should be decided by the Syrian people and without external influence. China joined Russia in 2011 in vetoing a resolution to sanction the Syrian government if it continued its military action against rebels. China has increasingly stated that the Syrian conflict is producing terrorist organizations and that the rebels are threatening their national security.

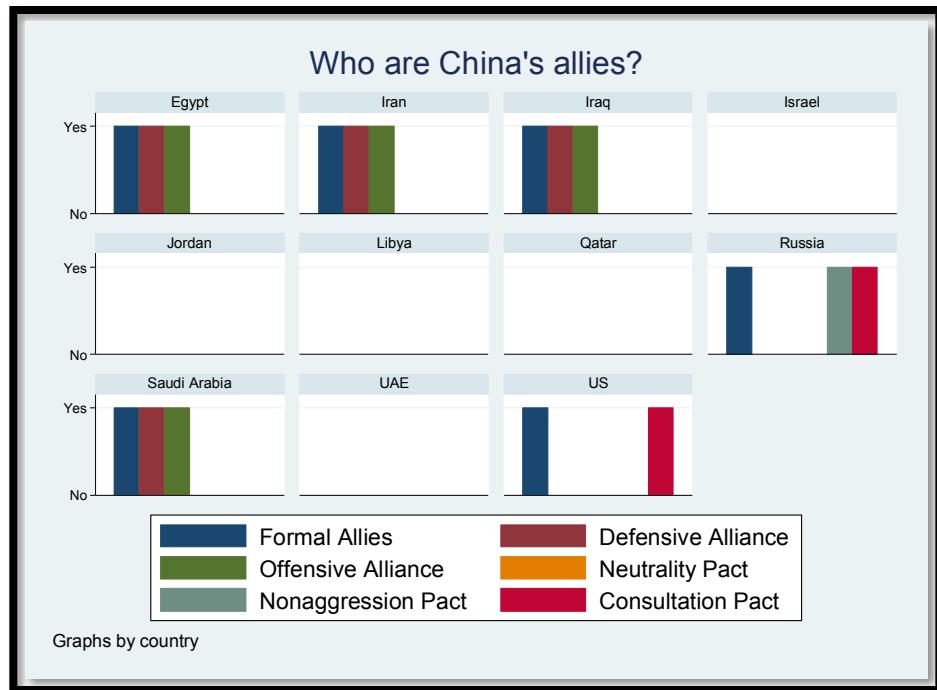
**Peace Initiatives in the Middle East:** China has viewed the Middle East as a region embroiled in conflict, and sees peace as necessary for its own national security. However, China has remained largely silent because it does not wish to be entangled in Middle East disputes. China has attempted to offer support for Arab states in their

various disputes with Israel but has not became a major player in peace talks. In May 2013 China attempted to establish itself as a player in the Israeli-Palestinian peace talks, but those peace talks collapsed.

For a quick reference of ***China's allies***: this pie chart shows that 55% of the countries at the negotiations are formally allied with China (Saudi Arabia, Iran, Egypt, Iraq, Russia and the U.S.). 45% of the countries present are not allied with China (Qatar, UAE, Libya, Jordan, and Israel).

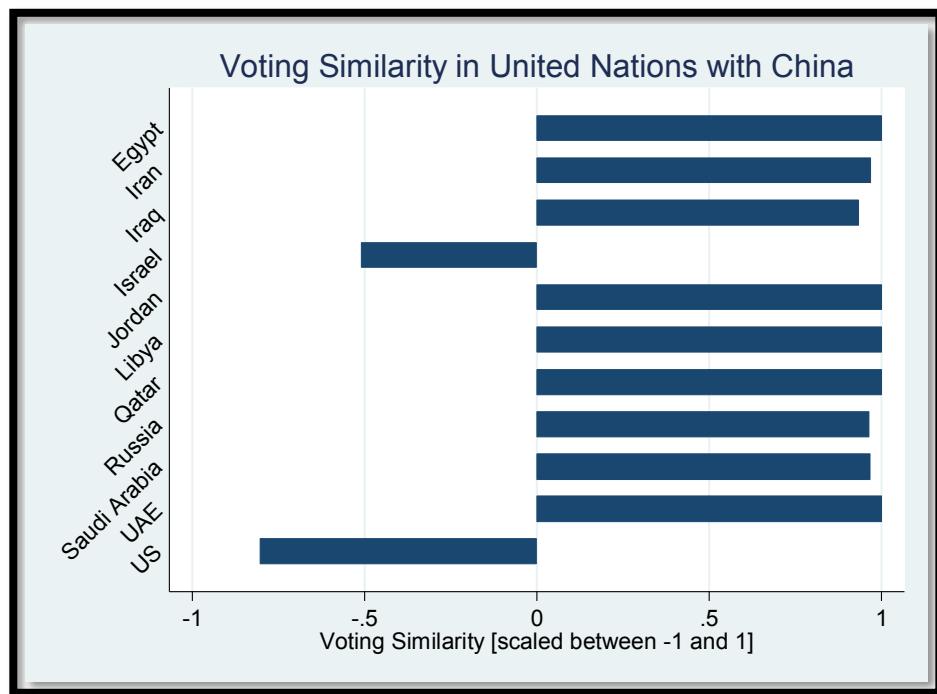


For a more detailed reference of ***China's alliance portfolio***: this next graph shows China's alliances by country and type of alliance.



For an understanding of the *informal bilateral relationships*:

This next graph depicts which countries have historically voted with and against China in the United Nations. Values closer to 1 indicate countries that vote with China. Values closer to -1 indicate countries that vote against China.

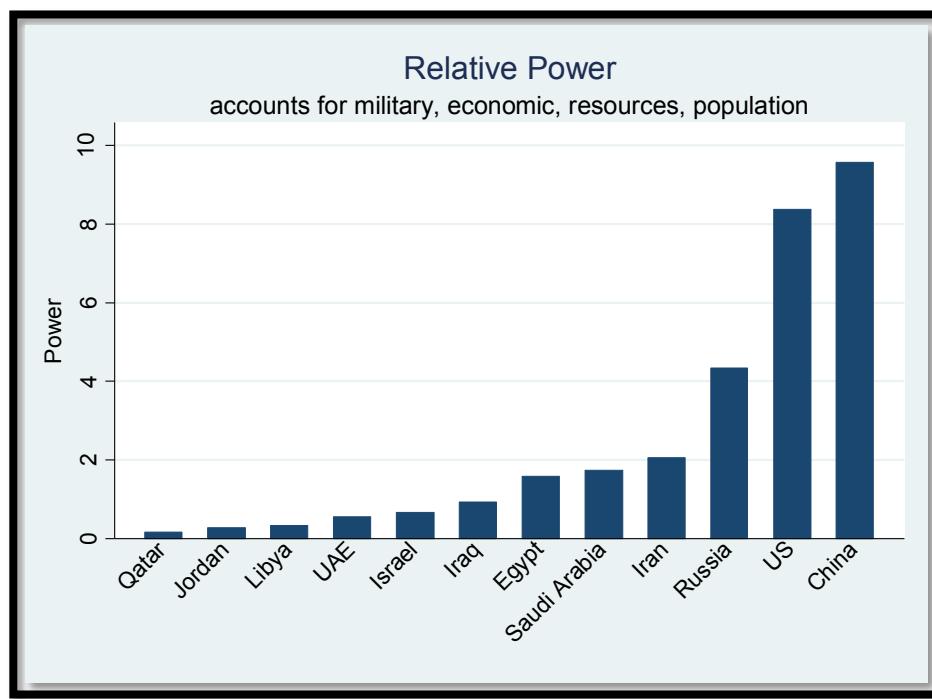


## Relative Power

Relative power can influence negotiating positions and the bargaining leverage that each country has when negotiating with other countries.

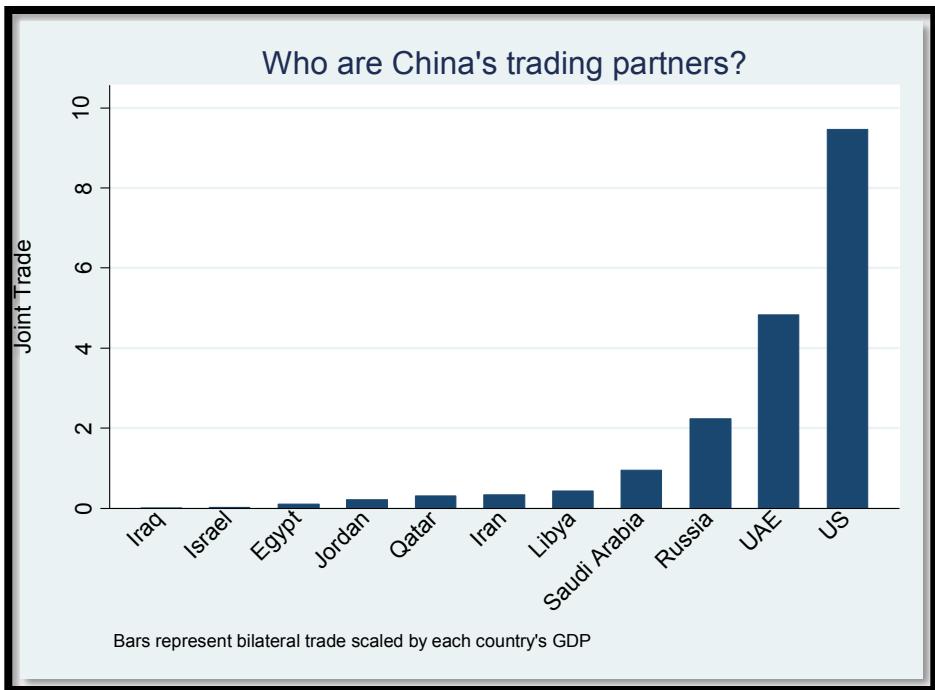
China's conventional armed forces are one of the strongest in the world with over 1.5 million people. The Chinese spend between 100-160 billion dollars on their military. China has a modern navy complete with nuclear submarines and aircraft carriers. China also has a modern air force complete with stealth fighters and stealth bombers.

The following is an illustration of *an aggregated measure of relative power* that summarizes China's military strength, economic strength, population size, and resources relative to other countries. This is an easy way to get a simple understanding of whether any particular nation is stronger or weaker than another and by how much.



## Trade

Trade can be indicative of connectedness or distance between two countries. Nations who are more deeply integrated in trade have more incentive to maintain good relations as they may be more adversely affected by a deterioration of those relations. The following graph illustrates China's international trade and trading partners.



# Egypt

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## Egypt and Nuclear Weapon Free Zones

Egypt, with borders in Africa and the Middle East, is a globally influential actor. Egypt has been one of the chief advocates of a Middle Eastern Weapons of Mass Destruction Free Zone (WMDFZ); however, it has refused to ratify subsequent treaties such as the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention because Israel has not signed the Treaty on Nuclear Non-Proliferation (NPT) and could be a threat to Egypt in the nuclear weapons arena. Egypt ratified the Treaty on Nuclear Non-Proliferation in 1980. It holds formal alliances with all states in this simulation. Egypt has had periods of indifference toward nuclear energy, but has also expressed interest in developing a nuclear power program during other periods, such as 2006 to the present.

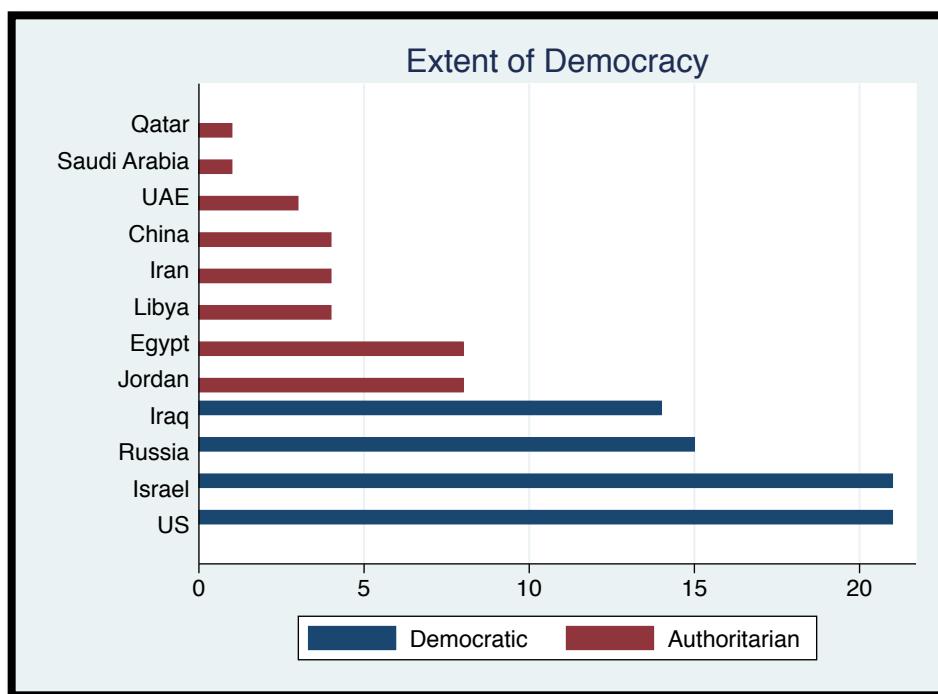
## Domestic Political Constraints

While some political leaders can agree to any policy even if they lack domestic support, other leaders carefully weigh policies that balance the risks of electoral or other political repercussions. The threat of domestic accountability can affect what leaders will and will not agree to in international negotiations.

Note that Egypt, along with Jordan, has the highest level of democracy of all the authoritarian regimes at these talks. However, the current state of the country's democracy is debatable. Morsi was elected through democratic elections and therefore had some democratic legitimacy to his and his party's rule, but the large and ongoing protests show that there is a high degree of polarization within the country. While some

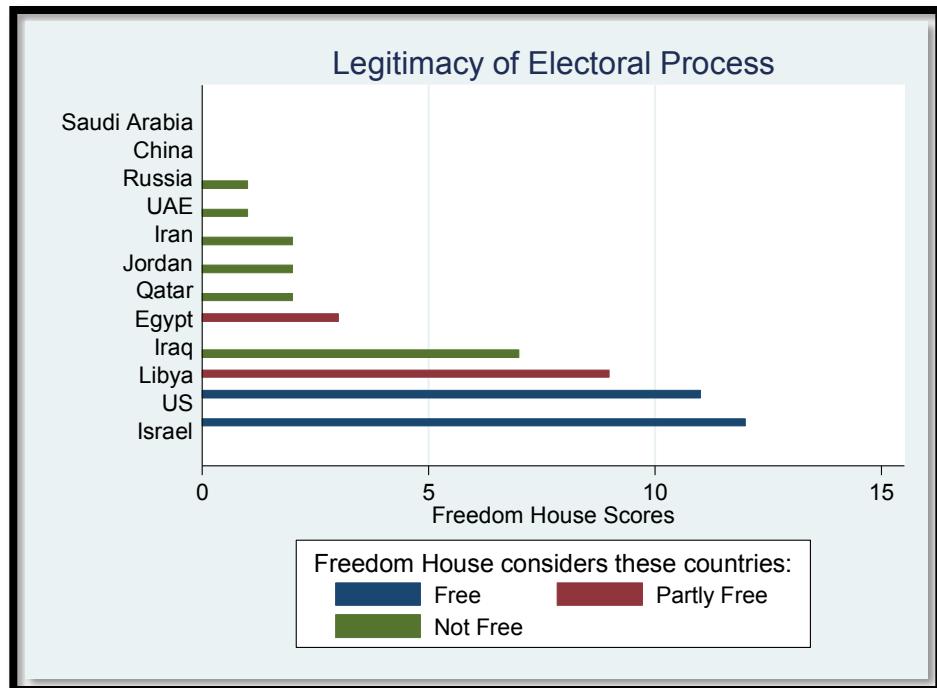
see the Muslim Brotherhood as a threat to the Egyptian government and stability in Egypt, others see the current military government as problematic to Egypt's democracy.

By Robert Dahl's definition, democracy requires not only free, fair, and competitive elections, but also freedoms that make such elections meaningful.<sup>3</sup> These freedoms include the right to assemble, the freedom of expression, the access to alternative sources of information, and that the government policies and elected officials are a direct reflection of the citizens' desires.<sup>4</sup> The Freedom House is an independent watchdog association dedicated to the expansion of freedom around the world. Between 2012 and 2013, Egypt improved from the status "Not Free" to "Partly Free" according to the Freedom House. The reason for this change is the presidential elections held in 2012, in which Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood was peacefully elected in a runoff in June. The election was seen as flawed and not entirely legitimate, but it marked Egypt's first presidential election -- an important step toward freedom for the Egyptian people. With 1 being the most free and 7 being the least free, Egypt's freedom rating is a 5. Its civil liberties and political rights ratings are also 5. The extent of Egypt's democracy is depicted below in comparison with the other countries.



<sup>3</sup> Robert Dahl, *Polarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 39.

<sup>4</sup> Larry J. Diamond, "Thinking About Hybrid Regimes," *Journal of Democracy* 13, Vol. 2 (2002): 21.

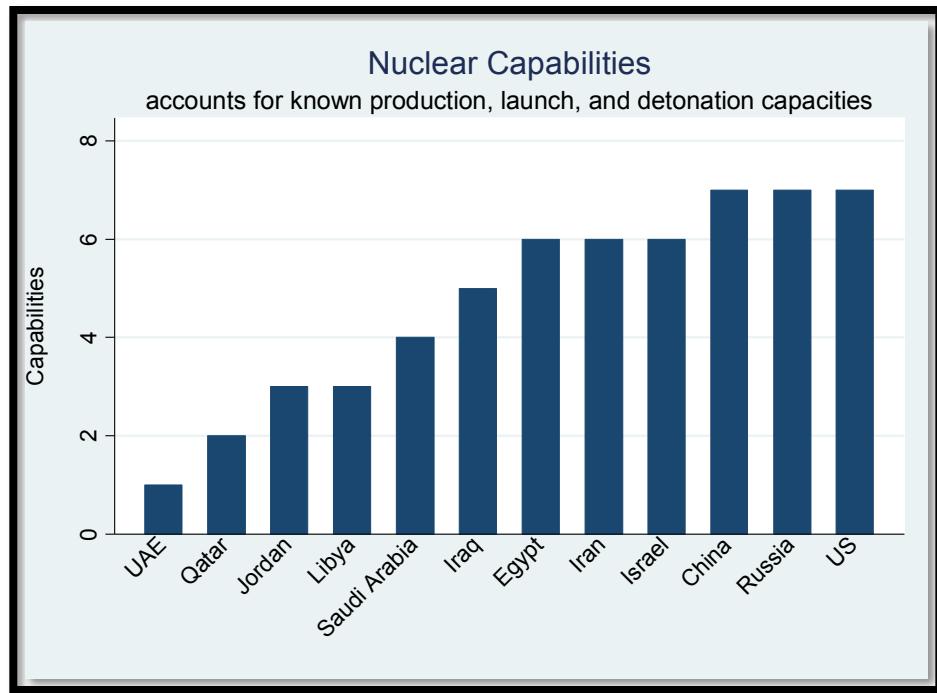


## Egypt's Nuclear Policy

Egypt's nuclear weapons policy, as of 1980 when Former President Anwar Sadat ratified the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), is one that advocates nonproliferation and transparency. However, Egypt has declined to sign many other nonproliferation documents because there has not been significant progress with regard to nuclear disarmament. Egypt's nuclear capacity is only in developmental stages—it possesses no completed nuclear weapons of which the world is aware. Egypt has two research reactors and spent-fuel management and plutonium separation technologies; however, Egypt does not have power reactors or enrichment or reprocessing capabilities. Since 2006, there have been attempts to complete a nuclear power program, but it has not yet been attained.

Egypt has a small arsenal of short-range ballistic missiles, which reflects its history of threats in the region, and was one of the first developing countries to express interest in ballistic missile capabilities. It has no intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and has limited production capability.

Below is a graph that summarizes the nuclear capabilities of countries in this negotiation. This graph can be used to understand both a country's own nuclear policy and its power relative to the other countries.



### *Relations With Other States*

Relations with other nations are important for any negotiation process. Below is a brief summary of Egypt's bilateral relations. Then a few graphs show Egypt's formal alliances and a more informal measure of relations that uses the similarity of United Nations voting records. This gives some expectation of how other countries are likely to behave and whether their interests are aligned with Egypt's.

**Russia:** Russia is a formal ally of Egypt. Egypt diplomatically recognizes Russia, and Russia diplomatically recognizes Egypt. Their alliance includes a nonaggression pact as well as a consultation pact.

**Qatar:** Qatar is a formal ally of Egypt. Egypt diplomatically recognizes Qatar and Qatar diplomatically recognizes Egypt. Their alliance includes defensive, nonaggression, and consultation pacts.

**Libya:** Libya is a formal ally of Egypt. Egypt diplomatically recognizes Libya and Libya diplomatically recognizes Egypt. Their alliance includes defensive, nonaggression pacts, and consultation pacts.

**United States:** The United States is a formal ally of Egypt. Egypt diplomatically recognizes the United States and is recognized diplomatically by the United States. The alliance between the United States and Egypt includes offensive and defensive alliances.

**Iran:** Iran is a formal ally of Egypt. Egypt diplomatically recognizes Iran and is recognized diplomatically by Iran. The alliance between the Iran and Egypt includes offensive and defensive alliances.

**Israel:** Israel is a formal ally of Egypt. Egypt diplomatically recognizes Israel and is recognized diplomatically by Israel. Their alliance includes a nonaggression pact.

**United Arab Emirates:** The United Arab Emirates is a formal ally of Egypt. Egypt diplomatically recognizes the United Arab Emirates and is recognized diplomatically by the United Arab Emirates. Their alliance includes defensive, nonaggression, and consultation pacts.

**Iraq:** Iraq is a formal ally of Egypt. Egypt diplomatically recognizes Iraq and is recognized diplomatically by Iraq. Their alliance includes defensive, nonaggression, and consultation pacts.

**China:** China is a formal ally of Egypt. Egypt diplomatically recognizes China and is recognized diplomatically by China. Their alliance includes defensive and offensive treaties.

**Jordan:** Jordan is a formal ally of Egypt. Egypt diplomatically recognizes that state of Jordan and is recognized diplomatically by Jordan. The alliance between Egypt and Jordan includes defensive, nonaggression, and consultation pacts.

**Saudi Arabia:** Saudi Arabia is a formal ally of Egypt. Egypt diplomatically recognizes that state of Saudi Arabia and is recognized diplomatically by Saudi Arabia. The alliance between Saudi Arabia and Egypt includes defensive, nonaggression, and consultation pacts.

***On past specific issues:***

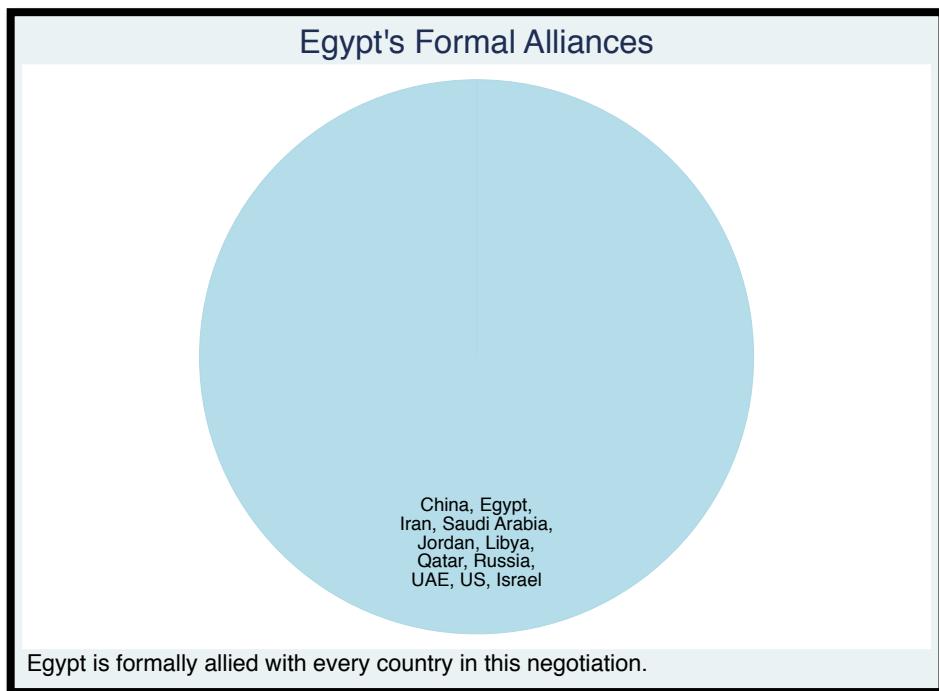
When the sanctions on Iran began, Egypt opened a branch of the Misr Iran Development Bank in Iran, the first branch in Iran. Although Egypt is a close ally of the United States, the opening of the branch signaled that the economic ties between Iran and Egypt would be strengthened. Egypt tactfully negotiated the situation so that it kept its alliance with the United States but also strengthened its economic ties with Iran in order to help Iran ease the pressure of the sanctions. With regard to the Syrian conflict, Egypt opposed strikes against Syria by the United States. Nabil Fahmy, the foreign minister of Egypt, denounces the use of chemical weapons in any capacity in Syria.

In September 1978, the Camp David Peace Accords were signed by Egypt and Israel. Israel withdrew its troops and Egypt vowed to recognize Israel as a state. Palestinians also obtained some self-determination. In 1979, the Egyptian president Anwar al-Sadat and the Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin shook hands and essentially ended 30 years of violence between the two states: however, both nations recognized that there was

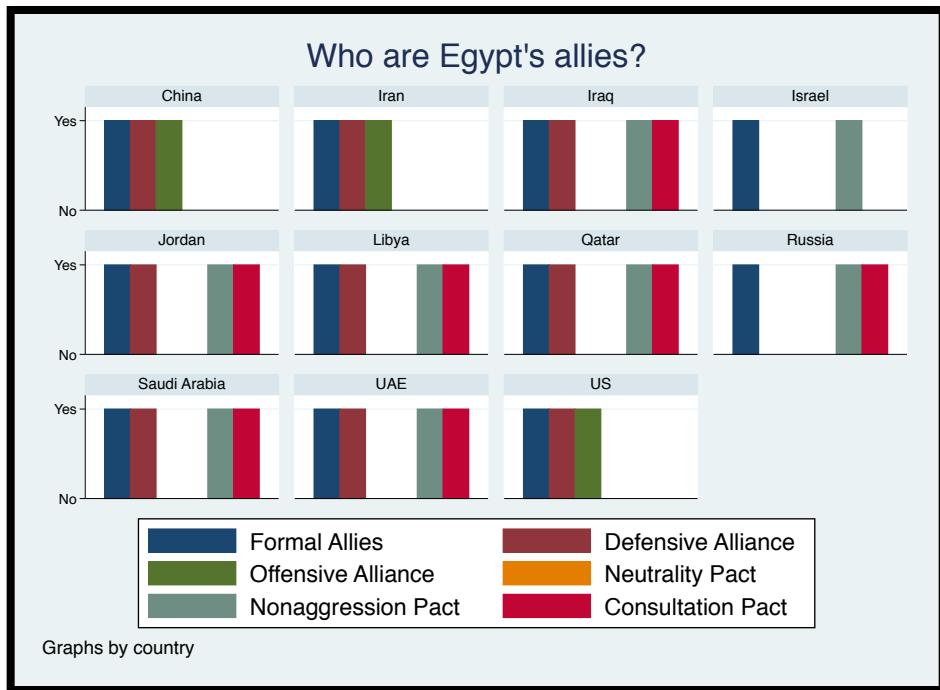
much more that must be resolved and that the treaty was the start of a journey to that resolution.

For a quick reference of *Egypt's allies*:

This pie chart shows that 100% of the countries represented at the negotiations are formally allied with Egypt (China, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Libya, Qatar, Russia, UAE, US, Israel).

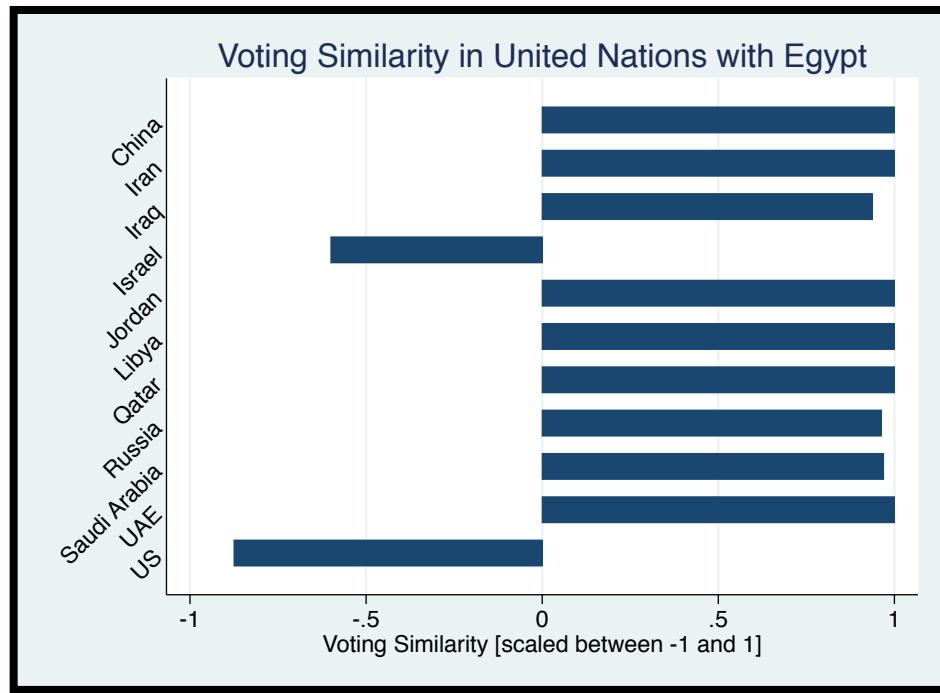


For a more detailed reference of *Egypt's alliance portfolio*: This next graph shows Egypt's alliances by country and type of alliance.



For an understanding of the *informal bilateral relationships*:

This next graph depicts which countries have historically voted with and against Egypt at the United Nations table. Values closer to 1 indicate countries that vote most often with Egypt, while values closer to -1 indicate countries that vote most often against Egypt. It is interesting that the US votes least similarly to Egypt, and yet is its largest trading partner.



## Relative Power

Relative power can influence negotiating positions and the bargaining leverage that each country has when negotiating with other countries.

In 2013, Global Firepower ranked Egypt's Armed Forces as the 14<sup>th</sup> most powerful in the world. It has the most military strength of any African nation and is third only to Pakistan and Israel in the Middle East. See the graphs below for more information on Egypt's military capacity.

### MANPOWER

- █ **Total Population:** 83,688,164 [2012]
- █ **Available Manpower:** 41,157,220 [2011]
- █ **Fit for Service:** 35,305,381 [2011]
- █ **Reaching Military Age Annually:** 1,532,052 [2011]
- █ **Active Frontline Personnel:** 468,500 [2011]
- █ **Active Reserve Personnel:** 479,000 [2011]



## LAND SYSTEMS

Tank value includes MBT, light tanks and tank destroyer systems, wheeled or tracked.

- Tanks:** 4,487 [2012]
- Armored Fighting Vehicles:** 9,646 [2012]
- Self-Propelled Guns:** 965 [2012]
- Towed Artillery Pieces:** 2,760 [2012]
- Rocket Projectors (MLRS):** 1,600 [2012]
- Portable Mortar Systems:** 10,334 [2012]
- Portable AT Weapons:** 23,600 [2012]
- Logistical Vehicles:** 57,235



## AIR POWER

Includes fixed-wing and rotary-wing aircraft from all branches of service.

All aircraft types accounted for including UAVs, transports, gunships, recon, naval, trainers, etc...

- Total Aircraft:** 863 [2012]
- Helicopters:** 200 [2012]



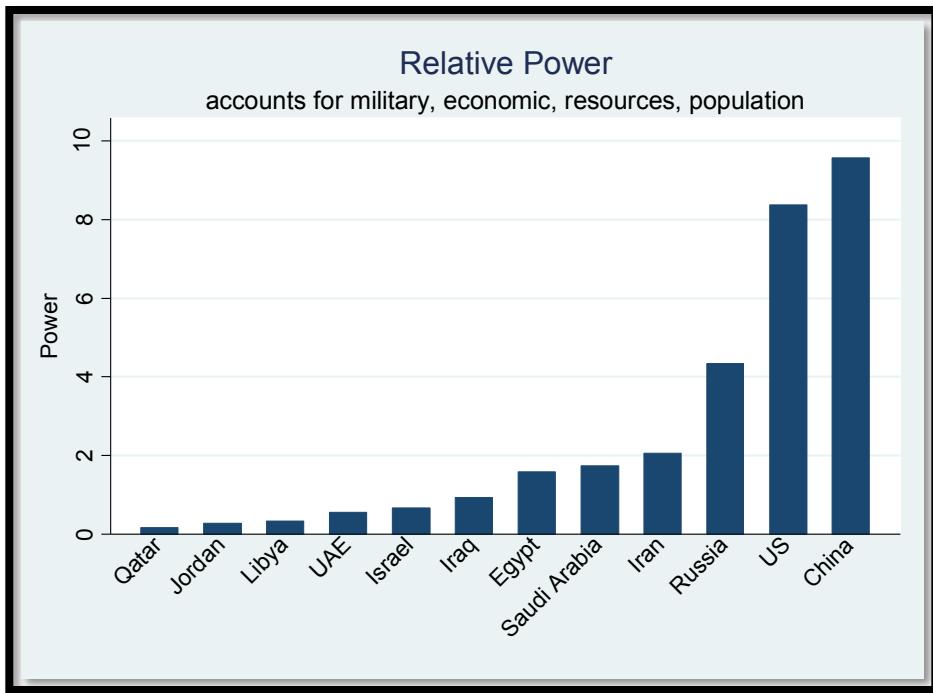
## NAVAL POWER

Aircraft Carrier value does not include helicopter carrier-type vessels.

- Total Strength:** 221 (includes auxiliaries)
- Aircraft Carriers:** 0 [2012]
- Frigates:** 8 [2012]
- Destroyers:** 0 [2012]
- Corvettes:** 2 [2012]
- Submarines:** 4 [2012]
- Coastal Craft:** 51 [2012]
- Mine Warfare:** 28 [2012]
- Amphibious Assault:** 20 [2012]

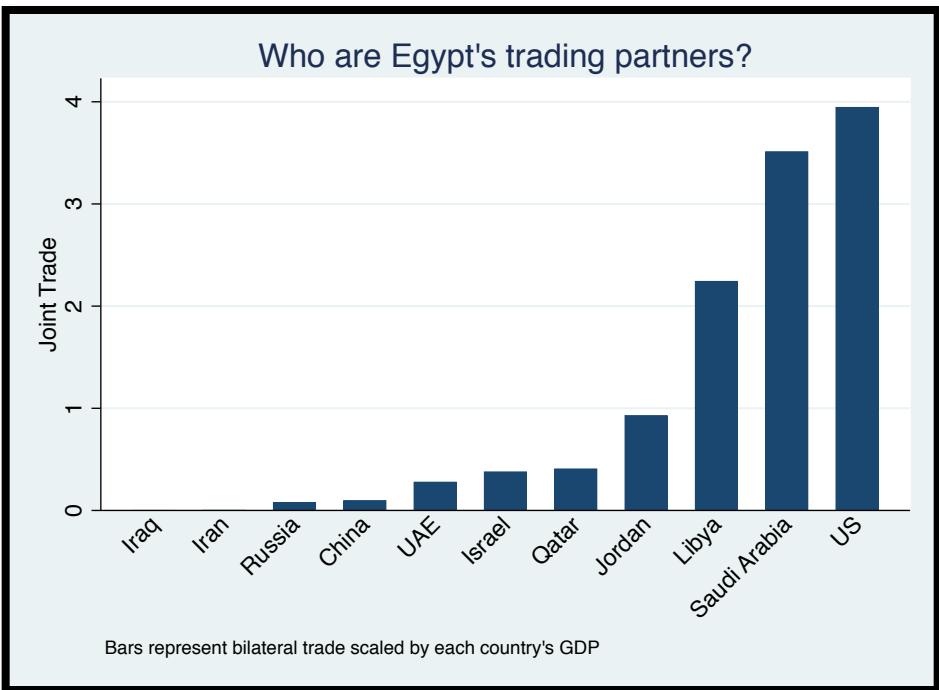
([http://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country\\_id=Egypt](http://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=Egypt))

The following is an illustration of *an aggregated measure of relative power* that summarizes Egypt's military strength, economic strength, population size, and resources relative to other countries. This is an easy way to get a simple understanding of whether any particular nation is stronger or weaker than another and by how much.



