

Conflict Prevention Newsletter

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A PUBLICATION BY THE EUROPEAN PLATFORM FOR CONFLICT PREVENTION AND TRANSFORMATION IN CO-OPERATION WITH INTERNATIONAL ALERT, SAFERWORLD AND ACCORD



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Special on *Media and peacebuilding*

in cooperation with Search
for Common Ground

Including:

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- Best practices and lessons learned
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- Peace radio in Burundi

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Outlook on Brussels

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- Putting Africa back on the EU agenda
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- Priorities for the Greek and Italian EU presidencies
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- Update from the EU
- International calendar

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New literature

Keeping hope alive

In the Chinese language, the word *farrisis* is formed by combining two separate ideograms: the first means *danger* and the second signifies *opportunity*. With the war in Iraq, most of us have felt a heightened sense of danger, but there has been much less awareness of the opportunity. Whether or not we opposed or supported the war, nothing can change the fact that it happened. Now would seem to be the time to look for opportunities. ♦ By JOHN MARKS AND SUSAN COLLIN MARKS

Twelve years ago, when another, more broadly-based coalition led by the United States fought a war against Iraq, positive opportunities did emerge. That war, while waged for very different reasons, served to reshuffle the deck in the Middle East and to lead to a meaningful peace process. Unfortunately, in the year 2000, the process broke down, and the result was a greatly increased level of violence, which persists today.

For people who work as peacemakers, it would be easy to despair and to forget that virtually all peace processes have ups and downs. As former senator George Mitchell, the lead mediator in Northern Ireland has said, 'There is no conflict that cannot be resolved. Violent conflict is created and sustained by human beings, and it can be ended by human beings.'

Admittedly, non-violent conflict prevention failed in Iraq and is currently working poorly in the Israeli-Palestinian case.

Yet, there are still reasons to rejoice. During the last year, there has been substantial movement toward peace in such places as Sierra Leone and Angola. While success in one country does not necessarily translate into progress in another, it certainly can provide inspiration. Indeed, one of the most important tasks of peacemakers is to keep hope alive. The world needs to know that armed conflict is not inevitable and that peaceful solutions really are achievable.

Activists from around the political spectrum regularly define their work by what they

oppose. My colleagues and I believe that, in order to be effective as peacemakers, we need to operate in a different way: Namely, we choose not to fight against the old system; we are intent on building a new one. In other words, we work from a place of being *for* rather than *against* things. We strive to be non-adversarial problem-solvers.

Although as individuals, we certainly have our opinions about whether particular actions are right or wrong, we avoid taking sides in conflicts. We do not want to be part of the problem, which, to us, is the clash between opponents. Instead, we try to be part of the solution, which is finding ways to resolve the conflict.

Above all, we are convinced that *win-win* solutions can be found that maximise the gain of the parties in conflict. Moreover, we believe that such solutions are most likely to create peace and provide for justice.

While we advocate non-violent processes, we understand that there are instances, such as the Iraq war, when major players on the world scene are going to use armed force - whether we like it or not. We even recognize that sometimes an appropriate application of military force can have a positive impact on resolving a conflict. This happened in Sierra Leone where the intervention of British troops led to the end of the civil war.

As peacemakers, we are working to build institutions and establish processes that contribute to non-violent resolution of conflict. Unfortunately, for the foreseeable future, violent means are likely to coexist alongside. We are committed to building a world in which such means become increasingly unnecessary and obsolete.

John Marks is founder and president of Search for Common Ground in Washington and the European Centre for Common Ground in Brussels.

Susan Collin Marks is executive vice president and author of *Watching the Wind: Conflict Resolution during South Africa's Transition to Democracy*.

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People Building Peace is a programme of the European Centre for Conflict Prevention which aims to document the initiatives of people working for peace world-wide. In May 1999 - *People Building Peace: 35 Inspiring Stories from Around the World* - was published and is available on the web-site of the European Platform. This newsletter will regularly illustrate the important role civil society can have in peacebuilding in different continents

In a time of war, the birth of an alternative: The Nonviolent Peaceforce

In May 1999, a small group of peace advocates who shared a common vision met by chance at The Hague Appeal for Peace Conference. They immediately began to create the Nonviolent Peaceforce, a trained, international civilian nonviolent intervention agency. ♦ By NICHOLAS MELE

The Nonviolent Peaceforce, the latest effort to create an international 'peace army', will go to conflict areas to prevent death and destruction and protect human rights, thus creating the space for local groups to struggle nonviolently, enter into dialogue, and seek peaceful resolution. As a broad-based international civil organisation, working in partnership with local groups whenever possible, the Nonviolent Peaceforce intends to provide large-scale nonviolent protective services to people in conflict situations. It will train and maintain a pool of professionals with competencies in various civilian peacekeeping roles and from various cultures.



Nonviolent Peaceforce goals are:

1. To work with others, including existing peace team and peace service organisations, to develop the theory and practice of third party nonviolent intervention in order to significantly improve its effectiveness;
2. To significantly increase the pool of people worldwide who are trained and available for third party nonviolent intervention;

3. To build the support needed to create and maintain a standing force of at least 200 active members, 400 reserves and 500 supporters by the end of 2005.
4. To deploy large-scale third party nonviolent intervention teams in conflict situations.

In early December 2002, 120 representatives from nearly 40 organisations engaged in peacekeeping, peacebuilding and nonviolent training met outside New Delhi and selected a 15 member International Governing Council for the Nonviolent Peaceforce. The delegates also chose Sri Lanka as the site of the Nonviolent Peaceforce pilot project from a number of proposals submitted by groups working for peace in conflict areas like Sri Lanka.

In June 2003, the Nonviolent Peaceforce will begin training teams for a third-party nonviolent intervention in Sri Lanka, where it has been invited by a local organisation, People's Action for Free and Fair Elections or PAFFREL, to help reduce the threat of violence and promote the ongoing peace process there. Other Sri Lankan organisations are also interested in working with the Nonviolent Peaceforce and one, the Consortium of Humanitarian Agencies, has agreed to advise the Nonviolent Peaceforce staff working in Sri Lanka. The Nonviolent Peaceforce hopes that third party nonviolent intervention by teams made up of people from all over the world will help ensure the success of the current peace process. The Peaceforce has integrated use of appropriate information and communications technology into its planning as a key instrument of third-party nonviolent intervention.

Project principles

This third-party nonviolent intervention

project in Sri Lanka will be based on fundamental principles of the Nonviolent Peaceforce:

- Nonviolence: Nonviolent Peaceforce representatives will use only nonviolent means and strategies in all circumstances.
- Non-partisanship: The Nonviolent Peaceforce will not take any side in the conflict nor make its services available to one party over another.
- Non-interference: The Nonviolent Peaceforce will enter a conflict area at the invitation of locals, and undertakes activities only under the guidance of locals. It will not undertake to influence outcomes of the conflict except to assure that they are not violent.
- Mutual respect: The Nonviolent Peaceforce strives not to undermine the reputation of any person or group but rather to understand and report causes and needs, while opposing violence itself.
- Permission: The Nonviolent Peaceforce seeks goodwill and acceptance from all parties.

Proposed Activities

Services provided by NP team members include international protective presence, protective accompaniment if requested, and monitoring of human rights violations. These activities will be undertaken in conjunction with regional multi-ethnic human rights committees set up by PAFFREL, which in turn has been given this role by the Human Rights Commission. Parties to the conflict, during peace talks, have accepted the Human Rights Commission as an internal monitoring body.

The peace workers will live in volatile areas in order to decrease the conflict potential by their visibility and solidarity. Team members may be called upon to provide personal accompaniment to individuals, families, or organisations that are unarmed and experiencing danger while working for nonviolent solutions to conflict. If violations of human rights are observed, Nonviolent Peaceforce team members are expected to report these as advised by our local partners. In cases of extreme danger, Nonviolent Peaceforce's project staff will utilize our Emergency Response Network to call for help.

Numbers and staging of project

The Nonviolent Peaceforce is in a process of consultation with PAFFREL



DOONNA HOWARD, NONVIOLENT PEACEFORCE

The Nonviolent Peaceforce hopes to assist Sri Lankans in ending the civil war which has killed almost 65,000 people and displaced over 1.6 million Sri Lankans

and many other local organisations and individuals about the size and implementation of the project. Current expectations regarding development of the project are as follows:

Project staff will arrive in Sri Lanka in May 2003 and begin working with PAFFREL, regional advisors, etc. The first 10-15 team members will take positions in the field by September, in two or three locations. Field presence will be built in careful stages, to a final team size of 50 in the first months of 2004. These 50 will work in units of 3 to 5 persons each in approximately 16 sites.

The entire project is expected to last for a three-year period, downsizing in stages similar to development. Its exit strategy will be planned with Sri Lankans and the usefulness will be carefully evaluated.

Niche

The Norwegian monitors, ICRC, UNHCR, UNICEF, Amnesty International and others are already playing a significant role in the peace process. The Nonviolent Peaceforce has no intention to duplicate the work being done by other organisations but hopes to fill a separate need by living closely with civilians at a grass roots level as a diverse body of committed, trained international peace workers dedicated to nonviolence.

Funding

Up to the present, individual donors, philanthropic foundations, religious organisations and governments have provided the Nonviolent Peaceforce with its operating funds. The Nonviolent Peaceforce will not accept more than five per cent of its budget from a single government donor; in practice a larger portion of its funding has come from

individual donations. In connection with the Sri Lanka project, the Nonviolent Peaceforce is urging people to invest in 'Peace Bonds' costing 10 euros or 10 US dollars each.

Conclusion

The risks are high but so are the potential benefits. An international civilian nonviolent intervention agency can pave the way for a return to negotiation and dialogue as the preferred way to deal with conflicts, whether internal or international. For some time now the global community has responded to conflicts either with ultimately unsatisfactory military missions as in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia or by ignoring lethal conflicts as in Rwanda. The Nonviolent Peaceforce offers a third option, the option of nonviolent intervention. The effectiveness of nonviolent intervention has been repeatedly proven in such places as Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Cambodia. It is much less costly in lives, property and money than military action. And the Nonviolent Peaceforce is truly global in leadership and membership, as shown by the participation from all inhabited continents at its Convening Event and the composition of its International Governing Council.

If you are interested in more information about the Nonviolent Peaceforce, please visit the Nonviolent Peaceforce website, www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org, or contact the Peaceforce by e-mail at info@nonviolentpeaceforce.org, by phone or fax at either 32-2-648-0076 (Belgium) or 1-651-489-1335 (USA) or mail at Rue Van Elewck 35, Brussels 1050, Belgium or 801 Front Avenue, St. Paul, MN, 55103, USA.

SEARCHING FOR PEACE

Developments and news regarding the European Platform's multi-annual Searching for Peace Programme are reported quarterly in this Newsletter. The Searching for Peace Programme records, describes and analyses prevention and management efforts in the main violent conflicts in the world. Conflict surveys of these efforts are produced, as well as complementary Regional Directories, which contain profiles of the main local and international NGOs working for peace in specific regions. This section in the Newsletter will have regular articles contributed from partners of the Searching for Peace programme.



The beginning of 2003 provided scant encouragement in the search for peace. The enormous challenge faced by the UN and peacebuilders in the Middle East drew the attention of the world and fuelled anger, cynicism and apathy internationally. The US-led war on Iraq also drew attention away from the many unresolved violent conflicts that continue to destroy lives and livelihoods from Eastern Europe, the Asia-Pacific region, Africa, to the Americas. At the same time, this period has witnessed a dramatic and inspiring surge in citizen activism and demands for non-violent resolution of conflicts, not only in democratic states from France to the USA, but also in authoritarian states where space for protest is not typically granted to citizens.

During this period, the ECCP continued its Searching for Peace programme, building and strengthening networks with peacebuilders in the field, and seeking ways to make our work more effective and supportive for those in the field. The Searching for Peace programme is driven by the realisation that most conflicts are well analysed, with the causes and reasons for the violence usually understood, but that there is a particular need for better information about what is currently being undertaken to prevent and transform these conflicts.

The objectives of the Searching for Peace programme are:

1. To produce and distribute comprehensive information on conflicts, and on conflict prevention and peacebuilding efforts of civil society groups.
2. To strengthen regional networking and stimulate co-ordination among different actors and sectors in conflict areas.
3. To promote and disseminate effective approaches, lessons learned and policy recommendations on conflict prevention and peacebuilding.

4. To highlight the role of local, regional and international civil society in conflict prevention and peacebuilding through policy seminars and the publication, including a directory of organisations

The Searching for Peace Programme is implemented through regional projects, for which the ECCP seeks funding and implements at different times. At this moment there are projects running on Asia - Pacific, the Middle East, Latin America and Africa. At the beginning of 2003, the Searching for Peace in Asia-Pacific project was the most active. Two staff members and an intern were making good progress in reviewing incoming drafts for the publication, there is a growing network in the region, and plans for a workshop on Lessons Learned from Southeast Asian and Pacific Peacebuilding Efforts were finalised with a local partner, the Centre for Security and Peace Studies at Gadjah Mada University, Indonesia.◀

Towards a Palestinian nonviolence strategy

The Palestinian people in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, living since 1967 under Israeli military occupation, are currently facing a severe humanitarian and political crisis that is threatening their right to self-determination and their national and physical existence. ♦ By WALID SALEM

Like all other communities living under political oppression, the Palestinian people have the right to resist injustice and liberate themselves from colonization. Unfortunately, the present *intifadah* - which is characterized by a mixed strategy of armed, diplomatic and non-violent approaches that seek to make the cost of Israeli occupation so high that the Israeli government is forced to give up the occupation - has thus far not achieved its goal. Presently there is an increasing awareness among the Palestinian people that they should be actively involved in matters that concern them directly, including resisting the Israeli military occupation through civil disobedience, and non-violence.

In fact civil disobedience, non-violence, or active nonviolence (no matter what you might call the civil resistance to the occupation), has strong historical roots in Palestine. This type of mass resistance was strongly present in the demonstrations by Palestinian women and youth in Palestine in 1929, 1932, and 1933. It was also present during the 1936 six months strike, and also during the 1987-1994 seven years long *intifadah*.

In all these cases the Palestinians were using tools of civil resistance against the occupation such as marches, rallies and demonstrations with high participation from the people. Also there were boycotts of Israeli products, refusals to pay taxes, refusals to observe the occupation regulations, and order. There were market strikes and pickets; sit-ins and vigils; fasting, closure of the main roads with blocks, and the use of violence mostly against property but not against people.

From the above it will be noted that



these tools were mostly peaceful, and moreover they were used in the Palestinian occupied territories of the 1967 war, and they were practiced against the Israeli soldiers and Israeli settlers in these areas, and not against Israeli civilians inside Israel.

