

Conflict Prevention Newsletter

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Searching for Peace

New literature

The missing link Globalisation, regionalism and citizen's diplomacy

The Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict is an important step in linking global and regional civil society processes and initiatives, says Andrés Serbin*. 'If properly managed and led by the organisations and individuals involved, it can be an expression of democratisation and also make the articulation of global and regional civil society initiatives more transparent and accountable.'

In the wake of the Cold War, the world has experienced a series of profound changes that have given rise to a more complex global environment. For the international system, the ongoing processes of globalisation have contributed to the emergence of an era of *complex multilateralism* in which global civil society is becoming a key player. This global process has even continued despite post-9/11 developments such as the U.S. invasion of Iraq, with the consequent shift of the global agenda towards security matters and the imposition of unilateral policies by powerful actors, both governmental and non-governmental. The new international agenda features a wide range of issues and problems which need to be addressed on a global level, not only by states, but also by a range of non-state actors with specific concerns and interests and, more often than not, with a clear moral and ethical stance and commitment. Within this context, civil society networks and organisations that have been working to enhance the possibilities for meaningful citizen participation in global governance, have been developing and increasing their influence on the global arena. As a result, globalisation is not limited to the growth of financial flows, transitionalisation of production and technological and communications revolution. It also implies the

globalisation of human rights, the rule of law (particularly international law) and democratic practices, even if the gap between rich and poor, and poverty and social exclusion on a worldwide scale has been increasing. At the same time, there has been an acceleration in *regionalisation* processes around the world as a means of counterbalancing the impact of, and reducing the vulnerabilities and constraints arising from the neo-liberal globalisation phenomenon. Shared goals, links and networking among citizens and civil society organisations that extend beyond national state boundaries have gradually created the fabric of *emerging regional civil societies*, with their own dynamics, agendas and strategies. In this regard, regionalism and the building of regional identities are both a reaction and a correction to the processes of globalisation, where civil society, jointly with democratically elected governments, also plays a crucial role.

Nevertheless, little attention has been paid to the combination of the rise of global and regional civil societies and their links, and the deepening and broadening of regionalism in terms of economic integration, security cooperation or identity-building through civil society involvement and participation.

New synergy

The linkage of regional and global civil society initiatives tends to create a new synergy that contributes to the democratisation and the growing influence of citizens in international decision-making processes. Eventually, in pressuring, monitoring and supervising governmental agencies, international organisations and multilateral forums and regimes civil society organisations and networks are gradually developing new

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Andrés Serbin

modalities of *citizen's diplomacy*, both on the global and on the regional levels. This is for the benefit of common citizens' demands and a better management of the process of globalisation. Citizen's diplomacy helps civil society build up international strategies and agendas and influences governments and intergovernmental bodies from the bottom up. This is particularly true in multilateral forums, where civil society strengthens and articulates regional and global governance, overcoming the usual democratic deficits of international processes and decisions, and broadening and strengthening democracy.

Current trends

In the specific field of conflict prevention and peacebuilding, the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC) is an important step in linking global and regional civil society processes and initiatives. It is not the only initiative to crystallise the current trends in the global environment - coordinating regional initiatives on a global level to ensure a more effective and sustained impact on intergovernmental spheres - but it could become one of the most relevant, if we are to avoid a planet torn up by war and violence. Together with its global aims, the contributions and achievements of each of the regional initiatives that are part of the bottom-up fabric of Global Partnership, are of the utmost importance for the process. They

provide the necessary input to forge an international action agenda on conflict prevention and peacebuilding that can express and host the different cultural and political ways of dealing with violent conflict and, perhaps most important of all, make it *pluralistic* and *accountable*. In this regard, the Global Partnership can be an example of the civil society experience of learning to articulate the local, regional and global dimensions in the development and defence of a public good, without disregarding the particular traits and dynamics of each region. But, if properly managed and led by the involved organisations and individuals, it could also be a means of expressing the way of democratisation and making the articulation of global and regional civil society initiatives also transparent and accountable, as a way of struggling for a more humane globalisation.

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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. Soon there will be a new publication: *People Building Peace: 65 Inspiring Stories* (provisional title), which will be presented to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan at the Global Partnership's Conference at UN Headquarters in July 2005.

People Building Peace II

65 Inspiring Stories

Every day, the media brings us images of violence with a focus on the 'war on terrorism' while at the same time, away from the cameras, thousands of people are being killed or displaced by long-standing, intractable conflicts. Responses to these conflicts are usually too little and too late. The scars of these conflicts will take decades to heal.

In spite of this, there are millions of people world-wide who are working for peace. These people are achieving results that give hope and help to ensure a more peaceful future for us all. Until now, their stories have reached a limited audience, but the new publication aims to give them a strong voice.

People Building Peace II: 65 inspiring stories, published by Lynne Rienner Publishers and initiated by the European Centre for Conflict Prevention, will include inspiring stories of civil society actors' successes all around the world. The cases presented reflect the broad variety of activities in conflict prevention and peacebuilding that are being initiated and sustained by such diverse key civil society groups as women, youth and faith-based organisations in countries as various as Liberia, Macedonia, Argentina, Nigeria and Cambodia. The book has approaches from grassroots organisations to international non-governmental organisations using techniques such as early warning, awareness-raising campaigns and reconciliation to build peace or to prevent conflicts from escalating. The publication is also a collection of best practices in conflict prevention and peacebuilding worldwide, presented in an easily accessible style. Several chapters are co-authored by writers from different parts of the world. The writers are from a broad spectrum of the conflict prevention and peacebuilding field such as NGO representatives, academics and practitioners. The book's importance will be underscored with a special foreword

from UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan. In addition to this foreword, we have also approached several eminent persons working for peace, such as Nelson Mandela, the Dalai Lama and Jody Williams to contribute to the publication with a short personal story highlighting the important role of civil society in conflict prevention and peacebuilding. We have already received positive responses from Her Majesty Queen Noor, President Gusmao and Max van der Stoep and expect to receive more in the near future. The publication will be a key outcome of

the Global Partnership's programme and will be presented to Kofi Annan at the Global Conference at UN Headquarters in July 2005, as well as to the other participants of the conference. The publication will, in addition, have a worldwide distribution both through the global network of this programme and through Lynne Rienner Publishers's own network of university programmes on conflict resolution and peacebuilding.

If you are interested in more information about *People Building Peace II: 65 inspiring stories*, or if you would like to place your order in advance, please complete the order form included in this Newsletter. Please note: if we receive enough orders by December 1st we will be able to lower the price of the publication substantially.