## Trade

Trade can be indicative of connectedness or distance between two countries. Nations who are more deeply integrated in trade have more incentive to maintain good relations as they may be more adversely affected by a deterioration of those relations. The following graph illustrates Egypt's international trade and trading partners.



# Islamic Republic of Iran

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## Iran and Nuclear Weapons Free Zones

Iran has supported a Middle East nuclear weapon free zone (MENWFZ) in the past. In 1974, Egypt and Iran signed a joint declaration supporting the MENWFZ after negotiations started in the 60s. However, Iran along with Iraq, Libya, and Syria have repeatedly been found to be in non-compliance with International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguard obligations under the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) due to each country's ambitions to acquire enriched uranium outside of the IAEA inspection regime. Most recently in 2012, Finland agreed to host talks on the proposed Middle East nuclear weapon free zone, but these talks were called off in November 2012.

## Domestic Political Constraints

While some political leaders can agree to any policy even if they lack domestic support, other leaders carefully weigh policies that balance the risks of electoral or other political repercussions. The threat of domestic accountability can affect what leaders will and will not agree to in international negotiations.

Iran is an “Islamic republic.” The President of Iran is an elected position. President Hassan Rouhani was elected as President of Iran in 2013. There is also a Supreme Leader of Iran. Since 1989, the Supreme Leader of Iran has been a Shia Cleric named Ali Khamenei. Khamenei is considered to be the “head of state” and the most powerful person in Iran even though Rouhani is the elected President. Rouhani has recently started negotiating with Western powers including the United States and the European Union over joining the non-proliferation regime and becoming a party to the Non-proliferation

Treaty (NPT). Negotiators from Iran, the US, and the EU agreed to several non-proliferation measures in late 2013, but these have yet to be fully implemented. Even though Iran is still a long way from officially joining the NPT, Rouhani is the first Iranian president to ever take these steps. Religious hardliners and Shia clerics in Iran have opposed Rouhani's efforts, believing that Iran should maintain its independence from the NPT and the wishes of Western powers. The Supreme Leader Khamenei, widely considered to be a religious hardliner, has given limited but uneasy support for Rouhani's nuclear efforts: Khamenei publicly supported Rouhani's diplomatic efforts, however, Khamenei also criticized Rouhani's actions as "inappropriate."<sup>5</sup> The domestic situation faced by both Khamenei and Rouhani is difficult: hardliners oppose any rapprochement with the West, and yet the easing of economic sanctions seems to require negotiations with the West.<sup>6</sup>

By Robert Dahl's definition, democracy requires not only free, fair, and competitive elections, but also freedoms that make such elections meaningful.<sup>7</sup> These freedoms include the right to assemble, the freedom of expression, the access to alternative sources of information, and that the government policies and elected officials are a direct reflection of the citizens' desires.<sup>8</sup> The Freedom House is an independent watchdog association dedicated to the expansion of freedom around the world. Iran is rated as an authoritarian regime. According to the Freedom House, its elections are considered Not Free, and the extent of democracy is Low.

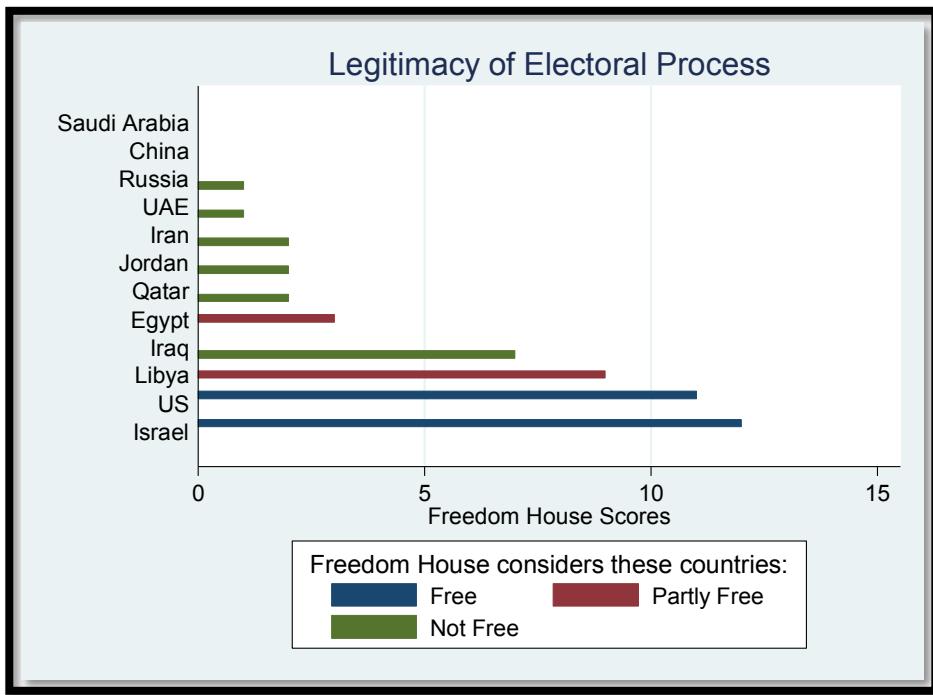
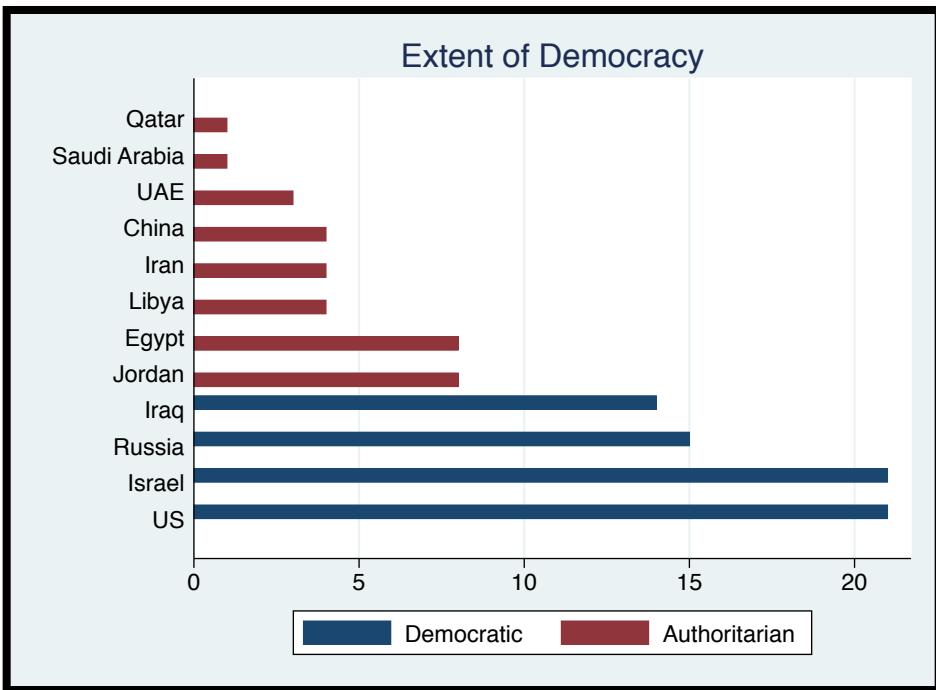
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<sup>5</sup> See: [http://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/06/world/middleeast/ayatollah-questions-aspects-of-rouhanis-trip.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/06/world/middleeast/ayatollah-questions-aspects-of-rouhanis-trip.html?_r=0).

<sup>6</sup> See: <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2013/10/12/khamenei-rouhanistripdiplomacy.html>

<sup>7</sup> Robert Dahl, *Polarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 39.

<sup>8</sup> Larry J. Diamond, "Thinking About Hybrid Regimes," *Journal of Democracy* 13, Vol. 2 (2002): 21.

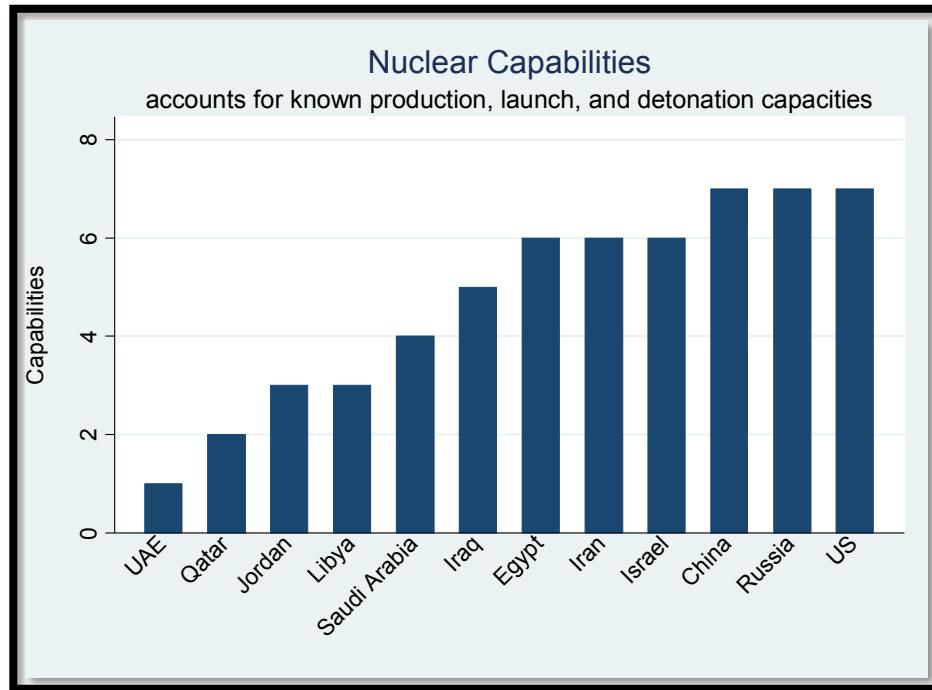


### *Iran's Nuclear Policy*

Iran has no stated nuclear use policy. Iran is not known to possess a nuclear weapon and there is no evidence that Iran has ever had a working nuclear weapon. Before 2003, Iran

had been pursuing nuclear weapons. However, all nuclear weapons efforts stopped in 2003 according to IAEA and US estimates.

Below is a graph that summarizes the nuclear capabilities of countries in this negotiation. This graph can be used to understand both a country's own nuclear policy and its power relative to the other countries.



## Relations With Other States

Relations with other nations are important for any negotiation process. Below is a brief summary of Iran's bilateral relations. Then a few graphs show Iran's formal alliances and a more informal measure of relations that uses the similarity of United Nations voting records. This gives some expectation of how other countries are likely to behave and whether their interests are aligned with Iran's.

**Russia:** Iran and Russia have become closer militarily, diplomatically, and economically in recent years. Both countries have an interest in curbing the influence of the United States in Asia.

**Qatar:** Iran and Qatar are especially close on economic matters. Both countries are major energy producers and exporters. Both countries are members of OPEC and have signed several economic cooperation treaties, especially on oil and gas matters. Additionally, Qatar is seeking a peaceful end to Iran's nuclear ambitions.

**Libya:** Iran and Libya have economic ties and have signed economic cooperation treaties on oil and gas matters. Currently, it is unclear how close these two countries are,

especially on diplomatic and military issues, given that former Libyan leader Muammar Gadhafi was killed in the Libyan Civil War.

**United States:** Iran and the US historically have not had close relations. The US has little economic ties with Iran and has even supported economic sanctions against Iran. Additionally, Iran is one of the few countries in the world that the US has no formal diplomatic ties with, as there is no American embassy in Iran. Recently, however, the two countries have made progress on non-proliferation talks under President Rouhani's leadership.

**China:** China is a formal ally of Iran. China diplomatically recognizes Iran and is recognized diplomatically by Iran. China and Iran have a declared formal alliance. Their alliance includes defensive and offensive treaties.

**Israel:** Iran and Israel have no formal diplomatic, military, or economic relations. In the past, Israel has advocated for military action against Iran and its alleged nuclear weapons facilities. Additionally, Iran has never formally accepted Israel as a legitimate state and supports Palestine over Israel.

**United Arab Emirates:** Trade between the UAE and Iran is strong and there is a significant Iranian population living in the UAE. However, the two countries have had territorial disputes over three islands in the Persian Gulf and there is currently no proposed solution to these disputes.

**Iraq:** Relations between Iran and Iraq have improved substantially since the fall of Saddam Hussein's government. Economic ties between the two countries have improved considerably. Iran gave post-war economic assistance to Iraq and Iran's exports to Iraq have been increasing each year since the end of the Iraq War in 2003.

**Egypt:** Egypt and Iran currently have poor relations. Egypt is the only Arab country to not have an embassy in Iran even though there is an Iranian embassy in Egypt. Historically, there have been several events that have damaged relations between the two countries, including Egypt signing the Camp David Accords with Israel in 1979. However, following the 2011 Egyptian Revolution, relations have improved. President Morsi of Egypt visited Iran in 2012, making him the first to do so since the Iranian Revolution. In 2013, President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad also became the first Iranian president to visit Egypt since the Iranian Revolution.

**Jordan:** Relations between Iran and Jordan have been extremely limited. Economic ties between the two countries are also almost non-existent. Tensions between the two countries stem from several issues, including Jordan's support for Saddam Hussein in the Iran-Iraq War. However, Jordan supports Iran's right to develop a peaceful nuclear weapons program. Jordan's King Abdullah II has also rejected and opposed a military strike against Iran, preferring a diplomatic solution instead.

**Saudi Arabia:** Iran and Saudi Arabia have mixed relations. The two countries' diplomatic relations have been marred by several incidents, including Saudi Arabia's supposed opposition to Iran's nuclear weapons program. Additionally, Iran and Saudi Arabia also view each other as economic competitors especially since both are major exporters of natural gas and oil.

**Syria:** Iran and Syria are very close allies. Many consider Syria to be Iran's closest ally. The two countries have very close economic, diplomatic, and military ties. Moreover, Iran has extensively backed Syrian leader Bashar al-Assad during the Syrian Civil War.

***On past specific issues:***

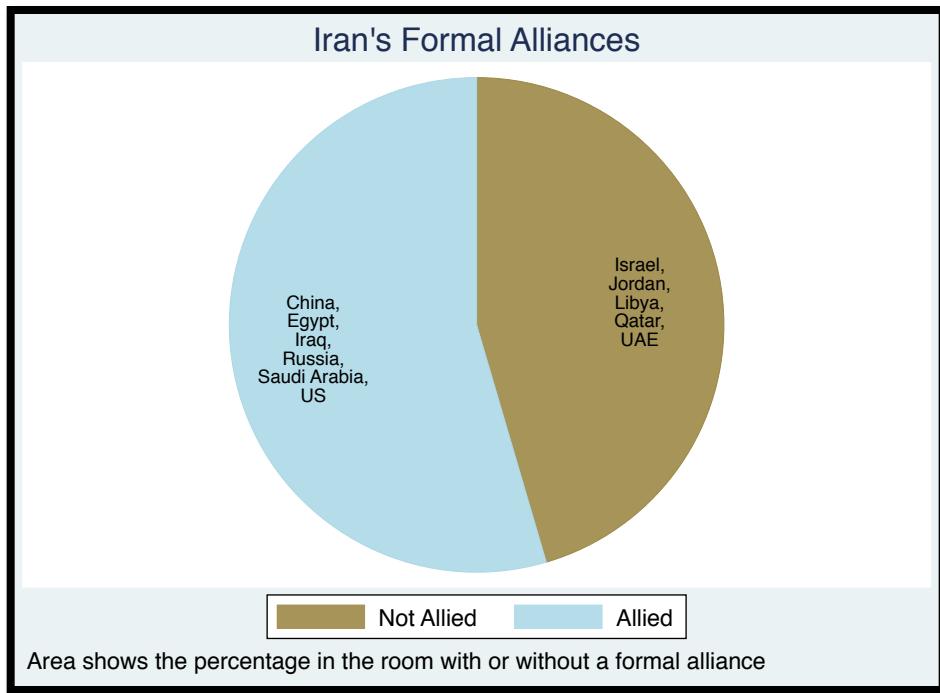
**Iran Sanctions:** Iran is staunchly opposed to any sanctions on them. They believe that states, which impose sanctions on them, are imperialists attempting to stop them from achieving peaceful nuclear energy. Because of the current sanctions on Iran their currency has collapsed and the economy has suffered greatly.

**Syrian Civil War:** Iran is very close to the Syrian and has backed the Al-Assad regime. Iran has offered economic, as well as military support against the rebels in order to garner regional stability. Iran believes that the rebels are terrorists. Iran believes that the United States and other western powers have actively supported instability in the region, terrorism, and violated Syria's sovereignty due to their support of the rebels.

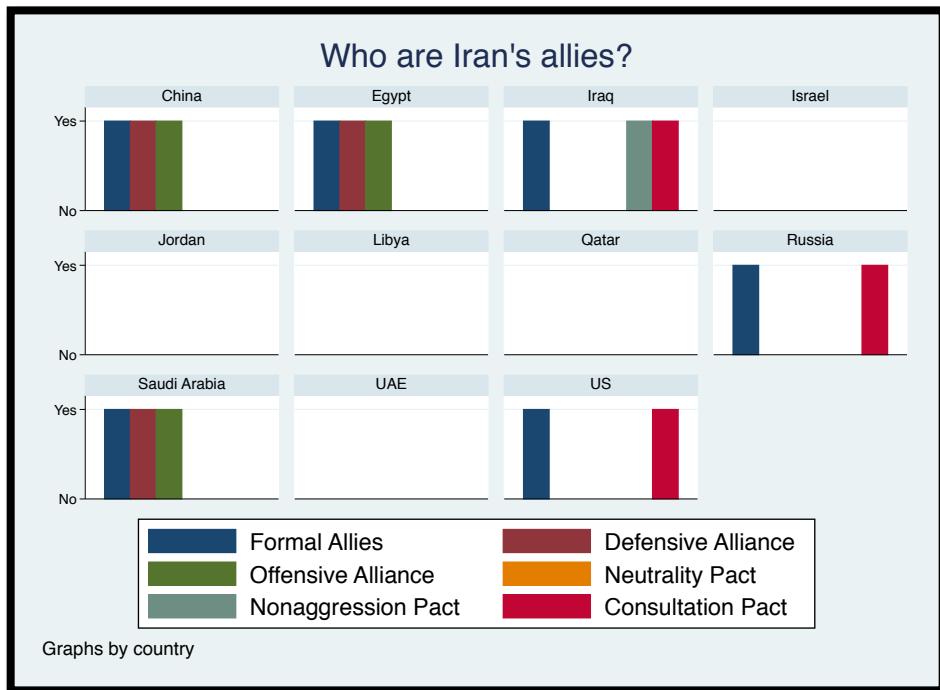
**Peace Initiatives in the Middle East:** Iran is a revisionist regional hegemon and believes that the United States has meddled in the region for far too long and has contributed to regional instability. Iran is very vocal on many issues in the Middle East and has expressed desires to spread its influence throughout the region. Iran has repeatedly called Israel an outlaw state and said that the only true state in what is currently Israel is Palestine.

For a quick reference of ***Iran's allies:***

This pie chart shows that more than 50% of the countries represented at the negotiations are formally allied with Iran (China, Egypt, Iraq, Russia, Saudi Arabia, and the US). A little less than 50% of the countries present are not allied with Iran (Qatar, UAE, Libya, Jordan, and Israel).

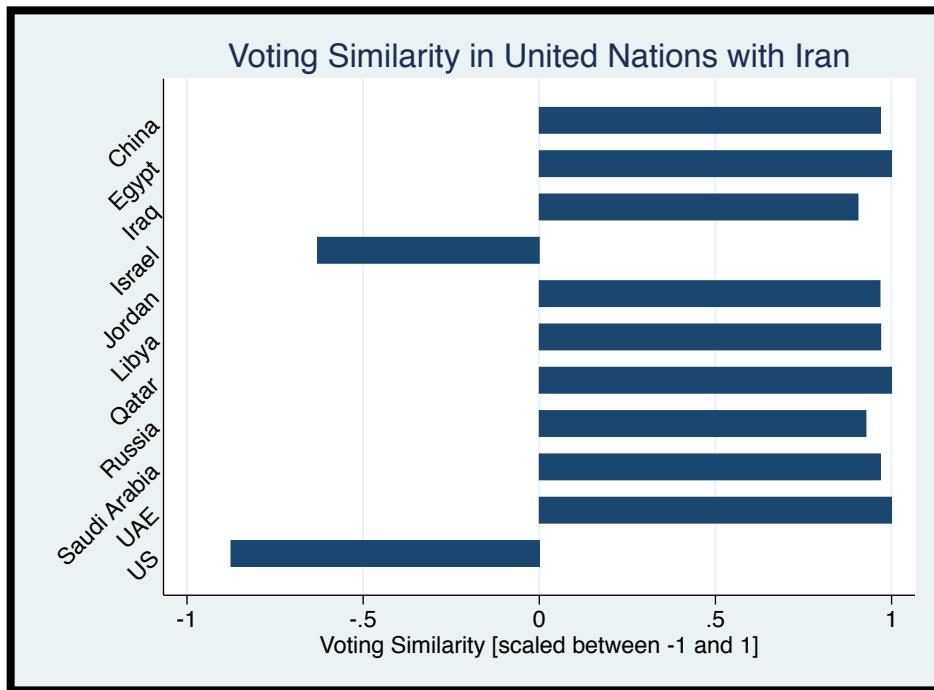


For a more detailed reference of ***Iran's alliance portfolio***: This next graph shows Iran's alliances by country and type of alliance.



For an understanding of the ***informal bilateral relationships***:

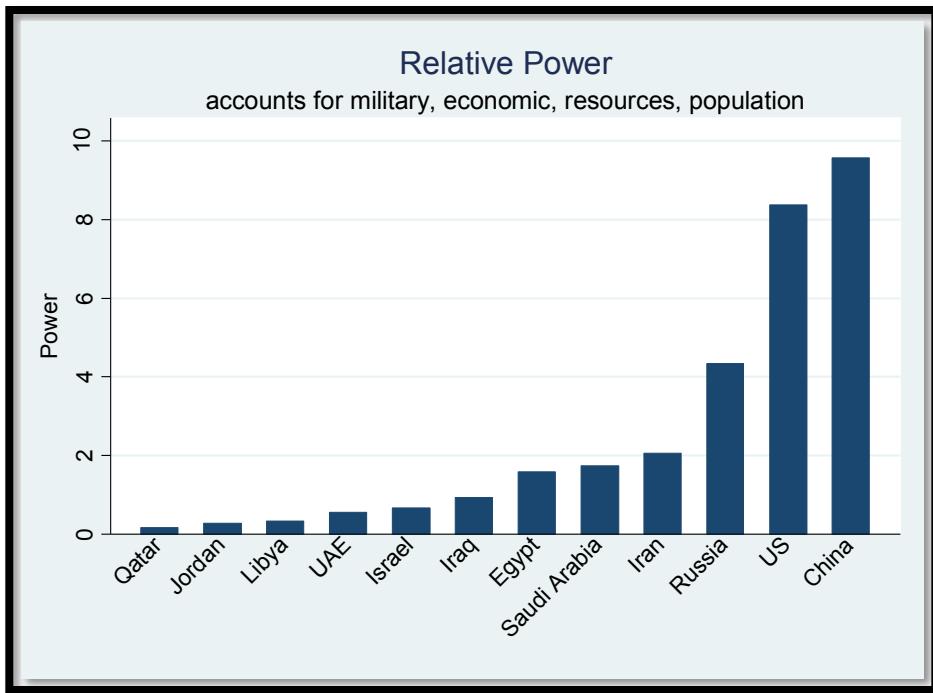
This next graph indicates which countries typically vote with and against Iran at the United Nations. Values closer to 1 indicate countries that vote most often with Iran. Values closer to -1 indicate countries that vote most often against Iran.



## Relative Power

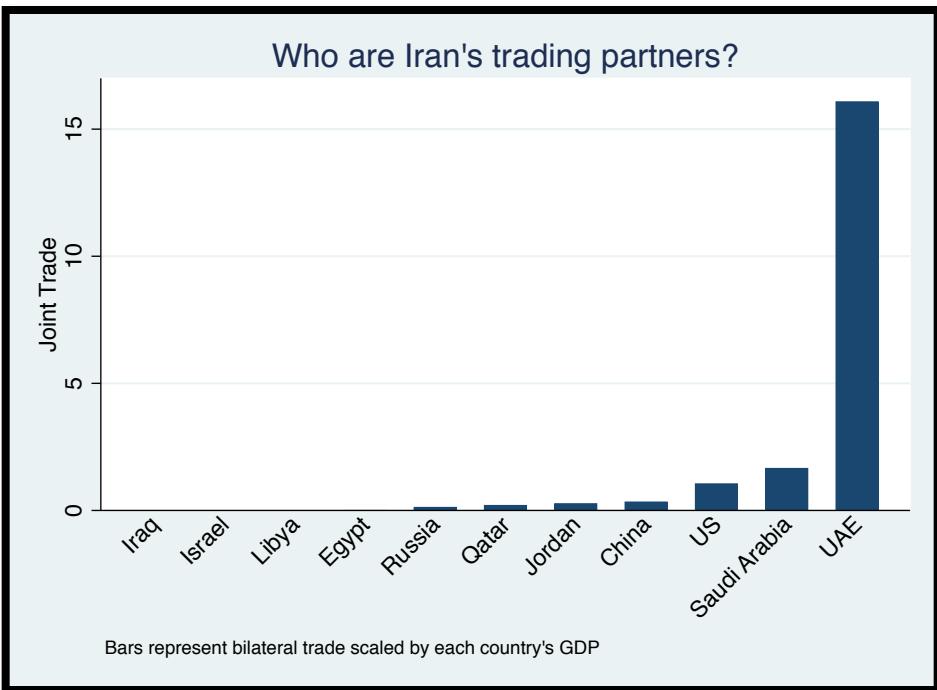
Relative power can influence negotiating positions and the bargaining leverage that each country has when negotiating with other countries. Iran's conventional forces total approximately 545,000 active personnel, making it the 8<sup>th</sup> largest military in the world and the largest military in the Middle East.

The following is an illustration of *an aggregated measure of relative power* that summarizes Iran's military strength, economic strength, population size, and resources relative to other countries. This is an easy way to get a simple understanding of whether any particular nation is stronger or weaker than another and by how much.



## Trade

Trade can be indicative of connectedness or distance between two countries. Nations who are more deeply integrated in trade have more incentive to maintain good relations as they may be more adversely affected by a deterioration of those relations. The following graph illustrates Iran's international trade and trading partners.



# Iraq

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## Iraq and Nuclear Weapons Free Zones

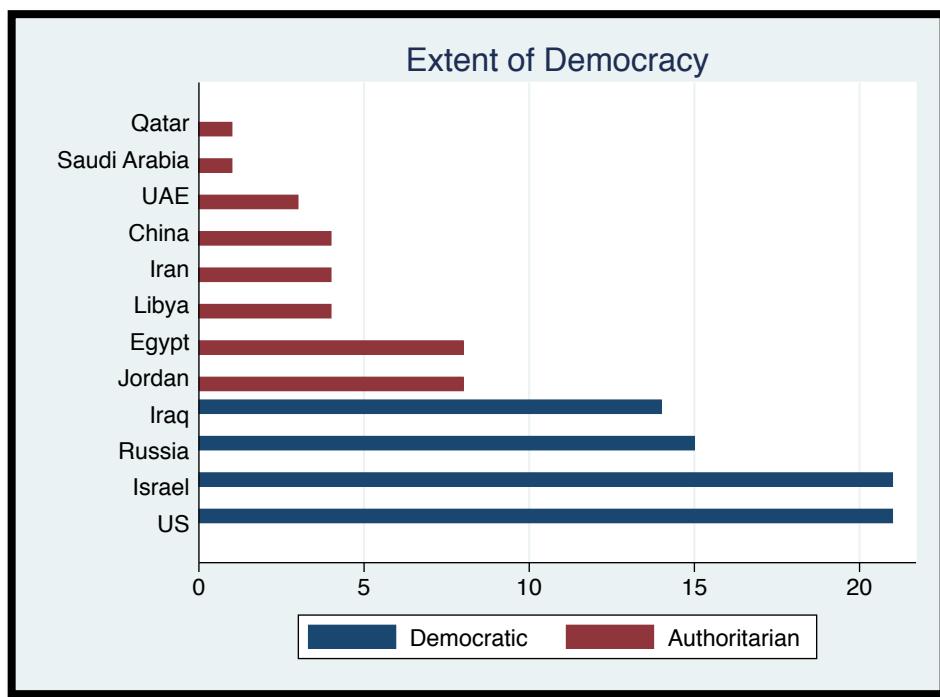
Iraq has had a tumultuous relationship with nuclear weapons and the rest of the world since the 90s. The fifth president of Iraq, Saddam Hussein, was internationally known for his use of chemical weapons against his own civilians. In the 80s, he built an extensive biological and nuclear weapons program, though no nuclear bomb was constructed. After the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the United Nations located and destroyed large quantities of Iraqi chemical weapons with varying degrees of Iraqi cooperation. During the lead-up to the 2003 war, “Operation Iraqi Enduring Freedom”, the United States declared that one of its main reasons for initiating a war was to stop Iraq’s production of WMDs. However United Nations weapons inspectors found no evidence of WMD. In spite of the aforementioned UN-sponsored investigation, the US entered Iraq and deposed Hussein from power. Since 2003, Iraq has signed the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and accedes to the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC). Iraq has been found in non-compliance with the IAEA safeguards under the NPT.

## Domestic Political Constraints

While some political leaders can agree to any policy even if they lack domestic support, other leaders carefully weigh policies that balance the risks of electoral or other political repercussions. The threat of domestic accountability can affect what leaders will and will not agree to in international negotiations. Iraq is considered a new and weak democracy because it has had fair and open elections, but leaders often face questions of their legitimacy. Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki has attempted to consolidate power but has

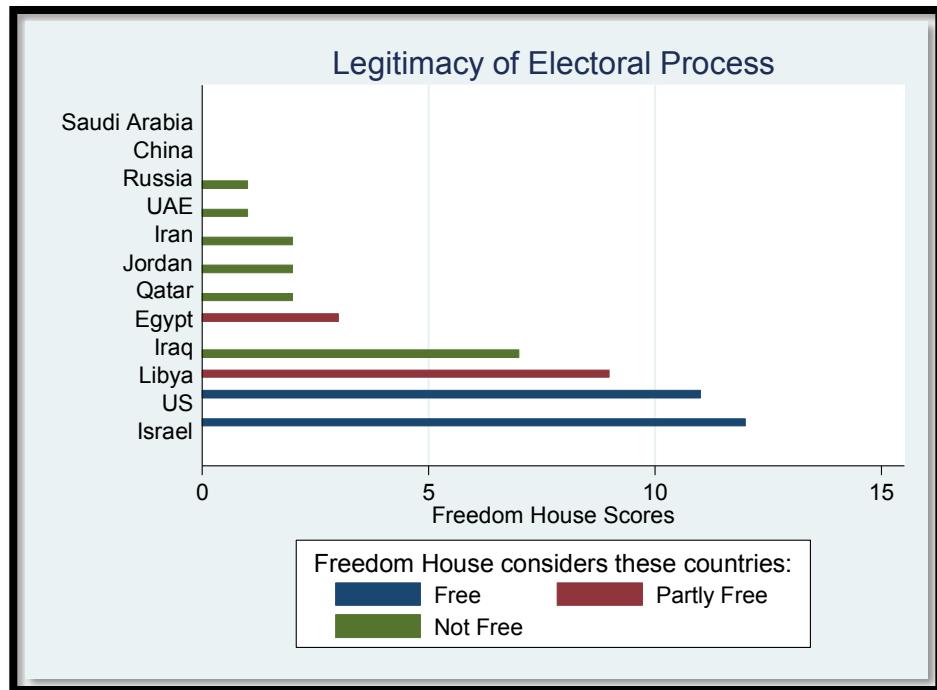
faced opposition from Kurds and Sunnis who oppose his power and have actively sought to undermine his position. Current violence in Iraq is linked to a lack of legitimacy and consolidation of power within the government.

By Robert Dahl's definition, democracy requires not only free, fair, and competitive elections, but also freedoms that make such elections meaningful.<sup>9</sup> These freedoms include the right to assemble, the freedom of expression, the access to alternative sources of information, and that the government policies and elected officials are a direct reflection of the citizens' desires.<sup>10</sup> The Freedom House is an independent watchdog association dedicated to the expansion of freedom around the world. Iraq is rated as Not Free by the Freedom House. Its elections are considered moderately legitimate, and the extent of the democracy is ranker lower than Russia, but higher than most authoritarian regimes.



<sup>9</sup> Robert Dahl, *Polarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 39.

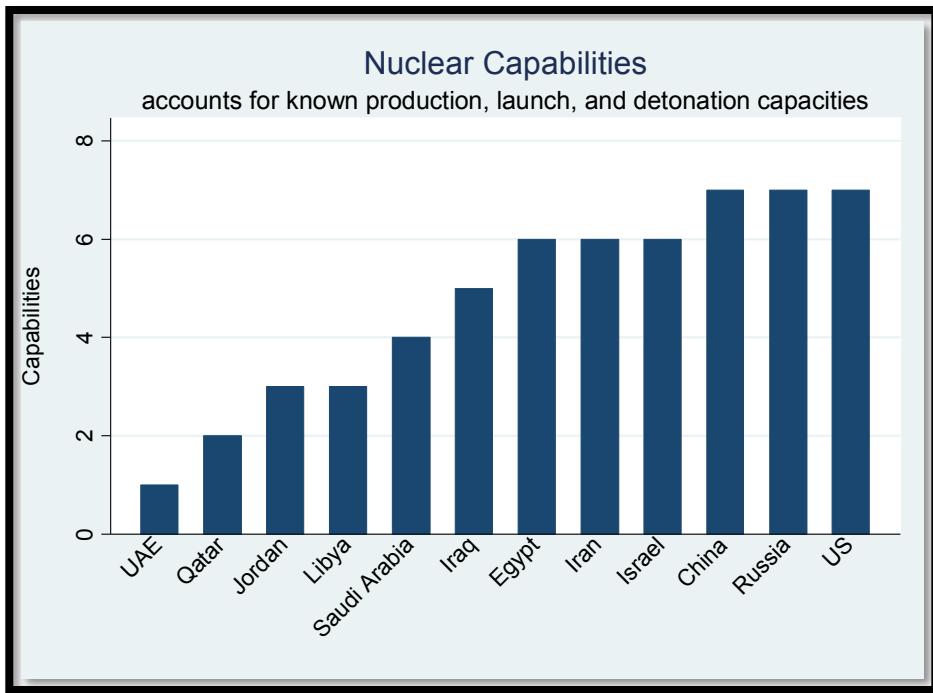
<sup>10</sup> Larry J. Diamond, "Thinking About Hybrid Regimes," *Journal of Democracy* 13, Vol. 2 (2002): 21.



### Iraq's Nuclear Policy

Iraq has no operational nuclear weapons, and therefore has no nuclear capacity of significance at this time. The post-Saddam Iraqi government has taken a cooperative stance to become a nuclear nonproliferation regime by signing the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and the IAEA Additional Protocol in 2008. The current Iraqi government is not pursuing a civil nuclear program of any significance.