The assumptions, behind using these nonviolent measures were as follows:

- Violence is an anti-human rights activity, while nonviolence is the opposite.
- Nonviolence is the best methodology to oblige the Israeli occupation forces to withdraw, because of the nature of the Israeli society which is very sensitive to violence.
- Nonviolence is a positive and active way of resistance.
- Nonviolence gave the occupation no justifications for its procedures against the Palestinian people.
- Nonviolence provides the Palestinian people with more international support, and more importantly supports from the Israeli public opinion.
- Palestinian nonviolence increases the development of the peace camp inside Israel.
- Nonviolence paves the way for future co-operation between the two peoples living in the historical land of Palestine.
- Nonviolence leads to high people participation in the resistance, while violence is elitist, harsh and unjust.

New Initiative

In this regard a new initiative was developed by two Palestinian organisations in order to redevelop a strategy of nonviolence for the Palestinian struggle.

These are:

- the Panorama Center for the Dissemination of Democracy and Community Development, Jerusalem, Ramallah and Gaza.

- the Holy Land Trust (HLT), Bethlehem.

Other international organisations, are acting as advisors, such as: Quakers (AFSC), Jerusalem office and Nonviolence International, Washington DC.

The project includes the following phases:

Phase 1

Organising town meetings with the aim of identifying partners in the different regions, and focal points. (Ramallah, Nablus, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Gaza). Establishing regional steering-committees working with the focal points. Preparing a training manual.

Phase 2

Conducting five workshops in each region with the aim of training participants in the theory and methods of active nonviolence resistance. Developing regional action plans.

Phase 3

Training workshop participants in implementation of action plans, campaigning, leadership, sharing of responsibilities, advocacy and lobbying etc.

Phase 4

National meeting with the aim of planning a national action plan.

The expected outcome of the project will hopefully be the development of a Palestinian nonviolent social movement working all around the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip.

Walid Salem is the director of the Jerusalem office of Panorama, the Palestinian Center for the Dissemination of Democracy and Community Development. Website: www.panoramacenter.org. E-mail: walid@panoramacenter.org

Outlook on Brussels

Putting Africa back on the EU agenda **Building peace, security and development**

Africa has suffered a total of one third of global armed conflicts over the past decade. The bottom 27 countries in the UNDPs Human Development Index are African and there are an estimated 6.1 million refugees and 20 million internally displaced persons across the continent. Poverty, protracted conflict and state failure are providing a fertile breeding ground for the negative aspects of globalisation, including support for international terrorism, organised crime, drugs trafficking and the proliferation of small arms and light weapons.

Africa has, however, slipped off the international and EU agenda. Since 11 September, the 'war against terror' has dominated the international debate, including in relation to Africa. There is a danger that international responses that focus primarily on emergency policing and military measures and do not adequately address the need to develop effective strategies for conflict prevention and peacebuilding. The war in Iraq threatens to divert resources and political attention further away from the long-term and intractable conflicts and underdevelopment in Africa. The cost of war on Iraq for America runs into well over a hundred billion; this is in comparison to the \$18 million the US donated to UNAIDS in 2002.

Furthering EU-Africa relations

The first ever African Union Summit, held in February 2003, was dedicated to the resolution of conflict in Africa, resulting in the

agreement for African-led peace measures in seven African countries. However, international politics led to the 'indefinite postponement' of the EU-Africa Summit in Lisbon, planned for April 2003, due to political wranglings between member states over the presence of president Mugabe at the Summit.

It is important that the EU supports the Africa-led peace measures and re-ignites political commitment and resources to the EU-Africa dialogue process. A common EU voice in relation to African priorities would facilitate the EU-Africa process in addressing the problems that African countries face. Contradictory positions and foreign policy actions among EU member states within Africa provide barriers to advancing EU-African dialogue and engagement. Now, more than ever, an effective EU-Africa partnership is required to address the underlying and proximate causes of conflict, insecurity and underdevelopment to affect a positive and sustainable impact on the ground.

Supporting peacebuilding efforts

If sustainable peace is to be achieved in Africa, ending violence through diplomatic and peacekeeping mechanisms must be supported by broad-based recovery for the majority of the population, including improvement in incomes and human development indicators. Many people, especially the poorest, may be too weakened by war to share in the recovery process and this undermines long-term peace and security. The EU has a unique capacity

Jointly prepared by Saferworld and International Alert, this regular Supplement to the Newsletter will focus upon developments in the European Union relevant to conflict prevention. It will aim to keep NGOs up-to-date with how European policy makers and opinion formers are responding to the challenge of preventive action. Each Supplement will provide the latest information and analysis on EU policy processes and conflict prevention initiatives.

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through diplomacy, development and humanitarian response, trade and private sector engagement to significantly contribute to a holistic, regional response to conflict prevention and conflict transformation in Africa. The EU is Africa's largest aid contributor, there are strong historical ties between the two regions and broad diplomatic engagement on the ground. Policy frameworks have been established between the two regions, including the trade and aid agreement, the EU-ACP Cotonou Partnership Agreement. The Cairo Declaration, signed at the EU-Africa Summit in 2000, and the follow-up Summit in Ouagadougou in 2002, also signalled commitment to peacebuilding and conflict prevention in Africa by heads of state of both regions whereby actions were agreed upon and integrated into national policies, and within regional and international frameworks.¹ With the political will to engage and drive the EU-Africa dialogue process forward there is, therefore, significant potential

'We underline that further efforts are needed to prevent violent conflict at the earliest stages by addressing their root-causes in a targeted manner and with an adequate combination of all available instruments.'

EU-Africa Cairo Declaration, April 2000

for building a stronger framework for peace and development in Africa.

There are two important opportunities for the EU to engage in this process in 2003 during the Greek and Italian EU presidencies. The first is through the report of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) Common Position on Conflicts in Africa, which is due in June 2003. The second is through the EU-Africa seminar to be hosted by the Italian presidency in July 2003. Officials from EU member states, candidate countries and African governments, and

representatives from European and African civil society will meet to address and prioritise the challenges of sustainable peace and development in Africa. These initiatives provide important opportunities to strengthen long-term EU-African engagement as a strategic priority for the EU in 2003, and beyond.

¹ See the Cairo Declaration from the EU-Africa Summit, 2000 and the 'Follow up to Cairo Summit' in Ouagadougou in November 2002 (http://europa.eu.int/comm/development/eu_africa_en.htm).

The EU's engagement with civil society in Rwanda

Justice after genocide

The European Commission has made a significant commitment to support reconciliation, justice and an end to impunity after the catastrophe of the Rwandan genocide in 1994. Up to one million Rwandan men, women and children were slaughtered over a 100-day period of state-led genocide of the Tutsi minority and massacre of Hutu moderates. Both sides to the conflict were responsible for perpetrating massive crimes against humanity, leaving a country of widows, a traumatised and impoverished population, a collapsed state and destroyed infrastructure.

With over 120,000 people in Rwanda's prisons, under the 'regular' court system, most prisoners would not face trial within their lifetime. Criminal law standards were not designed to deal with the challenges faced in trying huge numbers of ordinary people who have committed crimes of mass violence, nor in charging perpetrators who live side by side their victims in extremely poor and divided communities. In 2001, the Rwandan government revised and



Rwanda, prisoners in Kibuye prison are being interviewed

adapted the traditional conflict resolution mechanism *gacaca*, literally meaning 'justice on the grass'. The aim is to provide community-based justice to speed up the trials and to involve the community, including the victims, in establishing the truth and promoting reconciliation. Prisoners are brought before the tribunals and the entire community is present to act as 'witness, judge and party to the trials'. The population has now elected over 250,000 judges to preside over trials in 11,000 tribunals throughout the country and in 2002, the first pilot cases for trial were heard.

Representative and legitimate civil society actors can play an important role in the potential success of the process by raising awareness, promoting participation and by monitoring and supporting the implementation of the justice system. The promotion of women's gender specific experiences and rights as participants in the process is also essential to its success. The international community can therefore play an important role in supporting civil society engagement and promoting the participation of the entire population in reconstructing the events and acts committed during the 1994 genocide.

European Community support

In 2002, the European Development Fund, in association with the Rwandan Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, funded civil society actors euro 1,750,000 for activities related to the effective implementation of the Gacaca system. One of the successful recipients of the funds has been the joint initiative between the UK-based NGO, International Alert, and Rwanda-

Promoting women's roles in the Gacaca justice system

The Rwandan genocide has left women with unique post-conflict needs. Of those that survived, many were raped or sexually abused. Many have been left traumatised, widowed, carrying HIV/AIDS, heading households and raising their own, orphaned and their enemy's unwanted children from the genocide. Women were also implicit in the genocide in Rwanda and 3.5 per cent of the prison population are women.

Women will play an important role in the Gacaca tribunals as both witnesses and as judges. The majority of survivors, and witnesses, to the genocide are women and their testimony will ensure the success of the process. In addition, for the first time, women have been allowed to sit on the Gacaca tribunals and approximately 25 per cent of those elected as judges are women.

The International Alert & ProFemmes Twesehamwe project has five key objectives:

1. To promote the active and maximum participation of the Rwandan population, especially women, in the Gacaca process by strengthening peoples' confidence and understanding of the operation. Since the success of the Gacaca tribunals is dependent on the level of understanding and ownership of the process, there is a real need to provide detailed information to people to increase its credibility and ensure positive participation of the community in the process. This includes women, whose important role may otherwise be marginalised. Through awareness-raising sessions, the programme aims to reach approximately 100,000 women leaders, persons in detention centres, women prisoners, religious leaders and vice-mayors across the country.
2. To improve women judges capacities and skills in their new role. Women were excluded from the traditional Gacaca courts and many therefore require support in building their communication, management, decision-making and leadership skills. The projects aims to train approximately 18,500 women judges to enable them to carry out their functions effectively and with confidence. It has also set up mechanisms whereby women lawyers can meet, share experiences and lesson learned from participating in the trials.
3. To highlight the loopholes and weaknesses in the Gacaca and other related laws from a gender perspective, with respect for the rights and respects of all parties. The rights of women victims of sexual violence; the compensation of victims; security for the accused, witnesses and judges, and community service as an alternative to imprisonment will be addressed through analytical seminars with women lawyers in Rwanda and a lobbying campaign with the Gacaca department, Ministry for Justice, parliament, other decision makers and civil society.
4. To support the reintegration of women ex-prisoners into employment and income-generating schemes. The visibility of women's needs as prisoners is marginalised due to their being the minority, and exception. In Rwandan society, it is more acceptable for men to be incarcerated for crimes and as a consequence, it is more difficult for women to reintegrate into normal life. The project will include a needs assessment of the 3000 women in prison, a campaign to encourage public and private sector employees to open their doors to qualified women prisoners and capacity-building support from the ProFemmes members for the more marginalised group of women.
5. To document and evaluate women's contribution to the Gacaca process. This is with the aim of providing greater visibility to women's contributions to conflict transformation and thus greater social recognition of their role as conflict transformers.

based NGO, ProFemmes Twesehamwe, a collective of 40 women's organisations in Rwanda.

Southern NGOs access to EU funds
European Commission funding for this work is an important step forward in engaging civil society at the national and community level, particularly as the success of the process largely lies in their hands. Engagement with international civil society actors is also welcome in drawing on wider technical expertise and experience in this field. Decentralisation (otherwise know as deconcentration) of the EU has been an important step in delegating power from Brussels to the regions as part of this process. While this is a significant and welcome improvement for EU engagement with conflict prevention in Africa there is still, as always, room for improvement. EU engagement could, for example, be more sensitive to the

specific capacities and needs of southern civil society on the ground.

There are two key aspects of the grant proposal process that could be more flexible and accessible to civil society participation in the South. First, the application process for funding is not adapted to reflect the resources and

capacities of potential southern-based applicants. The application form is hugely time and resource-consuming and requires expert knowledge of the EU system. For southern-based NGOs without fundraising departments, nor specialists in Commission applications, this poses a huge obstacle. Second, the funds available to international and Rwandan-based NGOs is typically divergent, skewed to the advantage of international NGOs. These discriminatory processes suggest a eurocentric attitude and an inherent mistrust in the abilities of southern NGOs.

If the EU is to work with civil society actors in-country to support similar conflict prevention, reconstruction and justice programmes, the context in which they work and the constraints they face must be recognised. Desk officers should work with civil society actors on the ground to establish a format that is more accessible to meet

'The gacaca proposal is simultaneously one of the best, most dangerous, and possibly last, chances Rwanda has to move ahead from a genocidal past.'

Peter Uvin

the needs and capacities of local NGOs. The EU should also provide capacity-building support through awareness-raising and training in proposal writing and fundraising. It should provide training and information on the EU, its institutions and processes, its engagement in the regional context, and an overview of relevant conflict prevention policies and agreements e.g. EU-ACP Cotonou Agreement.

EU engagement with civil society in Rwanda and other post-conflict regions is and can, therefore, contribute significantly to the lives of those affected by conflict on the ground. EU support should be recognised and encouraged to continue. This includes the continued support for the involvement of international NGOs or partnership between NGOs in the North and South. However, care should be

taken to ensure that this does not take place at the expense of the valuable resources, experience and expertise of local NGOs on the ground.

For more information on the ProFemmes Tweschamwe and International Alert project, please contact Liz Egan at the Women Peace Programme, International Alert, on legan@international-alert.org

Priorities for the Greek and Italian EU presidencies - An overview of Saferworld and International Alerts EU Presidency Paper 2003

Ensuring progress in the prevention of violent conflict

The failure of multilateralism brought on by the lead up to the conflict in Iraq has been seen as a setback for those working to develop a EU Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Ironically this has occurred at a time when the Convention on the Future of Europe offered the prospect for Europe to define its vision for peace and security for itself and the rest of the world. However, the outlook is not all bleak.

Now more than ever there is a real opportunity for the EU to gather itself together, and fill the urgent need to rebuild a consensus for multilateralism. The EU has been built on the belief that strong international institutions backed by international law create stability in the EU and further afield. Focusing its attentions on conflict prevention would assist with these efforts. It is one of the leading bodies affirming the importance of and enhancing the capacity for peacebuilding and conflict prevention. The EU through its main institutions has developed a series of key policy statements and initiatives that demonstrate the increased sophistication which it approaches conflict prevention. These commitments should now be fully implemented and strengthened by the Greek and Italian presidencies.

This article is a summary of the

‘The only way to deal with conflict effectively is to address effectively the root causes through a long-term structural prevention policy.’

George Papandreou,
Greek minister of
Foreign Affairs

annual Presidency paper produced by Saferworld and International Alert, in association with EPLO, designed, in this instance to support the efforts of the Greek and Italian EU presidencies to enhance the EU's commitment to conflict prevention. It provides practical recommendations in a number of priority areas, which will assist the presidencies implement and take forward EU conflict prevention policy commitments. The priorities are in part based on areas that the two presidencies have expressed a particular interest in progressing, namely organised crime for the Greeks, and EU Africa relations for the Italians.