A case from *People Building Peace II*

Liberian women in a Mass Action for Peace

In May 2003, rebel forces captured fourteen of the fifteen counties that constitute the Liberian state, and began to move towards the capital, Monrovia. Women, under the auspices of Wipnet, mobilised themselves in large numbers and decided that they would not sit on the sidelines to be once again consumed by violence. Instead they organised peaceful marches in the streets and held sit-ins to pressure politicians into an immediate and unconditional cease-fire. The women sustained the action despite numerous challenges faced during the period. Due to their efforts, a comprehensive peace agreement was reached 78 days later.



SEARCHING FOR PEACE

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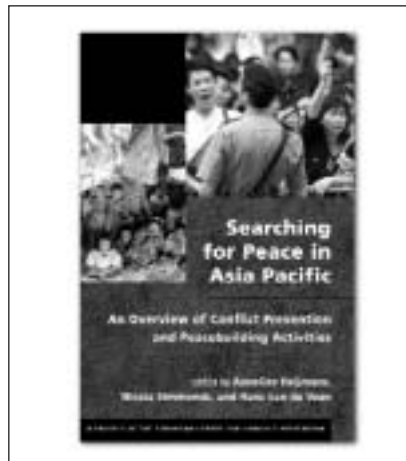
Developments and news regarding the European Platform's multi-annual Searching for Peace Programme are reported quarterly in this Newsletter. The Searching for Peace Programme records, describes and analyses prevention and management efforts in the main violent conflicts in the world. Conflict surveys 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. Also, workshops are organised to share experiences, to exchange lessons learned and to strengthen networking.

New publications on Asia Pacific and the Middle East

The latest publication in the series, 'Searching for Peace in Asia Pacific' is ready for distribution since the end of October, and is published in the US by Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Edited by Annelies Heijmans, Nicola Simmonds, and Hans van de Veen, it offers critical background information, up-to-date surveys of the conflicts in Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific, and a directory of around 400 organisations working in the field of conflict prevention and peacebuilding in the Asia Pacific region. The authors provide detailed, objective descriptions of ongoing activities, as well as assessments of the prospects for conflict resolution. Two book launches are planned: one in the Netherlands and one in Indonesia, where the book has been translated into Bahasa Indonesia. Both the events are being organised together with the Dutch development agency Cordaid.

As with the previous Searching for Peace projects of the ECCP, the goals of the *Searching for Peace in Asia Pacific* project are threefold. The first is to provide essential information about different actors in conflict prevention and transformation in the Asia Pacific region; this includes information on who is doing what, comprising hundreds of organisations, as well as important publications, resources, contacts, websites, and databases. Second, the survey chapters aim to provide insights into various approaches to conflict prevention and peacebuilding in different contexts to help actors become more coordinated and effective. The third objective is to provide space for the voices of local civil society



organisations. An aim is to act as a bridge between NGOs and networks of different regions, between practitioners, academic institutions, policymakers, media, and the donor community, thus enhancing the capacity for the prevention of violent conflict.

Searching for Peace in the Middle East: The Role of Civil Society in Conflict Transformation in Israel and Palestine

A publication by the European Centre for Conflict Prevention in cooperation with the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and Panorama, The Palestinian Centre for the Dissemination of Democracy and Community Development in Jerusalem. (Available from December 2004.)

There is a growing consensus that the bottom-up peacebuilding approach is very important in resolving the conflict between Israel and Palestine. It is essential to recognise the great

potential, and positive role, of civil society and NGOs as peacemakers in this process.

In the short-term, peacebuilding seems not to have paid off; the peace camps on both sides have withered and weakened. Hence, one of the main concerns of this book is to assess the reasons that, in spite of the high level of investment and experimentation, these peace camps have been overrun by violent reality. In other words, the primary focus is on 'What Went Wrong' (WWW), not by decision-makers and governments, but with civil society peace strategies.

Through a consultative process, prominent scholars and practitioners have been approached to contribute chapters on topics such as joint Israeli-Palestinian activities, civil society in Israel, civil society in Palestine, Track II diplomacy, joint activities in non-violence and the lessons learned from these processes. Contributions are, amongst others, from Tamar Hermann, Menachim Klein, Gershon Baskin, Shuli Dichter, Manuel Hassassian, Riad Maliki and Mohammed Abu Nimr. As with other books in the Searching for Peace programme, *Searching for Peace in the Middle East* also includes a directory of organisations working for peace in Israel and Palestine. The book will be launched at a seminar in Jerusalem planned for December 2004 and is financially supported by the United States Institute for Peace (USIP) and Cordaid Netherlands.

For more information about the seminar or for placing orders, please contact Juliette Verhoeven (j.verhoeven@conflict-prevention.net).



SAFERWORLD
INTERNATIONAL ALERT
ENHANCING EU IMPACT ON CONFLICT PREVENTION

Outlook on Brussels

Towards a 'fairer, safer and more united world' The EU Security Strategy

The European Security Strategy (ESS) commits the EU to using a wide range of instruments in order to prevent violent conflict. Its comprehensive nature is one of its strengths; however, greater analysis of how the EU's 'hard' and 'soft' instruments will be applied during the implementation of the Strategy is needed.

There is the risk that Member States will pay increasing attention to developing military aspects of the Common Foreign and Security Policy, rather than civilian, and preventive responses, without which, military engagement is counter-productive. Here we assess the EU Security Strategy (ESS) from a conflict prevention perspective, highlighting its relationship with the *EU Programme for the Prevention of Violent Conflicts*, endorsed by the Goteborg European Council in June 2001.

The ESS outlines a new security environment in which the EU is a global actor seeking to build a 'fairer, safer and more united world'. Conflict prevention is at the heart of this strategy and is explicitly set out as a strategic objective for the Union and its Member States. While there are different points of focus and gaps still remain, the ESS strongly reinforces the Goteborg Programme which commits the EU to 'set clear political priorities for preventive actions; improve its early warning, action and policy coherence; enhance its instruments for long- and short-term prevention, and build effective partnerships for prevention'.

A conflict prevention perspective is reflected in the ESS in the following ways:

Part I. 'Global challenges and key threats' recognises:

- The nexus between conflict, insecurity and poverty;

- The importance of regional dimensions of conflict;
- The centrality of good governance;
- The factors that fuel violent conflict and weaken state structures (e.g. war economies and organised crime), and
- The need to tackle tools of violence (e.g. weapons of mass-destruction, WMD).

Part II & III. 'Strategic objectives and policy implications' include:

- **Conflict prevention and threat prevention** - 'Conflict prevention and threat prevention cannot start too early' (p.7). 'We need to act before countries around us deteriorate, when signs of proliferation are detected, and before humanitarian crises arise' (p.11). This includes improving the sharing of intelligence about threat assessments among Member States and partners.
- Implementing a **'mixture of instruments'** to address threats - 'None of the new threats is purely military; nor can be tackled by purely military means' (p.7). This necessitates developing military and civilian capabilities, strengthening diplomatic capability and using trade and development policies as 'powerful tools for promoting reform' (p.10).
- Pursuing **coherence** through better co-ordination between the EU's different instruments and capabilities, including: better coordination between external action and Justice and Home Affairs; better linking EU instruments with Member State activities, and pursuing coherent regional policies for addressing violent conflict (p13).
- Working with partners to promote **multilateralism** - 'In a world of global threats, global markets and global media, our security and prosperity increasingly

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depend on an effective multilateral system' (p. 9).