Below is a graph that summarizes the nuclear capabilities of countries in this negotiation. This graph can be used to understand both a country's own nuclear policy and its power relative to the other countries.



### Relations with other States

Relations with other nations are important for any negotiation process. Below is a brief summary of Iraq's bilateral relations. A few graphs show Iraq's formal alliances and a more informal measure of relations that uses the similarity of United Nations voting records. This gives some expectation of how other countries are likely to behave and whether their interests are aligned with Iraq's.

**Russia:** Russia is a formal ally of Iraq. Iraq diplomatically recognizes Russia, and Russia diplomatically recognizes Iraq. Iraq and Russia have a declared formal alliance. They have a nonaggression pact and a consultation pact.

**Libya:** Libya is a formal ally of Iraq. Iraq diplomatically recognizes Libya and Libya diplomatically recognizes Iraq. Libya and Iraq have nonaggression, defense, and consultation pacts.

**United States:** The United States is a formal ally of Iraq. Iraq diplomatically recognizes the United States and is recognized diplomatically by the United States. Iraq and the United States have a declared formal alliance. Their alliance includes defensive and offensive alliances as well.

**Iran:** Iran is a formal ally of Iraq. Iraq diplomatically recognizes Iran and is recognized diplomatically by Iran. Iraq and Iran have a declared formal alliance. Their alliance includes a nonaggression pact and a consultation pact.

**Israel:** Iraq is not a formal ally of Israel and does not diplomatically recognize Iraq and Iraq does not diplomatically recognize Israel.

**China:** Iraq is a formal ally of China. China diplomatically recognizes Iraq and is recognized diplomatically by Iraq. China and Iraq have declared a formal alliance. Their alliance includes defensive and offensive treaties.

**Egypt:** Egypt is a formal ally with Iraq. Iraq diplomatically recognizes Egypt and is recognized diplomatically by Egypt. Iraq and Egypt have declared a formal alliance. Their alliance includes defensive treaty, and a nonaggression pact and a consultation pact.

**Jordan:** Jordan is a formal ally of Iraq. Jordan diplomatically recognizes Iraq and Iraq diplomatically recognizes Jordan. Jordan and Iraq have nonaggression, defense, and consultation pacts.

**Saudi Arabia:** Saudi Arabia is a formal ally of Iraq. Saudi Arabia diplomatically recognizes Iraq and Iraq diplomatically recognizes Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia and Iraq have nonaggression, defense, and consultation pacts.

**Qatar:** Qatar is a formal ally of Iraq. Qatar diplomatically recognizes Iraq and Iraq diplomatically recognizes Qatar. Qatar and Iraq have nonaggression, defense, and consultation pacts.

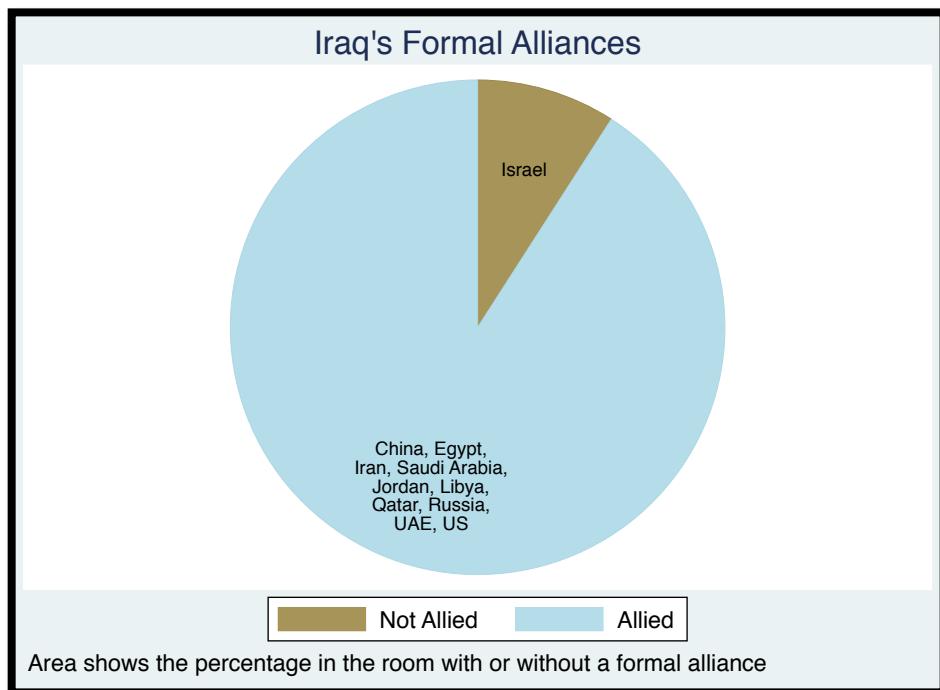
**UAE:** UAE is a formal ally of Iraq. UAE diplomatically recognizes Iraq and Iraq diplomatically recognizes the UAE. UAE and Iraq have nonaggression, defense, and consultation pacts.

#### **A note about relations with Iran:**

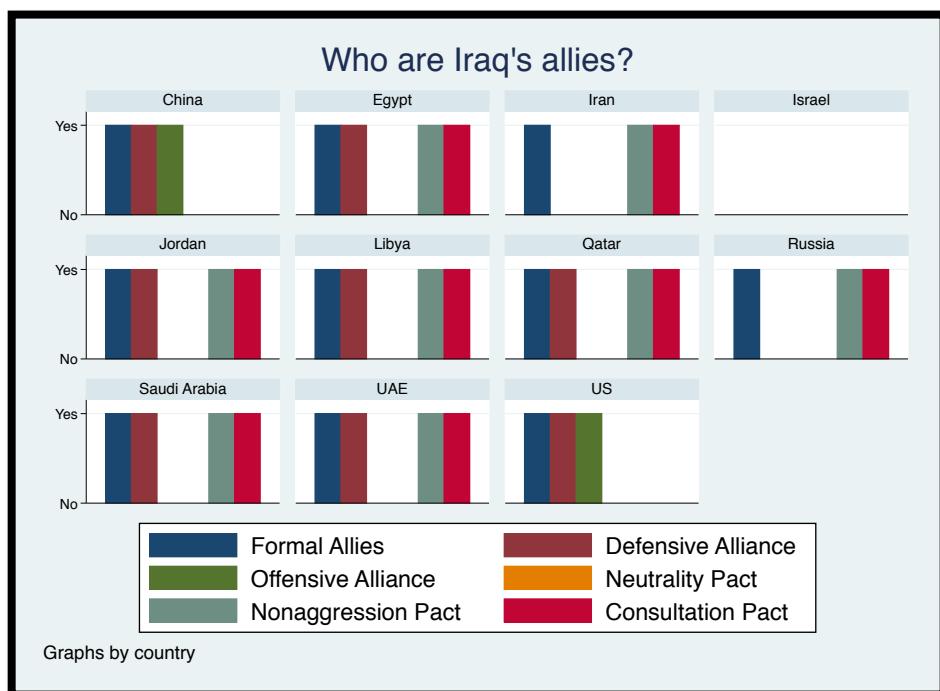
Iran–Iraq relations have been friendly since 2005 with notable prominent visits by both heads of state: Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki makes frequent visits, along with Jalal Talabani, which contributes to boost bilateral cooperation in all fields. A conflict occurred in December 2009, when Iraq accused Iran of seizing an oil well on the border, but it was resolved quickly. With Iraq's has a good relationship with Iran, the long border with Iraq undermines US and EU efforts to stop Iran's nuclear program because of trade between the two countries—and smuggling between the two countries in the Kurdish regions. Iran would like to keep its sphere of influence in Iraq. In 2012, Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki said that Iraq would try to establish diplomatic relations with all sovereign United Nations member states except for Israel. Despite the Syrian Civil War, Iraq has kept its embassy in Syria, but has established refugee camps for Syrians in Iraq's Dohuk province. Iraq, since it is a relatively new democracy, has not been part of many peace initiatives since being relieved of Dictator Saddam Hussein and the retreat of American troops in the area.

For a quick reference of *Iraq's allies*:

This pie chart shows that almost all the countries represented at the negotiations are formally allied with Iraq. The only country not formally allied with Iraq is Israel.



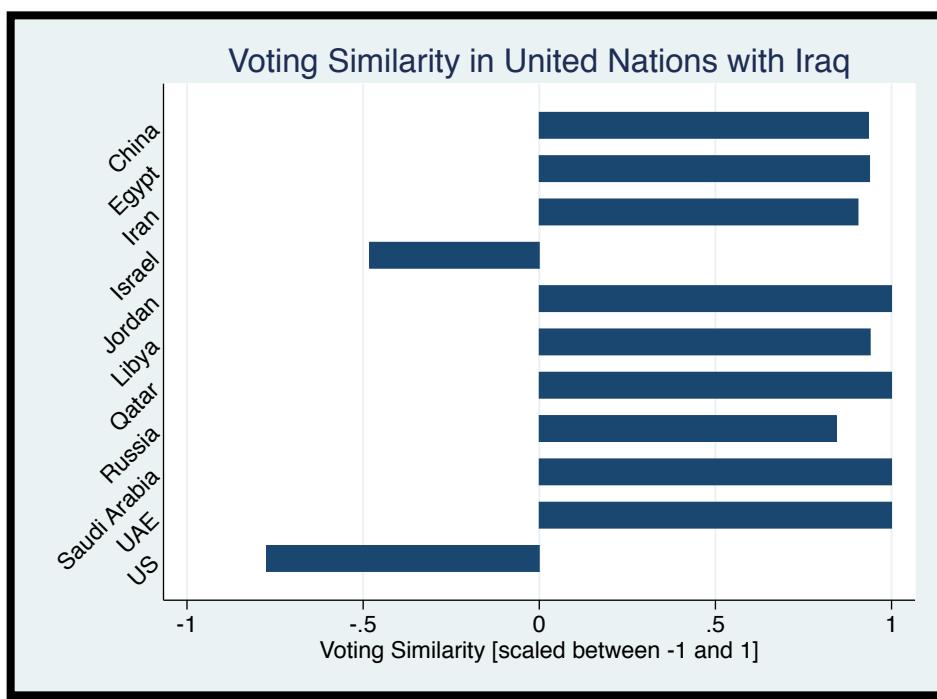
For a more detailed reference of **Iraq's alliance portfolio**: This next graph shows Iraq's alliances by country and type of alliance.



Iraq diplomatically recognizes all countries involved in the negotiation, except Israel.

For an understanding of the *informal bilateral relationships*:

This next graph depicts which countries have historically voted with and against Iraq in the United Nations. Values closer to 1 indicate countries that vote with Iraq. Values closer to -1 indicate countries that vote against Iraq.

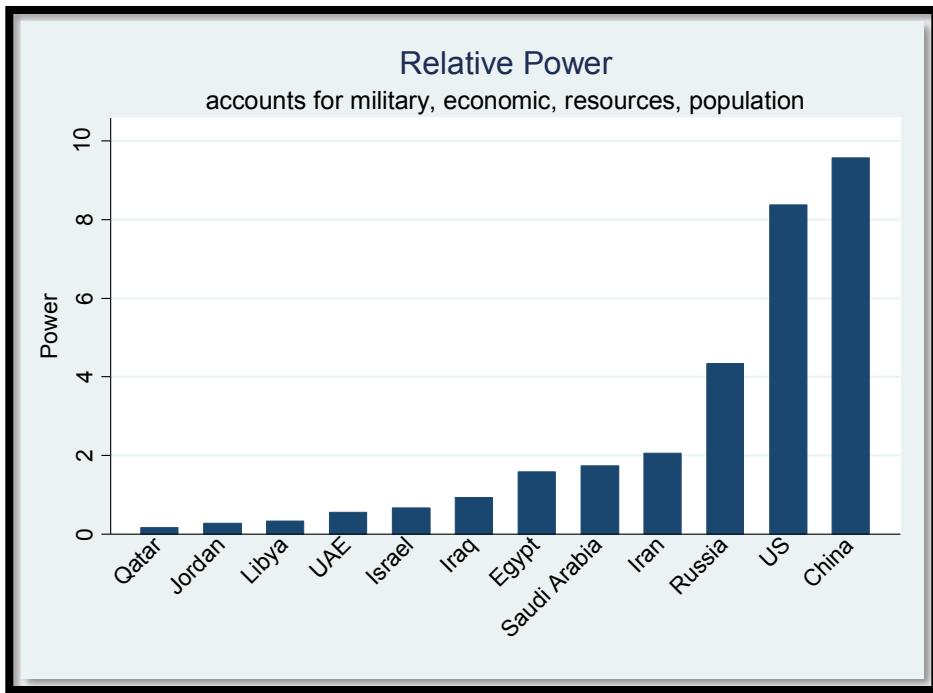


## Relative Power

Relative power can influence negotiating positions and the bargaining leverage that each country has when negotiating with other countries.

Iraq's armed forces contain the Iraqi Army, the Iraqi Air Force, and the Iraqi Navy. The Iraqi army is currently a counter-insurgency force that as of 2009 contains 14 divisions and each with 4 brigades. The Iraqi Air Force supports ground forces with 3,000 air force personnel. The Iraqi Navy is currently a small force with 1,500 sailors and officers.

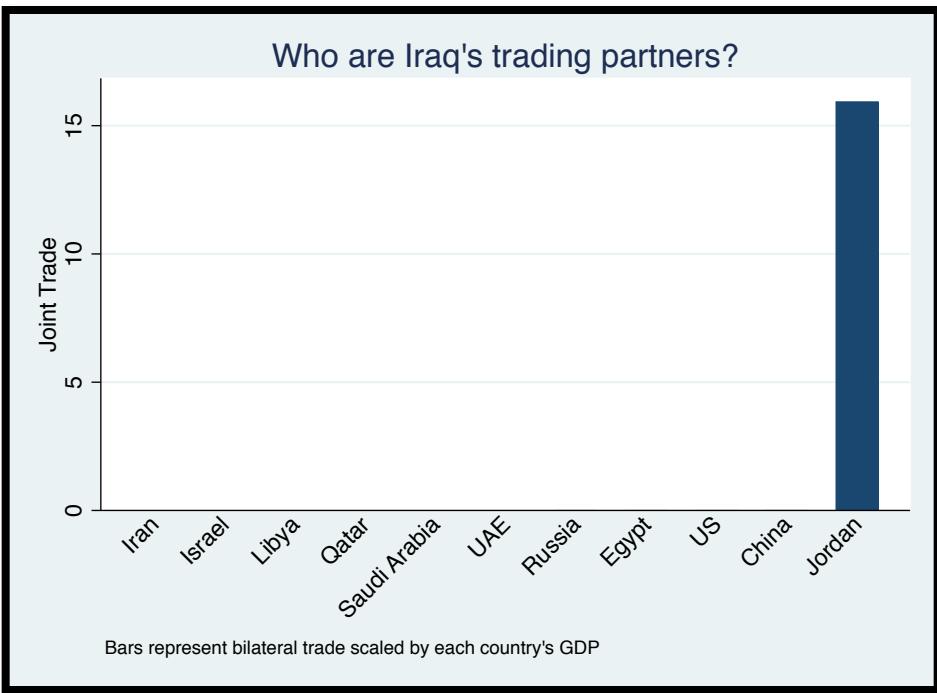
The following is an illustration of *an aggregated measure of relative power* that summarizes Iraq's military strength, economic strength, population size, and resources relative to other countries. This is an easy way to get a simple understanding of whether any particular nation is stronger or weaker than another and by how much.



## Trade

Trade can be indicative of connectedness or distance between two countries. Nations who are more deeply integrated in trade have more incentive to maintain good relations as they may be more adversely affected by a deterioration of those relations. The following graph illustrates Iraq's international trade and trading partners.

\*Note: Iraq has some, but very little trade with China, Egypt, Russia and the US (as well as Jordan). But when scaled by Iraq's GDP, this value is very close to zero.



# State of Israel

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## Israel and Nuclear Weapons Free Zones

As a small nation surrounded by historically antagonistic states, Israel prefers not to restrict its military capabilities. Israel never signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) arguing that it would contradict its national security. When NFWZ treaties pertaining to Israel's territory have been proposed in the past, Israel has refused to participate in any discussions that are not in the context of a comprehensive peace settlement between Israel, its neighbors, and Palestinian groups. Although its government maintains some opacity about its weapons, Israel is the only country in the Middle East widely believed to possess a nuclear arsenal. Israel is suspicious of Iranian nuclear energy and believes Iran may be attempting to develop fissile material for a nuclear warhead. The ACRES process stagnated over disagreements between Israel and Egypt in 1995. The NPT Preparatory Committee has said Israel is a stumbling block in the establishment of a NFWZ.

## Domestic Political Constraints

While some political leaders can agree to any policy even if they lack domestic support, other leaders carefully weigh policies that balance the risks of electoral or other political repercussions. The threat of domestic accountability can affect what leaders will and will not agree to in international negotiations.

Israel defines itself as a Jewish and democratic state. It is the only state in the world with a majority-Jewish population. It has a parliamentary system with universal suffrage and proportional representation in the Knesset, the parliamentary body. The prime minister

who is usually the chairperson of the ruling party leads the government. Israel has a relatively large number of parties for a country its size. No party has ever had the minimum 60 seats to form a government on its own. The large number of parties and the parliamentary system allow minority political groups to find representation in government.

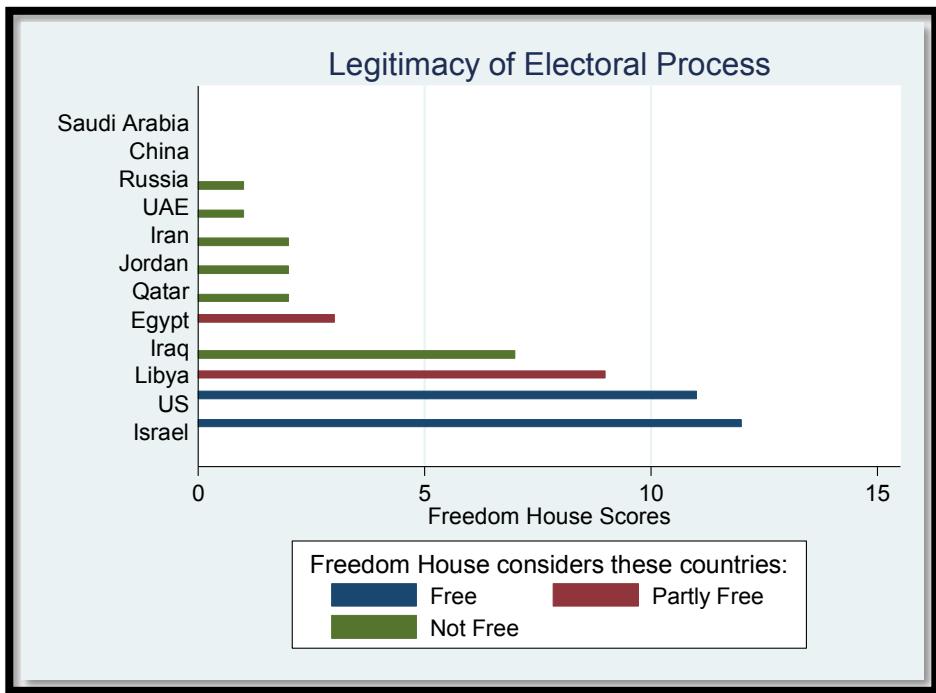
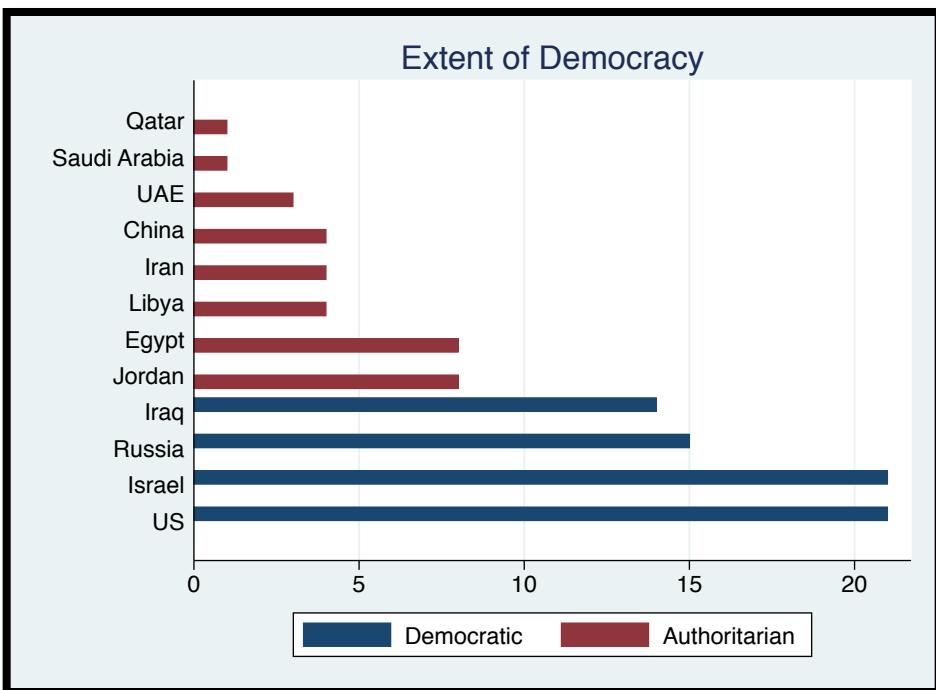
Israel is a close ally of the United States and is somewhat influenced by US policy goals in the region. There are large non-Jewish groups in Israel but they are not well represented in the government. Large threats to the government, particularly militant Islamist organizations exist in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, areas over which Israel has or has had military control. Israeli parties representing settlers in the West Bank have a loud voice for their size through strong organization and motivated community bases. Some notable Rabbis have considerable influence with some political parties.

By Robert Dahl's definition, democracy requires not only free, fair, and competitive elections, but also freedoms that make such elections meaningful.<sup>11</sup> These freedoms include the right to assemble, the freedom of expression, the access to alternative sources of information, and that the government policies and elected officials are a direct reflection of the citizens' desires.<sup>12</sup> The Freedom House is an independent watchdog association dedicated to the expansion of freedom around the world. Israel is rated as a Free democracy by the Freedom House. In a 2013 report Freedom House rated Israel as the only free country in the Middle East and North Africa. Israeli elections are considered free and legitimate. The extent of democracy is high, on par with the United States. That said, Freedom House considers Israel's press only Partly Free. Israel is responsive to voters. Israel's primary concern is its own territorial security.

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<sup>11</sup> Robert Dahl, *Polarity: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 39.

<sup>12</sup> Larry J. Diamond, "Thinking About Hybrid Regimes," *Journal of Democracy* 13, Vol. 2 (2002): 21.



## Israel's Nuclear Policy

Israel's nuclear weapons policy consists of:

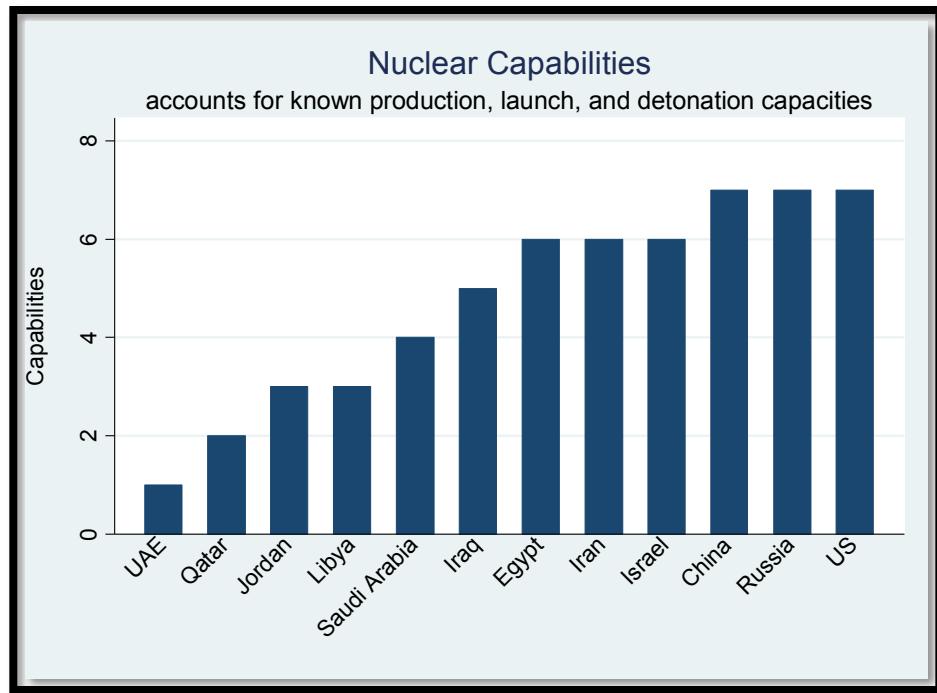
- Nuclear capacity: Exact numbers are not known but estimates of the current stockpile range from 80-400 warheads.
- A secure second strike: This is ensured by long-range missiles, nuclear armed aircraft, and likely submarines.
- A No First-Use policy: Israel says it will not be the first to “introduce” nuclear weapons to the region. A former ambassador defined an introduction as a testing of nuclear weapons: he argued that merely possessing nuclear arms does not constitute an “introduction.”
- Deterrence: In the past Israel has used the threat of nuclear weapons to frighten its neighbors and to elicit beneficial actions from the US and Soviet regimes.
- Maintaining nuclear superiority: Israel aims to maintain nuclear superiority in the region. It has engaged in sabotage of Arab nuclear research programs and assassination of targets working with such programs. It is believed to be behind the recent cyber attack on Iranian nuclear facilities.

### ***Ballistic Missile Defense***

Israel has a sophisticated ballistic missile defense system. It uses *Arrow* to defend against long-range threats, *Iron Dome* against short-range rockets and mortars, and is developing systems for mid-range attacks. Israel currently uses its Arrow II ballistic missile defense system, which was deployed over a decade ago. Israel aims to replace this with the more advanced Arrow III system, currently under joint development by The Pentagon, Boeing Co. and the state-run Israel Aerospace Industries. Arrow III will be able to intercept missiles above the atmosphere high enough to safely disintegrate nuclear, biological, and chemical warheads. The second successful test was carried out on January 3, 2014.

### ***Nuclear Capabilities by Country***

Below is a graph that summarizes the nuclear capabilities of countries in this negotiation. This graph can be used to understand both a country’s own nuclear policy and its power relative to the other countries.



## Relations With Other States

Good relations with negotiating countries are vital to the negotiation process. Listed below is a brief overview of Israeli bilateral relations with negotiation countries. This informs us of how other nations are most likely to behave and whether or not they are likely to be aligned with Israel.

Of the negotiating parties, Israel recognizes only Egypt, Jordan, Russia, and the US.

**Russia:** Israel diplomatically recognizes Russia and Russia diplomatically recognizes Israel.

**Qatar:** No formal relations.

**Libya:** No formal relations.

**United States:** The United States is a formal ally of Israel. Israel diplomatically recognizes the United States and is recognized diplomatically by the United States. Israel and the United States have a declared formal alliance. Their alliance includes a treaty of consultation.

**Iran:** No formal relations.

**China:** China and Israel have formal diplomatic relations. Israel was the first country in the Middle East to recognize the PRC as the legitimate government of China.

**United Arab Emirates:** No formal relations.

**Iraq:** No formal relations.

**Egypt:** Egypt is a formal ally with Israel. Israel diplomatically recognizes Egypt and is recognized diplomatically by Egypt. Israel and Egypt have declared a formal alliance. Their alliance includes a nonaggression pact.

**Jordan:** Jordan is a formal ally with Israel. Israel diplomatically recognizes the state of Jordan and is recognized diplomatically by Jordan. Israel and Jordan have declared a formal alliance. Their alliance includes neutrality pact and a nonaggression pact.

**Saudi Arabia:** No formal relations.

***On past specific issues:***

***On Iran:***

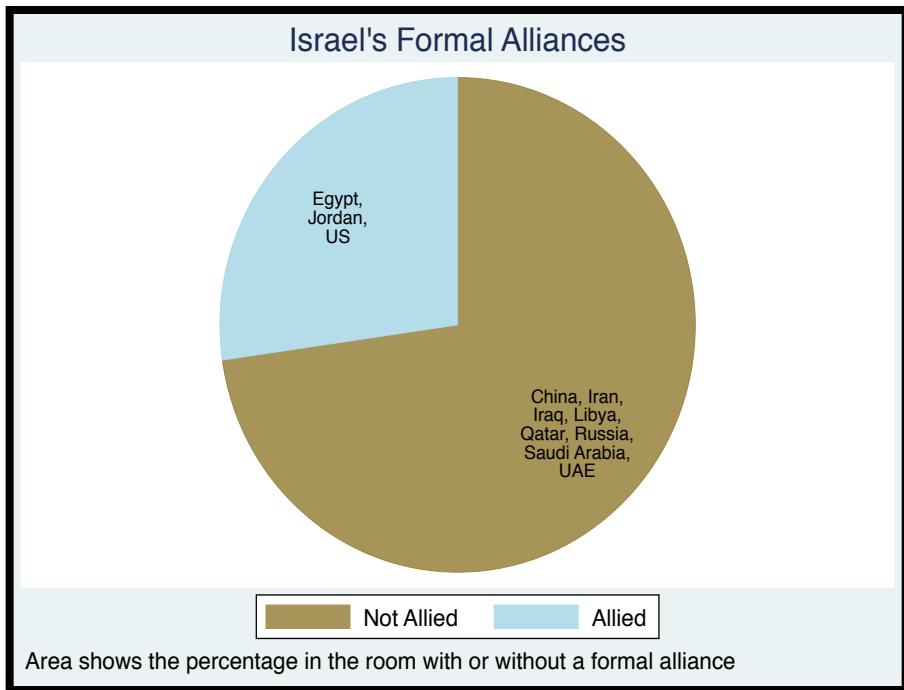
Israel fears that Iran is developing a nuclear weapon that may be deployed against it. Israel has pressured the United Nations for economic sanctions against Iran. It has repeatedly said it would militarily strike Iran if needed and if the US will not first.

***On Peace Initiatives:***

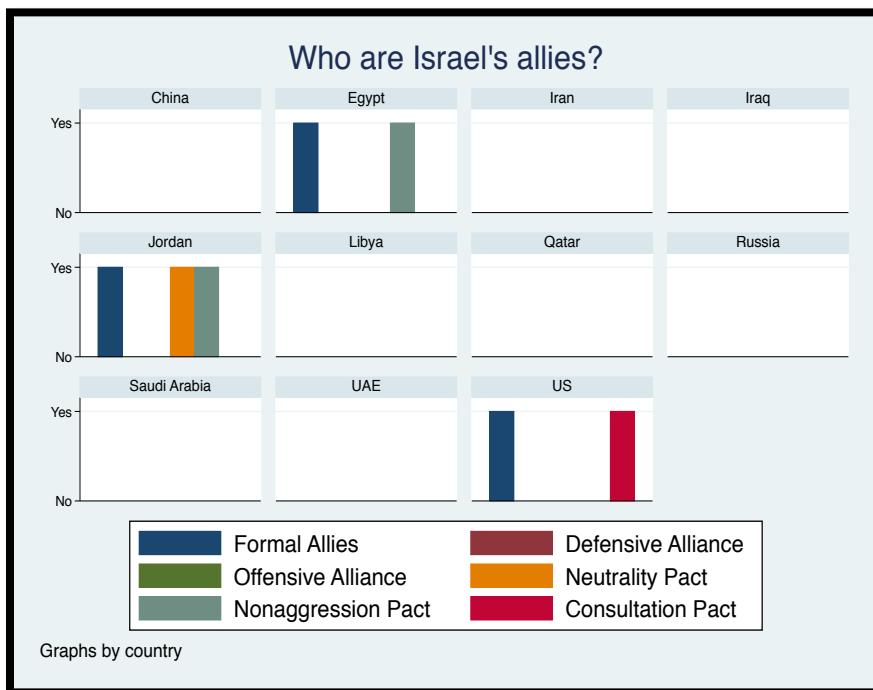
Israeli cooperation on many peace initiatives has been hampered by Israel's insistence that any peace agreement include a resolution to the Palestinian issue and hostilities with neighboring Arab states.

***Formal Alliances***

This chart shows those countries Israel has formal alliances with and the countries represented at the negotiation with which Israel does not. The chart shows that 27% of countries represented at the negotiations have formal alliances with Israel (Egypt, Jordan, US) while 73% of countries at the negotiations are not allied with Israel (China, Iran, Iraq, Libya, Qatar, Russia, Saudi Arabia, UAE).

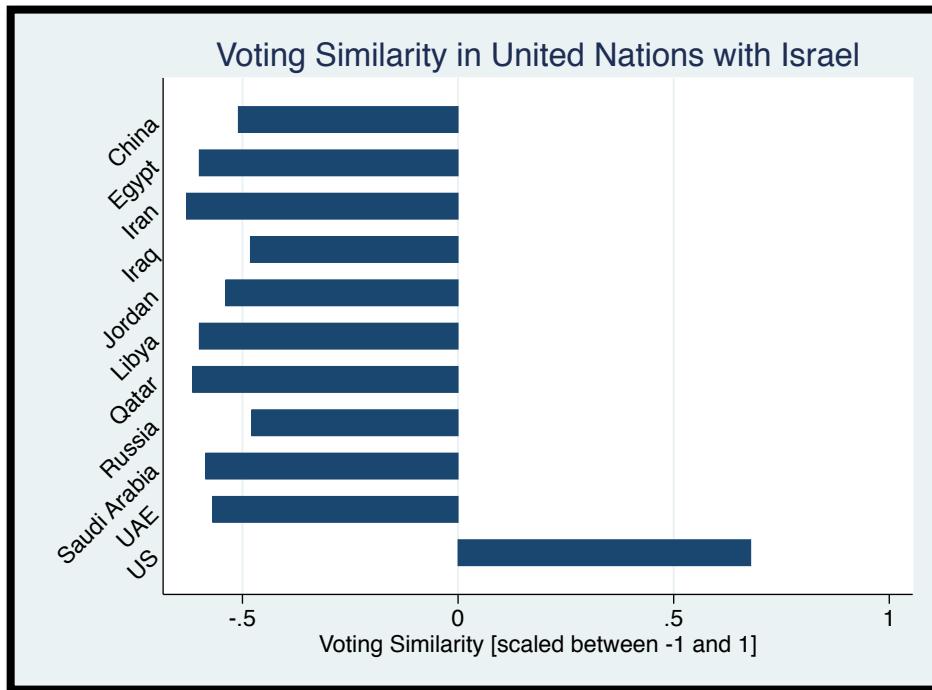


The following graph details Israel's alliances by country and by type of alliance. Israel diplomatically recognizes only Egypt, Jordan, Russia and the US.



The following graph illustrates how frequently other countries vote with Israel in the United Nations. This highlights countries with similar interests and policies. Values

closer to 1 indicate countries that vote most often with Israel. Values closer to -1 indicate countries that vote most often against Israel.