Mainstreaming conflict prevention policy and practice

The EU has recognised the links between development, poverty and conflict and the role of development co-operation in conflict prevention. However, further ‘mainstreaming’ across all EC policy, including trade and the private sector is essential if we are to effectively address the root causes of conflict. Furthermore, mainstreaming requires that EU conflict prevention policy and practice must be informed by legitimate civil society.

The EU should:

- Develop effective peace and conflict impact assessments that extend beyond development programmes to include all sectors e.g. trade. This should include training of desk officers and officials in delegations on their use.
- Exert pressure on exporting countries to accept independent experts to monitor the illegal trade in conflict commodities.
- Provide capacity building support to governments and civil society in the developing world to engage effectively in EU policy and programming via the ACP Cotonou Partnership Agreement.

Strengthening EU-Africa engagement in conflict prevention

Much of Africa continues to be beset by chronic underdevelopment and conflict providing a breeding ground for the negative aspects of globalisation including support for international terrorism. It is crucial that the EU Africa dialogue on the prevention of violent conflict remains high on the agenda despite the 'indefinite postponement' of the EU Africa Lisbon Summit and that the EU focuses its attentions in Africa rather than in areas of strategic interest. The ACP-EU Cotonou Partnership Agreement has provided a framework for developing conflict prevention measures in ACP regions. These frameworks now need to be monitored, strengthened and transformed into practical action.

The EU should

- Review the EU Africa dialogue on conflict prevention to ensure it is complementary with ongoing African and international initiatives e.g. (African Union (AU), New Partnership for Africa's development (NEPAD), ACP Cotonou, G8 plan of Action)
- Monitor the impact of ACP EU trade co-operation on social and economic exclusion and the risks of violent conflict.
- Develop an EU Africa civil society forum.

Integrating crisis management with conflict prevention

The EU is well placed to develop and integrate a civilian crisis management capacity and a number of key policy developments have taken place over the past year. However, from a peacebuilding perspective more attention needs to be given to linking crisis management with longer-term conflict prevention strategies. In order to improve the functioning of civilian crisis management capabilities, the institutional structures of the EU and its relationship with other organisations need to be made more compatible.

The EU should:

- Integrate crisis management with conflict prevention to strengthen their short, medium and long-term impact.

Poverty and cultural dislocation provide a fertile ground for terrorists to recruit and gain sympathy and support

- Establish clear definitions and practice with other institutions participating in crisis management (the UN, OSCE and Council of Europe) to ensure responses are complementary.
- Work beyond the quantitative targets for civilian personnel in the four areas of crisis management (police, rule of law, civilian administration and civil protection) and developing qualitative targets.

Tackling terrorism, organised crime and illicit trafficking

Criminal and terrorist activities, including the illicit trafficking of humans, money, drugs and arms, pose a major security challenge in an enlarged EU. While terrorists themselves do not always come from deprived backgrounds, poverty and cultural dislocation provide a fertile ground for terrorists to recruit and gain sympathy and support. The root causes of terrorism and conflict are often the same. Tackling organised crime is a key concern, not least because EU countries are directly affected by the trafficking of people, drugs and weapons. Terrorist and criminal networks establish mutually beneficial relationships that further destabilise vulnerable communities, in some cases leading to conflict.

The EU should:

- Develop and enhance long-term conflict prevention and peacebuilding initiatives as an effective response to addressing and responding to terrorist threats.
- Ensure that the 'war on terrorism' is not used as a pretext to impinge on human rights, or that resources are directed away from conflict prevention policies.

- Improve co-ordination and information exchange between all agencies and states involved in efforts to combat organised crime and place greater priority on the implication of small arms flows as they relate to organised crime.

Enhancing co-ordination across EU institutions

Implementing comprehensive conflict prevention policy through all the mechanisms and instruments available to the EU requires effective co-ordination. It is essential that the EU addresses the structural framework and cultural attitudes towards conflict prevention. The enlargement of the EU towards Central and Eastern Europe increases the need for the EU to fully commit to and mainstream conflict prevention across all EU policy and institutions. Many new members will have their own priorities and agendas and it is essential that the EU engages with candidate countries to raise awareness and promote understanding of the EU's role in conflict prevention. Better co-ordination is also needed between the EU and other international institutions.

The EU should:

- Institutionalise a liaison body to monitor and link decision making and implementation between the three pillars.
- Build co-operation between the EU and other international institutions through joint representation and information exchange on the implementation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy.

A number of key events and activities have been planned for 2003. These include a submission of a progress report on the implementation of the Gothenburg Programme of Action, and potentially a EU 'Brahimi report' by the Greek presidency. The Italian presidency is organising an EU-Africa seminar to address and prioritise the challenges of sustainable peace and development in Africa. Efforts should be made to ensure the recent setbacks in multilateralism do not overshadow this important work on moving forward the implementation of the broader EU conflict prevention agenda. <

Building local conflict prevention skills

The implementation of the EU-ACP Cotonou Agreement in the Horn of Africa is now well underway and six out of the seven IGAD member states have signed Country Strategy Papers (CSP).

These CSPs establish the framework of the EU's policy and programming for each of its partner countries under the Cotonou Agreement, such as an analysis of the political, economic and social conditions in that country and the focal areas for EU engagement. Although CSPs are essentially agreed upon by the EU and the government of the individual Horn country, the Cotonou Agreement requires the EU to consult with civil society organisations when developing this policy. This provision is an important for ensuring that the views of a wide range of actors are reflected in the country analyses as well as in the process of determining the most relevant focal areas for EU support.

Training of trainers

Over the past few months, Saferworld's project with its partners in the region, the Africa Peace Forum (based in Kenya) and the InterAfrica Group (based in Ethiopia) has been working to facilitate dialogue between the EU and civil society in the Horn of Africa. In co-operation with INTRAC (International NGO Training and

Research Centre), a set of training modules have been developed to build local capacity to train communities on how to engage effectively with the EU. In February 2003, a 'training of trainers' workshop was held in Nairobi. This workshop was attended by representatives from most of the Horn countries and was an opportunity to provide information and materials on the EU, its conflict prevention policies and the Cotonou Agreement. The workshop also focused on developing specific training techniques and materials with the participants.

This 'training of trainers' workshop was the first step in broader processes of awareness-raising and capacity-building at the country level in each of the Horn countries. In some countries real progress has been made including the interim Cotonou civil society committees and platforms in North- and South-Sudan, Somalia and Uganda. In Kenya, a 'Friends of Cotonou' group has been established to help build effective networks. All of these structures are, to some degree or another, planning further in-country activities in order to disseminate knowledge about the Cotonou processes and to create mechanisms to ensure broad and representative civil society consultation with the EU. However, some Horn countries, such as Eritrea and Djibouti, still need a lot of support in order to

widen the political space for civil society to operate and to build efficient networks to collaborate in these efforts. The 'training of trainers' process feeds into this by supporting structures and activities undertaken at the national level, and helping to build capacity in order that civil society can effectively engage with the EU. In Eritrea for instance, the focus of donor assistance is still on post-conflict reconstruction. A stronger civil society would be able to assist in the process of linking the post-conflict focused activities to longer-term, conflict-sensitive development programmes and policies.

Civil society in the Horn (and in other countries of the African, Caribbean and Pacific states that form part of the Cotonou Agreement) have the opportunity to participate in policies and programmes that affect their lives. Capacity-building and training are essential if these opportunities are to be realised. More importantly, if civil society effectively engages with the EU in policy dialogue and programme review processes, it will enable a greater focus on addressing the risks of conflict that still threaten the Horn region.

For further information on the Saferworld Horn of Africa project please contact Sue Le Mesurier at Saferworld sue@saferworld.org.uk

Update from the EU

By Heike Schneider
EPLO

EU launches its first military operation

EU Foreign Affairs ministers on 19 March decided to send troops to Macedonia. They will take over from NATO which will end its operation in the country on 31 March. It is estimated that the new force will stay in the country for a period of six months. Through its military presence on the ground the Union aims to promote stability and deter the resurgence of violence. The EU sees this operation as part of its larger commitment to Macedonia.

It is the first time that the EU launches a military operation. It is seen as a test case for military crisis

management. The EU's first crisis management operation was a civilian mission under which police officers have been assisting the Bosnia and Herzegovina authorities to organise a local police force. This mission started on 1 January this year.

During its operation in Macedonia, the EU will need to make use of NATO assets and capabilities. This has been made possible following the several co-operation agreements reached by both parties, the latest of which - on the exchange of confidential information - was signed on 14 March.

EU develops its military capabilities and defence equipment

While EU member states are split on

important foreign policy issues, they are making ground on the defence side. Not only have ministers just launched the first EU military mission, but they also force the development of military capabilities in order to declare the EU's rapid reaction force fully operational in June. The Commission has made proposals to promote a European defence market.

EU military capabilities were on the agenda of the informal meeting of EU defence ministers 14 and 15 March. Defence ministers took note of the reports presented by the panels which have been charged to find solutions for deficits in EU military capabilities. These deficits became apparent when

the European Council in Laeken in December 2001 could declare the EU rapid reaction force only partially operational. A further capabilities conference is scheduled for May. At this meeting the Greek presidency wants to obtain a clear political commitment from member states to fill the EU's shortfalls, so that it can declare the EU's rapid reaction force fully operational at the Thessaloniki summit in June.

The Commission for its part is pushing for a European defence equipment market. On 11 March it adopted a communication *Towards an EU defence equipment policy*. With this communication the Commission proposes measures to increase the cost efficiency of defence spending, to facilitate market access for EU manufactured good to third countries and to maintain a competitive technological base through extending common market rules to defence equipment.

The creation of a European Armaments Agency is also high on the agenda. EU leaders will take a decision on this question at the European Council in June.

Cotonou enters into force in April

The Cotonou Agreement entered into force in April. The Cotonou Agreement governs trade relations, development co-operation and political relations between 77 countries in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific and the EU. The agreement was signed in Cotonou in June 2000, but it took EU governments

some time to ratify it. Most of the measures of the agreement however were in place since an earlier decision by the ACP-EC Council of Ministers. The Cotonou Agreement is the first ACP-EU agreement which mentions conflict prevention explicitly as an area of co-operation. The first financial protocol of the Cotonou agreement, covering the period 2000- 2005, has a budget of 13,5 million euro.

Civil society participation in EC development co-operation

The Commission takes stock of its co-operation with NGOs. On 7 November 2002 it adopted a communication on the participation of non-state actors in EC Development policy. With this communication the Commission gives a comprehensive account of how it co-operates with NGOs. It distinguishes between policy dialogue and co-operation on the operational level. The paper analysis how much funding NGOs get under the various budget lines. The paper does not detail how much funding is allocated to cross cutting initiatives such as conflict prevention. On the whole the Commission estimates that about 1.4 billion of its 7 billion Euro development budget is channelled through NGOs.

The Commission announced that it will prepare guidelines for EC delegations on non-state actor involvement and another set of guidelines on how non-state actors can access the funding foreseen under the Cotonou Agreement.

Convention postpones discussion on EU foreign policy

Due to recent difficulties of agreeing on a common policy with regard to the Iraq crisis, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, president of the Convention on the Future of Europe, has proposed to postpone the discussions around the future EU foreign policy.

The Convention will need to finish its work this summer. According to the Laeken Declaration which launched the whole process, the Convention has to deliver by June. VGE would prefer to push back the deadline to September. The next Intergovernmental Conference, which will take the decisions on the future EU treaty, will start in October.

EPLO, the network of 19 conflict prevention NGOs in Europe has submitted its position paper to the Forum on the European Convention. The paper makes recommendations how conflict prevention can be built into the future of Europe. It can be downloaded from the Forums website in the eleven official languages of the EU. www.europa.eu.int/futurum/conothother_en.htm

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International Calendar

May 2003

19/20	General Affairs and External Relations Council
20/21/22	European Parliament Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy
19/20	European Parliament Committee on Development and Co-operation

June 2003

17/18	General Affairs and External Relations Council
20/21	European Council in Thessalonica: June
10/11	European Parliament Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy
11/12	European Parliament Committee on Development and Co-operation

July 2003

1	The Italian government will take over the EU Presidency
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The Role of Media in Peacebuilding

Focus on Africa



TERRY KOTTERMAN, PAX CHRISTI/NGRV

When soldiers or rebels of one sort or another seize the reins of power, they generally secure their positions by grabbing control of the broadcast media. Equally, when leaders want to manipulate the perceptions of a population, they do it through the media. Over the centuries, the media has proved a powerful tool in support of terror, violence, and destruction. But fortunately the opposite is also true; it has enormous positive potential.

This special issue was produced in cooperation with Search for Common Ground and compiled by JULIETTE VERHOEVEN, European Centre for Conflict Prevention

Inside this issue:

More media, not more news • Peace radio in Burundi • Best practices and lessons learned • Evaluations • The media can make or break a peace process • Radio Voice of Hope • New book on media and peacebuilding • Key resources

More media, not more news

The media can play a critical role in exacerbating war or consolidating peace. In the former, the media can incite violence by propagandising and distributing misinformation or biased information. And by covering up the truth media can also be complicit in hidden violence or atrocities that take place. In the latter, the media can be a powerful tool in peacebuilding and democratic development, by shining light on abuses; providing and sharing information; holding the powerful to account; and serving as an outlet for different opinions and perspectives. ♦ By FRANCIS ROLT



That the media can have a negative, exacerbating effect on conflict is not at issue. Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM) in Rwanda is the classic example. What few people pick up on is

that RTLM was essentially a local music station. It wasn't news and current affairs which inspired and maintained the 1994 genocide, but a mix of music and up-beat, DJ-style 'discussion'. As the then Canadian ambassador, Lucie Edwards, later said: 'The question of Radio Mille Collines propaganda is a difficult one. There were so many genuinely silly things being said on the station, so many obvious lies, that it was hard to take it seriously... Nevertheless, everyone listened to it ...'¹

Hate radio is banal, as North American shock-jock talk-shows prove everyday. And from my own experience in Burundi in the late 1990s I know that all kinds of media products can have a positive or negative impact on all stages of a conflict.

Yet serious discussion in the West on the media and conflict resolution is usually hi-jacked by an emotional debate about the news media and objectivity. Many Western news journalists are angered by the suggestion that they have a responsibility beyond objective reporting, and seem to believe that the suggestion is a criticism of the ideal of objectivity. On the contrary, the classic news journalist's aspiration to objectivity is itself an important tool in conflict resolution. Without reliable news and information people in conflict zones have to rely on rumour, and rumour invariably spreads the distrust and stereotyping which feed war.