- Supporting **functioning international institutions and a rule-based international order** under 'the fundamental framework' of the United Nations (p.9).
- 'Contributing to **better governance** through assistance programmes, conditionality and targeted trade' and having the political strength to act against countries that persistently violate international norms (p.10).
- **EU Enlargement** as a means of conflict prevention.

The ESS, therefore, provides a strong framework for strengthening and implementing the Goteborg Programme. However, challenges still exist both in terms of what the strategy fails to address and in linking the analysis to the policy implications. These limitations are, in part, due to the nature of the ESS document itself, and the limited space available to address how the strategy can be implemented in practice.

- **Linkages between the 'old' and 'new' threats through root cause analysis.** The ESS makes the causal link between 'new' threats (terrorism, WMD, state failure, organised crime) and the 'older' problems of regional conflicts. However, it does not place enough emphasis on addressing the root causes of both the new and old threats. Terrorism can, for example, have similar common root causes to violent conflict. As a result, the subsequent focus in the policy implications for countering the threats does not sufficiently address their root causes.
- **Prioritising a human security approach.** Today, violent conflict is most likely to be intra-state, involving non-state actors conducting organised violence and with civilians as the major victims. As a result, notions of security have moved beyond defence of the nation state to encompass wider concepts of human security with greater attention being paid to the security of the individual. While the ESS recognises the changed nature of the security environment, the policy implications still prioritise military responses and enhancing

military capabilities over civilian and soft instruments. Where military instruments are employed, these should be consistent with an overall preventive approach, based on the coherent use of long and short-term civilian instruments.

- **Responsiveness for early action. The ESS commits to preventive engagement** but does not outline how it will be realised. Instead, the ESS continues to adopt a more reactive approach to crisis and post-crisis situations. Civilian engagement, for example, is not mentioned in the context of prevention (p.12). Early warning and early action should be prioritised.
- **Addressing conventional weapons.** The ESS mentions the 'privatisation of force' as a key element in the 'radical threat' confronting the EU (p.5) in recognition of the way that the increased role of non-state actors (NSAs) has influenced the changing nature of organised violence. However, the proliferation of conventional weapons, especially small arms and light weapons, which are the main weapons of choice used by NSAs, are not addressed in the policy implications.
- **Working with partners.** Under the objective for increased multilateralism, the ESS commits to strengthening partnerships with International Financial Institutions, the WTO, NATO, OSCE, regional organisations and national governments, 'good' and 'bad'. However, in the policy implications for these commitments, the focus is firmly on strengthening the EU-US relationship. Though the Euro-Atlantic link is essential, it is not sufficient as a means of implementing multilateralism. Furthermore, civil society and the role of business are marginalised as partners.
- **Addressing the role of natural resources in conflict.** The ESS mentions competition for natural resources and energy dependence as global challenges (p.3) as well as the role of resource revenues in fuelling conflict and weak governance (p.4).

However, it fails to mention them at all in the policy implications.

- **The role of gender in conflict prevention.** Aside from one reference to women victims of the worldwide sex trade (p.5), the ESS is gender-blind. It fails to acknowledge the gender dimensions of the impacts of conflict and the needs of those affected, as well as the gendered nature of participation in decision-making in the prevention, management and resolution of conflict, including peace processes and negotiations.
- **Regional approaches to building peace.** It is important that through the ESS, the EU has recognised the regional dimensions of conflict. However, regional approaches to preventing conflict, and strengthening regional security structures and organisations are not captured in the policy implications.
- **Addressing weak and failing states.** The ESS includes state failure as one of the key threats facing Europe. However, the challenge of failing states is far more complex than providing havens for terrorism. It requires clear policies and commitment for engagement in the long-term, in addition to 'military instruments to restore order, [and] humanitarian means to tackle the immediate crisis' (p.7). Furthermore, the EU's own position, policies and practice in relation to failing states often remains incompatible and inconsistent (e.g. on diplomatic engagement, arms brokering, trade and development policies). Therefore, this difficult and complex political challenge that is raised in the ESS needs further attention.

For a full copy of the report, 'The EU Security Strategy: Implications for EU Conflict Prevention' by International Alert and Saferworld, including practical recommendations on how conflict prevention can be better implemented via the Security Strategy, see: www.international-alert.org/pdf/pubdev/ess_implications_for_eu_conflict_prevention.pdf

DR Congo: natural resources and human security

More people have died as a result of the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) than in any other conflict since World War II. Despite a tenuous peace agreement and the installation of a transitional government in 2003, much of this huge country remains dangerously insecure. The DRC is immensely rich in natural resources, yet its people are one of the poorest in the world. With a growth rate of 4 percent, the DRC would take 200 years to reach the per capita income of 1960. In a war that has killed over 3.3 million people since 1998, the exploitation of DRC's natural resources is widely regarded as one of the driving forces of conflict and underdevelopment. However, it plays no part in the international debate on what might be the driving forces of peace.

In March this year, International Alert and Pole Institute¹ co-organised a seminar in Brussels on resource exploitation and human security in the DRC. The seminar brought together representatives of Congolese civil society (from Kinshasa and the east) with international donors, policy-makers and analysts to reflect upon and provide new insight and approaches to tackling the linkages between conflict and natural resource exploitation. Since the seminar was held, there has been growing instability and violence in DRC, particularly in the east, which requires pressing humanitarian and political responses from both national and international actors. However, changes in the conflict dynamic do not lessen the importance of addressing the structural issue of natural resource exploitation and the link to human security. These issues must be addressed at both local, regional and international levels in order to find a sustainable solution to the continued instability and violence.

Economic welfare, governance and security

The International Alert-Pole Institute March seminar focused on three key elements to secure the foundations of peace, particularly with regard to

Eastern DRC: improvement of economic welfare, governance and security, all of which are linked by the question of resource exploitation. Poor resource management can create or exacerbate conflict over resources and undermine livelihood strategies. Unless local communities benefit from the extraction of national resources in their localities, equitable improvements in economic welfare will remain impossible in the DRC and so too will building peace. Poor resource management has also produced corrupt networks that retain the economic and political benefits of natural resource exploitation and who undermine the already weak to non-existent legitimacy and accountability of governance structures. Good governance is essential for managing conflict (including over resources) and for the promotion of equitable and locally appropriate economic development.² Mismanaged appropriate resource exploitation undermines security by financing arms proliferation and sustaining rebel groups, while resource management can provide improvements in economic welfare. Without sustainable improvements in economic opportunities and welfare, the planned reintegration of 200,000 of the present 320,000 combatants, that are to be demobilised under the peace process, will remain a distant goal. If natural resource exploitation is not appropriately addressed as part of the DRC peace process, it will undermine progress in economic welfare, governance and security. However, the international debate on natural resource exploitation so far has focused almost exclusively on the negative links with conflict and has yet to cast light on how to strengthen positive links with human security. The seminar debate was therefore focused on reconstructing the 'fundamentally flawed' debate on the illegal exploitation of natural resources.