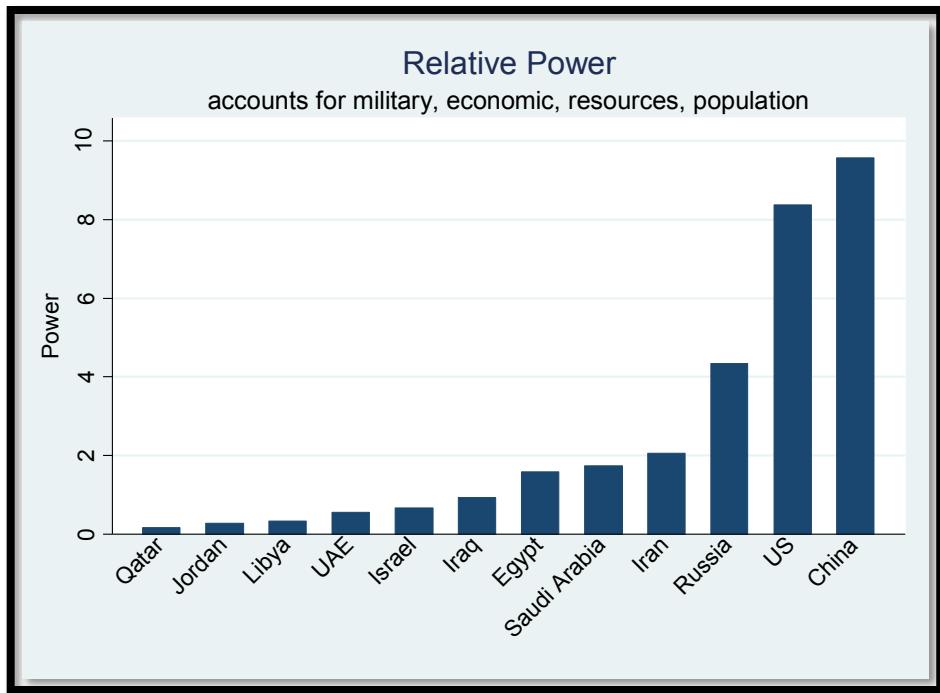


## Relative Power

Relative power defines the starting position of countries at the bargaining table. It is important to understand the context and possibilities of negotiation.

Israel's conventional armed forces consist entirely of the IDF (Israeli Defense Forces). There are intelligence and specialist groups aside from this but they do not constitute the bulk of the armed forces. Israel mandates several years of military service for its citizens. It has a well-developed air force, the destruction of which is considered a red line in some situations. Israel has the highest ratio of defense spending to GDP and as a percentage of the budget of all developed countries. As most men join the reserve service after their mandatory service period, Israel has hundreds of thousands of reserve troops.

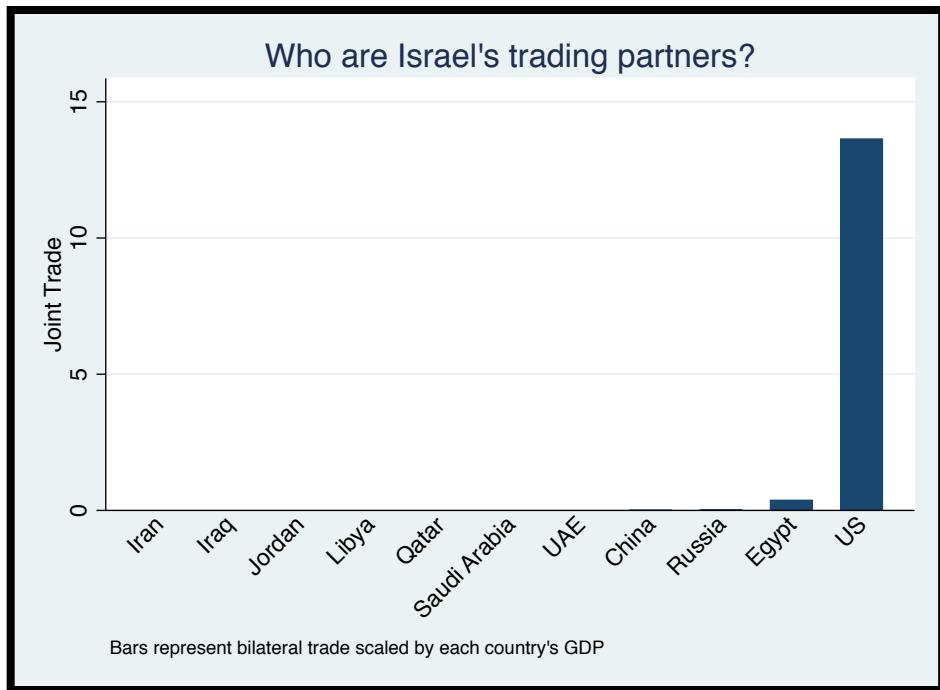
The following is an illustration of *an aggregated measure of relative power* that summarizes Israel's military strength, economic strength, population size, and resources relative to other countries. This is an easy way to get a simple understanding of whether any particular nation is stronger or weaker than another and by how much.



## Trade

Trade can be indicative of connectedness or distance between two countries. Nations who are more deeply integrated in trade have more incentive to maintain good relations as they may be more adversely affected by a deterioration of those relations. The following graph illustrates Israeli international trade and trading partners.

\*Note: Israel trades with China and Russia as well as Egypt and the US, but when scaled by GDP this amount looks very small.



## Additional Maps

This map details the state of Israel and occupied territories.



("Israel." Geography.about.Com. Accessed January 2014.  
<http://geography.about.com/library/cia/blcisrael.htm>.)

# The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

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## *Jordan and Nuclear Weapon Free Zones*

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is a weak state internationally, but with its border to Israel, and its geographic centrality in the region, a nuclear weapon free zone in the Middle East is very important to Jordan. Jordan is a member of the treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and does not have military nuclear ambitions. Jordan repeatedly called for the establishment of an NWFZ in the Middle East, and participated in several of the previous ad hoc groups that met to develop an NWFZ agreement. Jordan has not ratified any NFWZ because it does not possess nuclear weapons and has not been a part of any other regional NWFZ. Jordan has pursued civilian nuclear power. Jordan talked closely with the United States about a civilian nuclear exchange. Its parliament voted to end all nuclear activities in 2012, but the government continues to explore civilian nuclear power. Jordan supports civilian nuclear power, but is opposed to nuclear weapons in the Middle East.

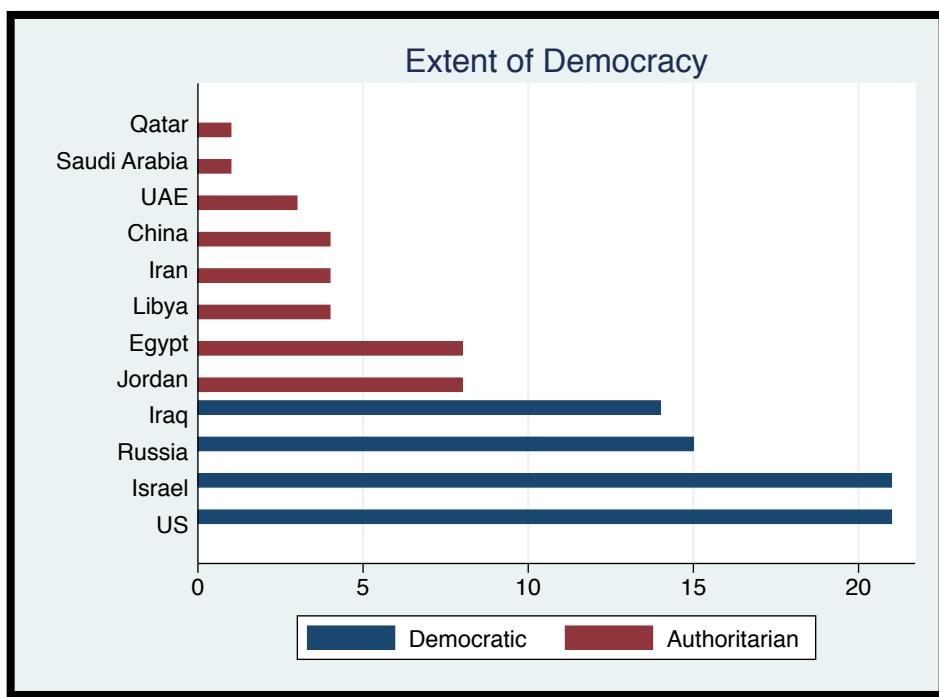
## **Domestic Political Constraints**

While some political leaders can agree to any policy even if they lack domestic support, other leaders carefully weigh policies that balance the risk of electoral or other political repercussions. The threat of domestic accountability can affect what leaders will and will not agree to in international negotiations.

Jordan is considered a stable nation with few to no internal threats to the government. The government is a constitutional monarchy, but king Abdullah II holds vast executive and legislative powers. The parliament consists of two houses. One with 120 house

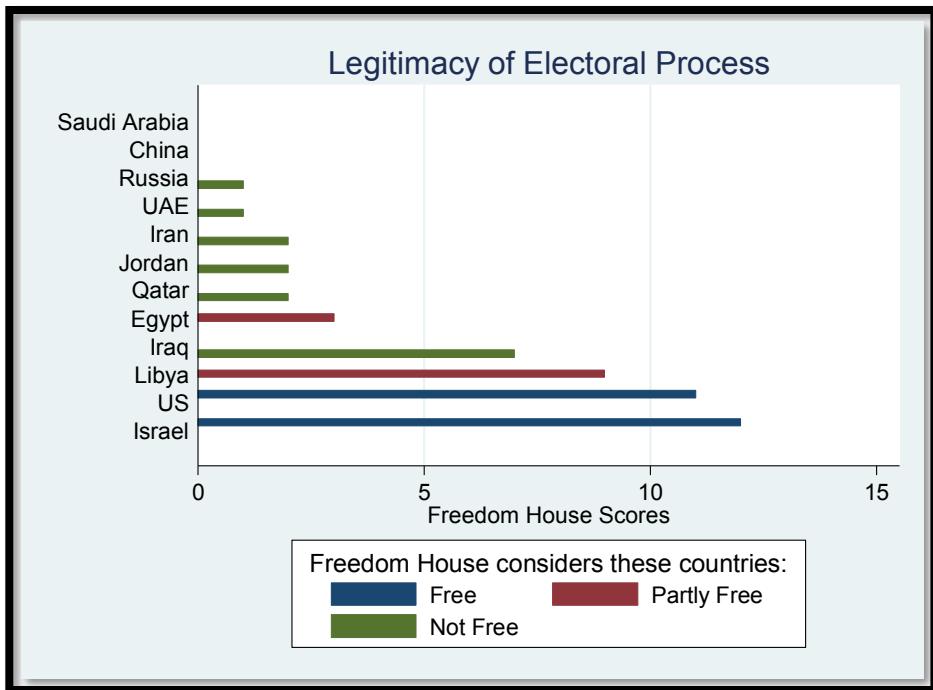
members who are democratically elected from 12 constituencies, and a 60-member senate appointed by king Abdullah II. The government has forbid the establishment of religious-based parties. No party in Jordan holds as much sway as independents that control most of the democratically elected seats.

By Robert Dahl's definition, democracy requires not only free, fair, and competitive elections, but also freedoms that make such elections meaningful.<sup>13</sup> These freedoms include the right to assemble, the freedom of expression, the access to alternative sources of information, and that the government policies and elected officials are a direct reflection of the citizens' desires.<sup>14</sup> The Freedom House is an independent watchdog association dedicated to the expansion of freedom around the world. The Freedom House rates the Jordan as Not Free. Its elections are considered somewhat legitimate, but democracy is low. The importance of Jordan's dictatorship is that it means there are few if any domestic constraints on the government.



<sup>13</sup> Robert Dahl, *Polarity: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 39.

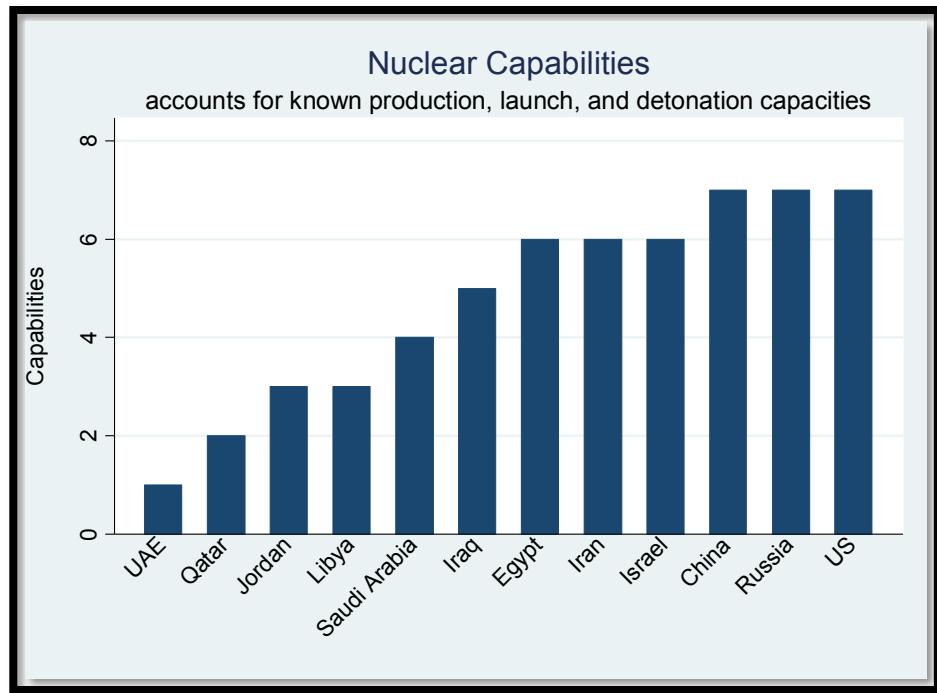
<sup>14</sup> Larry J. Diamond, "Thinking About Hybrid Regimes," *Journal of Democracy* 13, Vol. 2 (2002): 21.



### Jordan's Nuclear Policy

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan does not possess nuclear weapons. Jordan does not have a first or second strike capability. Jordan relies principally on peaceful relations with its neighbors and the support of external powers for peace in the region for its nuclear security. Jordan has looked into a civilian nuclear program. The government has continued to explore the civilian program in consultation with the United States despite a vote by parliament against the program.

Below is a graph that summarizes the nuclear capabilities of countries in this negotiation. This graph can be used to understand both a country's own nuclear policy and its power relative to the other countries.



## Relations With Other States

Relations with other nations are important for any negotiation process. Below is a brief summary of each country's bilateral relations with the Jordan. Then a few graphs show Jordan's formal alliances and a more informal measure of "relations" that uses the voting records of countries at the United Nations. This should give you an expectation of how other countries are likely to behave and whether their interests are aligned with the Jordan.

**China:** Jordan diplomatically recognizes China, and Jordan is diplomatically recognized by China. China and Jordan's relationship has been growing: the two nations have strong diplomatic ties and China has funded some recent development projects in Jordan that have bolstered China's influence in the country.

**Russia:** Jordan diplomatically recognizes Russia, and Jordan is diplomatically recognized by Russia. The leaders of both countries have met several times.

**Qatar:** Qatar is a formal ally of Jordan. Jordan diplomatically recognizes Qatar and Qatar diplomatically recognizes Jordan. Jordan and Qatar have declared a formal alliance. Their alliance includes a defensive alliance, nonaggression pact, and treaty of consultation.

**Libya:** Libya is a formal ally of Jordan. Jordan diplomatically recognizes Libya and Libya diplomatically recognizes Jordan. Jordan and Libya have declared a formal

alliance. Their alliance includes a defensive alliance, nonaggression pact, and treaty of consultation. Jordan sees Libya as a key strategic ally.

**Iran:** Jordan diplomatically recognizes Iran, and Jordan is diplomatically recognized by Iran.

**Israel:** Israel is a formal ally of Jordan, having established official relations in 1994. Jordan and Egypt are the only two Arab nations to form a peace treaty with Israel, but relations are still tense on occasion. Jordan diplomatically recognizes Israel and Israel diplomatically recognizes Jordan. Jordan and Israel have declared a formal alliance. Their alliance includes a neutrality pact and nonaggression pact.

**United Arab Emirates:** The United Arab Emirates is a formal ally of Jordan. Jordan diplomatically recognizes the United Arab Emirates and the United Arab Emirates diplomatically recognizes Jordan. Jordan and the United Arab Emirates have declared a formal alliance. Their alliance includes a defensive alliance, nonaggression pact, and treaty of consultation. Both nations have strong cultural ties, and Princess Haya of Dubai is of Jordanian origin, which has helped to deepen ties.

**Iraq:** Iraq and Jordan have managed to forge deep ties. Jordan has been one of the first Arab states to do this successfully, and Jordan has strong diplomatic representation and influence on development in Baghdad. Iraq is a formal ally of Jordan. Jordan diplomatically recognizes Iraq and Iraq diplomatically recognizes Iraq. Jordan and Iraq have declared a formal alliance. Their alliance includes a defensive alliance, nonaggression pact, and treaty of consultation.

**Egypt:** Egypt is a formal ally of Jordan. Jordan diplomatically recognizes Egypt and Egypt diplomatically recognizes Egypt. Egypt and Jordan have declared a formal alliance. Their alliance includes a defensive alliance, nonaggression pact, and treaty of consultation.

**Saudi Arabia:** Saudi Arabia is a formal ally of Jordan. Jordan diplomatically recognizes Saudi Arabia and Saudi Arabia diplomatically recognizes Jordan. Jordan and Saudi Arabia have declared a formal alliance. Their alliance includes a defensive alliance, nonaggression pact, and treaty of consultation.

**United States:** The United States is diplomatically recognized by Jordan and diplomatically recognizes Jordan.

***On past specific issues:***

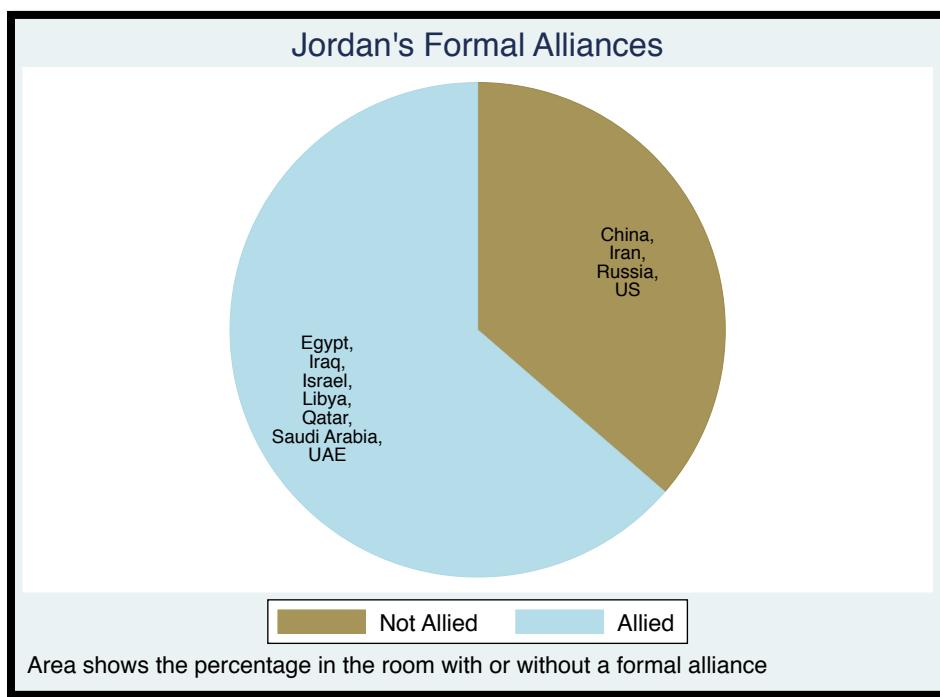
**Iran Sanctions:** Jordan has called for the end an end to Iran's nuclear program at all costs, including by military force. Jordan strongly supports a de-nuclearized Iran and sanctions are an effective means to achieve that end.

Syria Civil War: Jordan has attempted to stay out of the Syrian conflict. Jordan has stated that the Assad regime should step down and pave the way for democracy, but has also worked to stay in favor with Assad. Jordan believes that the will of the people should govern Syria and if the rebels are victorious that is good. Jordan is principally concerned with regional security worries about the refugees it has had to take on, as well as possible terrorist organizations developing during the conflict.

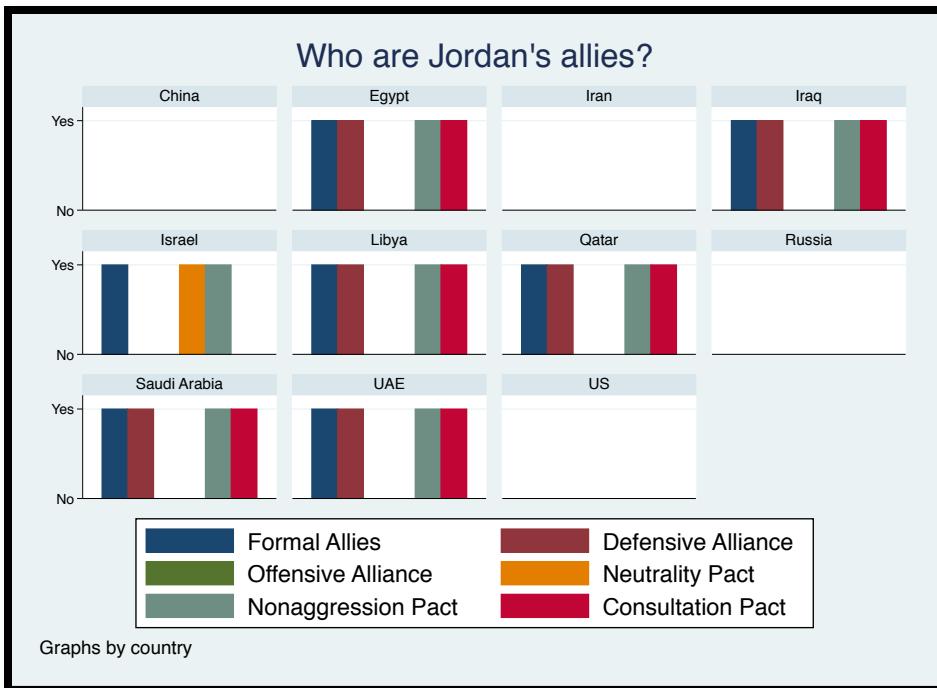
Previous Peace Initiatives in the Middle East: Jordan supports the US peace talks. Jordan has attempted to stay largely out of the conflict by recognizing Israel as an important military power in the region. Jordan believes in a Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its capital. Jordan has stated opposition to unilateral moves by Israel into occupied territories.

For a quick reference of **Jordan's allies**:

This pie chart shows that 64% of the countries represented at the negotiations are formally allied with Jordan (Egypt, Iraq, Israel, Libya, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, UAE). 36% of the countries present are not allied with Jordan (China, Iran, Russia, and the United States).

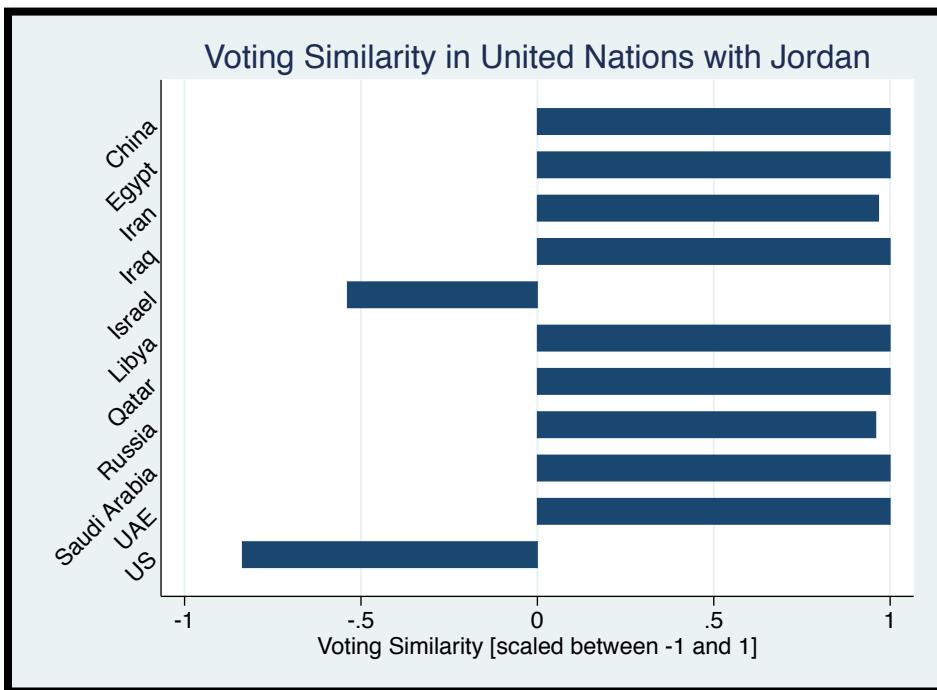


For a more detailed reference of **Jordan's alliance portfolio**: This next graph shows Jordan's alliances by country and type of alliance.



For an understanding of the *informal bilateral relationships*:

This next graph indicates which countries historically vote with and against Jordan at the United Nations. Values closer to 1 are countries that vote most often with the Jordan. Values closer to -1 are countries that vote most often against the Jordan.

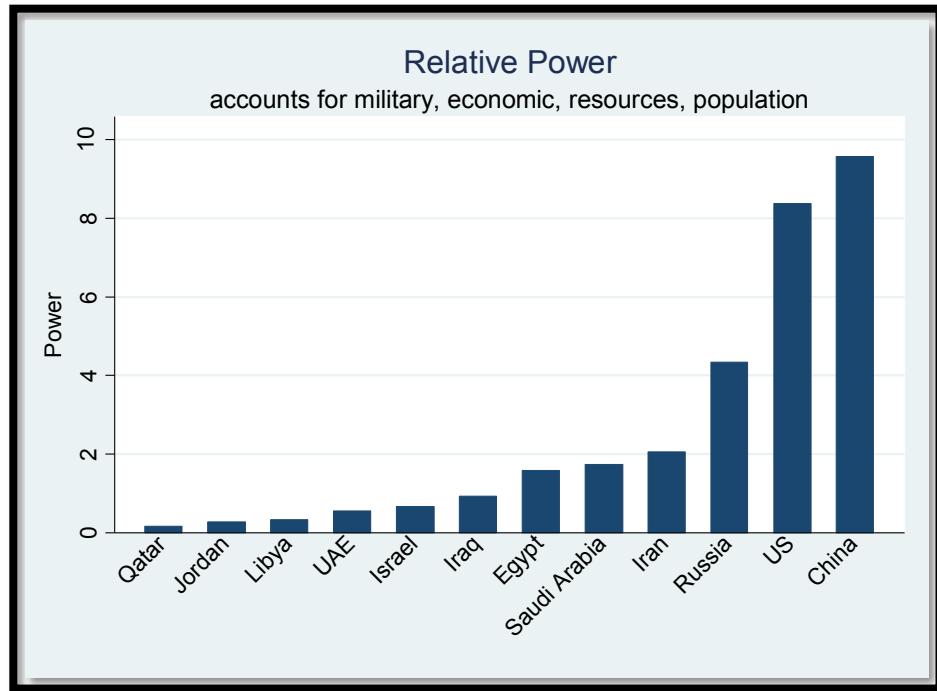


## **Relative Power**

Relative power can influence negotiating positions and the bargaining leverage that each country has when negotiating with other countries.

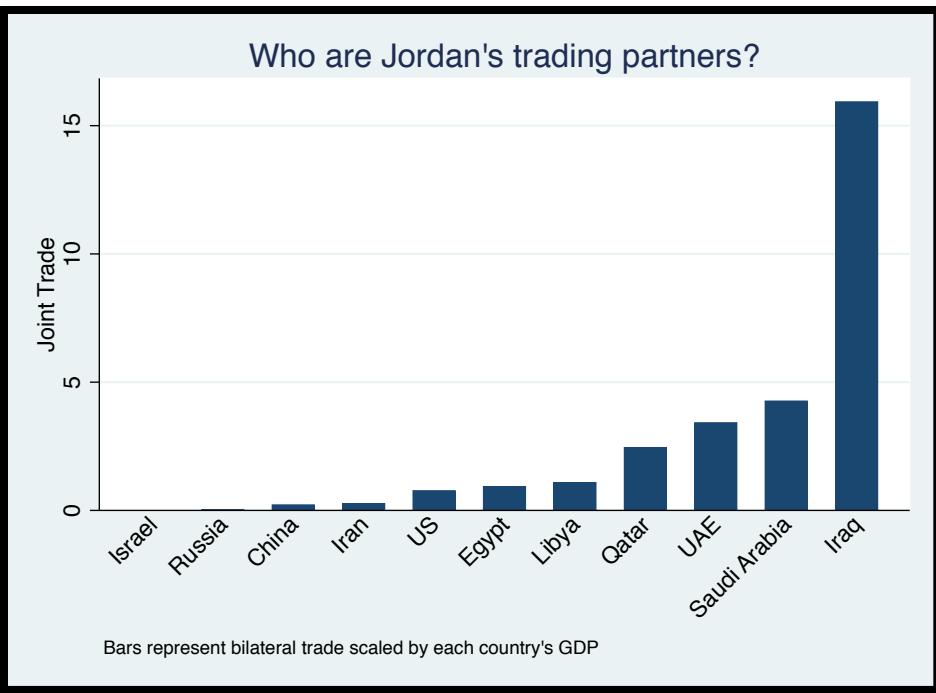
Jordan's conventional armed forces are very weak. Jordan has 110,000 active armed forces and spends roughly 1.4 billion dollars on its military. Jordan has a very weak military; although it has an air force as well as navy, neither is particularly strong.

The following is an illustration of *an aggregated measure of relative power* that summarizes Jordan's military strength, economic strength, population size, and resources relative to other countries. This is an easy way to get a simple understanding of whether any particular nation is stronger or weaker than another and by how much.



## **Trade**

Trade can be indicative of connectedness or distance between two countries. Nations who are more deeply integrated in trade have more incentive to maintain good relations as they may be more adversely affected by a deterioration of those relations. The following graph illustrates Israeli international trade and trading partners.



# Libya

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## Libya and Nuclear Weapons Free Zones

Libya became a signatory of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1968 and ratified the NPT in 1975, but under the leadership of Muammar Gaddafi, it cultivated a Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) program utilizing illicit markets and resources. After decades of negotiations, Libya halted its WMD program in 2003 in order to ease sanctions placed by the United States. Libya signed the Comprehensive Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) and the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) in 2004. It also signed and ratified the African Nuclear Weapon Free Zone Treaty, which entered into force in 2009. The Treaty established a compliance and verification mechanism known as the African Commission on Nuclear Energy, or AFCONE. Libya is one of twelve member states of AFCONE. Over 800 tons of chemical weapons have been destroyed in Libya to date, and full destruction should be completed no later than 2016.

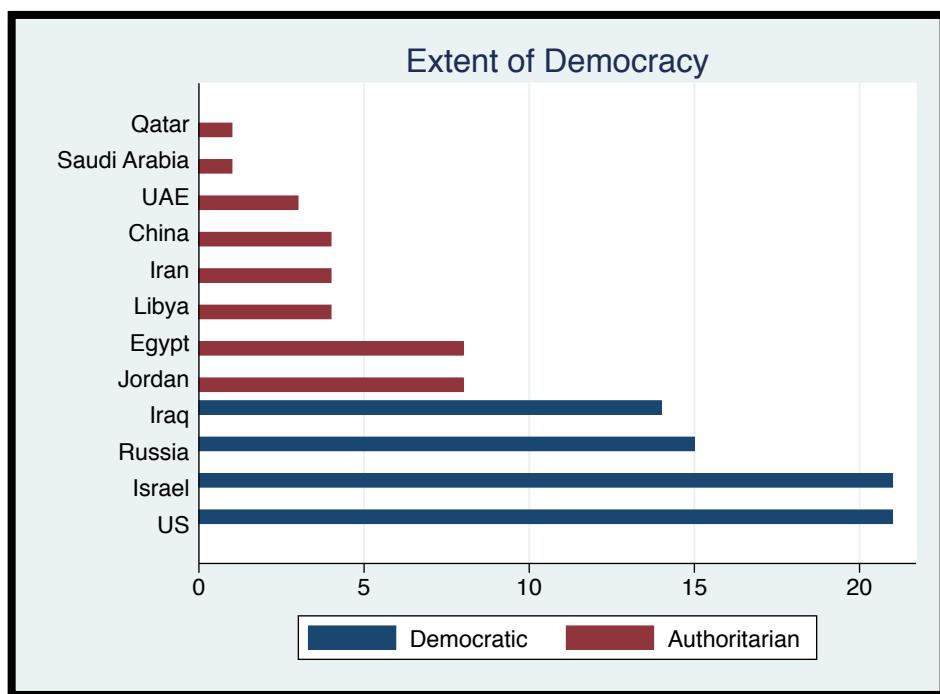
## Domestic Political Constraints

While some political leaders can agree to any policy even if they lack domestic support, other leaders carefully weigh policies that balance the risks of electoral or other political repercussions. The threat of domestic accountability can affect what leaders will and will not agree to in international negotiations.

Libya is a newly formed parliamentary republic following its 2011 civil war. It operates under a temporary Constitutional Declaration and is ruled by a Prime Minister and a legislative body known as the General National Congress (GNC). The GNC is tasked with creating a new constitution for the nation, and Libya currently operates under sharia

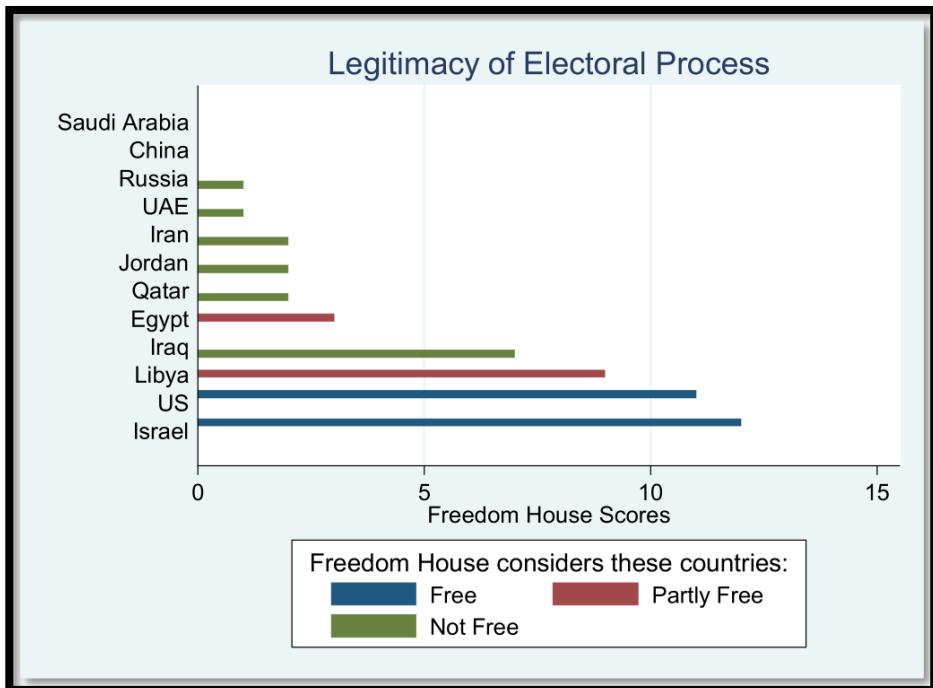
law. While known as a highly restrictive nation politically under the rule of Muammar Gaddafi's Jahahiriya, the recent collapse of the Gaddafi regime has led to more progressive citizen involvement in governmental proceedings. The GNC was elected by citizens to replace the former governing body, the National Transitional Council (NTC), marking the first election to involve political parties in Libya in almost four decades. Because of Libya's current transitional status, politics are somewhat unstable, and its newfound allowance of political participation has somewhat limited the Libyan government in policy development and absolute leadership.

By Robert Dahl's definition, democracy requires not only free, fair, and competitive elections, but also freedoms that make such elections meaningful.<sup>15</sup> These freedoms include the right to assemble, the freedom of expression, the access to alternative sources of information, and that the government policies and elected officials are a direct reflection of the citizens' desires.<sup>16</sup> The Freedom House is an independent watchdog association dedicated to the expansion of freedom around the world. Libya is rated Partly Free by the Freedom House. Its most recent elections were considered Somewhat Legitimate, and the extent of democracy is Somewhat Low but increasing. Because of Libya's recent governmental transition and its newly developed republic, domestic constraints are high and extremely relevant to Libya's internal and external policies.



<sup>15</sup> Robert Dahl, *Polarity: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 39.