Many journalists already debate the potential which the new, 'live from a conflict zone' reporting has to feed a conflict, and the need for journalists to be aware of this potential. Despite this, there's a chasm in the debate. Media is much more than news and current affairs yet few individuals or organisations working in conflict zones have taken on board any of all the possible media interventions, apart from news and current affairs, which can have a positive impact on a conflict.

There are two reasons for this apparent blindness. In the international media environment news and current affairs journalists are the ones who deal with conflict. The result is that news journalists feel that they are the only ones with a stake in the debate, and so dominate the discussion. Secondly, most NGOs and international organisations working in areas of conflict view the media as either a PR tool, or as a

loudspeaker to announce disaster, claim support, and denounce evil. The next, essential step, that of creating and supporting positive media interventions in conflict is a long time coming.

Such interventions will take the media and the agencies beyond news and current affairs (to say nothing of PR), and into the more complex areas of non-adversarial talk shows, programme or article exchange between zones of conflict, cartoons (enshrining or breaking down stereotypes of 'the other', the enemy), 'intended outcome' radio and TV dramas and soap operas, vox pops (giving a voice to the voiceless), comic books, theatre, music and song. Media is all these things, and more; drama, story, character and humour, these are what attract us as humans, regardless of whether we live in war-torn Africa or in Western Europe.

People in conflict zones, even refugees, continue to go about their usual lives, perhaps in a more circumscribed way, but they still listen to and make music, dance, laugh at cartoons and TV comedies, tell stories and exchange ideas with a neighbour. They form their own opinions by sifting carefully through all the information and opinion gathered from these different sources. Life doesn't begin and end with news and current affairs. In fact, in most conflict zones people quickly grow tired of political speeches, debates, and reports of more violence - the subject of the albeit very important current affairs programmes. Listeners tune out and lose hope, seeking solace in radio or TV drama and music programmes.

Non-news media and conflict resolution is a relatively new field, but not that new. To take a few examples from the work of Common Ground around the world; since 1995 Studio Ijambo in Burundi has been making radio programmes such as a radio soap opera with a regular listenership of over 80% of the population which emphasises the commonalities between Hutu and Tutsi (language, culture, everyday life), the common ground rather than the divisions. And in general the Studio is credited with, '*creating a new vocabulary of peaceful coexistence, dialogue and negotiation in the country*'².

In 1994 in the Middle East we began holding regular meetings of media professionals to explore the role of the media in conflict and its possible resolution. Gradually there emerged a network of media leaders who were willing to cooperate on such projects as a jointly authored book and newspaper series on the future of the region, exchanges of articles, and a co-produced TV documentary which appeared in Jordan, Israel and the Palestinian Territories.

In the United States we have worked with Brian Lehrer of WNYC radio in New York for over ten years, developing new, non-adversarial talk-show techniques which deliver interesting, exciting programmes and attract large audiences. After September 11, one Lehrer call-in show was limited to Arab-American and Muslim-American callers. One listener emailed; '*This programme really humanised the conflict and somehow relieved the pressure to have a view that hatched on ideological lines.*'³

And in April 1997, Common Ground brought together Angolan musicians from both sides of the long-running

conflict to record a Peace Song entitled *A Paz E Que O Povo Chama* (People Are Calling for Peace). It took a year of negotiations and mediated discussions to overcome the divisions between the musicians, but finally thirty-five popular Angolan musicians put aside these differences to create an anthem to peace. The Angola Peace Song continues to do its work in Angolan society at all levels. Before the peace accord both the audio and video forms of the song were regularly aired on state-run television. And in February of 2002, a parliamentarian ended her speech on the floor of the assembly with the closing words of the song, 'People are calling for peace.'

There are innumerable other possible examples, and rather than sticking with a sterile debate on media, news and objectivity, it is time these and all the other possible forms of

conflict resolution media are more widely practiced, debated, and improved.

Francis Rolt is director, Common Ground-Radio and is based in Brussels. He was previously director of Search for Common Ground's Studio Ijambo in Burundi, and has worked in radio for nearly twenty years. Comments to frolt@sfcg.org or write to Francis Rolt, CGP, Rue Belliard 205, B-1040 Brussels, Belgium

Notes

- 1 Hate Radio; Rwanda, Radio Netherlands website <http://www.rnw.nl/realradio/dossiers/html/rwanda-h.html>
- 2 Report #2, Evaluation of Studio Ijambo, By Amr Abdalla, Ph.D. et al, 2002
- 3 Listener email, April 4 2002, Brooklyn, NY



Radio Isanganiro and Studio Ijambo in Burundi

Using radio for peacebuilding

It's Friday night in a largely Tutsi neighbourhood of Bujumbura. Burundians young and old are at their favourite bistro, telling stories, jokes and anecdotes, sharing beer and soft drinks with friends and neighbours.

◆ By LENA SLACHMUIJLDER and NESTOR NKURUNZIZA



Suddenly there is the crack of gunfire. People duck for cover. The gunfire dies down, but rumours and suspicion are born. 'It's the Hutus who live in the hills who want to attack us...' 'if they think we can't defend ourselves, we'll show them...'. A group of young Tutsis take to the streets and stop public transport, harassing people who have stereotypical Hutu features. The situation develops its own dangerous momentum of fear and paranoia. Hutus living in the neighbourhood begin to hold meetings, concerned for their safety. Tutsis flee the neighbourhood. So do Hutus. Rumours of attacks and counterattacks are born.

In the city centre, journalists from Radio Isanganiro and Studio Ijambo start asking questions. How can a radio programme help in this context? The answer is captured in one simple word: dialogue. In conflict-ridden Burundi, the absence of dialogue is a breeding ground for rumour and misinformation. Without accurate, balanced information, rumours become the basis on which people decide to act, the breeding ground for stereotypes to take root and develop a dangerous momentum.

Radio programmes provide an invisible meeting place for

the views of people whose society prevents them from coming together, shaking hands, and sharing ideas. A radio programme allows opponents to express their views in a safe environment, and then hear the responses or counter-arguments in the final programme. It is a place where rumours and misinformation are buried and common ground is uncovered. It is a place where stereotypes are broken down and the humanity of the 'other' is discovered.

Dialogue is the driving force behind the conflict resolution and peacebuilding aims of Studio Ijambo, which has been producing radio programmes since 1995. Currently, there are 24 programmes produced each week which are broadcast on five different state and private radio stations in the region, as well as via internet (www.studioijambo.org). In November 2002, a local association formed by Studio Ijambo journalists launched Radio Isanganiro, with the aim of playing an even more powerful role towards this same aim. Radio Isanganiro broadcasts 80 hours per week in the Bujumbura and surrounding areas, as well as via internet (www.ijambo.net).

Participation

Participation is the key to making dialogue effective. Interactive programmes allow listeners to express themselves, through phone-in programmes and letters. For those without access to telephones, journalists seek out the opinions of people at all levels of society, in cities and rural areas, in refugee camps, schools, clinics and village markets. The programmes give a voice to the often marginalised Burundian

civil society, by seeking out their views and analyses on current events, new legislation and important public policies.

The search for solutions amidst ongoing conflict characterises each and every one of Studio Ijambo and Radio Isanganro programmes. This is the case for all aspects of conflict: those related to the political process, to governance, as well as those related to daily conflicts related to gender and family problems. 'Conflict is all around us in our daily lives,' explains Isanganro news editor Fiacre Munezero. 'Our programmes aim to look at the conflict, understand it, and find solutions together with the people in conflict.'

Positive stories

Imagine if a health reporter only covered pandemics and ignored all information about prevention and cures. And yet many journalists in conflict zones only report on the war, destruction, violence, ignoring positive stories of survival, conflict prevention and resolution, and reconciliation.

Studio Ijambo programmes seek out those positive stories in the midst of conflict. Since 1999, Studio Ijambo journalists have produced more than 150 programmes about people who risked their lives during a time of crisis to save the life of people of another ethnic group. In a twist on the stereotypical 'dedications' radio programme, Radio Isanganro asked people to make a dedication to people who had done something positive for them in their lives. Listeners phoned in with messages of thanks to people that had saved their lives, some as far back as 1993, when the current Burundian 'crisis' has its origins.

Accountability

Radio Isanganro and Studio Ijambo programmes help in holding authorities accountable. When rural business people attempting to transport their goods to the capital were being unfairly taxed by local authorities, Studio Ijambo produced a series of investigative programmes on the subject. The frequency of this corrupt practice has visibly decreased. When bicycle taxi drivers were being harassed following accusations of transporting rebels, Studio Ijambo brought all of the main role-players together to search for a way to better regulate this

Imagine if a health reporter only covered pandemics and ignored all information about prevention and cures.

important small industry, while protecting the security of Burundians.

Above all, Studio Ijambo and Radio Isanganro attempt to seek out the human face of every story. 'Portraits can tell the story of the person behind the personality,' explains Fiacre, 'and reveal to our society the new leaders that are emerging.'

When a journalist interviewed Burundian refugees who had organised an association for peace, the radio programme challenged negative perceptions and stereotypes of refugees as 'rebels'. 'People phoned me after hearing the interviews,' recalls journalist Christine Ntahe, 'they didn't believe that refugees could also be working for peace, and it really moved them.'

And it is this human connection that helped to diffuse the tensions in the Tutsi neighbourhood mentioned at the beginning of this article. Désiré Niyondiko, a Studio Ijambo producer, invited Hutu and Tutsi youths for a rendezvous around his mobile phone the day after the attack to participate in a live youth phone-in programme. 'What touched me was that even though these were youths from the same neighbourhood, they didn't know each other. They didn't trust each other.'

'But after the radio programme, when they all had their time to speak, and say how they didn't want to return to the past stories of violence, the barriers began to break down. They had come as enemies, but they left as friends,' says Desire.

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Best practices and lessons learned

Looking at best practices and lessons learned in the field of media-based peacebuilding, one should look separately at the stages of preparation and assessment, project design, and implementation (as well as evaluation: see the article by Lisa Shochat in this special). This article is a summary of a chapter in the upcoming publication *The Power of the Media: A Handbook for Peacebuilders*.

Preparation and assessment



Preparation should begin with an assessment of the conflict, of the environment in which the conflict takes place, and of the role the media has played in the development of the conflict, which should include a comprehensive review of the media environment. Finally a baseline survey of whatever the

project is expected to change in terms of attitudes, practices, actions etc. will provide information against which the effectiveness of the project can eventually be measured.

The assessment will help determine the feasibility of the project, and/or the most effective form of intervention. It should also help the implementing agency determine how a media-based intervention might compare with other strategies.

During this initial assessment phase it is important to reflect on the presumed and/or proposed objectives and to refine and modify those objectives based on the assessment findings. Here, it's worth noting that with respect to the setting of objectives no intervention should be viewed in a vacuum. Other peacebuilding activities may already be underway, and while a media-focused project may not be part of a larger effort itself, the implementing agency should seek

synergy with complementary activities by other organisations. Media interventions can benefit, for example, from other apparently unrelated activities such as civil society or law reform initiatives which strengthen the media-supportive infrastructure of legislation, courts and regulators.

Next, it is essential for all media-related interventions, but especially for those focusing on the development and training of journalists, to assess the media itself. This involves examining the extent of any infrastructure which supports the media, the media environment in general, and any limitations on media activities. There is some risk, for example, in training journalists in accuracy, impartiality and socially responsible reporting without also discussing strategies to overcome the implicit dangers of corrupt legislators, anti-democratic media laws, a dishonest judiciary and non-existent or corrupt media regulators. The legal and constitutional environment which enables reliable journalism includes legislation governing the media sector such as freedom of speech, adherence to international covenants such as Article 19, as well as media rights and responsibilities including libel and copyright laws.

It is also important to be realistic about the possibilities and limitations of a media project, to value small successes, and in hot conflicts the importance of simply maintaining and supporting the idea of peace among those who believe that conflict isn't either part of the solution or the answer. In the same way, activities which contribute to the strengthening of civil society and of democratic institutions have inherent value in that they reduce the risks of violent conflict.

Design

The next step is to design the project. The implementing agency is faced with several fundamental decisions at this point.

The most crucial choice concerns the form the project takes. A great variety of effective projects have been attempted in the recent past: using radio drama, training activities, video, and radio production; projects to secure better media access, to support journalists working under difficult and dangerous conditions, to provide information to specific target groups with special needs, and to achieve reconciliation, and to build bridges between parties on opposite sides of a divide. In addition, many of the best projects include not just a media activity, but also an integrated training element, so that continuation of the project is not dependent on outside personnel. And while sustainability in conflict zones may not be top of the list of priorities it is essential to consider what happens when the 'hot conflict' is over, and donor interest subsides even though conflict could break out again very easily.

Although the choice of target audience will generally be determined by the project's stated objectives, this is not always self-evident. For example, a programme which attempts to teach non-violent conflict resolution techniques might target youth, but it might also target teachers, or even journalists. In some cases, the net is cast wide: where there is a perceived need for accurate or balanced information, or where there is an attempt to reduce tensions by increasing access to the perspectives of all the parties to a conflict, the general public may be the target. In other cases, in efforts to strengthen the foundations of an independent media, for example, the target audience may be a select group of editors or producers and managers. And several of the cases discussed in the following section are concerned with improving journalists' skills - either in general, or with respect to the special problems associated with reporting in areas of conflict.

A third choice, if the intervention relates to journalism, is to determine the intervention type: rudimentary journalism, journalism development, transitional journalism, media-based journalism, or intended outcome journalism.¹

Finally, the findings from the assessment related to 'reach' and 'access' are critical in terms of choosing the type of media to be used. In other words, to consider the target audience in relation to the type of media it is most exposed to, or has greatest access to.

In conflict areas, particularly in less developed countries with low literacy rates, radio is an effective means of communication for a wide variety of media-based peacebuilding projects. Where television penetration is high, as it is in Central Asia and the Balkans, television projects have been implemented to good effect, but a multi-channel approach may be advisable. Not only does this ensure greater reach, but it also means that messages from the different media reinforce each other.

The process of deciding the nature of the project, the target audience, intervention type and the medium needs to be parallel and iterative - that is, each choice has to be considered in relation to the other choices, and the project objectives. Then, as the various options related to each decision are weighed, their impact on the other options also need to be taken into account.

Having said that, certain factors should be integrated into the design stage of every project. The success of most projects will be dependent on establishing local partnerships. The sooner such partnerships are established, the greater the sense of investment on the part of the partners. If local partners are involved in the design stage, their input can help get the project off to a good start, and they will become stakeholders with a vital interest in a successful outcome. 'Local' here can mean local at the grass roots level, but it can also mean 'local' in the sense of individuals and organisations operating in the project area, even on the national or regional level. For example, of the projects described in this book, the radio soap opera produced in Senegal has benefited enormously from the co-operation and assistance of the state-owned broadcasting system. Equally, the Women's Media Centre, the Cambodian Communications Institute, and the Royal University of Phnom Penh all make significant contributions to the radio journalists' training project in Cambodia.