A human security approach

The debate and actions of the international community on the role of natural resources in volatile states are largely focused on regulation, e.g. the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme

and the European Commission Action Plan on Forest Law Enforcement, Governance and Trade.³ While regulation is an essential aspect in addressing the dynamics of conflict, the seminar debate highlighted that this approach alone fails to address the welfare of the people as an essential aspect of peace.

Cutting off the only economic activity available to the majority of a population through conflict-insensitive regulation, focused on embargoes and negative sanctions, can in itself, increase competition for resources and fuel war. The international community, for example, never understood the human and conflict impacts of the proposed embargo on coltan from Eastern DRC at the height of the war, which hit household income in the coltan mining areas at a time when there was hardly any other sources of revenue. The legal approach to resource regulation has become purely technical, negating the contextual, complex realities of war/peace economies and politics. Currently in DRC, legality simply means having a government license. As a result, current regulatory systems are providing a veneer of legality to the existing system of resource exploitation that is wholly exploitative and structurally unstable. In addition, some of the current regulation frameworks have unintended negative consequences which warrant attention. The Kimberley process for diamond trading, for example, has led to

¹ International Alert and Pole Institute, an action-research Institute based in Goma, North Kivu, have a joint three year programme of action-research and advocacy on conflict issues in eastern DRC that aims to make national and international policies and practice more conducive to peace and development.

² Wider issues of legitimacy, accountability, identity and nationality were also raised as key issues that the international community must address in relation to good governance.

³ There are a few efforts that are unexception to this approach, such as the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative (see www.eitransparency.org).

monopolisation of certified diamond trading which has penalised small-scale artisanal miners.

Participants at the seminar agreed that if natural resource exploitation is to become a driving force for peace in the DRC, regulation must be sensitive to the human welfare of those affected and resources must be managed to protect and increase it. This will support the development of a peace economy. The international community must re-orientate its exclusive focus on large corporations and work with the informal sector which provides essential independent livelihood strategies through, for example, establishing local mining cooperatives. Furthermore, clear criteria need to be set for regulation mechanisms based on whether they make it possible to increase the income of the local population.

Policy opportunities

A number of 'windows of opportunity' now exist to influence EU and international policy on the DRC, including on the question of natural resource exploitation. For example, the current review of the EU regional strategy paper for Eastern and Southern Africa and the Indian Ocean, to be finalised by the end of this year, is due to include a conflict prevention strategy for the region and to identify specific actions for EU support. In October, the Swiss are leading on an OECD DAC experts meeting on developing a regional strategy for peacebuilding in the Great Lakes. A provisional UN-AU Great Lakes Regional Conference is also due to take place this December. In addition, the Dutch EU Presidency is working to agree an EU Great Lakes regional strategy at the Council meeting

to be held in December 2004. The Luxembourg and UK EU Presidencies also have opportunities to take this work forward in 2005, particularly through the UK-led Africa Commission and the UK Chairmanship of the G8. It is essential to ensure that these various policy processes for promoting peace in the DRC are better informed by local analysis on natural resource exploitation, rather than depending largely on input and analysis from external 'experts' and organisations.

The views expressed in this article are solely those of International Alert.

For a copy of the seminar report, please visit www.pole-institute.org or www.international-alert.org or contact Lindsay Alexander at lalexander@international-alert.org

The Africa Peace Facility

Debates on the relationships between poverty, politics and violence have captured the headlines over the past year. European Union support for the establishment of the Africa Peace Facility reflects this debate and raises key questions about how poverty and conflict can be addressed in practice.

◆ By HEIKE SCHNEIDER, *European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO)*

In June, the EU decided to support an African Union peacekeeping operation in Darfur, Sudan with 12 million euro. The mission comprised of around 120 observers and a protection force of 270 military personnel is now monitoring the ceasefire. While there is broad agreement on the need for such a mission, its financing has caused some controversy. To mobilise the necessary funding a new mechanism has been used, the African Peace Facility. The Facility was established this year to finance peace support operations ranging from traditional peacekeeping forces with an observer mandate to peace enforcement operations. At the centre of the debate has been 250 million euro allocated to the Facility from the 9th European Development Fund, the financial instrument of the Cotonou Agreement. Some analysts argue against this use of money originally intended as Official Development Assistance for peace

support operations. Others stress that it is in the interest also of the poor living in developing countries that there is peace.

EU financing of peacekeeping missions in Africa marks a change of direction in the co-operation between the two regions. Traditionally EU support to Africa focused on economic co-operation. But when, during the 1990s, good governance moved centre-stage for donors this also influenced the EU and the 77 countries from Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific negotiating their new cooperation agreement. As a result, the Cotonou Agreement provides a much more solid political framework and includes a legal base for conflict prevention. These developments culminated in the establishment of the Peace Facility. The EU has declared that it will not include the Facility money in its accounting for aid spending to the OECD Donor Assistance Committee (DAC). Member states have pledged that EDF funding for the Peace Facility is an interim measure and that alternative sources will be considered in the light of a review after one year. Still a feeling of uneasiness remains. Can it really be justified to allocate scarce development resources to peacekeeping operations? In reply to this question it is important to recall that the Peace Facility is an African initiative. At the Maputo Summit in 2003, the AU Heads of State

proposed to set up a Peace Support Operation Facility from funds allocated to their countries under the existing co-operation agreements with the EU. After watching violent conflicts throw countries back decades in their development, African Heads of State want to be in a position to tackle one of the greatest obstacles to poverty alleviation in Africa; namely violent conflict.

Secondly, yes, it is true that development co-operation and poverty alleviation are important from a conflict prevention perspective as well. But one needs to realize that they are not sufficient by themselves to ensure peace. There are many more reasons for conflict than just poverty and empirical evidence even suggests clear linkages between certain economic developments and violence.