<sup>16</sup> Larry J. Diamond, "Thinking About Hybrid Regimes," *Journal of Democracy* 13, Vol. 2 (2002): 21.

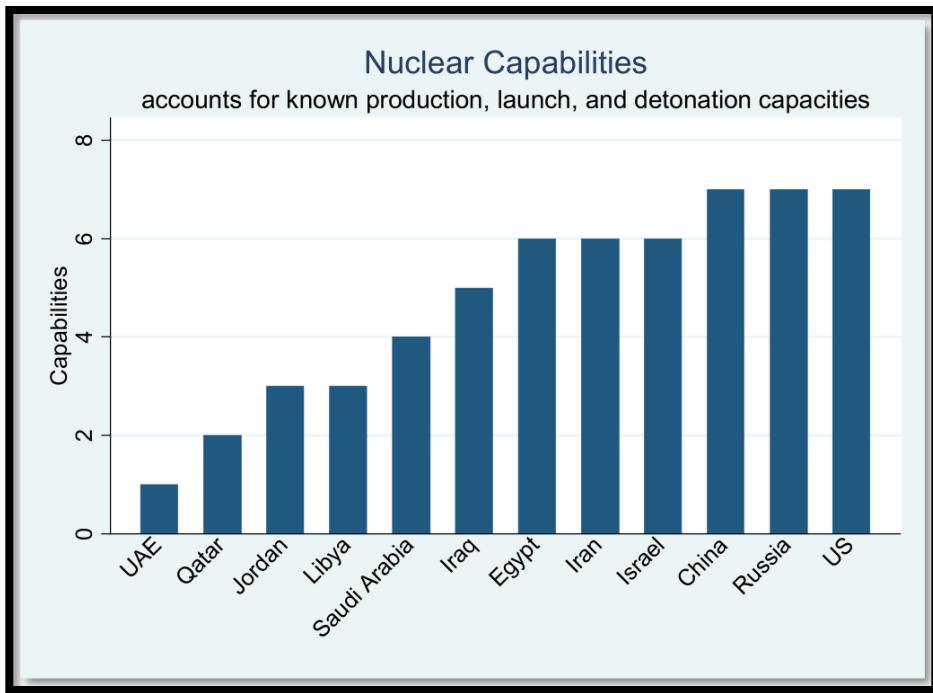


## Libya's Nuclear Policy

Libya has recently discontinued both its nuclear and chemical weapons programs, and it is in the process of destroying all the nuclear and chemical weapons remaining in the nation. The new government is working closely with the United Nations Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons to ensure that the weaponry is disposed properly and rapidly. Because of Libya's precarious political situation and current constitutional development process, it does not have a comprehensive nuclear policy and has not taken any steps to reacquire nuclear capabilities, neither for energy nor weaponized use.

Libya developed ballistic missile defense capabilities along with its nuclear and chemical weapons programs. Both Gaddafi's armies and opposition fighters used these ballistic missile defenses during the 2011 civil war in Libya. Any remaining weaponry is minimal and not optimized, and Libya has plans to destroy their stock.

Below is a graph that summarizes the nuclear capabilities of countries in this negotiation. This graph can be used to understand both a country's own nuclear policy and its power relative to the other countries.



## Relations With Other States

Relations with other nations are important for any negotiation process. Below is a brief summary of each Libya's bilateral relations. A few graphs show Libya's formal alliances and a more informal measure of relations that uses the similarity of United Nations voting records. This gives some expectation of how other countries are likely to behave and whether their interests are aligned with Libya's.

**China:** China and Libya have had rocky relations since the Gaddafi regime, and China actively avoided United Nations involvement in the Libyan civil war. China funded pro-Gaddafi forces and has yet to diplomatically recognize the new government, but its precious economic ventures in Libya is expected to lead to some form of recognition in the near future.

**Russia:** Russia and Libya were strong allies under the Gaddafi regime, as they both held strong animosity against the United States. Russia has kept its embassies in Libya following the civil war, and relations between the nations are still somewhat close, but a recent attack on the Russian embassy in Libya has threatened to derail this partnership.

**Qatar:** Qatar was the first nation to recognize the Libyan opposition to Gaddafi as legitimate, and they actively supported dissidents in the civil war. They will likely prove to be strong and vital allies to Libya in the near future.

**United States:** The United States played a large role in aiding anti-Gaddafi forces during the Libyan civil war, and it has officially recognized the new government. The two

countries have continued to work together and have heightened security relations following the attack on the US embassy in Benghazi.

**Iran:** Iran and Libya have long been allies, and following the 2011 civil war Iran was one of the first nations to recognize the transitional government. They will likely continue to foster close relations with Libya.

**Israel:** While the new government of Libya is diplomatically recognized by Israel, it has yet to offer the same recognition to Israel.

**United Arab Emirates:** The United Arab Emirates has made efforts to establish a relationship with the new Libyan government, and the UAE is seeking bilateral relations.

**Iraq:** After several years of severed ties, Libya and Iraq restored full diplomatic relations in 2012.

**Egypt:** Egypt and Libya have a long history of economic, political, and military ties. While Egypt did not intervene militarily in the Libyan civil war, it pledged humanitarian aid to the conflict, and it has worked closely towards bilateral relations with the new Libyan government.

**Jordan:** Jordan and Libya recently signed an agreement to foster a strategic relationship in most sectors of state development, namely security, tourism, and trade. They also established the Higher Libyan-Jordanian Commission for the purpose of future negotiations.

**Saudi Arabia:** Saudi Arabia and Libya reestablished full diplomatic relations in early 2012 following the Libyan civil war.

***On past specific issues:***

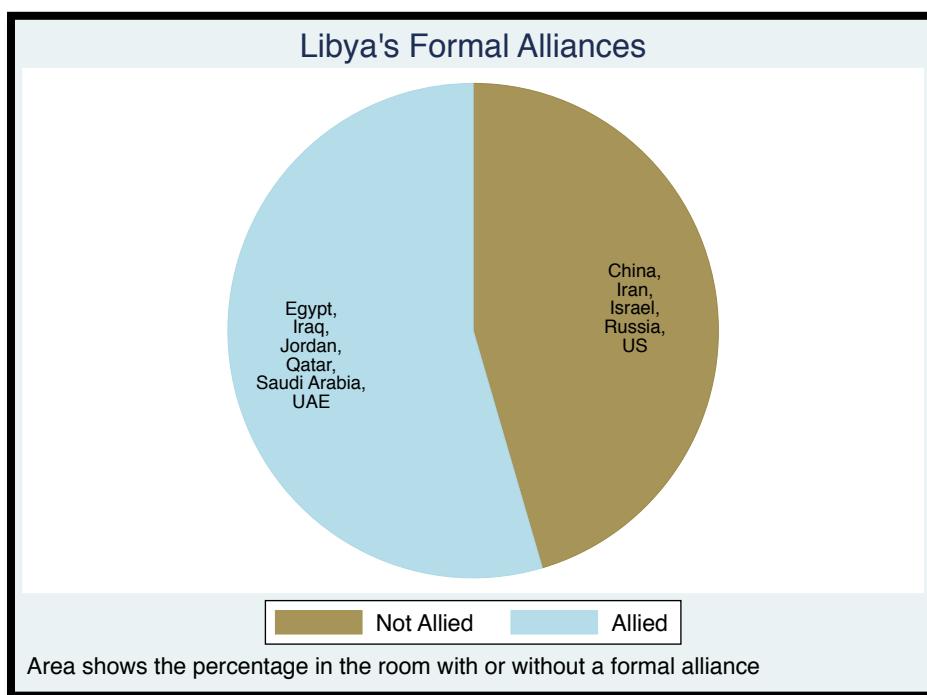
Libya has long-operated under similar sanctions as Iran, and the Gaddafi regime strongly opposed sanctions against both nations. It has yet to be seen how the new government will react to Iranian sanctions and nuclear energy.

Libya has supported opposition forces in the Syrian civil war, supplying weapons and forces to bolster opposition efforts.

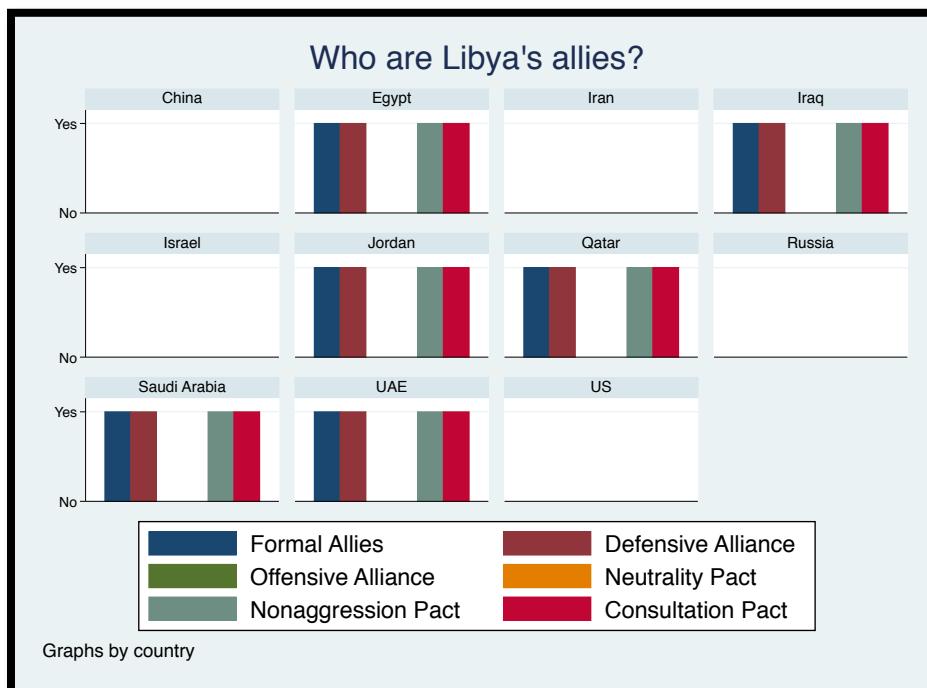
Libya actively assisted Egypt in the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, and it has actively supported the Palestinians in their efforts for self-determination. This will likely be a continued cornerstone to Libyan policy.

For a quick reference of ***Libya's allies:***

This pie chart shows that Six of the countries represented at the negotiations are formally allied with Libya (54%). Five of the countries present are not allied with Libya (46%).



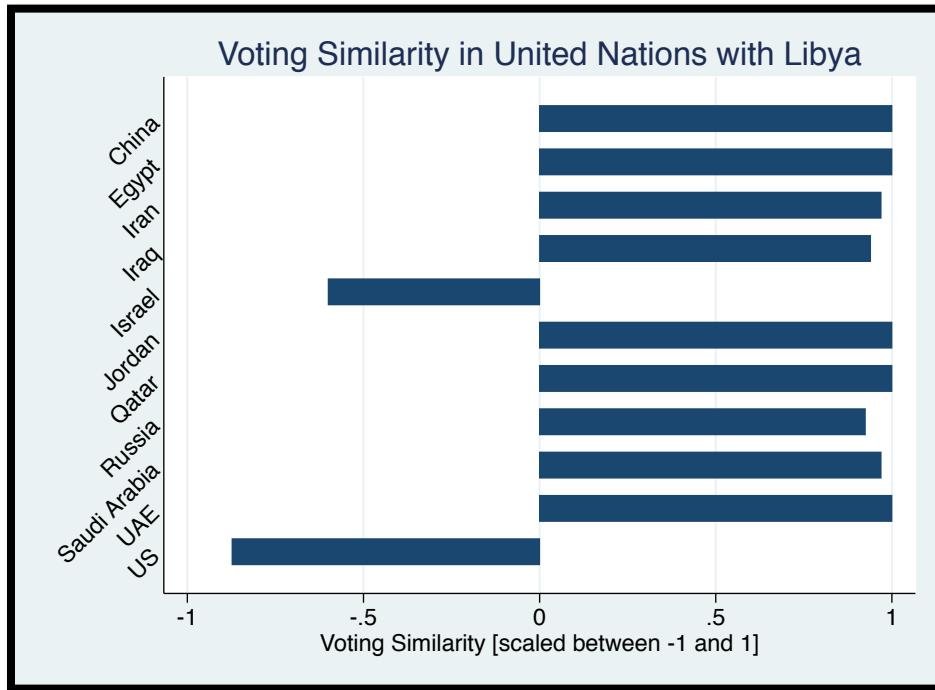
For a more detailed reference of Libya's alliance portfolio: This next graph shows Libya's alliances by country and type of alliance.



Libya diplomatically recognizes all countries involved in the negotiation, except Iraq and Israel.

For an understanding of the informal bilateral relationships:

This next graph indicates which countries have historically voted with and against Libya at the United Nations. Values closer to 1 indicate countries that vote most often with Libya. Values closer to -1 indicate countries that vote most often against Libya.

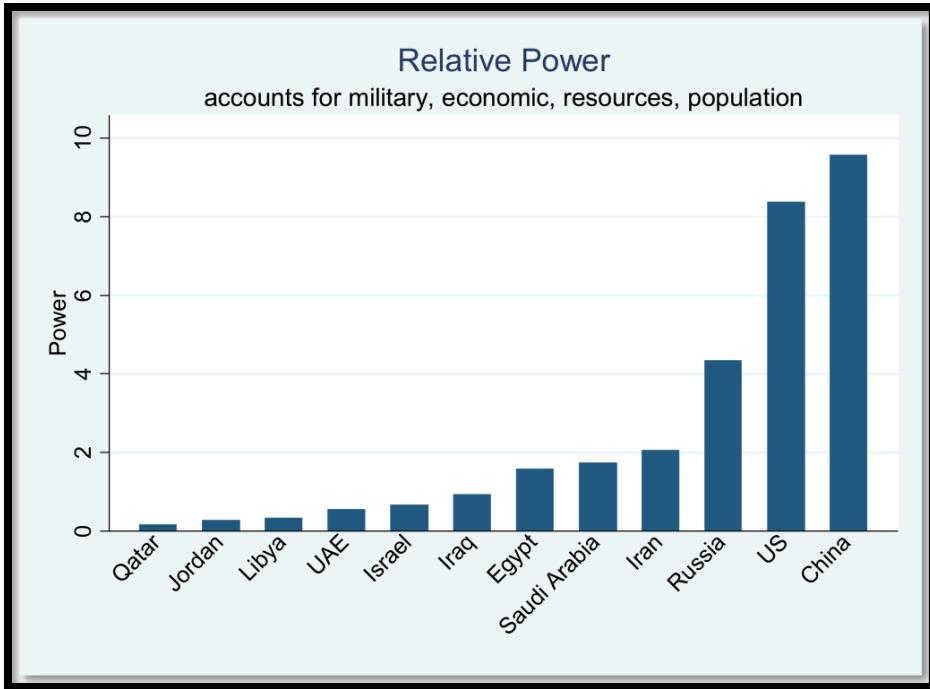


## Relative Power

Relative power can influence negotiating positions and the bargaining leverage that each country has when negotiating with other countries.

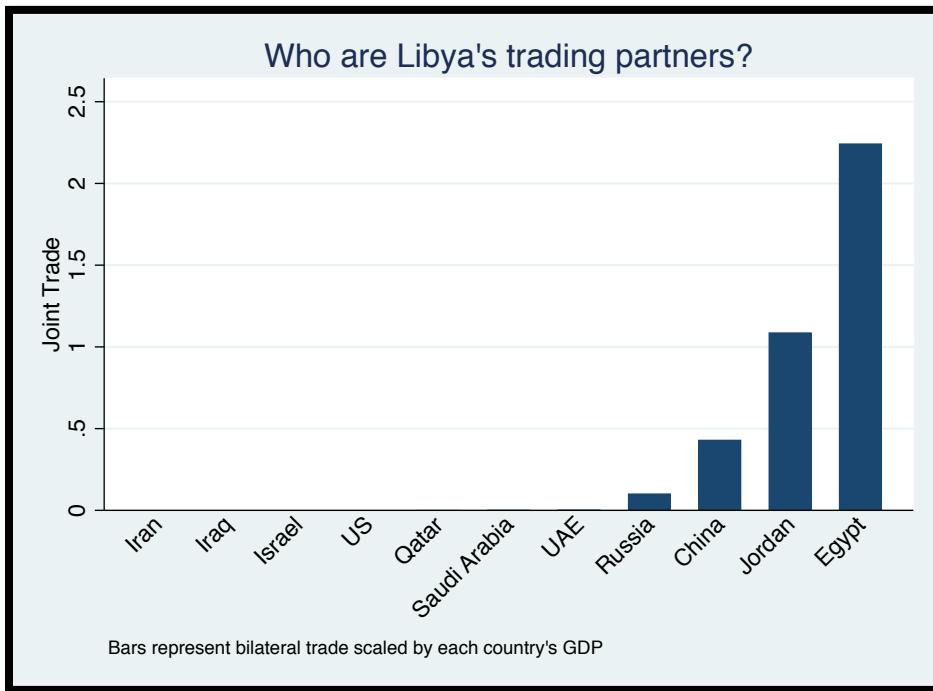
The Libyan National Army was founded by the NTC in 2011 after forces defeated the earlier Libyan Army. It currently has approximately 35,000 active forces and minimal bases and weaponry. The NATO nations of the United Kingdom, Italy, Turkey, and the United States are currently assisting Libya with recruitment and training of military forces, but while Libya rebuilds it is very limited in its military capabilities.

The following is an illustration of *an aggregated measure of relative power* that summarizes Libya's military strength, economic strength, population size, and resources relative to other countries. This is an easy way to get a simple understanding of whether any particular nation is stronger or weaker than another and by how much.



## Trade

Trade can be indicative of connectedness or distance between two countries. Nations who are more deeply integrated in trade have more incentive to maintain good relations as they may be more adversely affected by a deterioration of those relations. The following graph illustrates Libyan international trade and trading partners.



# The State of Qatar

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## **Qatar and Nuclear Weapons Free Zones**

Qatar lies at the heart of an important strategic crossroads in the Middle East. Given the changing political landscape in the Middle East, Qatar perhaps has a window of opportunity to support an MENWFZ treaty. In the past, Qatar has explicitly and publicly reaffirmed its commitment to an NWFZ in the Middle East. Qatar has frequently situated itself in support of the international right to peaceful use of nuclear energy but has also been wary of the dangers of nuclear armament. Subsequently, Qatar has actively campaigned in many international forums such as the United Nations Disarmament Commission for broader strength and enforcement of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) as well as consistently supported early implementation of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CBCT).

This anti-nuclear weapons stance has led Qatar to sometimes condemn some of the nuclear policies of its neighbors in the Middle East, with specific statements gravitating toward both Israel and Iran. Qatar is an active supporter of dialogue between the US, Israel, and Iran and is openly opposed to any resolution that risks the use nuclear force. As demonstration of Qatar's commitment to an NWFZ in the Middle East, Qatar has denied the US the ability to use an airbase located within its jurisdiction as a launch pad for a potential strike on Iran. Qatar has also condemned Israel's nuclear policy as in violation of the NPT and at risk of pushing the entire region into a nuclear arms race.

## **Domestic Political Constraints**

While some political leaders can agree to any policy even if they lack domestic support, other leaders carefully weigh policies that balance the risk of electoral or other political repercussions. The threat of domestic accountability can affect what leaders will and will not agree to in international negotiations.

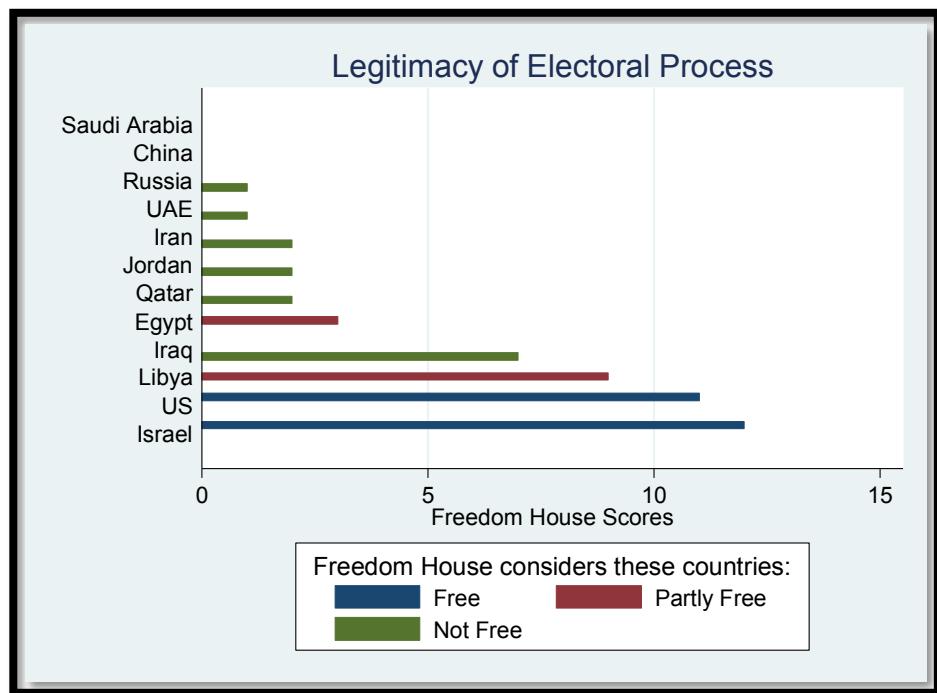
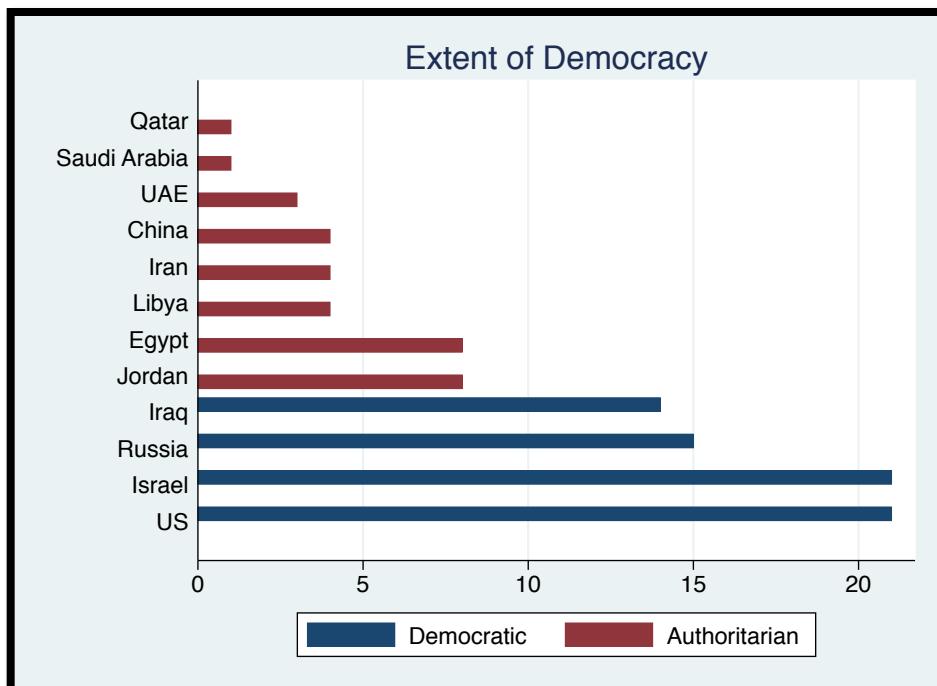
Qatar's government is structured as a constitutional monarchy within which there are various ministries, supreme councils, and other government agencies. The Emir of Qatar, currently Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani, is the head of government. The right to rule as the head of state Emir is passed down along the lines of the ruling Al Thani family. A Council of Ministers, or Cabinet, and six supreme councils also advise and assist the Emir while legislative authority rests in the Advisory Council. While an ideologically conservative force is certainly present within Qatar's system of governance such as that which can be seen through the Basic Law of Qatar in 1970, which institutionalized local customs rooted in conservative Islam, Qatar is simultaneously progressing towards the status of a modern welfare state with the government responsible for producing social and economic progress.

By Robert Dahl's definition, democracy requires not only free, fair, and competitive elections, but also freedoms that make such elections meaningful.<sup>17</sup> These freedoms include the right to assemble, the freedom of expression, the access to alternative sources of information, and that the government policies and elected officials are a direct reflection of the citizens' desires.<sup>18</sup> The Freedom House is an independent watchdog association dedicated to the expansion of freedom around the world. Qatar is rated Not Free by the Freedom House, its elections are considered Not Legitimate, and the extent of democracy is Low. The importance of Qatar's lack of democracy is that there are few domestic constraints for Qatar's government should the ruling Emir decide a position on a particular foreign policy issue.

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<sup>17</sup> Robert Dahl, *Polarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 39.

<sup>18</sup> Larry J. Diamond, "Thinking About Hybrid Regimes," *Journal of Democracy* 13, Vol. 2 (2002): 21.



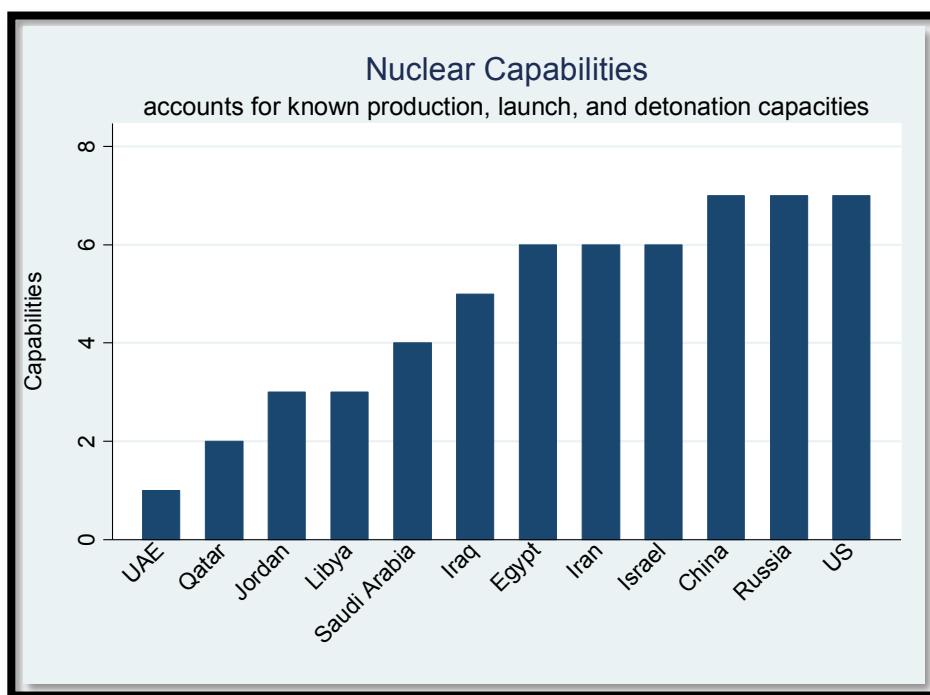
## Qatar's Nuclear Policy

While Qatar has considered developing and expanding a nuclear energy program, Qatar currently has no nuclear weapons capability and thus no nuclear use policy, secure

second strike, no first-use policy, nor any policies to support nuclear deterrence. In December of 2006, six member states of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) did convene a meeting to discuss prospects for the development of peaceful nuclear energy programs with Qatar included in the discussion. In February of 2007, the six states agreed to cooperate on a feasibility study for a regional nuclear power and a desalination program. Qatar also conducted its own independent study on the viability of its own nuclear power installations and, in 2008, indicated that there was little support for proceeding with such a program given the lack of modern reactors being available for use.

In regards to Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD), Qatar has actively pursued the acquisition of missile defense technologies and systems in order to counter perceived regional security threats and lower dependence on U.S. forces for protection. In 2012, Qatar requested missile defense technologies worth \$7.6 billion from Lockheed Martin Corporation. The request included attempted acquisition of two Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) missile defense units with accompanying 150 interceptors, 12 launchers, and one Early Warning Radar (EWR).

Below is a graph that summarizes the nuclear capabilities of countries in this negotiation. This graph can be used to understand both a country's own nuclear policy and its power relative to the other countries.



## Relations With Other States

Relations with other nations are important for any negotiation process. Below is a brief summary of Qatar's bilateral relations. A few graphs show Qatar's formal alliances and a more informal measure of relations that uses the similarity of United Nations voting records. This gives some expectation of how other countries are likely to behave and whether their interests are aligned with Qatar's.

**Russia:** Qatar diplomatically recognizes Russia and Russia diplomatically recognizes Qatar.

**China:** Qatar diplomatically recognizes China and China diplomatically recognizes Qatar.

**Libya:** Libya is a formal ally of Qatar. Qatar diplomatically recognizes Libya and is recognized diplomatically by Libya. Qatar and Libya have a declared formal alliance, and have established a defensive alliance, a nonaggression pact, and a consultation pact.

**The United States:** Qatar diplomatically recognizes the United States and the United States diplomatically recognizes Qatar. The United States operates military presence within Qatar and Qatar receives a security guarantee from said stationed forces.

**Iran:** Qatar diplomatically recognizes Iran and Iran diplomatically recognizes Qatar.

**Israel:** Qatar and Israel are not formal allies. Israel is not diplomatically recognized by Qatar.

**The United Arab Emirates:** The United Arab Emirates (UAE) is a formal ally of Qatar. Qatar diplomatically recognizes UAE and is recognized diplomatically by UAE. Qatar and UAE have a declared formal alliance, which also includes a defensive alliance, a nonaggression pact, and a consultation pact.

**Iraq:** Iraq is a formal ally of Qatar. Qatar and Iraq have a declared formal alliance, which also includes a defensive alliance, a nonaggression pact, and a consultation pact.

**Egypt:** Egypt is a formal ally of Qatar. Qatar diplomatically recognizes Egypt and is recognized diplomatically by Egypt. Qatar and Egypt have a declared formal alliance, which also includes a defensive alliance, a nonaggression pact, and a consultation pact.

**Jordan:** Jordan is a formal ally of Qatar. Qatar diplomatically recognizes Jordan and is recognized diplomatically by Jordan. Qatar and Jordan have a declared formal alliance, which also includes a defensive alliance, a nonaggression pact, and a consultation pact.

**Saudi Arabia:** Saudi Arabia is a formal ally of Qatar. Qatar diplomatically recognizes Saudi Arabia and is recognized diplomatically by Saudi Arabia. Qatar and Saudi Arabia have a declared formal alliance that includes a defensive alliance, a nonaggression pact, and a consultation pact.

***On past specific issues:***

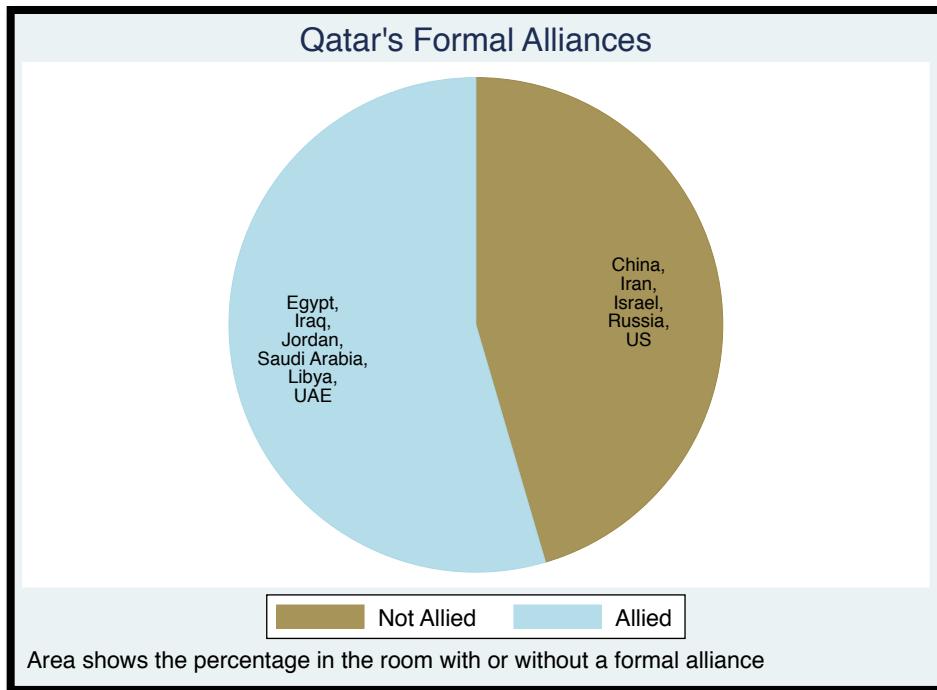
While always pursuing an agenda framed within its publicly stated desire for peace in the Middle East, Qatar has reacted in different ways to different issues. Qatar has been very supportive of the recent dialogue between the United States and other foreign powers and Iran to reach an agreement to freeze the Iranian nuclear program in return for eased sanctions. Qatar, in fact, described the seeming diplomatic resolution as a welcome first step in the process of “making the Middle East a nuclear weapons free zone.”

In regards to the civil war in Syria, Qatar funded and provided arms support to rebel groups in Syria. Many US analysts, however, were concerned that Qatar was supporting the more radical, hardline Islamist rebel groups in Syria.

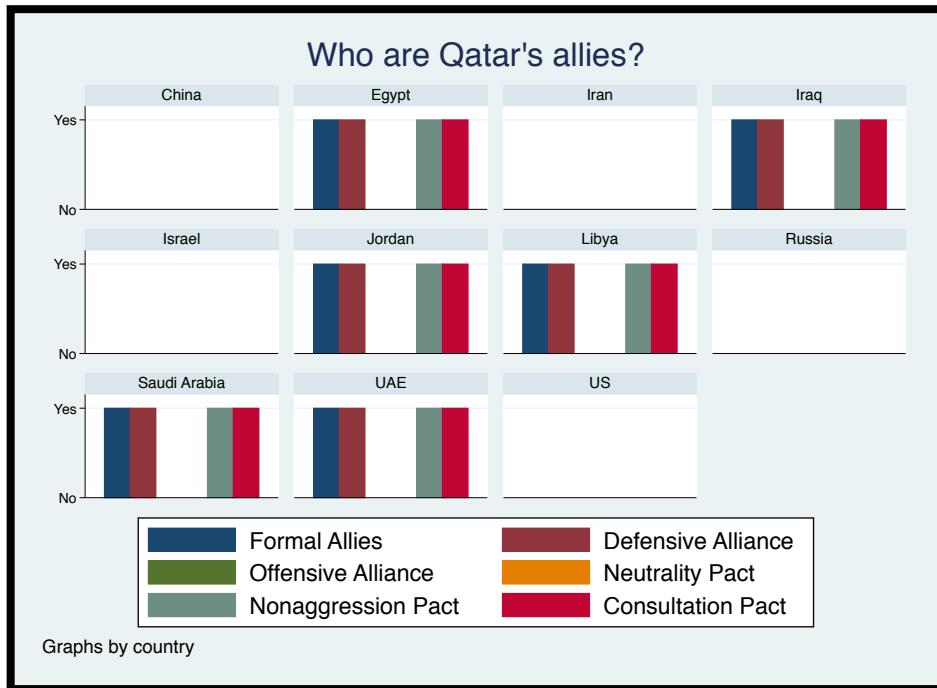
In regards to Israel, Qatar has had a far more antagonistic relationship, and diplomatic relations between Israel and Qatar are often times in crisis. Qatar supports Hamas, a group that Israel considers to be a terrorist group threatening its security, which exacerbates tensions between the two nations. Recent attempts to thaw tensions by returning to diplomatic ties and trade ties, which were in return for Israel allowing Qatar to send rebuilding supplies to the Gaza Strip, were met with rejection by Israel on the grounds that Qatar’s aid would allow Hamas to fortify bunkers.

For a quick reference of ***Qatar’s allies:***

This pie chart shows that 55% of the countries represented at the negotiations are formally allied with Qatar (Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Libya, and the United Arab Emirates). 45% of the countries present are not allied with Qatar (China, Iran, Israel, Russia, and the United States).