The prospects for sustainability and success are both greatly enhanced when the project design is flexible. The one thing that is certain is that the unexpected will occur, so the project must be able to respond to the unexpected. The project design should, therefore, include an ongoing monitoring and evaluation process.

Implementation

In conflict areas, where trust is generally in short supply, organisational transparency is crucial. It must be clear that there is nothing to hide, and no secret agenda. One element of an overall effort to establish and maintain credibility is to adopt a code of ethics, which includes not only rules of conduct on the business and organisational side, but which also addresses the issues of journalistic ethics. For example, Fondation Hironnelle, a Swiss-based NGO engaged in media projects in a number of conflict situations, asks all journalists who work with it to abide by a code which commits them to uphold professional ethical standards regarding accuracy and the clear delineation between facts and opinion. Credibility also requires that those engaged in media projects need to be

transparent about their involvement with any political groups, for example - without this a media project can be easily redirected to serve a political goal.

A pro-active public relations approach can be extremely effective in winning 'hearts and minds', building good will, and gaining the confidence of the community and the target audience. The project should demonstrate fairness and balance by giving diverse perspectives a voice, while remaining cautious regarding the broadcast of extreme views. And can demonstrate trust and credibility by implicating people from a wide cross-section of the population. This in turn should address the concerns of parties on all sides of the divide, by providing people from opposing sides with an opportunity to present their interests, while avoiding giving space to their positions.

In addition, media-based projects need to be acutely attuned to cultural sensitivities within the communities they serve. Local partners have an important role to play, and they should be encouraged to provide guidance - or sound the alarm if need be - if a well-meaning but ignorant outsider is about to wander into a cultural minefield.

Both outside (in day-to-day activities, and in more PR-directed activities) and inside peacebuilding programmes, language - broadly construed - is also a crucial factor. This 'language' is not a matter of words alone, but of gestures too. Media (and other) projects need to send out the right signals within the community where they work, to set the right tone, to be not just good communicators and listeners, but also to know when to say nothing at all. Loretta Hieber points to a costly misjudgement in Kosovo, when a new radio station was set up and the international community selected the individuals who would present the news. 'According to local Kosovar Albanian journalists,' she writes, 'the news immediately lost credibility because ... the messenger (the television announcer) didn't represent the community.'²

When it comes to content, it is also crucially important to use the language appropriate to the target audience. In the DR Congo, for example, Radio Okapi, a nationwide radio network established to provide reliable information to the entire Congolese listening audience, broadcasts in the four most prevalent Congolese languages, and in French - the lingua franca of the educated. In Sierra Leone, Talking Drum Studio produces a range of radio programmes aimed at a number of very different target audiences; programmes which aim to reach a broader public may be broadcast in standard English, while programmes aimed at rural women and ex-combatants employ the 'creolised' form of English called Krio. In Macedonia, producers faced a real challenge in the children's TV drama (for children 8 to 12) 'Nashe Maalo', which helps bridge the ethnic divides existing between the majority Macedonian and minority Albanian and Roma populations. Most of the programme is in Macedonian, but as storylines have developed since the programme was launched in 1998, more and more of what takes place has been in minority languages. All programmes are broadcast over both the Macedonian language and the Albanian language stations, and in each case those portions not in the dominant language are subtitled.

Even as the media can help bring about a solution, it is also, inevitably seen as being a part of the conflict. All parties in a conflict will try to manipulate the media, and will take note of any media-based peacebuilding activity. If governments, warlords or business interests are antagonistic to the aims of a peacebuilding project they will spread

misinformation about it, and may attempt to control or even to close it down. governments may decide to ban interviews with certain individuals, political parties or opposition groups. While another, particularly insidious form of manipulation is the appropriation of the language of peacebuilding by political interests inimical to peace.

Beyond these considerations, which are integral to the establishment of credibility, there is one further consideration which cannot be overlooked; the media product has to be entertaining and compelling in and of itself. The target audience does not generally choose to read, view, or listen because they have a deep commitment to peacebuilding, even if they are anxious to see tensions reduced and conflicts resolved. Just as speaking the wrong language, setting the wrong tone, or damaging credibility in other ways can doom a project, producing an expensive dud is unlikely to have any notable impact on a conflict situation. It is not surprising then, that some of the most effective tools for peacebuilding through the media have been well-produced and well-written serial radio dramas (soaps) in which the message is communicated via the storyline.

It is important, then, to test the concept and the initial effort, and to continue to test and monitor throughout the duration of a project. Wherever possible, producers should go the extra mile to ensure audience feedback.

Time and timing are also important factors; it takes time to produce results, and it takes timing to maintain relevance by addressing 'hot topics' and producing programmes that reflect current realities.

One of the most experienced and successful organisations involved in media-based peacebuilding interventions is the European Centre for Common Ground (and its sister organisation, Search for Common Ground), which is active in the Balkans, Cyprus, Ukraine, Angola, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and in Indonesia. Its media wing, Common Ground Productions (CGP), adheres to four main principles in its numerous radio projects: 1) establish radio studios engaged in programme-making, rather than broadcast radio stations, in order to reduce the risk of being shut down in hot conflict zones; 2) collaborate closely with local stations, international NGOs, and private businesses involved in media activities; 3) build and maintain a politically and ethnically balanced staff; and 4) establish and maintain impartial and 'non-conflictual' production techniques.

CGP also uses an approach to programming, developed by the late Ed Palmer, which embraces two fundamental ideas: 'curriculum-based programming', and 'responsive programming'. Curriculum-based programming means determining in advance what topics should be covered and what measurable results should be achieved, and then reflecting on progress towards the goals during the course of the project. Responsive programming is programming that changes in response to the changing circumstances - audience needs, changes in the nature of a conflict or political environment, the degree of success in communicating ideas and achieving goals, etc. <

Notes

- 1 Based on Ross Howard: *An Operational Framework for Media and Peacebuilding*. IMPACS, Vancouver, January 2002
- 2 Hieber, Loretta. 'Lifeline Media: Reaching populations in crisis. A guide to developing media projects in conflict situations,' Media Action International, September 2001.

The media can make or break a peace process

Just a short time ago, humanity the world over witnessed the outbreak of the devastating war in Iraq. The way in which the effects and the nature of that war was brought to our attention via television, radio and print media made it seem as if the conflict was right next door. ♦ *By SENZO NGUBANE*



The images brought back to life the events of just a few months ago when humanity the world over witnessed another similarly destructive war, this time in Afghanistan. The post-war situation in Iraq will be the same as that of Afghanistan. That is, the amount of reporting during the war will hugely exceed the amount of reporting post-war, on what is supposed to be the period of reconstruction. Consequently, one of the things that needs to be dealt with in the field of peace and media, is the question, what it is about war that attracts reporters' attention and why is it that immediately after the war that attention begins to drift.

The peacebuilding phase is one of the most crucial stages in the conflict cycle. It is critical to the extent that it is supposed to ensure that former enemies co-operate, and to ensure that the energies and resources are raised which are needed to reconstruct the infrastructure destroyed by the war. Over and above this however, the period is crucial because it also has to bring about the 're-building' of human relations within a society; it involves the re-creation of acceptable human norms, standards and values that might have been lost or forgotten as a result of a conflict. One of the key features of this period is its fragility. This is because, despite the signed peace agreement, there are no guarantees that all the parties will observe the conditions of such a document. It is for this reason that the media's role is so critical: access to - usually scarce - information is one of the keys for the success of the peacebuilding stage.

What media?

Post-conflict societies are usually characterised by an environment of mistrust and the need to build confidence between different players. Because of this mistrust, access to and the use of information is crucial. Consequently, the media has a vital role to play from the outset of the process, particularly in analysing, processing and distributing information to the parties and the rest of the community or nation that was in conflict. The media, as one of the important stakeholders has an opportunity to 'make or break' the process depending on the manner that information is interpreted and disseminated. One of the things that ought to be avoided by any form of media during such a period is disseminating information and news founded on 'half-truths' or 'propaganda'.

One has to bear in mind that the concept of media and peacebuilding goes beyond general news coverage as conducted by reporters or journalists. This is just one component of the media. Other components involve different

types of programmes such as television and/or radio drama; discussion programmes on the issues affecting that country. For a peacebuilding stage to work and for the media to play a positive role, it is important for the media to focus its efforts on programmes that promote nation-building and reconciliation; it needs to favour programmes that are likely to help society heal the wounds of the past and forge a new unity.

Another role of the media is to report the news according to the well-known clichés of 'objectivity' and the 'truth'. However, in a peacebuilding stage, reporting has to have a purpose which goes beyond the other journalistic cliché of 'telling it, like it is'. It has to be purposeful reporting; the purpose being to ensure that the stories that are told tend to unite the society rather than divide it. This might border on an infringement of what others have chosen to call media freedom and freedom of expression. However, such concepts do not exist in vacuum but within a specific, often fragile political process. Take for instance, the case of Rwanda, where the media was used, or allowed itself to be used, to further the message of hatred which inevitably contributed to the spread of the genocide. The question therefore is, should the post-genocide Rwanda in this critical period, allow all forms of reporting the news, some of which might bring back memories of the country's ugly past?

New options

During the peacebuilding phase it is important that the media is able to distinguish between 'war journalism' and 'peace journalism'. In peace journalism an attempt is made to focus on those elements which can help transform the conflict. The peacebuilding period should not only be seen as a post-conflict stage, which might collapse and result in a renewed war, it should also be seen as a stage that offers the society a chance to re-order itself and transform structures of violence into foundations for peace.

The media's involvement in the peacebuilding stage and the role that peace reporting has to play should be linked to an effort that contributes to sustaining the process. Thus, rather than concentrating on the elements intent on derailing the process, the focus should be on who is involved in trying to make the process work. Instead of focusing on the competing interests between the parties, how about reporting and analysing those issues that bring the parties together. By so doing, the media could indirectly provide the conflicting parties with new options. In essence, a balanced opinion has to be given and this can only happen if those who are charged with the responsibility of reporting are well equipped and trained for this task. It is essential that they have a thorough understanding of what the conflict was about, what it is that led the parties to war in the first place and what could have been done to prevent the war.

Senzo Ngubane is a researcher with the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD).

Lessons learned by Radio Voice of Hope

For the last three years Pax Christi and the Dutch broadcast organisation, NCRV have supported the short wave radio station, Radio Voice of Hope in southern Sudan. Which lessons have been learned? ♦ By YVONNE HESELMANS



Once, in a listener survey carried out by staff of the short wave radio station, Radio Voice of Hope in southern Sudan, a youngster said: 'It is good when we hear on the radio from other cultures with whom we fight. Then I begin to understand them better: when they talk about the same traumas that we have been through, or when we hear them singing about peace, or telling old stories for young people about morals and life. In fact, I think, if everybody could have a radio in southern Sudan and we heard from each other, we would understand each other better. This will bring peace.' (Deng Thiel, 16)

The dream of the boy echoes that of all people in southern Sudan. But flying over the war-torn areas of the region it is immediately apparent that the physical equipment for this inter-cultural communication, like the telephone, Internet, radio, and television has been destroyed in the course of 20 years of civil war. However, recent peace negotiations between the conflicting parties, the government of Sudan and the main rebel movement in the south, the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA), seem to have borne fruit. The media could play an essential role in this transformation, but first, the current conditions need to be changed drastically. In government-controlled areas in the north, freedom of expression has been curbed, and almost all information is government-controlled.

'Information desert' Sudan

In Sudan, the media is most often used to feed the appetite for war with the Islamic fundamentalist government using radio and television to disseminate and legitimise the *jihad*. In 20 years of war, democratic concepts have been transformed into those of the battlefield, for example one no longer speaks of the 'opposition party' but of 'the enemy'. So the selection of news features and interviewees is seriously biased.

In countries at war ruled by repressive governments, such as Sudan, free and independent journalism is nearly impossible, but despite this limitation, the media could be used in other ways. Fenneke Hulshoff Pol from Netherlands institute for Southern Africa (NiZA): 'The media has different functions. Radio, television, the Internet are also used for entertainment and education or making announcements, or they can be misused for propaganda.' Taking Radio Voice of Hope as an example, 30 per cent of airtime consists of news, simple information, and debates. Seventy per cent is filled with more educational programmes. Agriculture, education, health, human rights, peace, and gender issues are treated through songs, stories, interviews and drama. This 70 per cent is not journalistic in style, but research among listeners in villages in southern Sudan showed a real demand for these kind of programmes. Besides programmes on agriculture,

there is a big demand among women for 'programmes for youths'. One woman said: 'Youngsters are losing their families, education, morals and perspective in this war. The radio could give this moral sense back through programmes.' Can radio, or the media in general be expected to fill this gap? Hulshoff Pol: 'Normally that is the role of parents, teachers, or the state. But if they are absent or failing, you see that media takes up this responsibility. But this can be risky.' She explains that in 'information deserts' such as Sudan, media may have a great impact on listeners. Therefore you always need checks and balances, even when you are broadcasting apparently innocent educational programmes, otherwise you may run the risk, that, for example, that you are providing a biased and one-sided public education. Who stands behind the microphone and decides the 'right' values to promote, what is peace, and to who's benefit? This requires considerable skill and lots of monitoring. 'The case of Rwanda has not been forgotten,' she says.

A Radio Voice of Hope staff-worker also emphasises the need for the right approach. 'In a war situation people are tense and polarised. To contribute to peace, you have to have a balanced approach to issues, to see them from different angles.' Of course, in polarised, conflicting societies, it is not an easy job for journalists to facilitate journalistic debates in which opposing parties are involved. For this reason organisations such as the Centre for Conflict Resolution are training journalists to de-escalate discussions, and to be critical of and alert for slogans and propaganda.'

Heterogeneous target group

Alongside its general approach, its monitoring systems and its function, another important aspect of a particular medium is its reach. The reach determines the contribution of the medium in peacebuilding. Short-wave radio stations, the Internet, and national daily newspapers, all have a national and possibly even an international reach. In the case of southern Sudan the users of these so-called 'long distance media' are very diverse in terms of political preferences, ethnicity and social class. National leaders and the grassroots can be reached at the same time. In relation to peacebuilding, this heterogeneous target group creates interesting opportunities for programmes, for example, topical political debates on issues dealing with the conflict and peace. The radio can act as a platform for discussions between national and local politicians and intellectuals but it can also reach the grassroots on issues dealing with human rights, the peacebuilding process, or international relationships.

But non-political programmes also offer interesting opportunities. Radio Voice of Hope for instance also broadcasts programmes such as 'mirrors of war' which offers people at the grassroots, isolated by war, the chance to speak about their traumas with the idea that their voices could be heard and recognised by anybody, even the perpetrators. They are developing programmes like 'missing persons', or broadcasting greetings by people who have not spoken to their family for years. The wide reach offers the possibility of being heard by someone who lives many miles away.