Clearly the answer cannot be either/or but both development co-operation and peacebuilding are needed. The challenge at the policy level and in action is to strengthen synergies between the two. Development experts have acknowledged this. Both NGOs and donors increasingly recognise that development co-operation must be conflict-sensitive and they try to ensure that co-operation does not fuel tensions, but rather contributes to peacebuilding when feasible and necessary. Traditional Foreign and Security policy, for its part

must appreciate more the potential of development co-operation to support the building up of structures in poor countries and their regional organisations to deal with conflicts in a non-violent and more just way. The EU has made progress in its own crisis management and long term conflict prevention capacity. Initiatives include: a training network for civilian crisis management; a network of conflict prevention experts; early warning capacities and NGO initiatives on democracy and human rights. Why

not use EU funds to strengthen AU capacity to carry out similar tasks? The EU already supports mediation processes and conflict prevention activities led by the AU under a small 12 million euro programme. 35 million euros from the Peace Facility are earmarked for capacity building in the area of peacekeeping operations. But the EU still lacks a more substantial and comprehensive programme that bundles the different initiatives and creates capacity in areas relevant for long term conflict prevention and

civilian crisis management. The upcoming discussions on long-term EU financial planning under the 'Financial Perspectives' should ensure that there is enough money for both conflict prevention and development cooperation.

European Peacebuilding Liaison Office website: www.eplo.org
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Listening to African civil society to enhance poverty reduction and peace

The huge public protests against the decision to go to war in Iraq, and the numerous rallies against the dominance of corporate power or secretive trade negotiations are all illustrative of how the public across the world feel marginalised from key decisions about their future ♦ *By SAFERWORLD*

In countries that are largely dependent upon humanitarian and development assistance and where people are directly threatened by poverty, disease or violence, communities can feel even more disaffected. It is important that communities are able to engage with decision makers and feel part of the process.

Yet latest figures suggest that European Union (EU) aid to African Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries prioritises transport (29 percent) and structural adjustment (25 percent) while in contrast social sectors, such as education and health, each receive under 10 percent of total funding. If EU spending was more accountable to people living in conflict and poverty, then spending priorities might look quite different.

To try and address this balance Saferworld, in co-operation with its partners and other European NGOs has been actively involved in trying to increase civil society participation in policy decisions across the Horn of Africa. The current mid-term reviews (MTRs) of EU development programmes, or Country Strategy Papers (CSPs) for the 78 Africa Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries

provide the opportunity to influence the direction of EU development aid. Earlier this year Saferworld, Eurostep, Africa Peace Forum and the Inter Africa Group organised a meeting to coincide with the Joint Parliamentary Assembly meeting in Addis Ababa, between civil society organisations from the Horn of Africa and parliamentarians on 'Influencing Country Strategy Papers to advance conflict prevention and poverty reduction'. The meeting was an opportunity for civil society to voice their concerns to those present - including members of the European Parliament, ACP ambassadors, National Authorising officers, the European Commission, and NGOs - on how far civil society had been involved in the MTR process within their respective countries, and to put forward their priorities for how CSPs might better address the problems of underdevelopment and conflict. Despite the EU's welcome policy statements about the need to engage with civil society, in reality there is still an urgent need to improve communication. For example the Somali representative noted that the term 'pastoralist' didn't even feature in the CSP despite the fact that a significant proportion of the Somali population are nomads or semi nomads. It was also pointed out that often the CSP wasn't translated into the national language which would mean that a number of people would be excluded. There are however, some success stories where civil society is more engaged with the EU. The most positive example of civil society participation in the MTR

process was Kenya, where consultations have taken place on the MTR and a report has been drafted by civil society. In contrast, in other countries including Eritrea, Sudan, and Djibouti there has been little or no input into the process. The report of the JPA meeting was presented at a conference organised by the European network for European Confederation of NGOs for Relief and Development (Concord), and the UK development network BOND in Brussels in March. The key findings were discussed with other organisations who had undertaken research on civil society participation in drawing up CSPs in Senegal, Bolivia, India, Rwanda and Mali.

As a follow-up to the JPA meeting, Saferworld and its partners organised a regional Horn of Africa workshop and training on improving civil society participation in the MTR process. The workshop brought together civil society organisations from the Horn, EU delegations and government representatives. In addition to these meetings, Saferworld's regional co-ordinator based in Ethiopia is undertaking a research report to assess the participation of civil society into the MTR, with a focus on conflict prevention. The research paper also assesses the progress to date on the mainstreaming of conflict prevention in EU-supported programmes in each of the seven Horn countries.

Update from the EU

In association with Irene Donadio
EPLO

A Human Security Doctrine for Europe

At the request of Council Secretary General, Javier Solana, a Study Group was convened in 2003 to give independent advice on what capabilities the European Union would require to pursue an effective common security policy. With the aim of contributing to the implementation of the *European Security Strategy*, the premise of the Study Group was that the security of European citizens is indivisible from human security elsewhere in the world, and that therefore, the most effective way to safeguard Europe's security is for the EU to contribute to meeting the security needs of people in conflict situations and weak and failing states. The Study Group has proposed the following:

- Seven principles for EU operations in situations of severe insecurity: the primacy of human rights, clear political authority, multilateralism, a bottom-up approach, regional focus, the use of legal instruments, and the appropriate use of force.
- A proposal for an integrated civil-military force, called the 'Human Security Response Force'. This would be composed of 15,000 men and women drawn from the troops and civilian capabilities already dedicated by member states and a proposed 'Human Security Volunteer Service'. Of these, at least one third would be civilian (police, human rights monitors, development and humanitarian specialists, administrators etc). The report stresses that, 'The balance of military-civil capabilities needs to be changed... Any deployment needs to include a very substantial contingent of civilians, who would co-determine the nature and culture of the operation. It is very important that civil-military integration applies at planning level as well as the operational level.'
- A proposal for a new legal framework to govern both the decision to intervene and operations on the ground. This would build on the domestic law of host states, the domestic law of sending states, international criminal law,

international human rights law and international humanitarian law.

The report was presented to Javier Solana in Barcelona on September 15, 2004.

Civilian Aspects of ESDP: Implementing the Action Plan

Under the Irish Presidency, the *Action Plan for Civilian Aspects of ESDP* was agreed at the July General Affairs and External Relations Council this year. The Plan signals that the EU is moving towards developing a more integrated approach to ESDP which better links it with other EU instruments such as Development and Justice and Home Affairs. This should lead to the development of more holistic approach to crisis management and conflict prevention. The Plan includes some key commitments and recommendations to:

- Develop EU capacity to deploy multifunctional civil crisis management resources in an integrated format;
- Be more comprehensive, flexible and adaptable to the needs of a specific situation;
- Broaden the range of expertise upon which the EU can draw, e.g. in the field of human rights, political affairs, security sector reform, mediation, border control, disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration and media policy;
- Further develop the EU's capacity to conduct monitoring missions;
- Review targets to develop a consolidated 'Civilian Headline Goal', integrating the capabilities of new Member States and to continue to improve the qualitative aspects of the commitments;
- Give particular attention to preventive deployment of EU CFSP/ESDP instruments in potential crises;
- Clearly identify EU political objectives in any given crisis management situation to maximise effectiveness of the combined capacities of the Community, ESDP and Member States;
- Strengthen synergies between civilian and military crisis management instruments in the development of generic concepts and tools, and in the planning and conduct of operations

in Brussels and in the field;