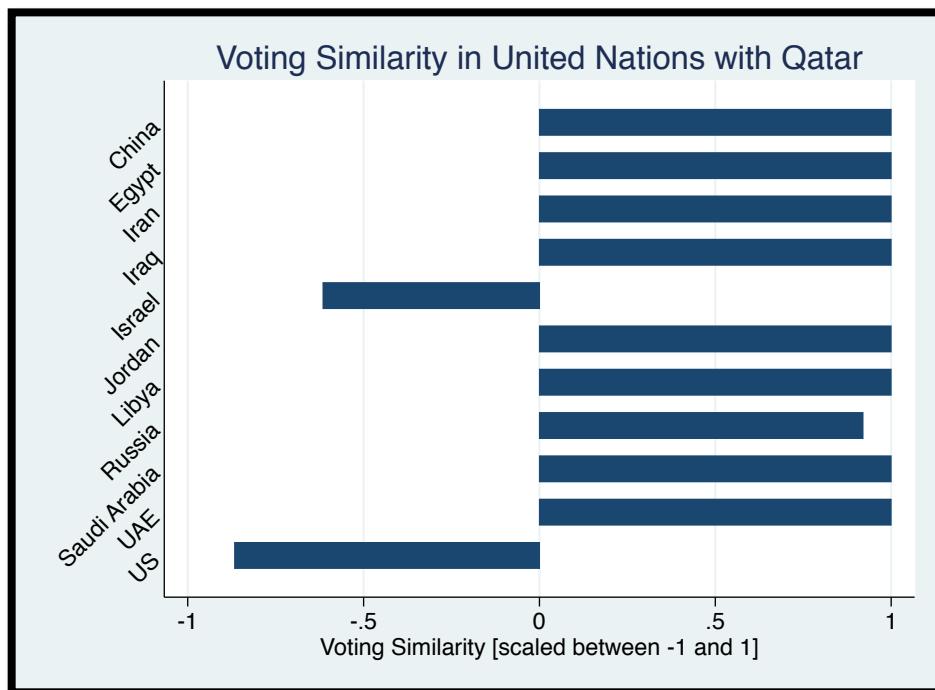


For a more detailed reference of ***Qatar's alliance portfolio:*** This next graph shows Qatar's alliances by country and type of alliance.



For an understanding of the ***informal bilateral relationships:***

This next graph indicates which countries historically vote with and against Qatar at the United Nations. Values closer to 1 indicate countries that vote most often with Qatar. Values closer to -1 indicate countries that vote most often against Qatar.

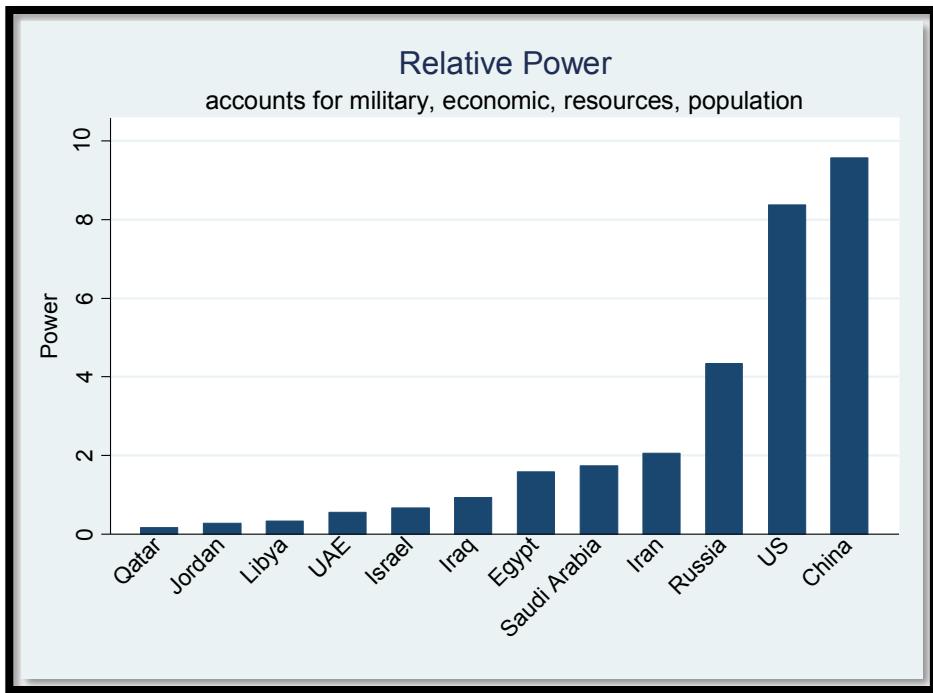


## Relative Power

Relative power can influence negotiating positions and each country's bargaining leverage during negotiations.

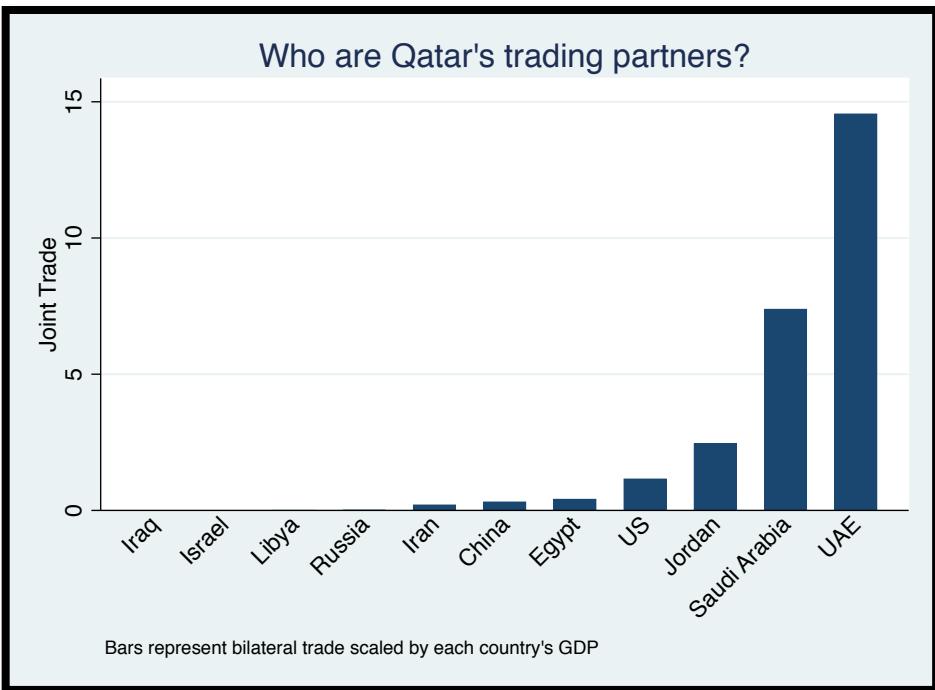
Qatar's armed forces play an active role in the collective regional defense and security efforts of the GCC. Qatar also has defense pacts and agreements with the United States, the United Kingdom, and France. Qatar maintains an active military force of a little less than 12,000 military forces including an army of 8,500, a navy of 1,800, and an air force of 1,500. Qatar also hosts a large presence of US military forces at Al Udeid Air Base.

The following is an illustration of *an aggregated measure of relative power* that summarizes Israel's military strength, economic strength, population size, and resources relative to other countries. This is an easy way to get a simple understanding of whether any particular nation is stronger or weaker than another and by how much.



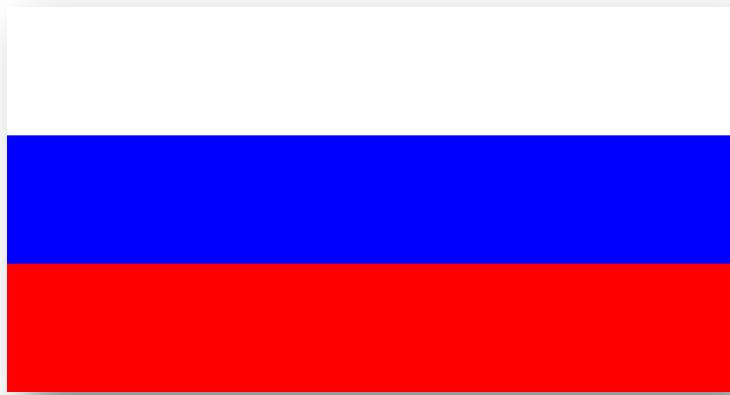
## Trade

Trade can be indicative of connectedness or distance between two countries. Nations who are more deeply integrated in trade have more incentive to maintain good relations as they may be more adversely affected by a deterioration of those relations. The following graph illustrates Qatar's international trade and trading partners.



# Russia

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## Russia and Nuclear Weapons Free Zones

As one of the most powerful nations in the world with its large population, the world's eighth largest economy,<sup>19</sup> and status as a nation possessing nuclear weapons, Russia is a nation with a historically vital interest in and strong influence over the negotiations for a nuclear weapon free zone in the Middle East. Russia has been in favor of nuclear weapon free zones in the past. Russia ratified treaties to adopt nuclear weapons free zones in Africa, Latin America, and the South Pacific as apart of the Nonproliferation Treaty. Although the former Soviet Union was the official signatory of the NPT in 1968, Russia agreed to inherit all responsibilities of the treaty. Russia publicly states support for establishing a nuclear weapons free zone in the Middle East. Russia has also stated that Israel should join the Non-Proliferation Treaty as a non-nuclear state. Russia has been supportive of peaceful Iranian nuclear energy. Russia believes that Iran has a right to nuclear energy but must follow its international commitments.

## Domestic Political Constraints

While some political leaders can agree to any policy even if they lack domestic support, other leaders carefully weigh policies that balance the risk of electoral or other political repercussions. The threat of domestic accountability can affect what leaders will and will not agree to in international negotiations.

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<sup>19</sup> "World's Largest Economies," CNN, accessed January 1, 2014.  
[http://money.cnn.com/news/economy/world\\_economies\\_gdp/](http://money.cnn.com/news/economy/world_economies_gdp/)

Russia is still a relatively new democracy. Formed after the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, the nation went from a communist country to a budding democracy and is now a semi-authoritarian regime under President Putin. Due to Putin's strong and popular executive government, there is not much internal political opposition other than terrorism and violence in and around Chechnya and the independent country of Georgia. However, Russia is plagued with serious domestic issues such as a low standard of living, low birth rates, and alcoholism. Generally, domestic politics does not play a large role when the government negotiates in international affairs.

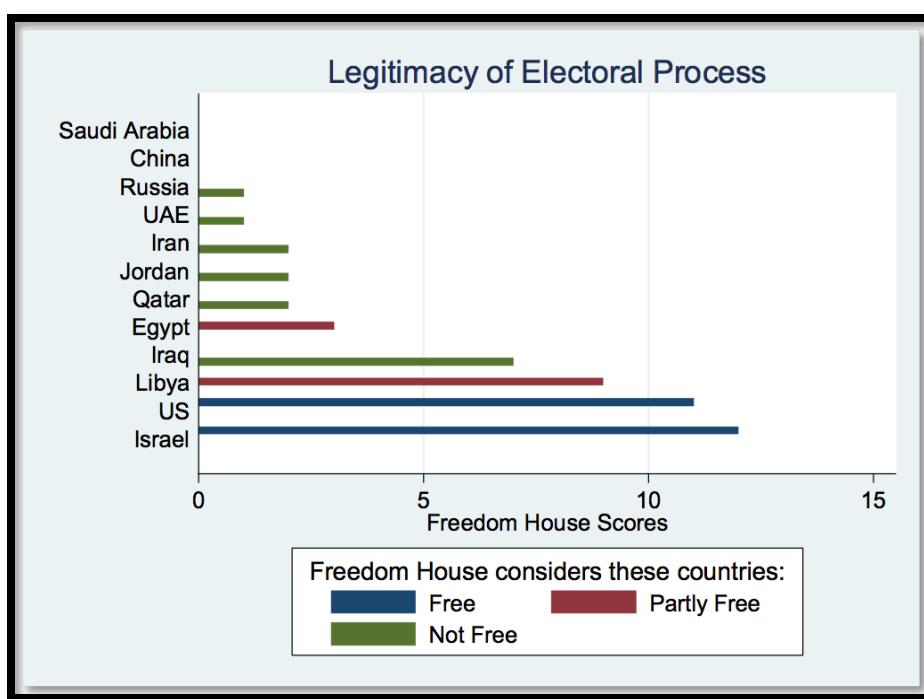
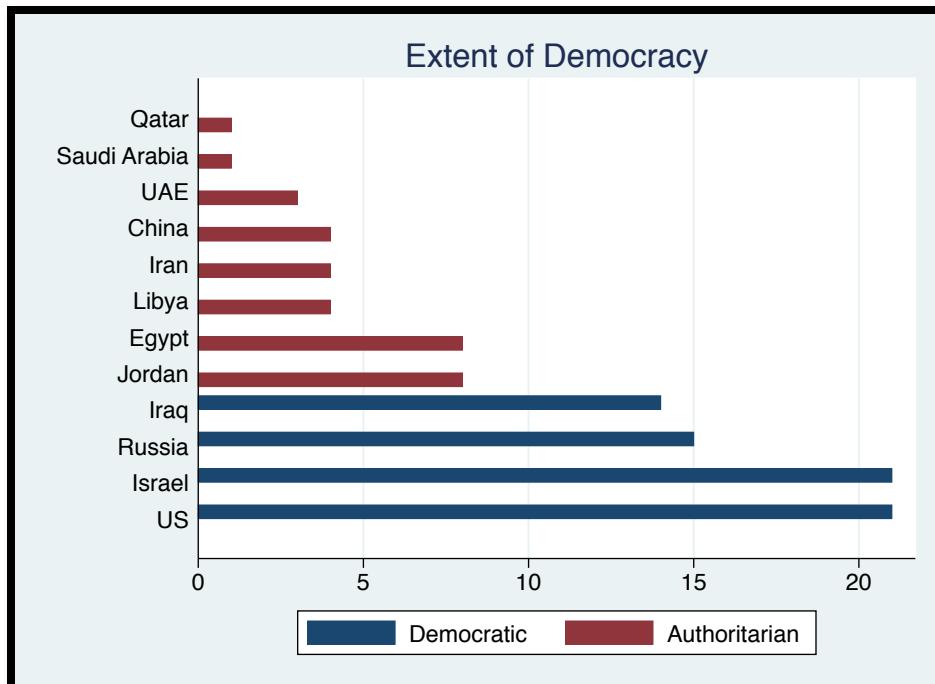
By Robert Dahl's definition, democracy requires not only free, fair, and competitive elections, but also freedoms that make such elections meaningful.<sup>20</sup> These freedoms include the right to assemble, the freedom of expression, the access to alternative sources of information, and that the government policies and elected officials are a direct reflection of the citizens' desires.<sup>21</sup> The Freedom House is an independent watchdog association dedicated to the expansion of freedom around the world. Russia is rated Not Free by the Freedom House. Its elections are considered Not Legitimate, but the extent of democracy is Moderately High. Russia holds regular, free elections, thus making their extent of democracy higher than most countries, however, the elections lack free and fair competition. This is due to restraints by the Putin administration that hinder civil liberties that would serve to encourage political competition and bolster electoral legitimacy.

Putin's United Russia controls the monopoly of virtually all affairs in Russia, suppressing freedom of expression through, for example, state ownership of all main media outlets and a high party threshold that keeps smaller political parties out of government. Today Russia functions not as a democratic government, but a hybrid or a semi-authoritarian regime under President Putin.

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<sup>20</sup> Robert Dahl, *Polarity: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 39.

<sup>21</sup> Larry J. Diamond, "Thinking About Hybrid Regimes," *Journal of Democracy* 13, Vol. 2 (2002): 21.



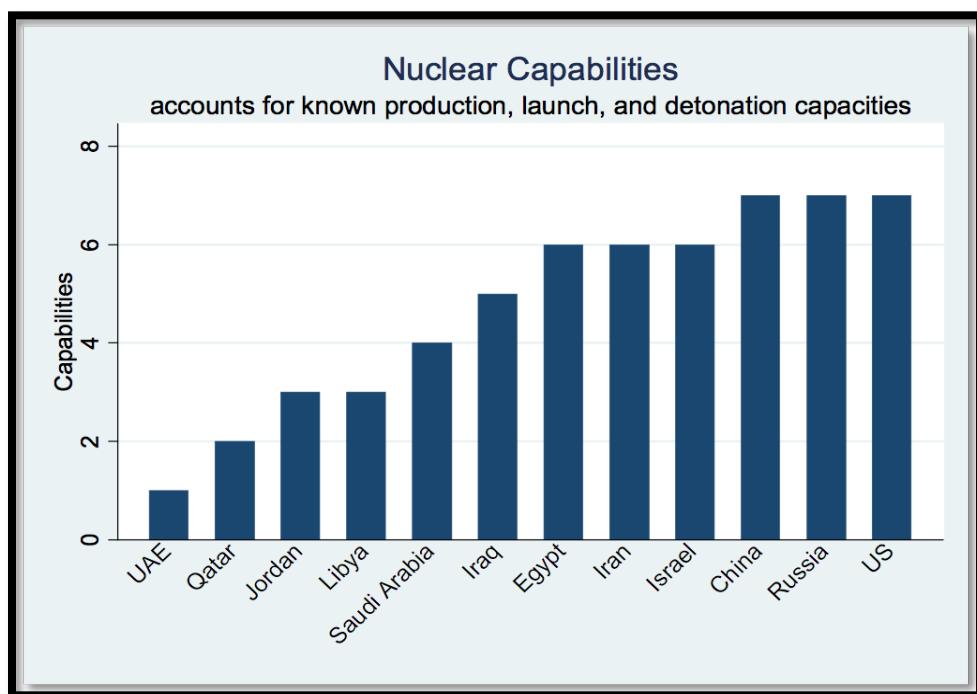
## Russia's Nuclear Policy

Russia's nuclear weapons policy consists of mostly offensive capabilities. Russia's nuclear policies includes the following:

- **Nuclear capacity:** 1,499 deployed strategic nuclear warheads and 1,022 non-deployed warheads with another 2,000 tactical nuclear warheads<sup>22</sup>
- Russia **dropped its No First Use policy** in 1993 (a pledge given by the former Soviet Union not to use nuclear weapons first).
- **A secure second strike:** mobile and hidden nuclear weapons
- In 2000, Russia stated it reserves the right to use nuclear weapons “in response to a large-scale conventional aggression.”<sup>23</sup>

Russia inherited the Soviet Union’s ballistic missile program and today is one of the two largest missile programs along with the United States.

Below is a graph that summarizes the nuclear capabilities of countries in this negotiation. This graph can be used to understand both a country’s own nuclear policy and its power relative to the other countries.



## Relations With Other States

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<sup>22</sup> “Nuclear Weapons: Who Has What at a Glance,” Arms Control, accessed January 1, 2014, <http://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/Nuclearweaponswhohaswhat>.

<sup>23</sup> No First Use of Nuclear Weapons meeting: paper by Yuri Fedorov, 'Russia's Doctrine on the Use of Nuclear Weapons' - Pugwash Meeting no. 279 London, UK, 15–17.

Relations with other nations are important for any negotiation process. Below is a brief summary of Russia's bilateral relations. Then a few graphs show Russia's formal alliances and a more informal measure of relations that uses the similarity of voting records at the United Nations. This gives some expectation of how other countries are likely to behave and whether their interests are aligned with Russia's.

**China:** Russia is a formal ally of China. Russia diplomatically recognizes China, and China diplomatically recognizes Russia. China and Russia have a declared formal alliance. Their alliance includes a nonaggression pact as well as a consultation pact.

**Qatar:** Russia diplomatically recognizes Qatar and Qatar diplomatically recognizes Russia.

**Libya:** Russia diplomatically recognizes Libya and Libya diplomatically recognizes Russia.

**United States:** Russia is a formal ally of the United States. Russia diplomatically recognizes the United States, and the United States diplomatically recognizes Russia. Russia and the United States have a declared formal alliance. Their alliance includes a nonaggression pact.

**Iran:** Russia is a formal ally of Iran. Russia diplomatically recognizes Iran, and Iran diplomatically recognizes Russia. Russia and Iran have a declared formal alliance. Their alliance includes a defensive alliance and a consultation pact.

**Israel:** Russia diplomatically recognizes Israel and Israel diplomatically recognizes Russia.

**United Arab Emirates:** Russia diplomatically recognizes the United Arab Emirates and the United Arab Emirates diplomatically recognizes Russia.

**Iraq:** Russia is a formal ally of Iraq. Russia diplomatically recognizes Iraq, and Iraq diplomatically recognizes Russia. Russia and Iraq have a declared formal alliance. Their alliance includes a nonaggression pact and a consultation pact.

**Egypt:** Russia is a formal ally of Egypt. Russia diplomatically recognizes Egypt, and Egypt diplomatically recognizes Russia. Russia and Egypt have a declared formal alliance. Their alliance includes a nonaggression pact and a consultation pact.

**Jordan:** Russia diplomatically recognizes Jordan and Jordan diplomatically recognizes Russia.

**Saudi Arabia:** Russia is a formal ally of Saudi Arabia. Russia diplomatically recognizes Saudi Arabia, and Saudi Arabia diplomatically recognizes Russia. Russia and Saudi Arabia have a declared formal alliance. Their alliance includes a nonaggression pact and an offensive alliance pact.

***On past specific issues:***

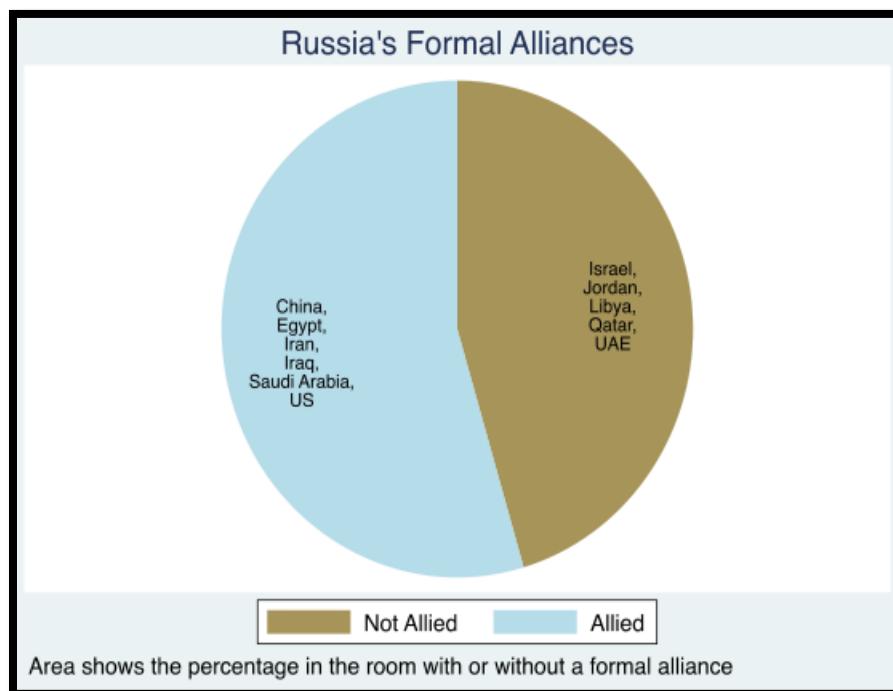
**Iran's nuclear program and its sanctions:** Iran and Russia are close allies. Both have helped each other in the past. Russia uses Iran as leverage in Washington and exerts pressure on the U.S. regarding Iran. Russia does not see Iran's nuclear energy program as a threat, but will not stand for the Iranian Islamic government to destabilize the Middle East. Russia believes that the sanctions should be lifted on Iran.

**Syria:** Russia has close ties with the Assad regime. Russia has stated that they will support the Syrian government, regardless of who is in power. Russia will continue to support the Syrian government as they have a vital naval base in Syria. Russia is in favor of working with the current government through peace talks rather than using physical force.

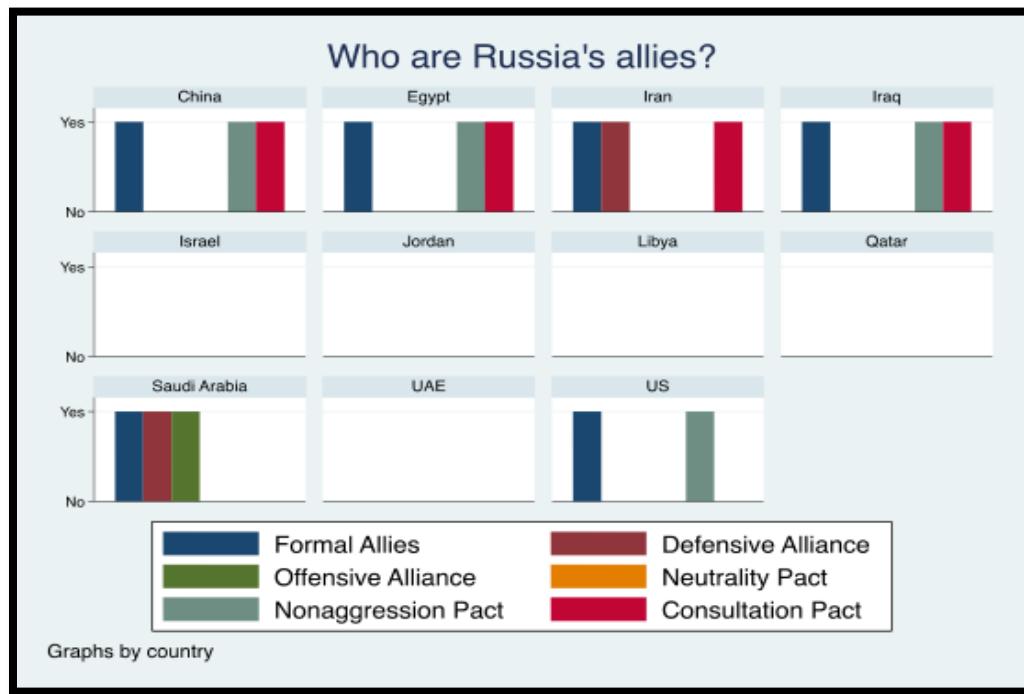
**Israel:** Putin stated that Israel's possession of nuclear weapons makes them a target in the Middle East. Russia urges Israel to sign the Nonproliferation Treaty and to be nuclear free so the Middle East can become a NWFZ.

For a quick reference of **Russia's allies**:

This pie chart shows that 55% of the countries represented at the negotiations are formally allied with Russia (Saudi Arabia, Iran, Egypt, Iraq, China, and the U.S.). 45% of the countries present are not allied with Russia (Qatar, UAE, Libya, Jordan, and Israel).



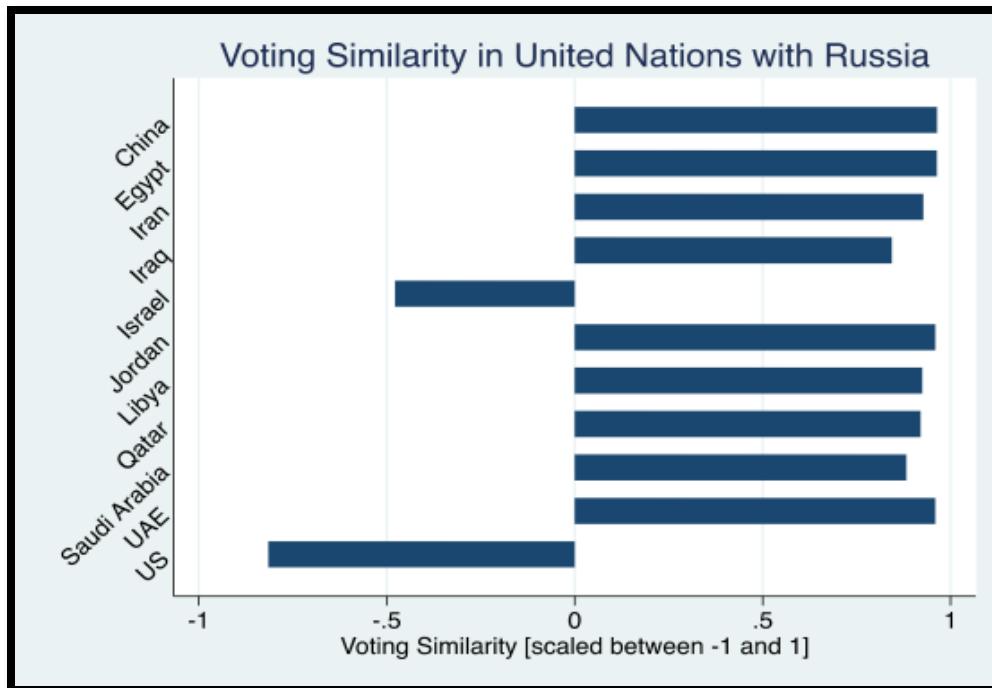
For a more detailed reference of **Russia's alliance portfolio**: This next graph shows Russia's alliances by country and type of alliance.



Russia diplomatically recognizes all countries involved in the negotiation.

For an understanding of the ***informal bilateral relationships***:

This next graph indicates which countries have historically voted with and against Russia at the United Nations. Values closer to 1 indicate countries that vote most often with Russia. Values closer to -1 indicate countries that vote most often against Russia.

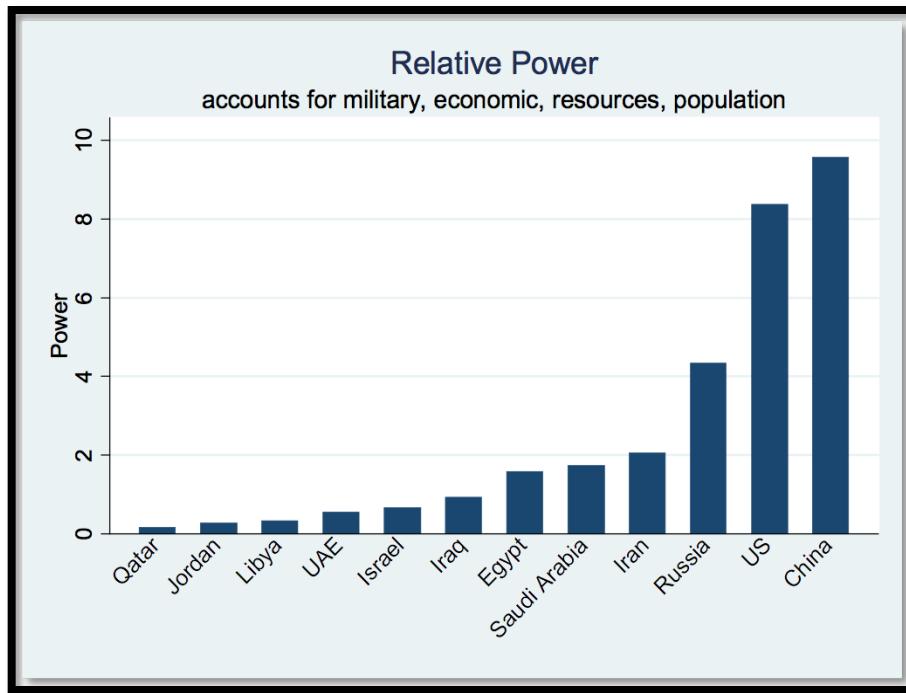


### Relative Power

Relative power can influence negotiating positions and the bargaining leverage that each country has when negotiating with other countries.

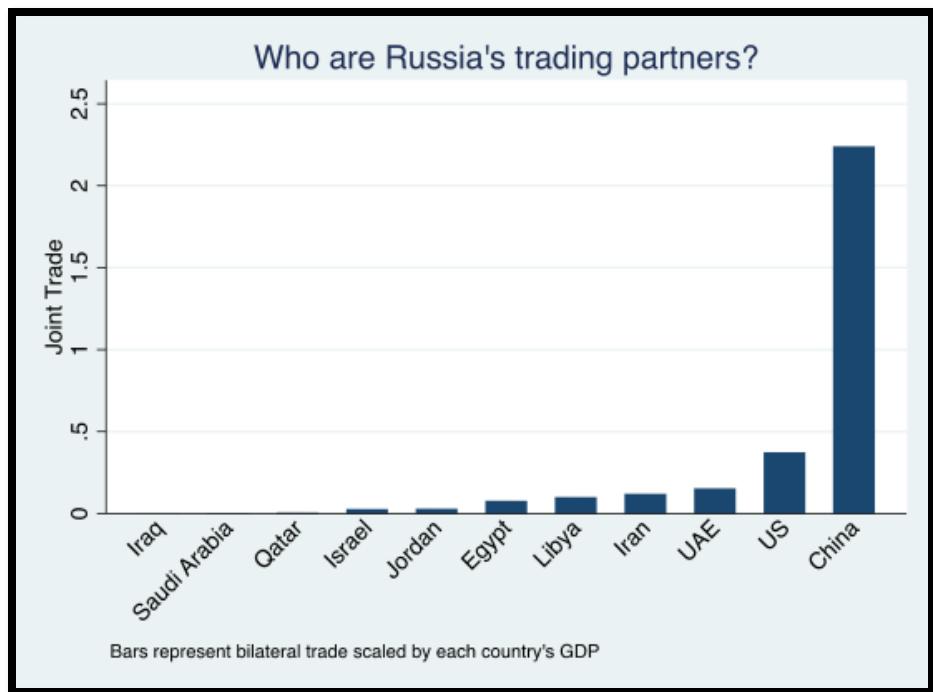
Russia has the sixth largest military in the world and is ranked third of the world's largest spenders in military expenditures. The Russia military is made up of six branches: Ground Forces, Air Force, Navy, Strategic Rocket Forces, Space Forces, and Airborne Troops.

The following is an illustration of *an aggregated measure of relative power* that summarizes Russia's military strength, economic strength, population size, and resources relative to other countries. This is an easy way to get a simple understanding of whether any particular nation is stronger or weaker than another and by how much.



## Trade

Trade can be indicative of connectedness or distance between two countries. Nations who are more deeply integrated in trade have more incentive to maintain good relations as they may be more adversely affected by a deterioration of those relations. The following graph illustrates Russian international trade and trading partners.



# Saudi Arabia

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## Saudi Arabia and Nuclear Weapon Free Zones

As an economically powerful and influential nation in the Middle East, Saudi Arabia has a powerful voice in negotiations for a nuclear weapon free zone in the Middle East. As one of the most stable countries in the Middle East, a signatory of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and a country that does not possess nuclear weapons, Saudi Arabia favors the establishment of an NWFZ. The Saudi government most recently expressed its support for this initiative at the UN General Assembly in 2013. There has been speculation of Saudi-Pakistani nuclear cooperation, however, these allegations were not proven. Saudi Arabia considers the possession of nuclear weapons by any regional state, including Israel and Iran, as a threat to regional and national security. Saudi Arabia has expressed opposition to the US-led deal with Iran: like Israel, Saudi Arabia believes it is unlikely that Iran will honor the terms of the agreement, and is concerned that the developing US-Iran relationship will come at the expense of stability and security in the Middle East.

## Domestic Political Constraints

While some political leaders can agree to any policy even if they lack domestic support, other leaders carefully weigh policies that balance the risks of electoral or other political repercussions. The threat of domestic accountability can affect what leaders will and will not agree to in international negotiations.