The experience of Radio Voice of Hope has shown that a heterogeneous group of listeners requires a common language. In the Sudanese case it means multi-linguistic programmes and reporters. A representative of the advisory board said, 'your voice and the language is the only tool you have to reach the listeners. In a war situation, information is also scarce. So, to avoid fuelling the conflict and to make sure that you are seen as an independent radio, you have to be sensitive in which language(s) the reporters speak behind the microphone.'

As soon as the violent conflict ends in Sudan, it is possible that FM or community radio stations will spring up in villages and towns across the region. The reach of these stations is small, and consequently the user groups are often homogeneous in terms of their ethnicity, language, shared history and enemies and pain. The advantage of community radio stations above short wave radio is that the interaction with the listeners - who are nearby - is much stronger and direct. Programmes can be broadcast in the local language and listeners can walk into the studio and express their ideas about peace and justice, for example. Joke Hartmans of NiZA explains the need for communication and participation in this process: 'Immediately after the signing of the peace agreements it is extremely important to involve people at the grassroots in the consolidation process. In the end they have to carry out the peace and you need to involve them in order to create broad social support. Proper information and education to people in villages about what the end of violent conflict will mean to them, is important. Like problems related to massive displacements in their villages, or re-integration of demobilised soldiers.'

On the side of the listeners

'Though journalists have to behave according to the international standards of journalistic ethics, you have to understand that stories are always coloured. In a war situation where a self-policing media is absent, this becomes more prudent than in democratic societies. Therefore if you want to make use of the media, it is important to educate users about what media is. Often you see listeners' groups or workshops where people discuss the topics raised in a programme they have heard, and thereby learn to use the media in a reflective and independent manner,' says Hulshoff Pol.

Other lessons are more practical. Radio Voice of Hope distributed 2,000 radios among social workers, priests, health workers etc. in southern Sudan in order to reach more listeners and stimulate discussion after the programme. 'People were very happy with the radios, but we didn't foresee that the radios could break down, and in the remote areas, where people have hardly ever seen radios before, you also need so called 'radio-doctors' for repairs,' says one of the staff-workers of Radio Voice of Hope with a laugh. It is clear, that many lessons have been learned and that there are many more, often unexpected lessons, still to be learned if the media is to fulfil its potential as a force for peace in a society in conflict.

Yvonne Heselmans is former programme officer at NiZA and at Pax Christi Netherlands

More information:
www.radiovoiceofhope.nl
www.niza.nl
www.paxchristi.nl

Forthcoming

The Power of the Media A Handbook for Peacebuilders

A publication of the European Centre for Conflict Prevention in cooperation with the European Centre for Common Ground and the Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society (IMPACS)

Edited by Ross Howard, Francis Rolt, Hans van de Veen and Juliette Verhoeven

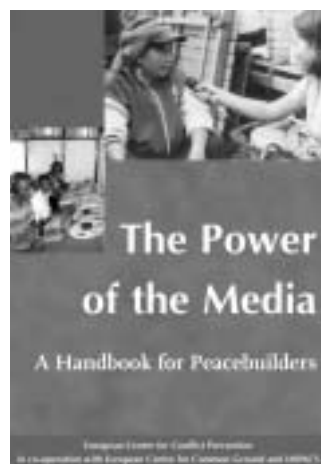
This book builds on an existing body of research and on our experience of the role that media can play in peacebuilding. It provides a set of guidelines on the processes which make media interventions in a conflict effective and sustainable. An operational framework for utilising media in peacebuilding activities is tested on several projects worldwide. The book illustrates best practices and lessons learned in media projects such as radio and television programming, training and transitional journalism development and intended outcome programming. A directory with profiles of 68 organisations working in this field worldwide is included as well as a selection of key literature and reports, websites and audio-visual productions.

Published in June 2003

220 Pages

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Evaluation of peacebuilding media projects

Using media for conflict reduction and peacebuilding is relatively new and experimental work. It draws from the fields of conflict resolution, health communication, international development and entertainment, education and news media. To help this field evolve, there is a need to document best practices and to share lessons learned in the areas of assessment, monitoring and evaluation. This article is a summary of a chapter in the upcoming publication *The Power of the Media: A Handbook for Peacebuilders*. ♦ By LISA SHOCHAT



Common Ground Productions, as the media division of the European Centre for Common Ground (Brussels) and Search for Common Ground (Washington, DC), uses social research

techniques for developing programmes and for measuring their impact. These studies are designed to provide project staff with practical information about how many people are being reached by the project, how the project is being received, and how the project could be changed for increased effectiveness. While still an emerging field itself, our experiences thus far have revealed some key considerations for evaluating peacebuilding media projects internationally.

Conflict by its nature instigates change. Organisations such as Common Ground seek innovative ways to harness the power of conflict for positive social change, specifically away from adversarial approaches and toward cooperative solutions. The dynamics often change quickly, and those changes are unlikely to occur in a planned, rational or linear way. Therefore, identifying *causation* and *impact* is very challenging and requires that researchers look for unintended consequences as part of their studies.

In order to maintain relevance to the target audiences, media projects must be informed by mechanisms that monitor and assess the changes in the conflict. This type of on-going *conflict assessment* can take many forms. In Burundi, Studio Ijambo journalists constantly monitor current events in order to provide the public with balanced reporting on the conflict. Because things are changing rapidly, it is important for the journalists to be monitoring the situation constantly and to feed that information into other peacebuilding activities in the country.

In contrast, attitudinal surveys may be used to track large-scale changes in attitudes over time. After the violent conflict in Macedonia during 2001, children's television producers repeated an attitudinal survey with children in order to understand how the war had shifted children's perspectives about different ethnic groups. The results showed that a new divide had emerged on religious lines between Albanian and Turkish children on one side and Macedonian and Roma children on the other. The subsequent season of programmes were specifically designed to respond to these findings.

A third form of conflict assessment has been used successfully by a BBC instigated radio soap opera in Albania, *Rruga Me Pisha* (*Pine Street*). The project uses an investigative research staff that is continually gathering information about issues of high-priority to their target audience. These story



ideas are fed directly to the scriptwriters during each eight-week writing cycle, thereby connecting the writers to the pulse of their target audience.

While these formative activities may not provide information about the impact of targeted media projects per se, they are essential for informing the project about how to formulate the programmes for maximum cumulative impact, particularly in light of the dynamic nature of conflict. In addition, this type of information can also form a base-line against which to compare post-implementation data in impact studies.

The selection of a particular activity or collection of project activities is guided by assumptions about the nature of the conflict. While those assumptions are often left unarticulated, they guide decisions that are made about the target groups, partners and activities in a given project. It can be helpful to define the guiding assumptions or *change theories* used in structuring and implementing a project. This will assist evaluators in designing evaluations that look at the relationship between outcomes and impact on the larger-scale of peacebuilding in a given country.

Conflict operates on many levels

Given the complexity of conflict and the many levels on which it operates (personal, familial, political, social, ethnic, economic, etc.), Common Ground attempts, whenever possible, to expand beyond strategies that target only one sector of society or one element of conflict. In addition, peacebuilding initiatives utilise both media and non-media strategies for effecting change. Media projects can create a dialogue, even a national dialogue, around critical issues. Media projects often bring attention to issues that need intervention beyond media coverage. Non-media projects, such as women and youth projects, can engage communities in facilitated dialogues to stimulate the search for solutions. These grass-roots efforts often generate positive ideas that can then feed back into the larger national dialogue via the media programming. In this integrated, multi-faceted approach, the media and non-media activities work hand in hand at all levels of society to help peacebuilding efforts move forward.

Evaluations should take into consideration the broader spectrum of conflict reduction activities in the targeted country or region in order to better understand their cumulative effect on the conflict. This combined with the use of several different research methods (for 'triangulation'), can help to build a more complete picture of the conflict situation and how the project may have made an impact.

New partnerships between researchers and practitioners are helping to improve the practice of evaluating peacebuilding media initiatives internationally. While media projects can provide more tangible indicators than a mediation or community dialogue, we must not forget to seek the cumulative effect of both types of activities in order to capture the macro-level impact of our work. Important issues around evaluating peacebuilding media include developing conflict assessment mechanisms that feed back into programming,

understanding and articulating assumptions and objectives, while maintaining flexibility for adjustments, and addressing the multiple sectors of society, multi-media and non-media applications, and multiple research methods in our efforts to understand more fully the impact of our projects.

Lisa Shochat is development coordinator for Common Ground Productions, the media division of the European Centre for Common Ground. Comments to lshochat@sfcg.org.

Key resources on Media and Peacebuilding

Selection of Internet Sites

African Women's Media Center

www.awmc.com/directory/

The African Women's Media Center, a project of the International Women's Media Foundation, was founded in 1997. Located in Dakar, Senegal, and directed by an advisory committee of African women in the media, the center is the only continent-wide organisation working with and on behalf of African women in the media. The AWMC's online media directory features more than 200 media companies, non-governmental organisations and journalism education programs in Sub Saharan Africa.

BBC World Service Trust

www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/trust

The BBC World Service Trust was created in 1999 as an independent charity within the BBC World Service to promote development through the innovative use of the media in developing countries and countries in transition. The Trust operates as a not for profit organisation within the BBC World Service. The Trust has produced a series of projects in many of the world's poorest countries, developing the capacity of local and national media, building civil society, providing training in media skills and developing health and educational campaigns.

Cimera

www.cimera.org

Cimera focuses on media development in Central Asia and the Caucasus and publishes monthly online *Media Insight Central Asia*.

Institute for War and Peace Reporting

www.iwpr.net

IWPR manages media programmes in Afghanistan, the Balkans, the Caucasus and Central Asia, with a special reporting project on war crimes tribunals and on all these programmes it provides extensive information. Further, the institute analyses regional media on professional performance and political influence and publishes this information through their Internet reporting service.

Impacs (The Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society)

www.impacs.org

Impacs is a Canadian charitable organisation committed to the protection and expansion of democracy and to strengthening civil society. It has an extensive media and peacebuilding programme with resources and relevant links.

Further, the website has information on research and active programming in the field of media and peacebuilding and reports on media and peacebuilding, research results and provides downloads of several relevant publications and programmes reports.

Incore (Initiative on Conflict Resolution & Ethnicity)

www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/cds/themes/media.html

The website of the Initiative on Conflict Resolution & Ethnicity contains a comprehensive collection of links and documents. The host of information is subdivided along various lines. There are regularly updated country guides, which provide a list of news sources, discussion groups, academic links, and NGOs by country. There is also a list of peace agreements, an ethnic conflict research digest with bibliographies of recently published documents, and a list of thematic guides on subjects such as media and conflict and women and conflict.

Internews

www.internews.org

Internews offers an extensive overview about the organisation and its projects on their website. Next to an organisational profile, the website provides information on its different activities worldwide. The websites of the various regional Internews offices can be accessed through links on the main website offering more specific information on regional activities. Since September 11th they have a special section on *Media Peace and War* which includes analyses, reports, and commentary on media and war and peace issues, with a focus on how open media promote peace and understanding.

Media Action International

www.mediaaction.org

Media Action International is a Swiss based NGO that aims to bridge the gap between journalism and humanitarian, post-conflict and development activities. The site offers information about its projects and publications and field guides to humanitarian and conflict zones (Afghanistan).

Search for Common Ground (SFCG)

www.sfcg.org

The Search for Common Ground website provides an overview of the organisation's activities in the different regions. The various regional websites offer detailed information on the different projects of SFCG and partners. Its production division, Common Ground Productions,

provides descriptions of the different produced media content ranging from youth television drama to radio soap operas and Internet pages.

Track Two Thematic Issue on Media and Conflict

<http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za/two/index.html>

This is a quarterly publication of the Centre for Conflict Resolution and the Media Peace Centre to promote innovative and constructive approaches to community and political conflict, as an alternative to traditional adversarial tactics. Vol.7, No.4 (December 1998) of the journal explored the theme of the Media and Conflict:

MediaNews

www.niza.nl/medianews

MediaNews is the quarterly published online newsletter of NiZA's Media Programme.

It offers news, analyses, interviews and background information about developments in the media sector in

southern Africa. NiZA (Netherlands institute for Southern Africa) supports partner organisations in the field of democratisation, media and economic development.

Reporting the World

www.reportingtheworld.org

The Reporting the World website provides a forum with the latest discussions on the ethics of journalism and aims to act as a journalism think-tank. It has electronic versions of the Reporting the World findings book and transcripts of several seminars it has organised.

Transcend

www.transcend.org

The website provides articles and publications on peacebuilding, columns, speeches by Johan Galtung, and information on Peace Journalism. Information on courses in conflict prevention and searching peace by peaceful means are also available.

Selection of publications and reports

Adam, G. & Thamotheram, R. *The Media's Role in Conflict: Report reviewing international experience in the use of mass media for promoting conflict prevention, peace and reconciliation*. Geneva: Media Action International, 1996

Allan, T. & Seaton, J. *The Media of Conflict: War reporting and representations of Ethnic Violence*. London: Zed Books, 1999

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Learning to live together

Conflict resolution in schools

An international conference

Conference Centre Kontakt der Kontinenten

Soesterberg, the Netherlands, 15 and 16 September 2003

The field of conflict resolution in schools is relatively new in Europe. Whereas in the USA and UK a wealth of knowledge on the subject has been built up over the past 20 years, no such tradition exists in continental Europe. Consequently, in March 2000, the European Centre for Conflict Prevention took the initiative of pooling resources on the subject and organised an International Seminar on Conflict Resolution in Schools. Some 20 experts from the USA, the UK, Canada, South Africa and other countries were invited for a small international seminar in the Netherlands. This meeting was very successful and well received.

Since the 2000 conference, European interest in this field has grown considerably. Furthermore, several recent instances of extreme violence in schools and among youngsters have opened many eyes to the importance of the introduction of conflict resolution programmes in schools in order to foster respect, understanding and a more peaceful environment among pupils.

New research has consistently reaffirmed the benefits for pupils and teachers, as well as for academic achievement and creating a more positive school climate in general. Pupils benefit not only from better results and a more positive attitude toward school, but also gain increased assertiveness, communication skills and self-control. Teachers find that their work is more rewarding in an enjoyable classroom climate with healthy interpersonal relations, and it has been established that this significantly reduces the dropout rate. Furthermore, conflict resolution skills learned at school are also used in out-of-school situations, and an institutionalised teaching of these skills thus has a positive impact on societal problems as a whole.



Crucially related to this development, there is also growing interest in the theme of education, violence and social cohesion. The central question in this discussion is how the content and processes of current formal education relate to processes of social exclusion and violence, as well as how to create alternative practices which can stop these processes and contribute to a more cohesive society and a culture of peace.