- Strengthen the position of the EU Special Representative in relation to ESDP missions to increase coherence;
- Build links between civilian crisis management capabilities and the Justice and Home Affairs Pillars, particularly with regard to addressing organised crime;
- Develop synergies between EU development assistance and civilian crisis management under ESDP, including in post-conflict stabilisation and reconstruction;
- Develop greater and more efficient contingency (advance response) and mission planning and support for civilian missions;
- Strengthen CFSP budget to meet the level of ambition of EU civilian crisis management operations;
- Strengthen efforts towards coherent training in the context of ESDP both at the operational and the strategic level and enhance interoperability between Member States' respective civil crisis management capacities;
- Examine the progress of Member States and share best practice in the development of national databases, training and recruitment for civilian crisis management capabilities;
- Reinforce cooperation with the UN, particularly with regard to conflict prevention and resolution in Africa; with the OSCE, including on training, and with NGOs and civil society through regular exchange of information, expertise and early warning capacities.

The implementation of the Action Plan is being taken forward by the Dutch Presidency through a Civilian Capabilities Conference with Member States in November. The aim is to re-examine the concrete targets that the EU has set itself in the field of civilian crisis management and to integrate the capabilities of the new Member States. The Dutch Presidency is also planning a meeting to take forward the recommendation to facilitate regular exchanges with civil society on these issues, to which EPLO is contributing.

The Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict

The story so far

In 2002, in response to the Secretary-General's Recommendation 27 in his report The Prevention of Armed Conflict, where he urges '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', the European Centre for Conflict Prevention proposed an integrated global programme of research, consultation and discussion, leading to an international conference at UN Headquarters in New York. Kofi Annan supported the initiative and an intensive period of consultation within the conflict prevention community began.

The Global Partnership's programme continues to develop and gain recognition all over the world. In order to achieve this shift, a multi-stakeholder approach is needed, whereby governments, the UN and civil society organisations (CSOs) take a joint approach in dealing with conflict prevention.

To urge the adoption of the UN General Assembly Resolution on the Prevention of Armed Conflict (A/res/57/337) a Group of Friends of the SG for Prevention was created. We hope that this Group continues to build on, and broaden, the work it has done to date. If campaigns for banning landmines, promoting the ICC, controlling small arms and promoting the Security Council Resolution on Women (Resolution 1325) have been successful by forming coalitions, we hope to realise a similar effort in partnership with governments in the field of conflict prevention and peacebuilding.

We hope that a group of governments, who are able to find common ground within their conflict prevention objectives, can work together to agree on a strategy for achieving a *shift to prevention*. By involving as many governments as possible, and linking with the Global Partnership and other like-minded networks, substantial progress can be made in implementing the General Assembly's Resolution. As this phase evolves and advances, the Group can develop a plan for realising the shift, and thus building a solid foundation for conflict prevention and peacebuilding worldwide.



The overall objectives of the Global Partnership are:

1. to create a paradigm shift from reaction to prevention
2. to increase the effectiveness of conflict prevention efforts
3. to highlight the role of civil society in preventing armed conflict and peacebuilding, and
4. to interact with the United Nations and governments to strengthen the international response to preventing armed conflict.

Momentum: Now is the time!



We have a lot working on our side at this time: the General Assembly Resolution; the UN Secretary-General's Panel of Eminent Persons on Civil Society and UN Relationships, who released their report entitled *We the peoples: civil society, the United Nations and global governance* on June 21; the UN High-Level Panel on Global Threats, Challenges and Security who will release their recommendations in December 2004; the growing debates on the success or failure of military intervention; the debates in the regions on how to improve CSO relationships with the UN and conflict prevention implementation; and, the Global Partnership's *Global Conference on Civil Society in the Prevention of Armed Conflict and Peacebuilding* on July 19-21, 2005 at UN Headquarters in New York. All these events will cooperate to give more body to the growing public debate on conflict prevention and peacebuilding and, especially, the need for the Shift to Prevention.

The Global Partnership and the UN

Creating the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict is a step in the right direction in towards achieving this shift. The Global Partnership has provided a solid foundation for helping various regions link up activities within their own regional and national programmes to establish substantial social infrastructures in the regions, and to enhance local capacity and networks. One of the main goals of the Global Partnership is to stimulate interaction between

civil society organisations and the UN, other IGOs, and governments.

The recommendations from the Report of the Secretary-General's Panel of Eminent Persons have opened a window of opportunity for us to realise our objectives in a culture of prevention. One of the recommendations is that the UN should focus more on its role as a convenor of Global Policy Networks. The Global Partnership offers an opportunity for this to happen; the Global Conference in July 2005 will provide an opportunity to exhibit the multi-stakeholder approach when it receives more support from governments and the UN. In turn, this could lead to many more governments getting involved and cooperating to create the Shift to Prevention.

It is important to involve both governments from the North and the South who are open to an overall programme towards a Shift to Prevention. Several governments in the North, such as Sweden, Ireland, Germany, Switzerland, Norway and others in the South, such as Mali, South Africa, Chile and Bangladesh are *champions for conflict prevention*. These governments should be approached to get a better idea of whether they are willing to support this idea. With the strength of the momentum behind us, we cannot let this action linger. The Global Partnership is acting on this initiative now, since it is in the best interests of the conflict prevention and peacebuilding community as whole to initiate these governmental partnerships as soon as possible.

The Regional Process

The fundamental components of the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict are the regional processes taking place worldwide. One organisation from each region was given the mandate from the region to be a Regional Initiator of the Global Partnership in order to



Soon after the International Preparatory Meeting in June of 2003, the ECCP provided seed money to the Regional Initiators for a preparatory process in the regions. During this process, Initiators disseminated information about the Global Partnership throughout their region; sent out an open call to civil society organisation to join the process; formed Regional Steering Groups to have broader representation in steering the process; and, drew up funding proposals for the second phase of the process. Regions are now in Phase II of the regional

steer the development of the process in that region. The initiating organisations are network organisations active in the field of conflict prevention and peacebuilding who engage at the local, regional and international levels, and have organisational capacity and experience.

process in which each region will steer their own process including, but not limited to, activities such as research, interaction with governments, regional organisations and UN agencies, and Regional Conferences. These processes aim to collect recommendations from the region in the form of a Regional Action Agenda addressing the role of civil society in the prevention of armed conflict. The Regional Action Agenda will be incorporated into a Global Action Agenda to be presented at the International Conference in New York in July 2005.