Saudi Arabia is an absolute monarchy governed according to Islamic law with the King of Saudi Arabia, Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz, serving as the head of state and head of

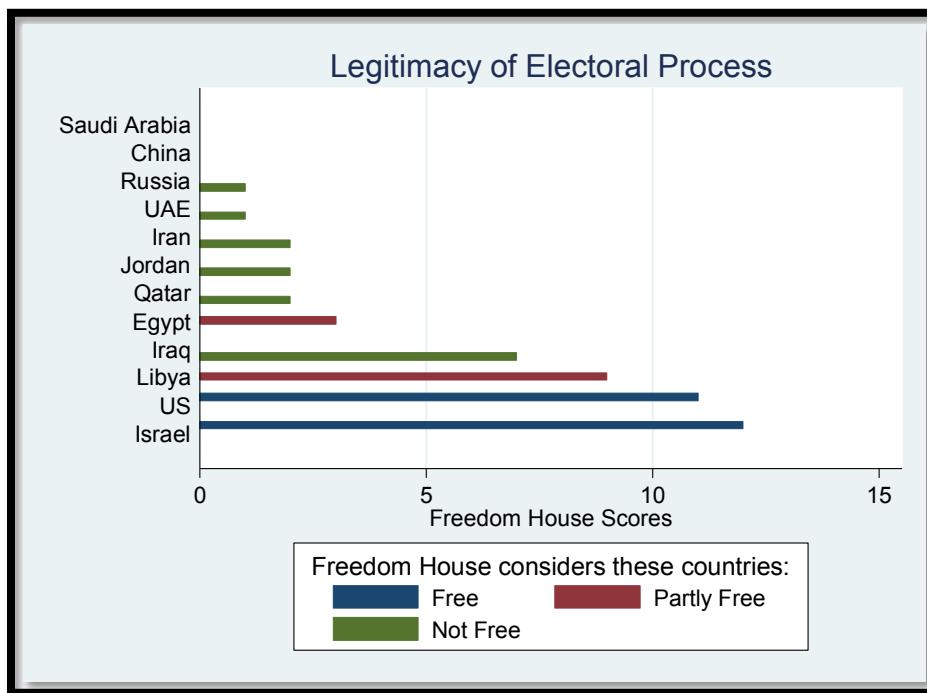
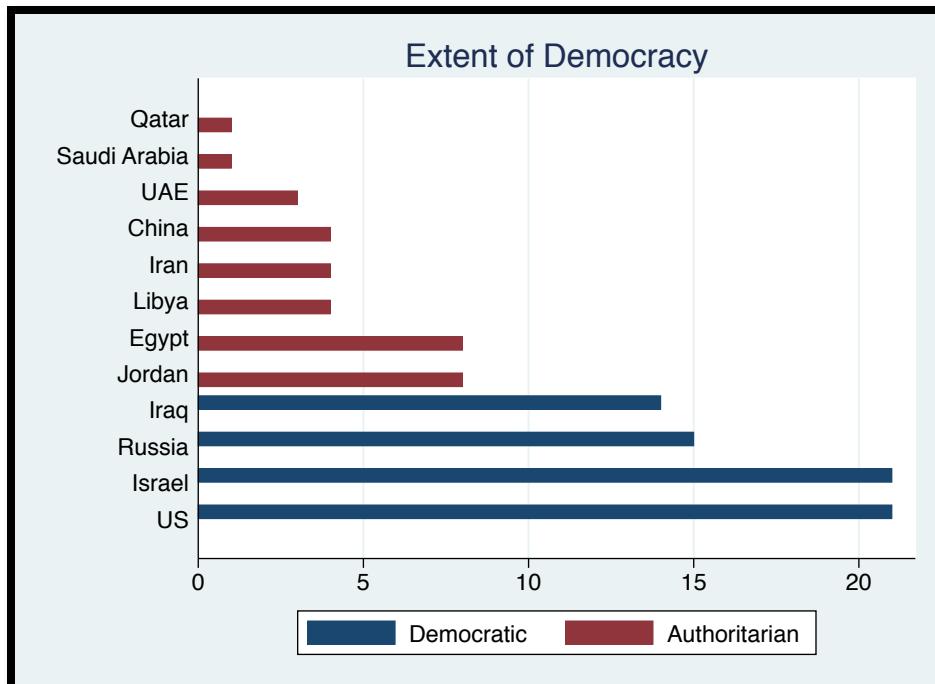
government. The king presides over and appoints members of the Council of Ministers, which oversees legislation. All laws must be approved by the king by royal decree and be compatible with Islamic law. The Consultative Assembly, whose members are appointed by the King, may also propose legislation, but cannot pass legislation on its own. Most decisions are made within the extended royal family, through consultation with religious leaders and important economic powers, rather than through the official legislative bodies. Because decisions are primarily made through the family, internal consensus-building tends to be more important than domestic politics when negotiating internationally, though the king ultimately determines foreign policy. Although the royal family holds nearly all major positions in government, there are factions *within* the family. A major point of contention between these factions is the speed of reform. Foreign Minister Prince Saud Al Faisal, for example, is a major supporter of political reform and a close ally to King Abdullah.

By Robert Dahl's definition, democracy requires not only free, fair, and competitive elections, but also freedoms that make such elections meaningful.<sup>24</sup> These freedoms include the right to assemble, the freedom of expression, the access to alternative sources of information, and that the government policies and elected officials are a direct reflection of the citizens' desires.<sup>25</sup> The Freedom House is an independent watchdog association dedicated to the expansion of freedom around the world. Saudi Arabia is rated Not Free by the Freedom House. Members of the royal family, the Al Saud, dominate high government positions, and there are no national elections.

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<sup>24</sup> Robert Dahl, *Polarity: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 39.

<sup>25</sup> Larry J. Diamond, "Thinking About Hybrid Regimes," *Journal of Democracy* 13, Vol. 2 (2002): 21.



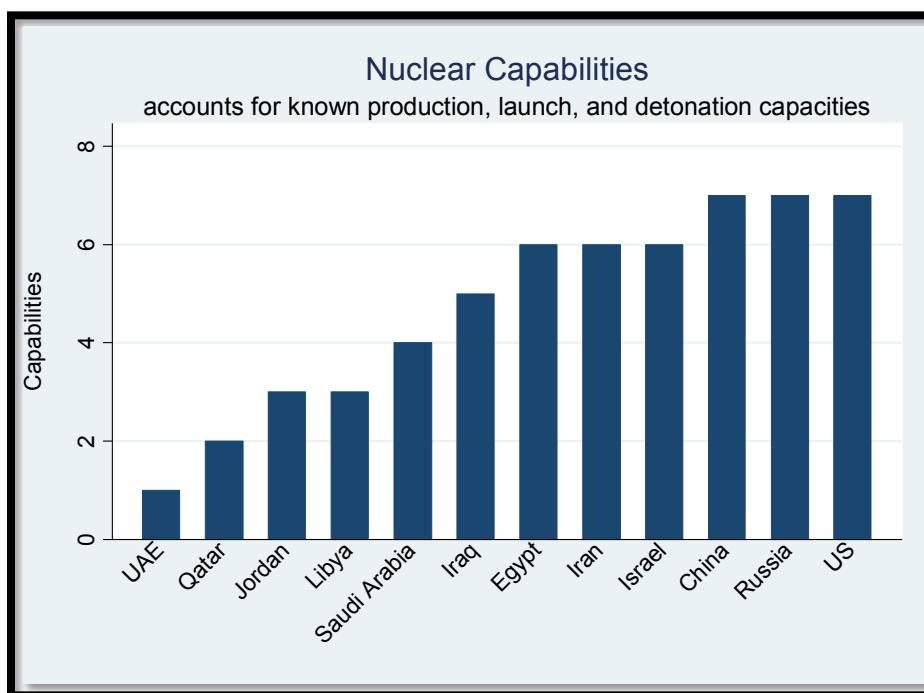
## Saudi Arabia's Nuclear Policy

Saudi Arabia has no known nuclear weapons program. Although the news media has periodically speculated that Saudi Arabia may partner with Pakistan to receive nuclear

weapons, this has never been proven. Saudi Arabia is considered an active opponent of all nuclear weapons in the region.

Saudi Arabia possesses ballistic missiles developed by China (specifically the Chinese Dongfeng-3, DF-3). However, Saudi Arabia is not believed to have tested the DF-3. They also possess surface-to-air missiles, primarily focused on defending itself against Iran. Saudi Arabia has not developed its own ballistic missiles, but could potentially purchase more advanced missiles from China or Pakistan.

Below is a graph that summarizes the nuclear capabilities of countries in this negotiation. This graph can be used to understand both a country's own nuclear policy and its power relative to the other countries.



## Relations With Other States

Relations with other nations are important for any negotiation process. Below is a brief summary of Saudi Arabia's bilateral relations. A few graphs show Saudi Arabia's formal alliances and a more informal measure of relations that uses the similarity of voting records at the United Nations. This should give you an expectation of how other countries are likely to behave and whether their interests are aligned with Saudi Arabia's.

**Russia:** Russia is a formal ally of Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia diplomatically recognizes Russia, and Russia diplomatically recognizes Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia and Russia have a declared formal alliance. Their alliance includes defensive and offensive treaties.

**Qatar:** Qatar is a formal ally of Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia diplomatically recognizes Qatar and Qatar diplomatically recognizes Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia and Qatar have declared a formal alliance. Their alliance includes a defensive treaty, and nonaggression and consultation pacts.

**Libya:** Libya is a formal ally of Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia diplomatically recognizes Libya and Libya diplomatically recognizes Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia and Libya have declared a formal alliance. Their alliance includes a defensive treaty, and nonaggression and consultation pacts.

**United States:** The United States is a formal ally of Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia diplomatically recognizes the United States, and the United States diplomatically recognizes Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia and the United States have a declared formal alliance. Their alliance includes defensive and offensive treaties.

**Iran:** Iran is a formal ally of Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia diplomatically recognizes Iran, and Iran diplomatically recognizes Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia and Iran have a declared formal alliance. Their alliance includes defensive and offensive treaties.

**Israel:** Saudi Arabia does not diplomatically recognize Israel.

**United Arab Emirates:** The United Arab Emirates is a formal ally of Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia diplomatically recognizes the United Arab Emirate and the United Arab Emirate diplomatically recognizes Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirate have declared a formal alliance. Their alliance includes a defensive treaty, and nonaggression and consultation pacts.

**Iraq:** Iraq is a formal ally of Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia diplomatically recognizes Iraq and Iraq diplomatically recognizes Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia and Iraq have declared a formal alliance. Their alliance includes a defensive treaty, and nonaggression and consultation pacts.

**Egypt:** Egypt is a formal ally of Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia diplomatically recognizes Egypt and Egypt diplomatically recognizes Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia and Egypt have declared a formal alliance. Their alliance includes a defensive treaty, and nonaggression and consultation pacts.

**Jordan:** Jordan is a formal ally of Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia diplomatically recognizes Jordan and Jordan diplomatically recognizes Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia and Jordan have declared a formal alliance. Their alliance includes a defensive treaty, and nonaggression and consultation pacts.

**China:**

China is a formal ally of Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia diplomatically recognizes China, and China diplomatically recognizes Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia and China have a declared formal alliance. Their alliance includes defensive and offensive treaties.

***On past specific issues:***

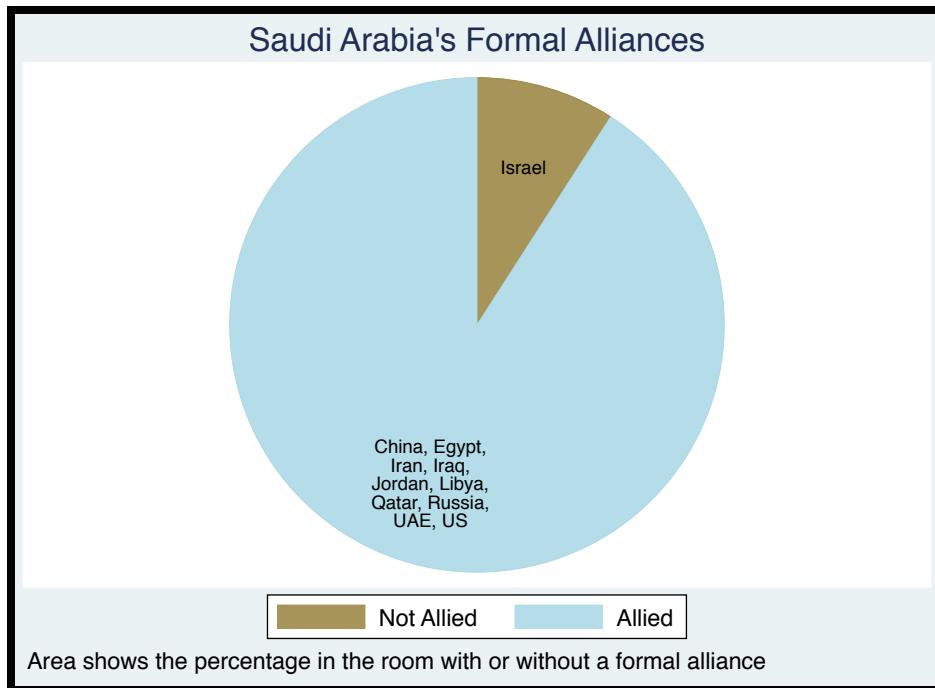
Since the Iran-Iraq War, Saudi Arabia has viewed Iran as a threat to regional stability. Saudi officials have been critical of Western governments for not taking more aggressive action against Iran than imposing sanctions. However, they have supported sanctions against Iran by offering to provide any increasing consumer demand for oil that comes from the sanctions. Saudi Arabia has been highly critical of the recent deal with Iran, who it believes will continue to develop nuclear weapons.

This deal has provided a rare shared interest with Israel with whom Saudi Arabia does not have formal diplomatic relations. Although there are rumors that Saudi and Israeli officials have met regarding the Iranian issue, Saudi Arabia continues to support Palestinian statehood. Saudi officials have previously supported initiatives such as the 2002 Arab Peace Initiative that would provide recognition of Israel by Arab states in exchange for a Palestinian state.

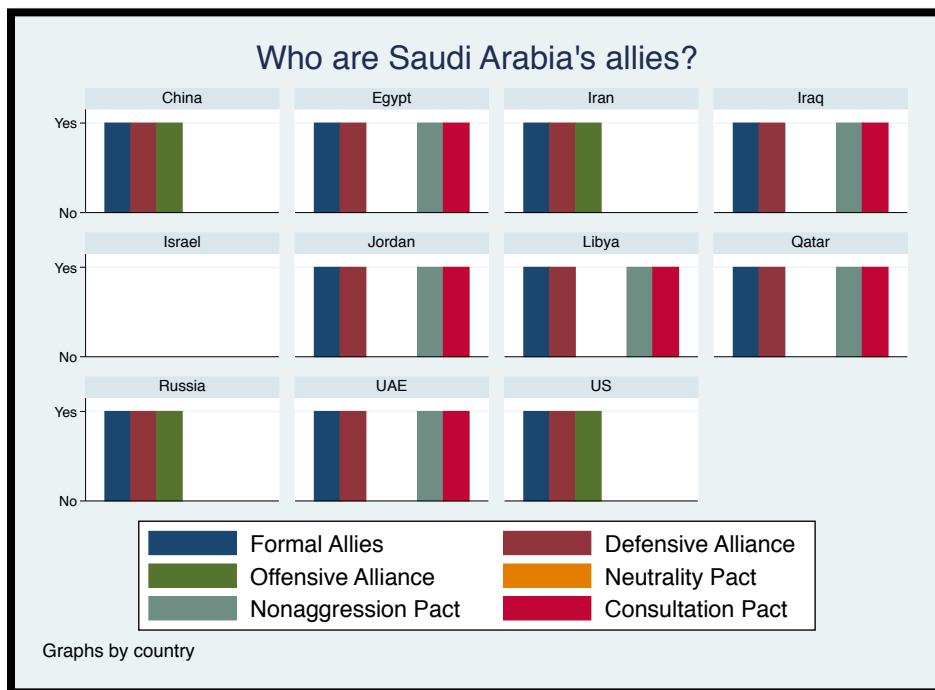
After the most recent conflict began in Syria, Saudi Arabia was the first country to criticize the President Assad's violent reaction to anti-regime demonstrations. It has been suspected that Saudi Arabia has been providing supplies and weapons to opposition forces in the Syrian civil war. In 2012, Saudi Arabia expelled the Syrian ambassador and closed its embassy in Syria.

For a quick reference of ***Saudi Arabia's allies:***

This pie chart shows that 91% of the countries represented at the negotiations are formally allied with Saudi Arabia (China, Jordan, Libya, Qatar, UAE, Iran, Egypt, Iraq, Russia and the U.S.). Israel is the only country represented at the negotiations with which Saudi Arabia is not formally allied.

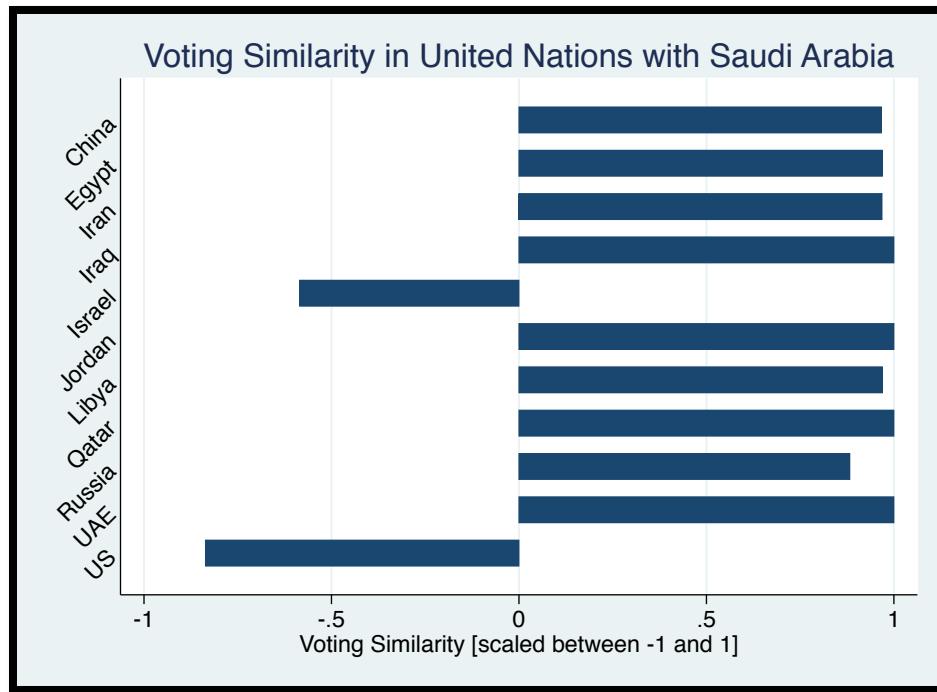


For a more detailed reference of ***Saudi Arabia's alliance portfolio:*** This next graph shows Saudi Arabia's alliances by country and type of alliance.



For an understanding of the ***informal bilateral relationships:***

This next graph indicates which countries historically vote with and against Saudi Arabia at the United Nations. Values closer to 1 indicate countries that vote most often with Saudi Arabia. Values closer to -1 indicate countries that vote most often against Saudi Arabia.



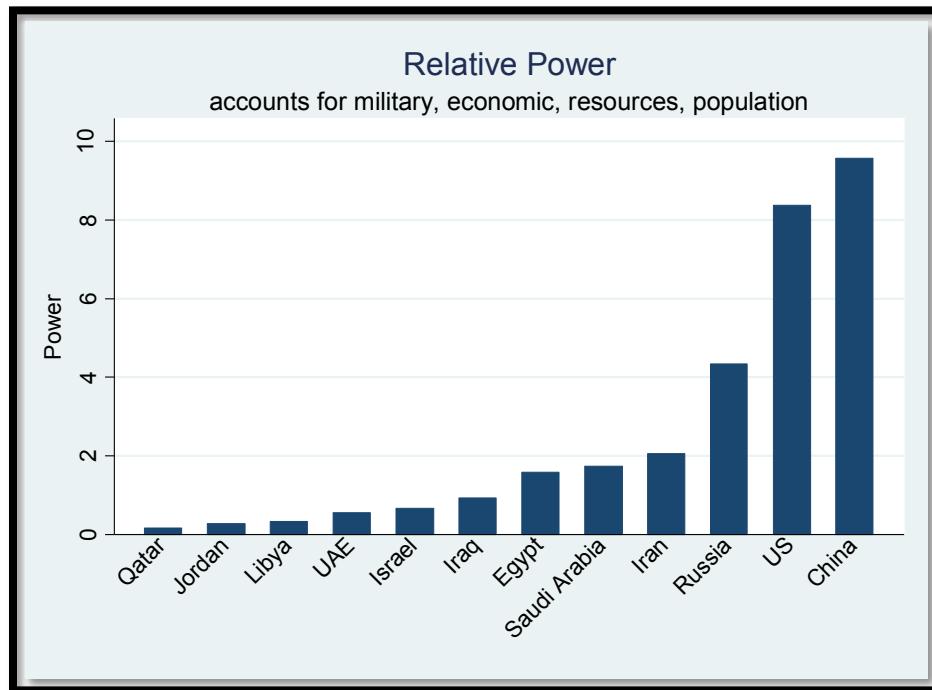
## Relative Power

Relative power can influence negotiating positions and the bargaining leverage that each country has when negotiating with other countries. Among regional actors, Saudi Arabia is highly influential, ranked closely behind Iran. However, both are dwarfed in power by Russia, the US, and China.

Saudi Arabia's conventional military includes the Royal Saudi Land Forces, Royal Saudi Air Force, Royal Saudi Air Defense, Royal Saudi Navy, Strategic Missiles Forces, Saudi Arabian National Guard, Saudi Royal Guard Regiment, and the Saudi Emergency Force. The military includes over 200,000 active-duty forces and has a budget of approximately \$52.9 billion (11.4% of Saudi Arabia's GDP). The armed forces are organized under the Ministry of Defense and Aviation, currently headed by Crown Prince Sultan bin Abdul-Aziz.

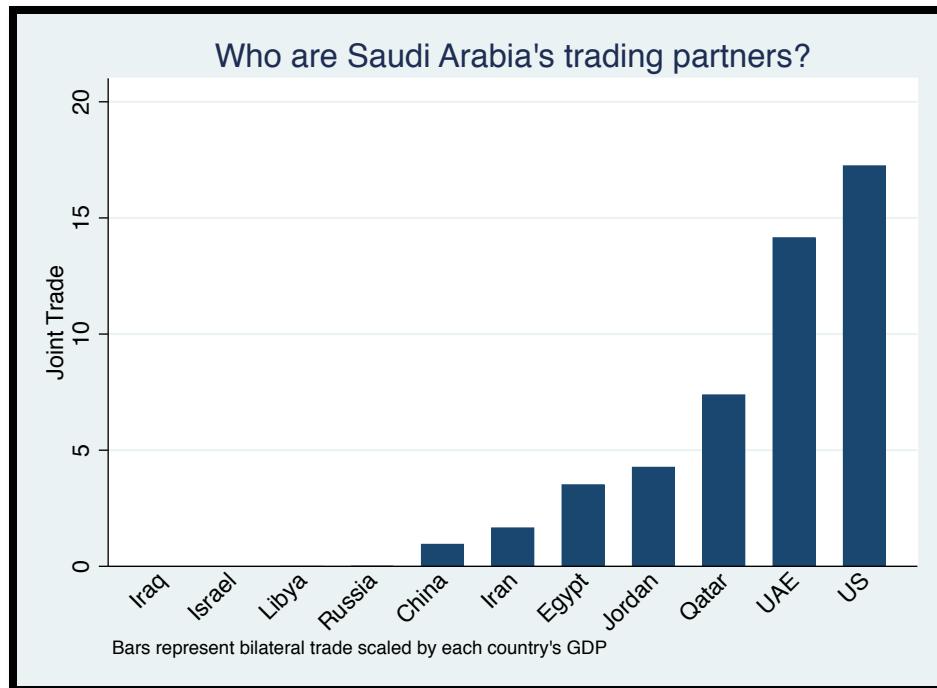
The following is an illustration of *an aggregated measure of relative power* that summarizes Saudi Arabia's military strength, economic strength, population size, and

resources relative to other countries. This is an easy way to get a simple understanding of whether any particular nation is stronger or weaker than another and by how much.



## Trade

Trade can be indicative of connectedness or distance between two countries. Nations who are more deeply integrated in trade have more incentive to maintain good relations as they may be more adversely affected by a deterioration of those relations. The following graph illustrates Saudi Arabia's international trade and trading partners.



# United Arab Emirates

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## **UAE and Nuclear Weapon Free Zones**

The United Arab Emirates has a successful peaceful nuclear program, and contains no nuclear weaponry. It is an active proponent of nuclear weapon free zones. It is a member of the Arms Control and Regional Security in the Middle East (ACRS) working group, but in that process the UAE was overshadowed by many more influential nations. The UAE has been a signatory of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) since 1995, the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) since 2000, the Comprehensive Safeguard Agreement (CSA) since 2003, and the Arms Trade Treaty since 2013, and it has actively called upon regional nations like Iran to implement measures to limit their nuclear weapons capabilities. Similarly, the UAE is a strong advocate for a regional NFWZ in the Middle East. The Emirates has advised neighboring nations to join together to implement the 1995 NPT review conference resolution to establish an NFWZ and shift their nuclear ambitions to the production of sustainable nuclear energy. It is currently the first country among nuclear newcomers to have begun constructing a nuclear power plant in the last 27 years.

## ***Domestic Political Constraints***

While some political leaders can agree to any policy even if they lack domestic support, other leaders carefully weigh policies that balance the risk of electoral or other political repercussions. The threat of domestic accountability can affect what leaders will and will not agree to in international negotiations.

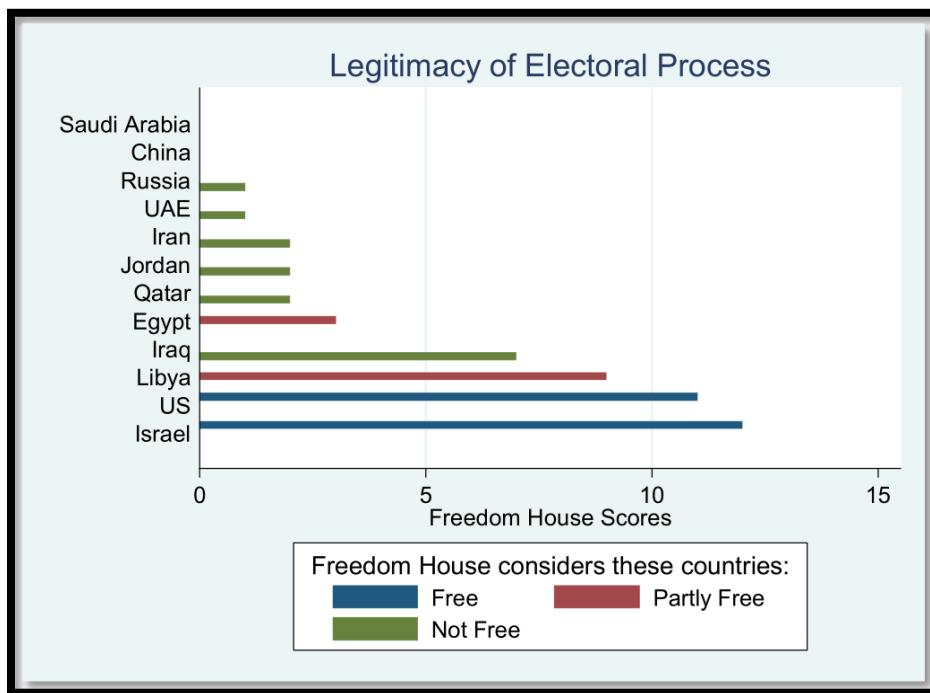
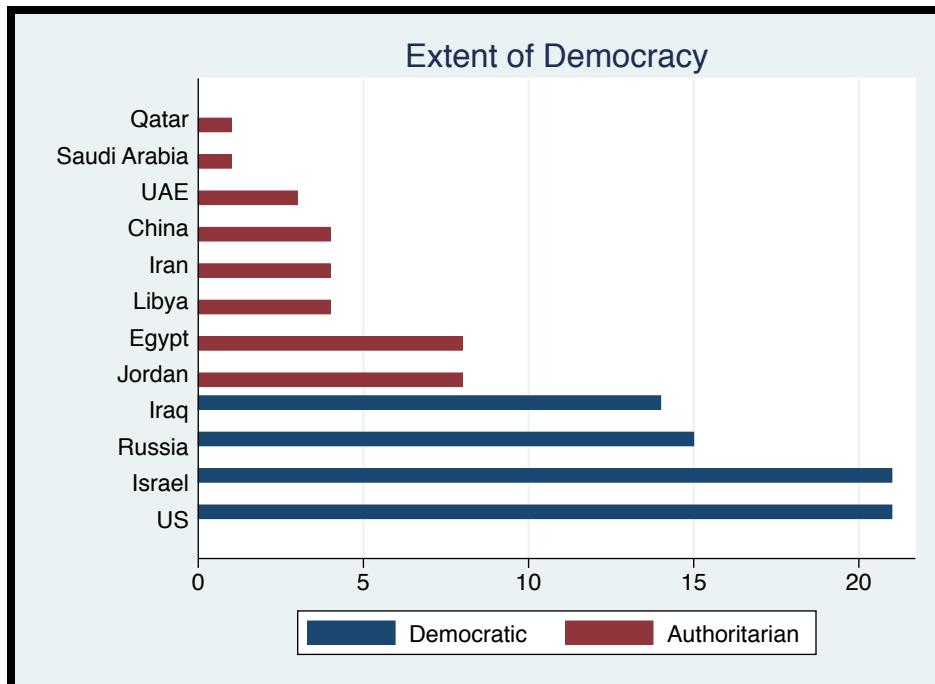
The UAE is a federal presidential elected monarchy. It is comprised of seven emirates, and the president is elected from amongst the absolute monarchs of each of the emirates. General convention states that the ruler of Abu Dhabi will act as President of the Emirates, while the ruler of Dubai will act as the Prime Minister. While it is one of the more liberal countries in the Persian Gulf, it is still traditionally very conservative, and its official religion is Islam, which holds bearing over its judicial processes. The UAE is an authoritarian regime that has limited elected political positions which hold minimal bearing over day-to-day country operations, although the separate Emirate leadership structures retain a certain amount of autonomy over internal operations. The UAE undertook reform policies in 2005 that called for greater political participation, but recent uprisings have been met with swift and severe consequences from national leadership.

By Robert Dahl's definition, democracy requires not only free, fair, and competitive elections, but also freedoms that make such elections meaningful.<sup>26</sup> These freedoms include the right to assemble, the freedom of expression, the access to alternative sources of information, and that the government policies and elected officials are a direct reflection of the citizens' desires.<sup>27</sup> The Freedom House is an independent watchdog association dedicated to the expansion of freedom around the world. The United Arab Emirates is rated Not Free by the Freedom House. Its elections are considered Not Legitimate, and the extent of democracy is Low. The importance of the UAE's lack of democracy is that there are few domestic constraints for the government. Its main leadership structure, comprised of the monarchs of each emirate, is entirely hereditary, and elected officials within different branches of the government are responsible to the monarchs.

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<sup>26</sup> Robert Dahl, *Polarity: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 39.

<sup>27</sup> Larry J. Diamond, "Thinking About Hybrid Regimes," *Journal of Democracy* 13, Vol. 2 (2002): 21.



### *UAE's Nuclear Policy*

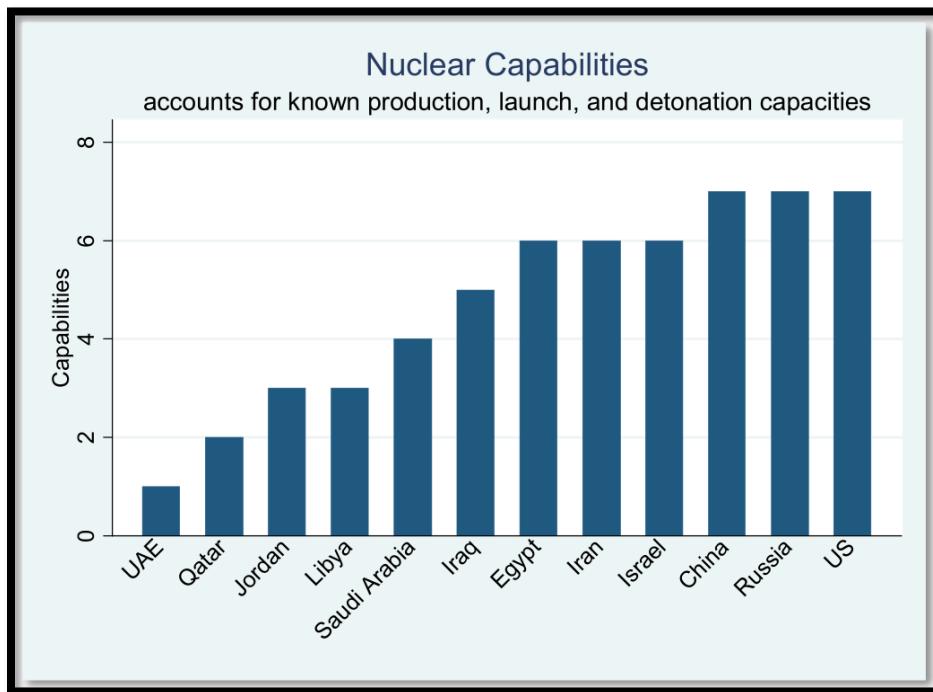
The United Arab Emirates' nuclear policy was outlined in the Policy of the UAE on the Evaluation and Potential Development of Peaceful Nuclear Energy in April 2008. The core tenets of the document were:

1. Complete operational transparency;
2. Commitment to the highest standards in non-proliferation;
3. Commitment to the highest standards in safety and security;
4. Working directly with International Atomic Energy Agency;
5. Close partnership with the governments and firms of responsible nations; and
6. Long-term sustainability.

The UAE is staunchly against nuclear weaponry and has no ambition for producing its own weaponry at this time. Its nuclear ambitions lie in peaceful, transparent, and secure energy production.

The UAE is a proponent of ballistic missile defense, and it recently struck a \$3.5 billion deal with the United States to acquire further missile capabilities. The deal provided for the sale of two Terminal High Altitude Area Defense batteries, 96 missiles, and spare parts. The UAE cultivated this transaction with the United States to both bolster connections between the two nations and increase regional security and missile defense prospects.

Below is a graph that summarizes the nuclear capabilities of countries in this negotiation. This graph can be used to understand both a country's own nuclear policy and its power relative to the other countries. As you can see, the UAE has minimal nuclear capabilities as compared to other Middle Eastern nations.



## **Relations With Other States**

Relations with other nations are important for any negotiation process. Below is a brief summary of the UAE's bilateral relations. Then a few graphs show the UAE's formal alliances and a more informal measure of relations that uses the similarity of voting records at the United Nations. This gives some expectation of how other countries are likely to behave and whether their interests are aligned with the UAE.

**China:** The UAE and China first established diplomatic ties in 1984. They have several bilateral trade agreements, and China acknowledges the UAE as one of its most important economic partners in the Persian Gulf.

**Russia:** The UAE and Russia established diplomatic relations in 1971, and they each have embassies in one another's nations.

**Qatar:** The UAE and Qatar diplomatically recognize one another, and they established a joint investment fund between their nations in 2008.

**Libya:** The UAE and Libya have established diplomatic relations. They recently met in 2013 to discuss strengthening bilateral relations.

**United States:** The USA was the third country to establish diplomatic relations with the UAE, and they have a close relationship with regards to security. They signed a bilateral nuclear cooperation agreement in 2009.

**Iran:** The UAE and Iran have a long-standing relationship with strong economic ties. While the UAE does not approve of Iran's continued nuclear program, the two nations largely abide by a policy of non-interventionism regarding internal affairs.

**Israel:** The UAE does not recognize Israel as a state, and the countries do not have diplomatic or economic relations.

**Iraq:** The UAE and Iraq have had historically tense relations, but both nations maintain embassies in the other.

**Egypt:** The UAE and Egypt are close political and economic allies, and they have had strong relations with one another since the establishment of the Emirates in 1971.

**Jordan:** The UAE and Jordan diplomatically recognize one another and have close cultural ties.

**Saudi Arabia:** The UAE and Saudi Arabia are geographic neighbors and have strong political and cultural ties. However, they have an ongoing border dispute which leads to issues between the two nations.