Both these subjects, with special emphasis on their evident links, will be discussed at the September 2003 conference by speakers experienced in the field and a broad international audience of practitioners and policymakers. By sharing experiences and lessons learned, we aim to develop practical building blocks for whole-school approaches across Europe, to share arguments to convince policymakers and funders of the importance of this field of conflict resolution, and to stimulate much-needed networking.

Participants can choose from a challenging and varied programmes of workshops and working groups on subjects including peer mediation, restorative practices, whole-school approaches, the initiation and evaluation

of such programs, tolerance and coexistence education, and curriculum change.

Speakers include James Tobin, formerly with the Resolving Conflict Creatively Programme, USA, Randy Compton, executive director of the School Mediation Centre, USA, Jean-Pierre Titz, programme director of the Local Partnerships for Preventing and Combating Violence at School programme of the Council of Europe, Ted Wachtel, president of the International Institute for Restorative Practices, USA, Claude Moreau, director of Centre International de Résolution de Conflits et de Médiation (CIRCM), France and Canada, and Valerie Dovey, Centre Associate at the Centre for Conflict Resolution, South Africa.

The two-day international conference on September 15-16 will be followed by a one-day national conference on the 17th, bringing together Dutch experts and practitioners and benefit from the international expertise that is present.

For further information and a registration form, please contact Emmy Toonen at the ECCP. Phone +31(0) 30 242 7780 or e-mail e.toonen@conflict-prevention.net

News from the European Platform and the Centre

The European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation is a network of more than 150 key European and international NGOs involved in the prevention and/or resolution of violent conflicts in the international arena. Its mission is to

facilitate networking, to encourage co-operation and exchange of information as well as to develop advocacy activities among participating organisations. The European Centre for Conflict Prevention (ECCP) acts as the secretariat of the European Platform.

Role of civil society and NGOs in the prevention of armed conflict

In response to the appeal of UN secretary-general Kofi Annan that 'NGOs with an interest in conflict prevention organise an international conference of local, national and international NGOs on their role in conflict prevention and future interaction with the United Nations in this field,' the ECCP initiated a three-year integrated programme of research, consultation and discussion to take place all over the world. Regional conferences will focus the experience of each region and lead on to a major international conference at UN Headquarters in 2005. The programme will be officially launched in Nairobi in June 2003. There, the participants will decide the structure, process and content of the programme.

In January the ECCP organised a seminar on the subject of Civil Society and UN initiatives with regards to peace building. The seminar was organised in co-operation with the Dutch United Nations Association. Gillian Sorensen, the assistant secretary-general for External Relations at the UN was the guest speaker.

Awareness raising campaign on peace building

Within the framework of the *Role of civil society and NGOs in the prevention of armed conflict* programme a public awareness-raising campaign on conflict prevention and peace building will be initiated in May 2003 with an small brainstorming meeting with experts from the PR, marketing and campaigning field.

Information centre

In 2003 the ECCP will build a website for the newly launched UN-project. This website will supplement the European Platform's website www.conflict-prevention.net. The Information centre

maintains a large collection of material produced by organisations around the world involved in conflict prevention with a special focus on unpublicised 'grey literature' produced by a wide range of organisations.

Searching for Peace programme

The Searching for Peace programme is aimed at recording, describing and analysing prevention and management efforts in the main violent conflicts in the world. Surveys of these efforts are produced per region, as well as complementary directories, which contain profiles of the main local and international NGOs working in the field of peace building and conflict prevention. *Searching for Peace in Africa* was the first publication in this programme. In 2002 *Searching for Peace in Europe & Eurasia* and *Searching for Peace in Central and South Asia* were published. Publications on Asia Pacific and the Americas are planned for 2004. In early May the ECCP organised a workshop in Indonesia on lessons learned on South East Asia and Pacific peace-building efforts.

People building Peace

In June 2003 a follow up to People Building Peace will be launched. People Building Peace is a project aimed at collecting and publishing inspiring stories of peace building, with special attention to successful examples by different actors, such as women groups, churches, media, the corporate sector, etc. The first publication was issued in May 1999: *People Building Peace; 35 Inspiring Stories from Around the World*.

Special chair of conflict prevention and management

In the Netherlands the ECCP initiated interfaculty co-operation which developed into the Centre for Conflict Studies and a

special chair of Conflict Prevention and Management was established by the ECCP at Utrecht University.

Lessons Learned

The ECCP has decided to include a 'lessons learned' component in all programmes. This decision stems from the success of the Lessons Learned programme that aims to formulate common lessons learned in the field of conflict prevention and to contribute to expertise and policy-making on conflict prevention and conflict management. One of the aims of the programme is to stimulate the debate in conflict regions and to bring together practitioners to discuss their lessons learned and best practices. In 2002 one such seminar was organised in Manila, linked to a Searching for Peace-seminar. Furthermore, in 2003, three seminars (in Tunisia, in Indonesia, and most probably in Kenya or Southern Africa) will be organised. The upcoming publication *Searching for Peace in Asia-Pacific*, will also contain a large section on lessons learned and best practices from Asia-Pacific.

Conflict resolution in schools

On September 15-16, 2003 the ECCP will organise, in co-operation with the Netherlands National Commission for Unesco and others, an international conference entitled Conflict Resolution in Schools - Learning to live together. By bringing together experts, practitioners and policy makers, the aim of the conference is to establish and publish best practises and recommendations, pool resources and bring the issue to the attention of policy-makers, education authorities and schools. The international conference will be followed by a national conference on September 17th. The pre-registration flyer is now available on the ECCP website.

Recent publications by the Platform and the Centre

- *Conflict Prevention in Central Asia: the Role of the OSCE*. A report on a Conference organised by the European Centre for Conflict Prevention and the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Hague 7-8 March 2002. Published in May 2002.
- *The Peace Process in Sri Lanka: the need to involve civil society actors*. Report from a seminar in November 2002 organised by the European Centre for Conflict Prevention. December 2002
- *Towards Better Peace Building Practice* - On lessons learned, evaluation practices and aid & conflict, February 2002 (€ 7,50)
- *Searching for Peace in Europe and Eurasia* - An Overview of Conflict Prevention Peacebuilding Activities. March 2002 (€ 25).
- *Searching for Peace in Central and South Asia* - An Overview of Conflict Prevention Peacebuilding Activities. October 2002 (€ 25)



A regional programme leading to an international conference at the United Nations headquarters to be held in 2005

The role of civil society and NGOs in the prevention of armed conflict

In response to this appeal and with the Secretary General's support, the European Centre for Conflict Prevention developed plans to start a three-year integrated programme of research, consultation and discussion to take place all over the world. Regional conferences will focus the experience of each region and lead on to a major international conference at UN Headquarters in 2005

The Role of Civil Society in the Prevention of Armed Conflict Program will be launched at an international preparatory meeting in June 2003. There, the participants, representatives from regional NGOs, and some INGOs will decide the structure, process and content of the program. Furthermore, observers from governments and UN agencies will be invited.

Stimulating regional consultation

The ECCP started this process in September 2002 by sending out a letter to some 150 key NGOs (15-20 organisations per region, plus 15 international organisations) in the field of conflict prevention and peacebuilding to ask if they would be interested in becoming involved in this programme. Through this process the ECCP tried, between January and March, to identify potential 'initiators' in all regions - i.e.: North Africa, West Africa, East Africa, including Horn & Great Lakes, Southern Africa, Central Asia, South Asia, Asia & Pacific, North America, Central America and Caribbean, South America, Arab World/Middle East, Western/Northern Europe, Balkans, and the Caucasus. Until the international preparatory meeting, the role of these initiators will be to stimulate regional consultation in order to identify the

'I urge NGOs with an interest in conflict prevention to organise an international conference of local, national and international NGOs on their role in conflict prevention and future interaction with the United Nations in this field.'

Report of the UN Secretary General on the Prevention of Armed Conflict, Recommendation 27 (June 2001).

main issues to be discussed at the international preparatory meeting. After June, these initiators may play a leading role in the organisation of the regional conferences.

These regional initiators are usually organisations that fit the following description. They:

- should be part of a strong network with links nationally, regionally and internationally;
- should be active in the field of conflict prevention and peacebuilding;
- should go beyond an issue-focused approach and have a broad scope;
- should have the organisational capacity and experience to successfully take on the initiator's role by organising conferences and

research activities, for example;

- should have convenor power and be a credible institution.

Furthermore, we ask the initiator organisations to be inclusive in the process because a closed membership based approach would counter the third goal of the programme – strengthening regional networking. These organisations must also be non-governmental organisations, transparent in their approach and have a gender balance in their participation.

What is happening in the regions?

The invitation to get involved in the programme resulted in positive responses from several people in different regions. Local organisations

Planning of the regional process

- Preparatory process until June 2003, to stimulate regional involvement, identify initiators, and nominate participants for the international preparatory meeting in June 2003.
- June 2003: international preparatory meeting, where structure, process and content will be discussed.
- Preparatory work, organisation, agenda setting, etc for the regional conferences in 2004.
- On-going research on issues & actors and the interaction between NGOs and the UN.
- Regional conferences in 2004 in all regions, to ensure regional input to set the agenda for the international conference at the UN in 2005.

see this initiative as a relevant and important opportunity to reflect on, and improve their own work. They also recognise that it will strengthen networking in their region, including links made with regional organisations. The regional process will in turn be linked to an international process leading to a conference at the UN, which will emphasise the significance of civil society in conflict prevention and peacebuilding. As a result of sending out the letter and the follow-up, the proposal is being discussed at several regional meetings.

Africa

North/West Africa

The West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) is a regional network with national networks and contacts in all West African countries. The ECCP presented the programme and their possible involvement in it at the annual general meeting of WANEP (January 27 - 31). At this meeting a future project was discussed that will increase the capacity and effectiveness of conflict prevention and good governance mechanisms in the West African sub-region through the establishment of a Civil Society Forum. This programme and the ECCP initiative are mutually beneficial through the regional process. WANEP has been appointed to act as an initiator and has nominated two people to participate in the international preparatory meeting in June. With support funding from ECCP, they have set up a civil society desk that deals with emerging issues, fundraising and preparation for the West African regional conference in 2004. They are consulting with a broader preparatory group and discussing their precise involvement. WANEP is currently writing a draft proposal for such a conference that will be discussed with the ECCP at the IPM, after which the ECCP and WANEP will start fundraising together.

East Africa

The ECCP organised a preparatory meeting on March 14 and 15 in Nairobi together with the Nairobi Peace Initiative-Africa (NPI-Africa). This meeting brought together some key NGOs and networks from Kenya, Ethiopia, Tanzania and Uganda. Organisations like IRG/Africa Peace Forum, IAG, PeaceNet, and the Centre for Conflict Resolution,

Uganda participated. The aim of the meeting was to present the programme, discuss co-operation, and decide upon regional participation in the international preparatory meeting in June. A structure was decided upon in which NPI-Africa was selected as regional initiator, informal sub-regional focal points are appointed and a national process will feed into the regional process. Detailed task descriptions were discussed, and are to be integrated in the draft proposal for the East African process that NPI-Africa will provide before the June-meeting, with input of the sub-regional and national focal points. In general the participants were very supportive of the programme, especially as the added value for their work and for the field in the region is acknowledged. A detailed report with discussions and conclusions is attached.

Further, during the Nairobi visit, possible locations for the June-meeting were checked out, and meetings with other NGOs were held. Several UN agencies in Nairobi were also consulted.

Southern Africa

A meeting took place with the coordinator of the Southern African Network for Conflict Prevention (SACPN), one of the envisioned regional initiators. SACPN is very interested in becoming involved in the civil society programme, and many of their activities and objectives are complimentary to the civil society programme. Additional information was shared, and SACPN and ECCP agreed to further discuss the Southern African process and how to structure and shape the co-operation, at the preparatory meeting in June, also in consultation with Accord, the other Southern African representative.

Latin America and the Caribbean

After extensive consultations with people and organisations in the region, the ECCP has identified a number of organisations in Latin America & the Caribbean which have expressed strong interest in, and have shown high motivation for, the programme coupled which also display a convenor's capacity to organise and host regional meetings during the regional process. We have invited participants representing Latin American & the Caribbean to the international preparatory meeting in Nairobi from these organisations: the Forum on Citizen's Diplomacy (FDC) and Funpadem.

The FDC is an umbrella organisation encompassing network organisations, which include Cries, HRI, Colombia's Andean Service Committee, Ceaal, Repem, Serapaz, the Arias Foundation for Peace and Human Progress, Cladem, and PIDHDD among others. This organisation was founded in February 2002, and their reputation is based on the quality of the member networks. In November 2002, they convened a special meeting at the secretariat (currently Ceaal in Mexico City) on 'The war against terrorism, newly limited democracy and conflict prevention'. At this meeting Guido de Graaf Bierbrouwer (ECCP) and Adriana Franco (regional coordinator for LAC) formally presented the initiative to the FDC who then, at the end of the meeting, agreed that it was important for them to play a role for the region in this initiative. We have since discussed the options for further development of the initiative in the region with the core group -- Andres Serbín (Cries), Juan Antonio Blanco (HRI), Carloz Zarco (Ceaal) and Dick Erstad (AFSC). This core group has consulted with organisations from their region as well as experts on the region based in other places. The FDC has suggested that Andres Serbín, Juan Antonio Blanco and Amanda Romero from Colombia's Andean Service Committee attend the IPM.

Funpadem was founded in 1988 and is based in San José, Costa Rica. They focus on the Central American region in which they have several partners with whom they actively co-operate. We expect that their substantive knowledge of conflict prevention issues, their entrepreneurial initiative and diplomatic contacts will usefully complement the FDC's wide-ranging civil society organisation network. Funpadem's two largest projects at this moment focus on the environmental and border conflicts in the region and the political security treaty signed by those countries in Central America who have a military branch. With respect to the latter, Funpadem is working on following up the 'Tratado Marco de Seguridad Democrática' peace accords by monitoring progress, suggesting how to fix loopholes and pressing for the inclusion of Costa Rica and Panama in the accords. They have teams in each country tasked with reporting on the details in order to compile the information and present it with recommendations when completed.

Funpadem also contacts in the entire region, especially with the Andes countries in regard to the conflict in Colombia. Funpadem has sent the most detailed proposal we've received from the region including their thoughts and ideas on the initiative and how it could be developed in the region of Central America. Their executive director, Cecilia Cortés, will be attending the IPM.

Europe/Central Asia

Western and Northern Europe

The programme was one of the key issues on the agenda of the annual meeting of the European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation that was organised in November 2002 in the Netherlands. In three separate working groups participants discussed and commented on the programme and in the closing session the participants endorsed the ECCP as the leading agency for this programme. To ensure a southern and eastern voice in the discussions, the Platform invited organisations from Africa, Asia and Central Asia. Within the European Platform plans are being made to organise a European regional conference in spring 2004.