South Asia

The Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS) in Sri Lanka is the regional initiator for the South Asian region. Other members of the Regional Steering Group are:

- Moonis Ahmer - Department of International Relations of Karachi University (Pakistan)
- Karan Sawhny - International Centre for Peace Initiatives (India)
- Iftekhar Zaman - Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (Bangladesh)
- Kanak Mani and Rita Thapa - Himal South Asia (Nepal)
- P. Saravanamuttu - Centre for Policy Alternatives (Sri Lanka)

South Asia Regional Conference held in Kathmandu

From September 11-13, around 50 people from Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka gathered in Kathmandu to deliberate the causes and dynamics of violence and conflict in South Asia and to develop a regional action agenda to address them. The conference was organised by Sridhar Khatri, director of the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies and GPACC South Asia Initiator, together with the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, with funding support from UNDP.

Utilising their experience as activists drawn from various movements and professional backgrounds, they sought to articulate both the key challenges that need to be addressed and guiding principles for responding to them. At the core was a transformative re-conceptualisation of security and how it can be achieved through inclusive and gender-sensitive approaches to meeting human needs. The group challenged the concept that armed conflicts are the only indicators of widespread and pervasive violence in society. It felt that if peace is the goal then there has to be a process of introspective interrogation of all kinds of violence and present inequities in South Asian societies. To achieve minimal justice, civil societies must draw lessons from the experiences of communities that have suffered violence. The participants urged the United Nations to function 'not only as an organisation of different States but also of people and nations.'

Although the group was able to develop a substantial framework for a Regional Action Agenda, the short time

available meant that many believe it is important to continue with the process in order to further develop specific steps that can be taken to achieve the aspirations articulated through policy reform, new mechanisms, and - in particular - by developing systems for 'multi-track advocacy' operating in each country, in the region and linked globally to address the many complex dimensions and levels in which conflict is generated and plays out. The conference emphasised three main aspects or standards:

- a. justice as the ethical and political standard of action;
- b. participation nature of all conflicts prevention and transformation programmes; and
- c. dialogue as the supreme procedure.

The Action Agenda for South Asia was agreed upon during the conference and has twenty recommendations pertaining to actions that need to be undertaken with regards to the region. The conference primarily recognised the role of civil society in 'eliminating the recourse to violence as a mode of settling conflicts' and recognising that 'civil society has to bring pressure to bear on states and mobilise public opinion on the need to make international human rights and international humanitarian laws applicable to conflict situations in all states.'*

Other recommendations placed emphasis on the creation of justice forums, for example for Gender and for War Crimes. Also, the Conference paid due attention to the interaction between civil society and the UN whereby they call 'on the United Nations to create an official form of civil society at the UN to monitor government policies and action in the areas of gender justice, environmental justice, social and cultural justice, and economic justice and to provide recommendation to the security council on these.' Furthermore, civil society, 'calls on the UN to promote such an organ so that popular voices are heard by the UN before the Security Council meets each time to adopt policies for coping with armed conflicts.'

The three main standards in carrying out these recommendations are to use justice as the ethical and political standard of action; confirm the participatory nature of all conflict prevention and transformation programmes;

and, to use dialogue as the supreme procedure in all these recommendations. Opportunities for taking the process forward will be explored in the coming months.

* For the complete recommendations, please refer to the South Asian Action Agenda, available on www.gppac.net

Latin America and the Caribbean

Comparatively speaking, the region of Latin America and the Caribbean is one of the regions least prone to inter-state conflict. However, recent prospective research shows a trend and an eventual increase in the next few years of intra-state and trans-national conflicts in the region. The regional process of Latin America and the Caribbean has a general objective: to promote a culture of peace in the region that includes effective strategies of conflict prevention and peacebuilding based on the active participation of civil society networks and organisations.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, the Regional Initiator is CRIES, Regional Co-ordination for Economic and Social Research (www.cries.org), a twenty year-old regional network of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and research centres with a significant record in participatory research on security and civil society issues. In their preparatory process, CRIES convened four sub-regional meetings: Central America (July 2003), Southern Cone (November 2003), Andes Region (December 2003) and the Caribbean (February 2004). An electronic forum held to discuss the background paper and regional project proposal for Phase II supplemented these sub-regional meetings.

During these forums, participants discussed key issues in conflict prevention and peacebuilding for the region, and made comments on the background paper. These have since been incorporated into the paper which includes an introduction to violence, peace and armed conflict in the region; cooperative, democratic and human security paradigms; regional and sub-regional institutional security frameworks; civil society networks and organisations facing global and hemispheric security and peace issues; a preliminary guide to conflict prevention in the region.

Phase II of the regional process was kicked off with a

Regional Steering Group meeting in Venezuela at the end of May. The regional process in Latin America and the Caribbean includes two regional conferences with another round of sub-regional workshops to ensure ownership from the diverse areas included in this large region. To promote the participation of younger researchers and practitioners,

there will be a competition in order to choose the authors of the four sub-regional case studies that will be undertaken.

The first of two regional conferences took place on the 28th and 29th of June in Buenos Aires, Argentina and it was declared to be of national interest by the Argentine Senate. Participants included CSO delegates from the four sub-regions, representatives from the North American process (Mexico and Canada) as well as representatives from the Organization of American States and UNPD.

The Regional Conference programme included: the presentation and discussion of the reports and recommendations from the preparatory phase sub-regional workshops, background paper and a proposal for electronic mapping of conflicts and peacebuilding in the region. There were also three workshop discussions on the draft Regional Action Agenda, which already included draft recommendations on 'The Role of Civil Society in the Prevention of Armed Conflict' with regard to CSOs, States and Intergovernmental Organisations.

At the end of the meeting, consensus was reached in plenary on the changes and additions to the Regional Action Agenda. There was also a call for a task force to come together to work on Bolivia as an urgent case for conflict prevention and peacebuilding in the region.

The second Regional Conference to finalise the recommendations from the region for the Global Action Agenda will be held in Caracas, Venezuela, February 2005.



Dr. Andrés Serbin, Regional Conference, Buenos Aires, 28-29 June 2004

Western Europe (the enlarged EU, Norway, Switzerland)

The Dublin Action Agenda

The Dublin Action Agenda on the Prevention of Armed Conflict was adopted by the 230 participants of the conference and endorsed by 130 organisations afterwards. The guiding principles of the Dublin Action Agenda are the following: shift to prevention; creating a Culture of Prevention; responsibility to protect; security for people and states; multilateralism; partnership; primacy of local ownership; inclusion and equality; learning from practice and accountability; sustainability.

A number of concrete issues arise from these principles, and they were also discussed in working group sessions in Dublin. These include, among others: the role of education and the promotion of a culture of peace; development and peacebuilding; involving civil society in EU civilian crisis management; and, interactions between governments and civil society.