***On past specific issues:***

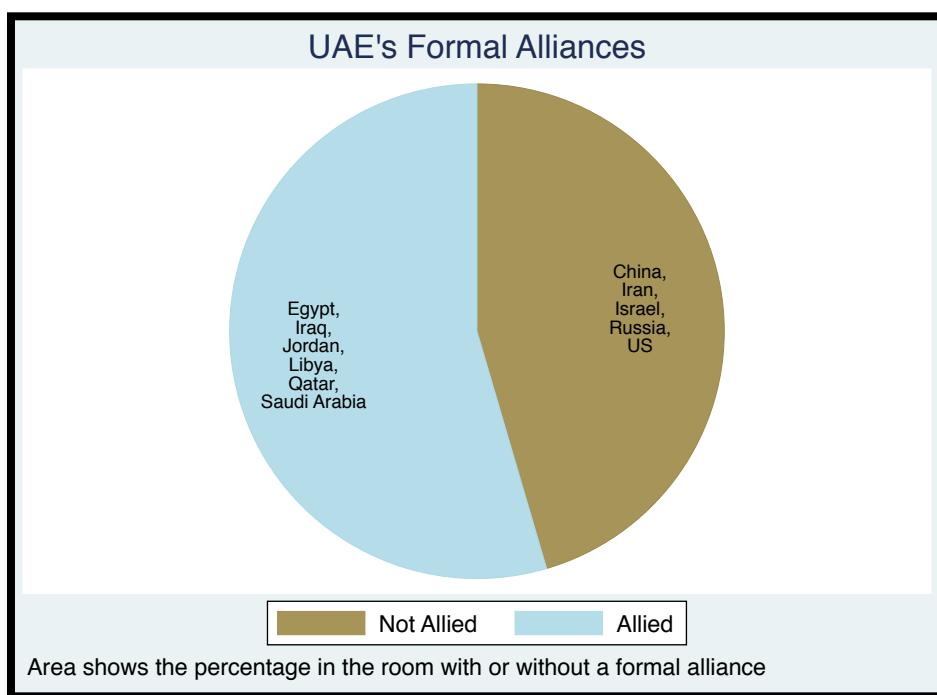
While the UAE opposes Iran's efforts towards nuclear proliferation, it is torn with regards to international sanctions on Iran. Dubai's large Iranian community holds a strong preference of reduced sanctions, while Abu Dhabi's political strife with Iran causes it to be more in favor of international sanctions. The country's strong economic ties with Iran have only exacerbated the internal contention around this issue.

The UAE has an ongoing relationship with Syria, and recently pledged its support for the Syrian people. It considers the uprisings legitimate and provides humanitarian assistance to those affected.

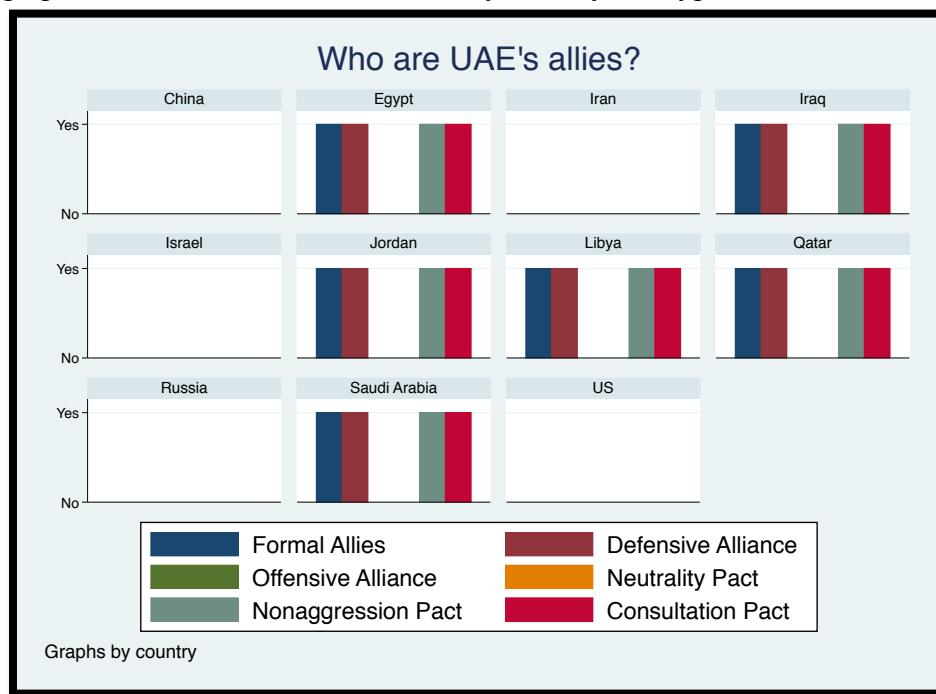
While the UAE actively voices its dedication to regional stability and the legitimacy of the Palestinian territories, it tends to avoid military intervention. Its main activism in the region stems from economic relationships and humanitarian aid, such as its supplies sent to Lebanon following the Israel-Hezbollah war of 2006 and Yemen during their recent political crisis.

For a quick reference of the ***United Arab Emirates' allies***:

This pie chart shows that six of the countries represented at the negotiations are formally allied with the Emirates (54%). Five of the countries present are not allied with the Emirates (46%).



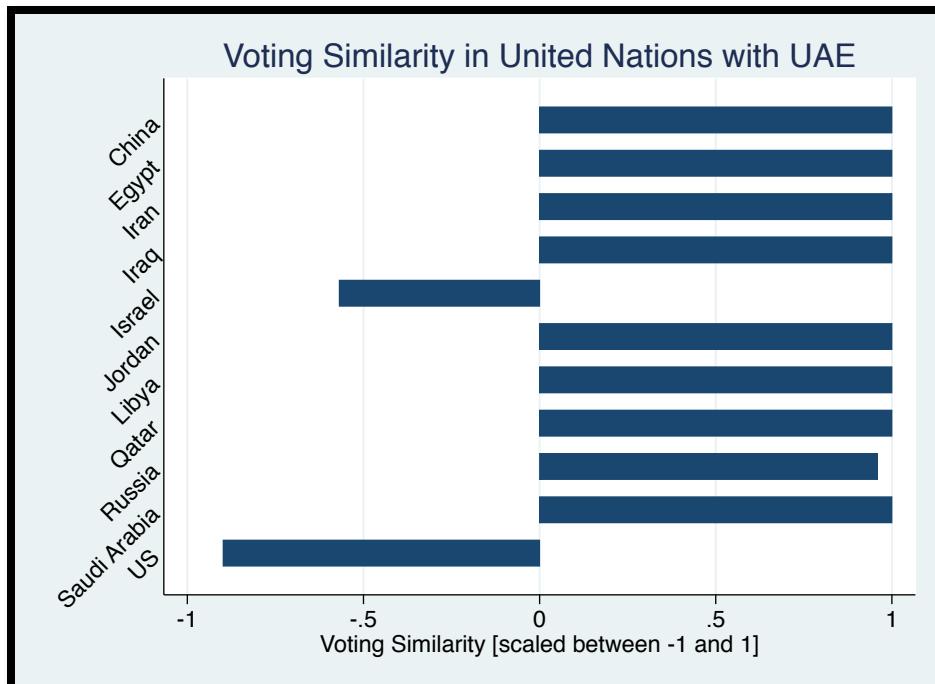
For a more detailed reference of the United Arab Emirates' alliance portfolio: This next graph shows the Emirates' alliances by country and type of alliance.



The UAE diplomatically recognizes all countries involved in the negotiation, except Israel.

For an understanding of the informal bilateral relationships:

This next graph shows which countries typically vote with and against the United Arab Emirates at the United Nations. Values closer to 1 indicate countries that vote most often with the Emirates. Values closer to -1 indicate countries that vote most often against the Emirates.

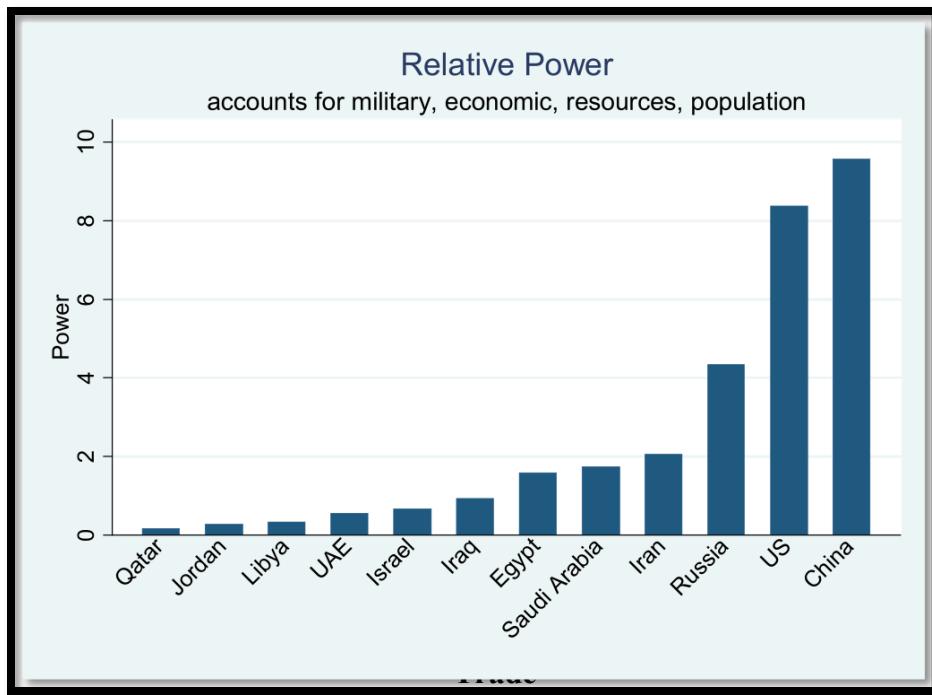


## Relative Power

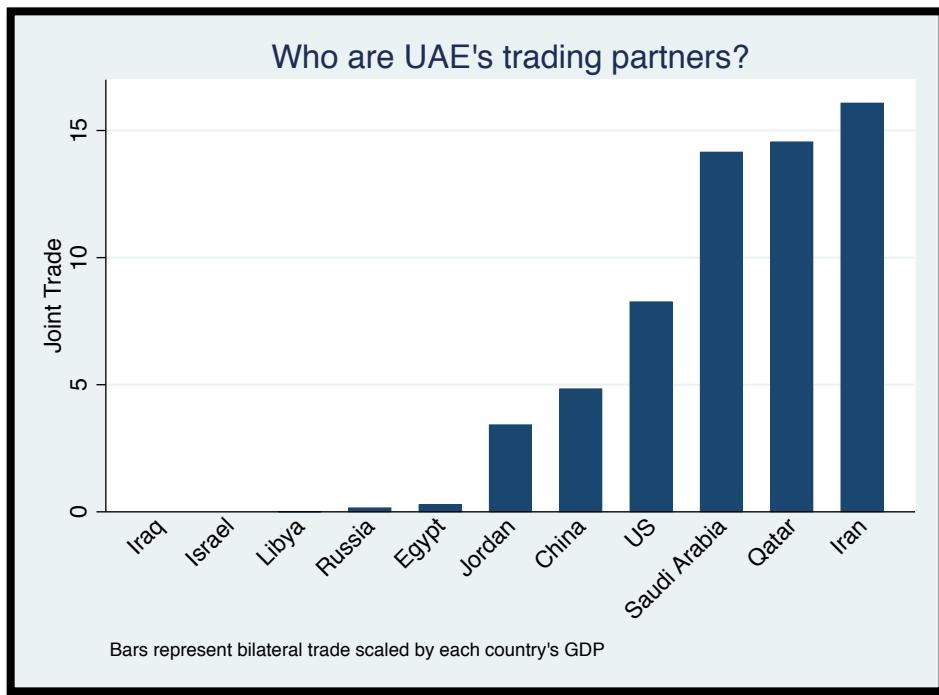
Relative power can influence negotiating positions and the bargaining leverage that each country has when negotiating with other countries.

The Union Defense Force is the official armed forces of all seven emirates of the UAE. It consists of 70,500 personnel and has an Army, Navy, and an Air Force. Four of the emirates maintain small internal armies as well. It has an active weaponry production industry and research and development sector in order to cut back on its reliance on foreign nations for military technology.

The following is an illustration of *an aggregated measure of relative power* that summarizes Israel's military strength, economic strength, population size, and resources relative to other countries. This is an easy way to get a simple understanding of whether any particular nation is stronger or weaker than another and by how much.



Trade can be indicative of connectedness or distance between two countries. Nations who are more deeply integrated in trade have more incentive to maintain good relations as they may be more adversely affected by a deterioration of those relations. The following graph illustrates the UAE's international trade and trading partners.



# The United States of America

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## United States and Nuclear Weapons Free Zones

As one of the most powerful nations in the world with its large population, economy, and status as a nation possessing nuclear weapons, the United States of America is a nation with a vital interest in and strong influence over the negotiations for a nuclear weapon free zone in the Middle East. The US has had conflicting thoughts on nuclear weapon free zones in the past. The US has ratified treaties to adopt nuclear weapon free zones in Latin America and Africa. The US stated that it would not use nuclear weapons in Africa, but it would not rule out the option of using nuclear weapons in response to chemical or biological weapons used by a signatory nation. The US has opposed an NWFZ in Central Asia stating that it would undermine United Nations security agreements and the existing security architecture. The ratification process within the United States of the Latin America and Africa NWFZ was a relatively easy process as there was an agreement by Republicans and Democrats to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons if they meet the specific protocol outlined below. The United States has stated that for it to support a NWFZ it must: limit the spread of nuclear weapons; not disturb existing security arrangements; have provisions for adequate verification; the initiative for such zones must originate in the geographic area concerned; and all states important to the denuclearization of the area must participate. The US has expressed support for an NWFZ in the Middle East but has stated that Iran is the chief obstacle to an agreement being reached and has worried that the agreement may undermine Israel's deterrence in the region. The US's position on Iran's nuclear energy and nuclear weapons proliferation is explained in more detail in the section on background information about the Middle East earlier in this packet.

## Domestic Political Constraints

While some political leaders can agree to any policy even if they lack domestic support, other leaders carefully weigh policies that balance the risk of electoral or other political repercussions. The threat of domestic accountability can affect what leaders will and will not agree to in international negotiations.

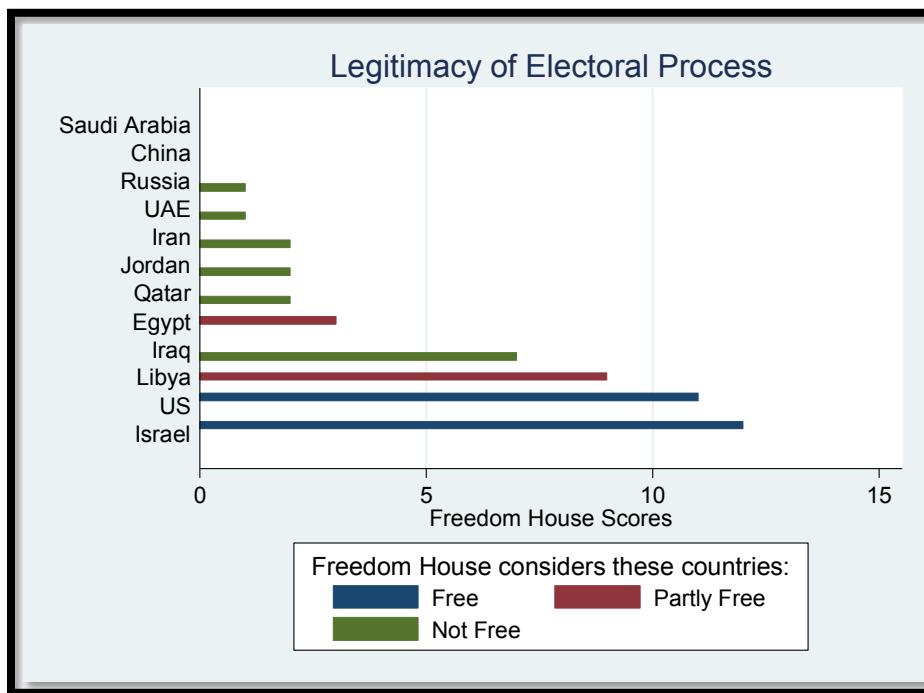
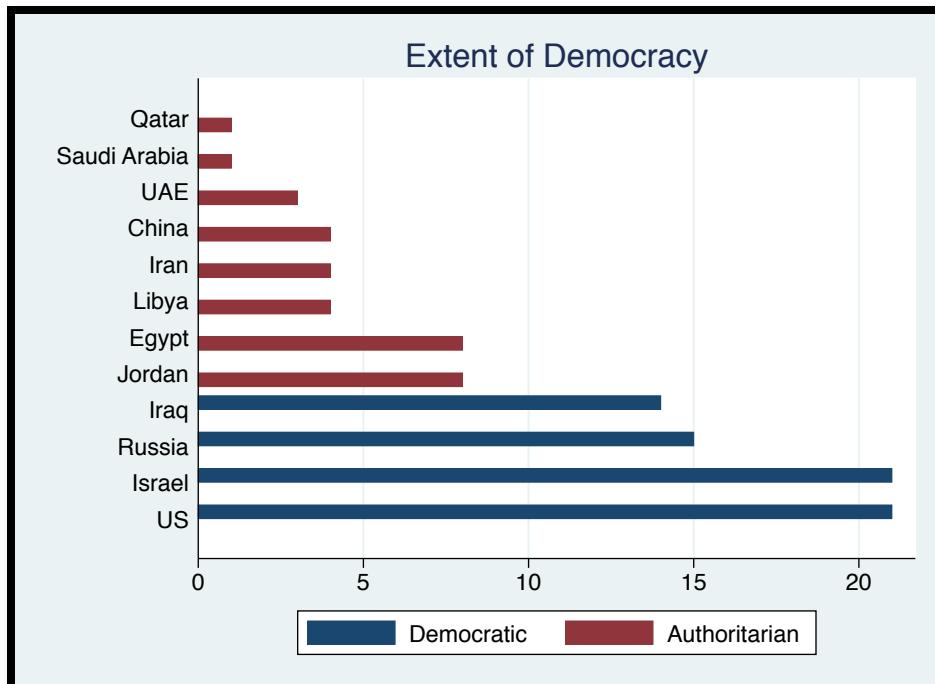
The United States has no internal threats to its political institutions and there are no legitimate threats to the government's continued existence. The government consists of Republicans, who are strong supporters of Israel and more hardline in their foreign policy beliefs, and Democrats who are less strongly supportive yet still supportive of Israel and who tend to be softer in their foreign policy tactics. Democrats control the executive branch of the United States, the chief treaty negotiating body of the United States. The Democrats also control the Senate, but with only 53 representatives (and an additional two representatives who are considered independent but often vote with the Democrats). Thus, the Democrats do not have the 67 votes in the Senate necessary to ratify a treaty without support of 12 Republicans. The Republicans control the House of Representatives, and although they do not vote on the ratification of international treaties they are influential in setting the United States government's foreign policy as a whole.

By Robert Dahl's definition, democracy requires not only free, fair, and competitive elections, but also freedoms that make such elections meaningful.<sup>28</sup> These freedoms include the right to assemble, the freedom of expression, the access to alternative sources of information, and that the government policies and elected officials are a direct reflection of the citizens' desires.<sup>29</sup> The Freedom House is an independent watchdog association dedicated to the expansion of freedom around the world. The Freedom House rates the United States as Very Free. Its elections are considered legitimate, and the extent of democracy is high. The importance of the United States' democracy is that the public weighs heavily in negotiations of international affairs.

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<sup>28</sup> Robert Dahl, *Polarity: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 39.

<sup>29</sup> Larry J. Diamond, "Thinking About Hybrid Regimes," *Journal of Democracy* 13, Vol. 2 (2002): 21.

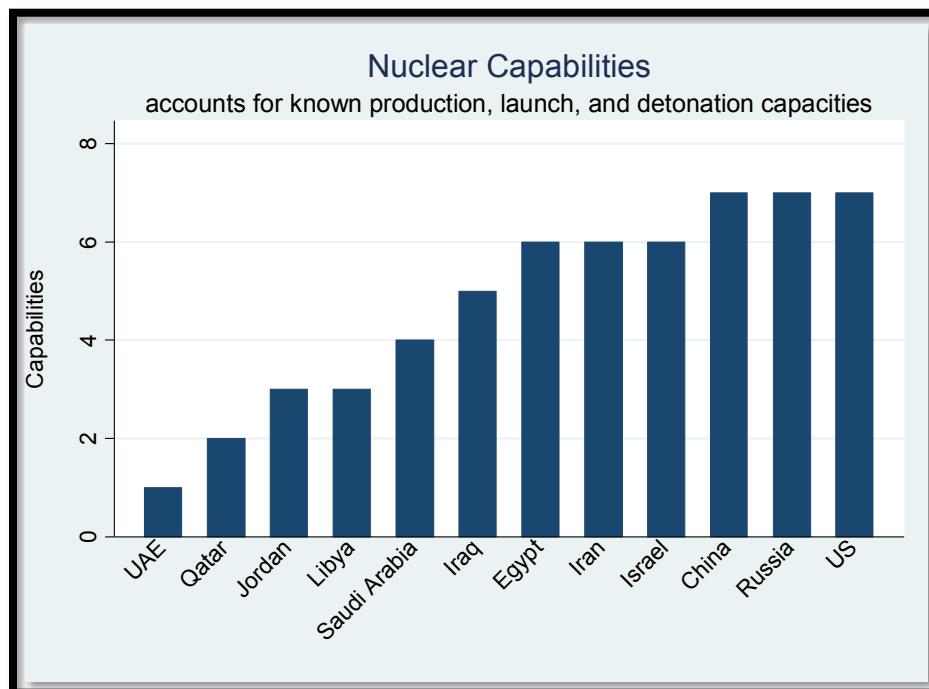


## The United States' Nuclear Policy

The United States' nuclear weapons policy consists of many offensive and defensive tactics. The United States' nuclear policies includes the following:

- **Nuclear capacity:** 5113 nuclear warheads with many more missiles that could launch the warheads
- **A secure second strike:** mobile and hidden nuclear weapons, including on nuclear submarines.
- **An ambiguous nuclear doctrine:** The United States has not stated under which situations it will use or will not use nuclear weapons.
- **Ballistic Missile Defense:** The United States has developed land based Ballistic Missile Defense. The United States also has developed naval-based Missile Defense and has attempted to develop Aerial Ballistic Missile Defense. The United States has also worked with members of NATO to develop broad missile defense to protect NATO territories and civilian population centers. The United States has also successfully tested anti-satellite weapons.
- **Deterrence (Mutually Assured Destruction):**
  - Assured second strike capability with ambiguous targeting.
  - Nuclear Primacy: The United States has the ability to potentially take out another nation's entire nuclear arsenal and still have second-strike capability.

Below is a graph that summarizes the nuclear capabilities of countries in this negotiation. This graph can be used to understand both a country's own nuclear policy and its power relative to the other countries.



## **Relations With Other States**

Relations with other nations are important for any negotiation process. Below is a brief summary of each country's bilateral relations with the United States. Then a few graphs show The United States' formal alliances and a more informal measure of "relations" that uses the voting records of countries at the United Nations. This should give you an expectation of how other countries are likely to behave and whether their interests are aligned with the United States.

**China:** China is a formal ally of the United States. The United States diplomatically recognizes China, and China diplomatically recognizes the United States. The United States and China has declared a formal alliance. Their alliance includes a treaty of consultation.

**Russia:** Russia is a formal ally of the United States. The United States diplomatically recognizes Russia, and Russia diplomatically recognizes the United States. The United States and Russia have a declared formal alliance. Their alliance includes a nonaggression pact.

**Qatar:** Qatar is a formal ally of the United States. The United States diplomatically recognizes Qatar and Qatar diplomatically recognizes the United States. The United States and Qatar have declared a formal alliance. Their alliance includes an offensive and defensive military alliance.

**Libya:** The United States diplomatically recognizes Libya and Libya diplomatically recognizes the United States.

**Iran:** The United States does not diplomatically recognize Iran and Iran does not diplomatically recognize Iran. Due to the former regime of the Shah in Iran the United States has a formal alliance with Iran. The United States and Iran's alliance includes a defensive military alliance and treaty of consultation. These agreements although agreed to have little to no value under current the current diplomatic situation.

**Israel:** Israel is a formal ally of the United States. The United States diplomatically recognizes Israel and Israel diplomatically recognizes the United States. The United States and Israel have declared a formal alliance. Their alliance includes a defensive military alliance and a treaty of consultation.

**United Arab Emirates:** The United States diplomatically recognizes the United Arab Emirates and is recognized diplomatically by the United Arab Emirates.

**Iraq:** Iraq is a formal ally of the United States. The United States diplomatically recognizes Iraq and Iraq diplomatically recognizes the United States. The United States and Iraq have declared a formal alliance. Their alliance includes an offensive and defensive military alliance.

**Egypt:** Egypt is a formal ally of the United States. The United States diplomatically recognizes Egypt and Egypt diplomatically recognizes the United States. The United States and Egypt have declared a formal alliance. Their alliance includes an offensive and defensive military alliance.

**Jordan:** The United States diplomatically recognizes Jordan and Jordan diplomatically recognizes the United States.

**Saudi Arabia:** Saudi Arabia is a formal ally of the United States. The United States diplomatically recognizes Saudi Arabia and Saudi Arabia diplomatically recognizes the United States. The United States and Saudi Arabia have declared a formal alliance. Their alliance includes an offensive and defensive military alliance.

***On past specific issues:***

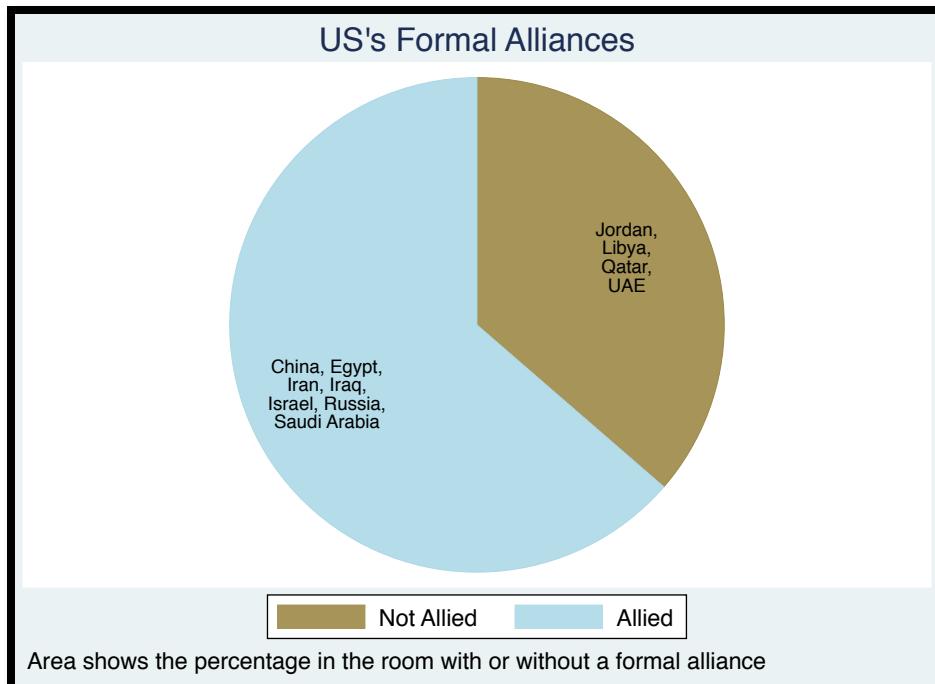
**Iran Sanctions:** The United States has a complicated and lengthy relationship regarding international sanctions on Iran. Please feel free to conduct independent research about this complex issue.

**Syria's Civil War:** The United States believes that the Syrian people have a right to democratic governance and that the Assad regime should step down and allow for free elections. The US has pushed for international resolutions to sanction the Syrian government. The US threatened to intervene in the conflict militarily in response to chemical weapons used by the Ba'ath Regime. The US has increasingly worried the conflict is becoming uncontrollable and it may be producing terrorists.

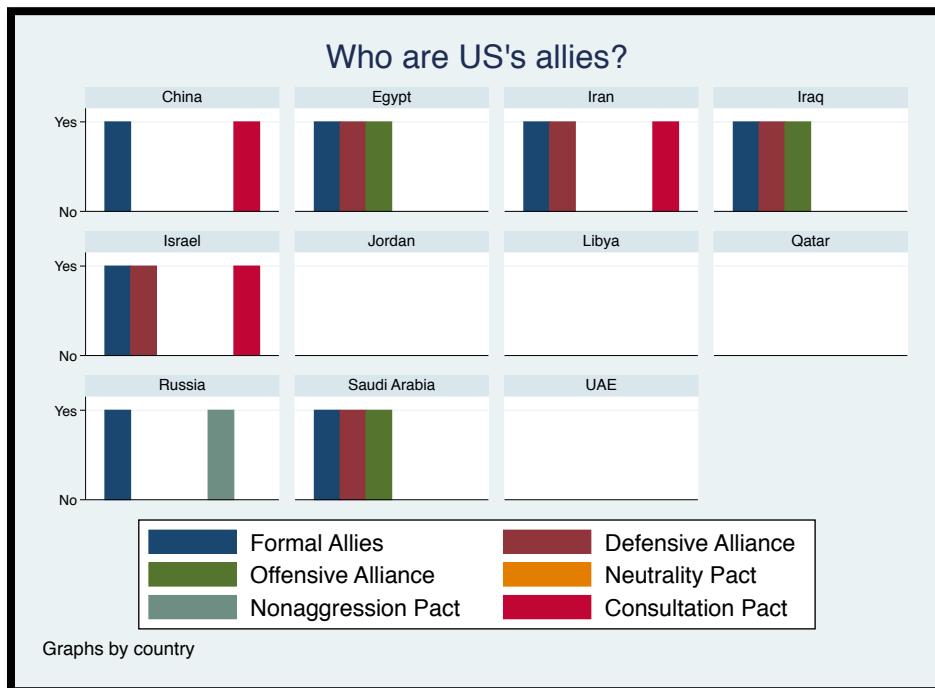
**Previous Peace Initiatives in the Middle East:** The US believes that a Middle East peace is necessary for its national security. The US has been the lead diplomatic negotiator since 1967. The US supports a two-state solution based on the 1967 borders with land swaps. The US believes in dialogue between Palestine and Israel, and that international organizations should not interfere in their negotiations. The US under the leadership of Secretary of State John Kerry have recently begun a new process of peace talks outline in the background information of the Middle East earlier in this packet.

**For a quick reference of the **United States' allies**:**

This pie chart shows that 64% of the countries represented at the negotiations are formally allied with the United States (Saudi Arabia, Iran, China, Egypt, Iraq, Russia, and Israel). 36% of the countries present are not allied with China (Qatar, UAE, Libya, and Jordan).

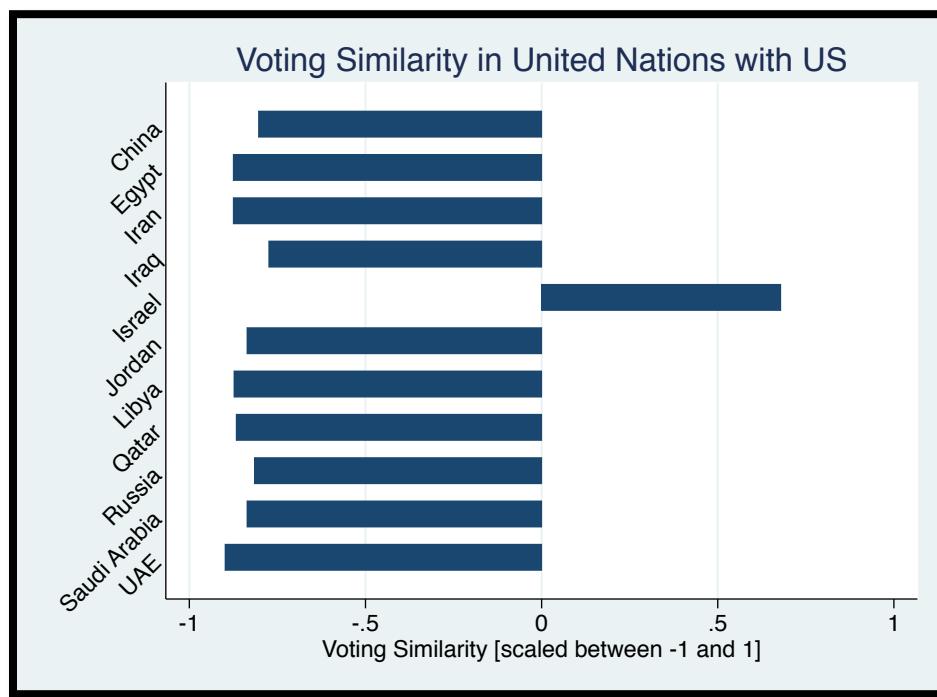


For a more detailed reference of ***The United States' alliance portfolio:*** This next graph shows the United States' alliances by country and type of alliance.



For an understanding of the ***informal bilateral relationships:***

This next graph indicates which countries historically vote with and against the United States at the United Nations. Values closer to 1 are countries that vote most often with the US. Values closer to -1 are countries that vote most often against the US.

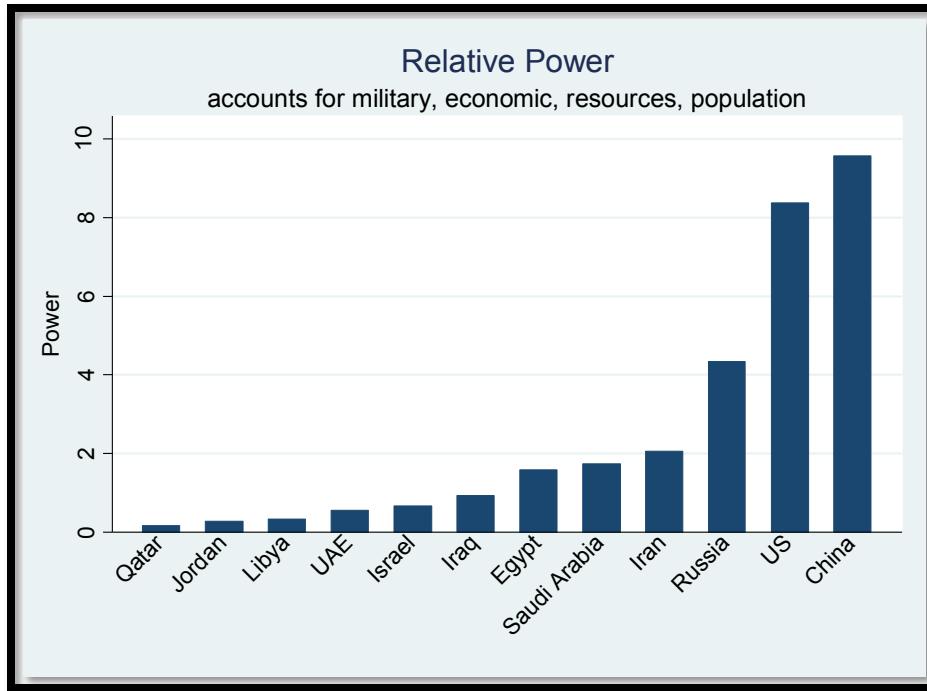


## Relative Power

Relative power can influence negotiating positions and the bargaining leverage that each country has when negotiating with other countries.

The United States conventional armed forces are the strongest in the world. The US has 1.43 million active personnel serving in the military. The US spends roughly 700,000 billion dollar on its military. The US has the world's only blue water navy complete with nuclear submarines and aircraft carriers. The US also has a modern air force complete with stealth fighters and stealth bombers.

The following is an illustration of *an aggregated measure of relative power* that summarizes Israel's military strength, economic strength, population size, and resources relative to other countries. This is an easy way to get a simple understanding of whether any particular nation is stronger or weaker than another and by how much.



## Trade

Trade can be indicative of connectedness or distance between two countries. Nations who are more deeply integrated in trade have more incentive to maintain good relations as they may be more adversely affected by a deterioration of those relations. The following graph illustrates the U.S.'s international trade and trading partners.



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