The Irish government has also shown interest in the programme. The executive director of ECCP discussed the Irish involvement during a one-day meeting at the Irish Ministry for Foreign Affairs. There, the Irish government proposed the ECCP organise the European Regional Conference in Dublin in 2004, when Ireland holds the presidency of the European Union. The format is still being discussed, but the ECCP suggested a combination of two different experiences: 1) the 'Gripsholm' format - a conference organised by the ECCP and the Swedish Peace Team Forum during the Swedish EU presidency in 2001, in which representatives from NGOs as well as from the EU and governments participated; and 2) a high-level meeting such as the regional EU Conference on Conflict Prevention - 'Partners in Prevention' - that took place in Helsingborg, Sweden, on 29-30 August 2002. This conference - sponsored by the Swedish government - was attended mainly by governmental organisations involved in conflict prevention in Europe (i.e. the UN, the OSCE, the Council of Europe and NATO).

The Caucasus

Four organisations from the Caucasus responded positively to the invitation to get involved in the programme: the South-Caucasus Institute of Regional Security, International Center for Conflict and Negotiation (ICCN), the Caucasus Forum and the Caucasus Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development (CIPDD). One of them will be invited to the IPM, after consultation with the other organisations.

The Balkans

In regards to the Balkans, the ECCP identified two potential initiators, the Center for Non-violent action, based in Sarajevo and Belgrade, and the regional offices of the Nansen Dialogue Center.

Central Asia

Two organisations from Central Asia responded positively to the invitation to join the programme: the Center for Conflict Management, from Kazakhstan and the Kyrgyz Foundation for Tolerance International. Both have been invited to the international preparatory meeting in June.

Asia-Pacific

In November 2002, ECCP invited some NGOs from Sri Lanka to the Netherlands for a seminar on the peace process in Sri Lanka and the need to involve civil society. At this meeting, the civil society initiative to organise a conference for South Asia in Sri Lanka was also discussed. Those from Sri Lanka who were involved in CSP discussions were Jehan Perera (National Peace Council), Joe Williams (National Peace Council and CIDA, Sri Lanka) and Norbert Ropers (Berghof Research Centre - Sri Lanka Office), Sunila Abaysekera (Inform).

In Southeast Asia, the South East Asian Conflict Studies Network (SEACSN) and the Gaston Z. Ortigas Peace Institute (Manila, Philippines) expressed their interest in initiating the regional conference in South East Asia. Representatives of these organisations visited the ECCP in November to discuss the initiative and how to cooperate. In April 2003, the SEACSN national coordinator in Thailand hosted a regional discussion on the international preparatory meeting for the civil society initiative. Participants from South East Asia as well as a few from the Pacific (CCF, PCRC), North

East and South Asia attended this meeting.

In the Pacific, the NGO Coalition for Human Rights has taken a lead in stimulating discussion and fundraising to establish a regional network for Pacific peacebuilders. An email discussion group has been ensuring regular updates, and a broadening discussion about various issues including structure, purpose and scope of the network.

In East Asia, a number of organisations have expressed interest, including Women Making Peace in South Korea, Arena in Hong Kong, Peaceboat in Japan, IPRA in Japan, and CPAPD in China. We hope that once the SARS scare has passed there will be opportunities to meet and discuss further steps in detail.

North America

The Canadian Peacebuilding Coordinating Committee (CPCC) committed itself to play a leading role in the North-American preparatory process, in close co-operation with American organisations such as the Alliance for International Conflict Resolution (AICR). The CPCC has formed a Conflict Prevention Taskforce, and is drafting a concept note for the CPCC's contribution to the international initiative over the coming three years. Furthermore the CPCC is liaising with U.S., Latin America and other regional networks.

The Friends Committees on National Legislation (Quakers), the Center for International Conflict Resolution at Columbia University and the Alliance for International Conflict Resolution took the lead in convening a preparatory meeting in Washington DC. This meeting will take place on May 8, 2003. They also involved InterAction (the largest alliance of U.S.-based international development and humanitarian nongovernmental organisations).

Arab World/ Middle East

In order to reach NGOs in this region the flyer of the programme was translated into Arabic and mailed to some 15 organisations. This led to many positive responses from organisations

from Jordan, Tunisia, and the Palestinian Territories. Also these organisations distributed the flyer on our behalf to other relevant contacts in their respective countries.

Because of the rapid developments in the regions and the unforeseen impact

of the war in Iraq it was decided with some of the NGOs not to organise a regional meeting before the international preparatory meeting. Some five organisations will participate in this meeting.

For more information about this programme, please contact Guido de Graaf Bierbrauwer at the European Centre for Conflict Prevention:
g.bierbrauwer@conflict-prevention.net or check our website www.conflict-prevention.net

New Literature on Preventing, Managing and Resolving Conflicts

compiled by Pieter Schultz (European Centre for Conflict Prevention)

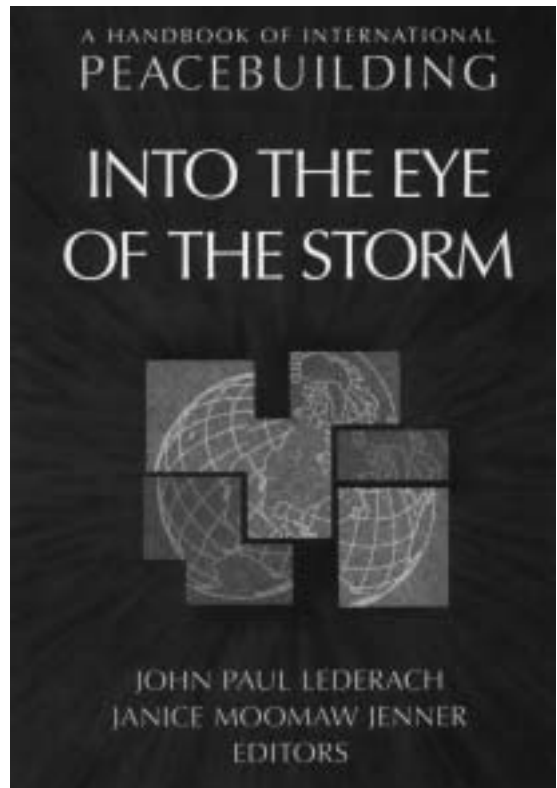
John Paul Lederach, Janice Moomaw Jenner (Eds.) **A Handbook of International Peacebuilding: Into the Eye of the Storm.** San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2002, 336p. ISBN 0-7879-5879-4. [By Jim Wake]

In American universities, academic courses are generally numbered according to their level. First year courses receive a designation between 100 and 200. The most basic, introductory course is 101. With *A Handbook of International Peacebuilding: Into the Eye of the Storm*, editors John Paul Lederach and Janice Moomaw Jenner have put together what could very well serve as the textbook for 'Peacebuilding 101'. In just over 300 pages, they cover a myriad of topics of vital interest to every prospective peacebuilder.

Although they consciously choose to call their book a 'handbook', and say in their introduction that they wanted to produce 'a guide ... that ... would be tucked away in carry-on luggage as people travelled', the term is something of a misnomer. The advice provided is excellent, and even more important, it is highly readable and accessible, but this is not really a methodological guide, nor is it a reference which can be consulted for step-by-step instructions on how to solve a problem encountered in the field. What they have done is to address the very real and very relevant questions that anyone considering involvement in a peacebuilding activity should ask before deciding whether or not to accept the challenge: Who is asking for my help? What do they expect of me? Where do I fit in? How much do I need to know? How do I get good information? Is it safe? Is it the right thing to do? Can I make things worse? - to mention just some of the questions that more than 30 experienced conflict resolution practitioners address. Their discussions cannot, of course, answer those questions, but they can provide guidance in the search for answers.

Which is why this book should be viewed primarily as an introduction for the novice. In fact, the editors' focus is even narrower than that; they are especially interested in reaching North Americans setting out on their first venture into the world of international peacebuilding work. They know that it is easy to be overwhelmed and confused, that the insular world of most Northern Americans is far removed from the chaotic world they will encounter on a peacebuilding assignment, and that good intentions are no substitute for analysis, measured consideration, cultural sensitivity, and humility.

Into the Eye of the Storm is neatly and clearly organised: the book is divided into coherent and cohesive units which focus on the potential role of the peacebuilder; the challenge of understanding the context within which the intervention will take place; the perspectives towards outside interventions of



those living in conflict regions; nuts and bolts concerns like funding, ethics, and self-evaluation; and the process of deciding whether or not to accept an assignment. Each contribution is presented with well-chosen headings and subheadings, often identified as 'lessons' or 'guidelines', bulleted lists of points to consider, with crucial questions and bits of advice set off in bold-faced type. The concluding chapter, written by the editors, offers a synthesis of what has come before, and could well serve as the ideal crib sheet for the first-year student in a peace studies program - or the first-time practitioner in the field.

In this 'handbook', the prospective peacebuilder is urged to think hard about the role of the outsider, the limitations of the proposed project, the expectations that he or she can realistically bring to the enterprise, and the expectations that those far more intimately connected to a conflict may have of the outsider. It is especially valuable precisely because it is a cautionary, but ultimately encouraging book.

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Mohammed Abu-Nimer, **Nonviolence and Peace Building in Islam: Theory and Practice**

Florida: University Press of Florida, 2003, 256pp.
ISBN 0-8130-2595-8

Written by a Muslim scholar, lecturer, and trainer in conflict resolution, this book examines the largely unexplored theme of nonviolence and peacebuilding in Islamic religion, tradition, and culture. After comprehensively reviewing the existing studies on this topic, Abu-Nimer presents solid evidence for the existence of principles and values in the Qur'an, Hadith, and Islamic tradition that support the application of nonviolence and peacebuilding strategies in resolving disputes. He addresses the challenges that face the utilisation of peacebuilding and nonviolent strategies in an Islamic context and explores these challenges on both local and global levels. Through a discussion of the structural and cultural obstacles to peacebuilding and nonviolence, the author explains the gap between Islamic values and ideals and their applications in

day-to-day reality. To illustrate the actual practice of these values and principles of peacebuilding, the book analyses three case studies, drawing from the political, sociocultural, and professional arenas. The initial case-study discusses the first Palestinian intifada; it is analysed as a nonviolent political movement in which Islamic cultural and religious values and rituals played an important role in mobilizing communities to join the movement. The second case study focuses on the role that such values play in traditional Arab dispute-resolution practices such as Sulha (mediation, arbitration, and reconciliation); it extracts lessons and principles used by Arab traditional elders who peacefully resolve family, interpersonal, and community disputes. The third case-study discusses the obstacles and challenges facing professionals who provide peacebuilding and conflict-resolution training and initiatives within the Islamic world.

Mohammed Abu-Nimer is associate professor in the International Peace and Conflict Resolution Program at American University, Washington, D.C., where he is also director of the Conflict Resolution Skills Institute.

Calendar of Events and Conferences

- PEACEBUILDING, CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION AND POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION, RECONCILIATION AND RESOLUTION
June 2-6, 2003, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

This five-days intensive training programme/workshop explores all three phases of violence and war – pre-violence, violence, post-violence – and what can be done, for advanced practitioners, aid and development workers, international diplomats, national and local level politicians, and policy makers.

Trainer and facilitator: Kai Frithjof Brand-Jacobsen, founder and director of the Peace Action, Training and Research Institute of Romania (PATRIR).

For more information contact: E-mail training@transcend.org.

- UNU/INCORE INTERNATIONAL SUMMER SCHOOL
June 9-14, 2003 Derry/Londonderry, Northern Ireland

The International Summer School provides an intensive week of training, networking and discussion in the field of conflict resolution.

Three courses are on offer for 2003:

- 1 Managing Peace Processes
- 2 Track Two Diplomacy and Conflict Transformation
- 3 Evaluation and Impact Assessment of peacebuilding Projects

Introduction to Northern Ireland Programme

June 8-9, 2003, Derry/ Londonderry, Northern Ireland

Given the location of UNU/INCORE, the International Summer School would be incomplete without some discussion of the conflict in Northern Ireland. This programme is an introduction to conflict resolution practices in Northern Ireland.

For more information contact:
INCORE

Tel: + 44 (0) 28 71 375500

E-mail: school@incore.ulst.ac.uk

Website Address:

www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/news/events/ss/index.html

- PEACEBUILDING AND DEVELOPMENT SUMMER INSTITUTE 2003

June 29 to July 18, American University, Washington, D.C.

The Peacebuilding and Development Summer Institute provides knowledge, practical experience and skills for professionals, teachers and students involved in conflict resolution, peacebuilding, humanitarian assistance and development. The Summer Institute will focus on various approaches to mediation, negotiation, facilitation, reconciliation and dialogue, particularly in conflict-torn and developing regions.

Week 1 June 29- July 3 -Courses: Religion and Culture in Conflict Resolution and Conflict Resolution and Human Rights

Week 2 July 7- July 11 -Courses: Peacebuilding and Development in Conflict Resolution and Training for Trainers

Week 3 July 14- July 18 -Courses: Gender and Peacebuilding in a Development Context and Innovative Strategies for Change: Civil Society, Peacebuilding and Development

For more information contact
Program Administrator
E-mail: prcinst@american.edu.

- CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND PEACEBUILDING IN WAR-TORN SOCIETIES

7 - 25 July 2003, University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK

The objectives of this course are to answer such questions as 'What is peacebuilding and what are its main goals? What means can be used to achieve these goals? Who are the key actors involved in peacebuilding and what is the extent of their contribution?' The course will provide conceptual and theoretical training in conflict resolution to individuals and career professionals who want to upgrade their skills and knowledge or to acquire new skills and perspectives in this area. Course rector: Dr Rajat Ganguly. Course details and application form on
www.odg.uea.ac.uk/pages/training.html

- INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN SCHOOLS

September 15-16, 2003, The Netherlands

The ECCP, in conjunction with other organisations, will organise an international conference on conflict resolution in schools in the Netherlands in September 2003. Since our 2000 conference on this issue, European interest in this field has grown considerably. There is a clear need for a European network on the subject, and the exchange of information and experiences. By bringing experts, practitioners and policy makers together from many European countries, the aim of the conference is to establish and publish best practices and recommendations, pool resources and bring the issue to the attention of policy makers, education authorities and schools.

The international conference is followed by a national conference on 17 September.

For more information contact:

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- INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN PEACEBUILDING

Second half of September 2003, The Netherlands (exact date will be announced in July)

International seminar to launch *The Power of the Media*, a new book from the ECCP in cooperation with the European Centre for Common Ground and IMPACS. This seminar will bring together practitioners, NGOs working in this field and donor organisations to further discuss lessons learned and best practices of media in peacebuilding.

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