The Irish Presidency submitted a review report in which they highlight the examination of how the EU and civil society organisations can cooperate more effectively in

preventing conflict. In addition to this, the Dublin Action Agenda was forwarded to the governments of eight EU countries with the request to present the recommendations during the European Council meeting of June 17-18. Following these events, the European Council endorsed the Presidency report on EU activities in the framework of conflict prevention.

Furthermore, the Spanish delegate to the Security Council, Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo, addressed the Action Agenda and the Conference at a Security Council meeting on 'Complex Crisis and UN response' (May 28, 2004).

The Balkans

By TANJA POPOVIĆ, Project Coordinator at the Belgrade Nansen Centre in Serbia

Background

During the 1990s the Balkan region became infamous worldwide as the breakdown of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia led to terrible conflicts on most parts of its territory. Labelling the conflicts as being merely inter-ethnic is an over-simplification of the case and to name all the suspected reasons would be too long-drawn and complicated. The intensity of those conflicts led to international military intervention twice, in 1995 against the Bosnian Serbs and in 1999 against FR Yugoslavia.

Considering the fact that these conflicts happened several years ago, peacebuilding and conflict prevention continue to be issues of great importance. There are still several parts of the region that are considered to be potentially conflicting: South Serbia, Macedonia and Sandak (or Rakka region).

The process of reconciliation was initiated by individuals trying to re-establish cultural and economical links. NGOs dealt with returning refugees and with legal issues connected to estate ownership. It was only after some time that officials started dealing with these issues on the highest level. As a result, several trade agreements were signed; country leaders have since held regular summits on security and cooperation in the Balkan region.

As far as the situation on peace initiatives inside each country of the region is concerned it differs from country to country. While politicians at the highest level express their open support, the main obstacles are the attitudes of local politicians and the acceptance of the initiative by the general public of small towns and villages.

Problems facing the regional representatives include the fact that although many organisations are working on democratisation and education, not many are dealing with peacebuilding and conflict prevention; and, although there are many organisations working at the grassroots level, it is not easy to reach top levels of society. The overall impression is that links between different levels of society still need to be created or need to be stabilised. In order to work efficiently on these issues, strong cross-border links between NGOs, INGOs and politicians at different levels of society must be established.

Regional Steering Group

The focal points from each country/area (though only one from Bosnia and Herzegovina), the regional coordinator, the central coordinator in Norway and one partner organisations representative from each country make up the Regional Steering Group (RSG).



Irish Minister, Brian Cowen, T.D. shaking on the Dublin Action Agenda with ECCP's Paul van Tongeren, Dublin, April 2004

During the first RSG meeting (held in January 2004 in Macedonia) we agreed on the strategy of the regional and national levels. The second RSG meeting was held in May 2004 in Croatia during which we heard reports from the BiH and Bulgarian national conferences; we discussed databases and the process for collecting of case studies, as well as starting the discussions on the structure, content and participants of the Balkan Regional Conference. The third RSG meeting was held on 28-29 August in Montenegro. We agreed on the structure of the Regional Conference, topics to be discussed, suggested keynote speakers and formed the working groups that will follow up the work until November.

Progress in the regional process

The preparatory phase meetings were bilateral and/or local meetings, and were held all over the Balkans from November 2003 till May 2004. National conferences were held from May to August 2004.

Each meeting drafted a document that is a set of recommendations to different social actors on conflict prevention and peacebuilding that will be sent to relevant organisations (NGOs, INGOs) and institutions (ministries, local authorities, etc) on the national level. The documents will provide input for creating the Regional Action Agenda that will reflect conclusions reached on the national level. The Balkan Regional Conference, due to be held 4-6 November 2004 in Igalo, Montenegro, will provide the backdrop for discussing and finalising the Action Agenda.

The conference itself will be a three-day event and will bring together participants from these national conferences

Topics to be discussed during the Balkan Regional Conference:

1. Peace Education
2. Transitional Processes and EU Integration
3. Dealing with the Past
4. Returnees and Integration
5. Inter-ethnic Dialogue, Human Rights, Minorities, and Human Security
6. Peacebuilding through Gender Perspective / Women in Peacebuilding
7. Role of Religious Communities in Peacebuilding
8. Interaction of Various Levels and Actors: International Organisations, Governments, Civil Society Organisations, etc.

as well as other civil society actors and some government representatives, who are working on conflict prevention and peacebuilding. We expect to gather 100 participants from Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro including Kosovo, Albania, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Bulgaria. The conference and the process leading up to it aim to gather lessons learned about inter-ethnic dialogue, peacebuilding and conflict prevention through dialogue and experience transfer and to improve the efficacy of this work in the Balkans.

Objectives of the regional conference and the preparatory work connected to the global programme are:

- To fulfil overall objectives for the Global Partnership on the local level in each part of the region where focal points are present
- To strengthen the work for interethnic dialogue and reconciliation
- To establishing closer connections between NGOs and INGOs dealing with peacebuilding and conflict prevention
- To connect civil society organisations, with local authorities and state government representatives
- To form an informal network of organisations dealing with conflict prevention and peacebuilding in the Balkans
- To establish cross-border cooperation of NGOs, INGOs and other actors involved in peacebuilding in the Balkans

- To create a Regional Action Agenda, a strategy for peacebuilding and conflict prevention for the coming decade
- To send recommendations (as a result of the Balkan conference) to the Global Conference at the UN in 2005. Global Action Plan will be developed on the basis of input from all regions

As far as the opening session is concerned we have agreed to invite Steinar Bryn, the senior advisor of the Nansen Dialogue Network; Erik Cleven, the central coordinator of the project; Guido de Graaf Bierbrauwer, ECCP; a representative of a Nansen office; a governmental representative from the region and Dan Smith, secretary-general of International Alert to give an introductory speech on conflict prevention.

About the regional initiator

The Nansen Dialogue Network was asked by the ECCP to take on the role of regional initiating partner in the Balkans during the summer of 2003. There are eight offices in the region of former Yugoslavia working on inter-ethnic dialogue and cross-border cooperation.

Representatives of all Nansen offices and two partner organisations: the Bulgarian School for Politics in Bulgaria and Peace and Disarmament Education Project in Albania have been actively involved in the creation of the process for the Balkans region.

The Pacific

The Global Partnership regional process in the Pacific covers all conflict zones within Melanesia (including newly independent East Timor), Polynesia, Micronesia, Australia and New Zealand. This initiative is more than timely for the Pacific, which has experienced conflict and tension across a wide range of areas. It is acknowledged that in order to achieve lasting peace in this region the participation of civil society is crucial. The Global Partnership offers an opportunity for involving civil society in conflict prevention and resolution initiatives in the region.

Progress and achievements

The first regional consultation was held in Suva in January 2004. The consultation brought together organisations in the region involved in conflict prevention and representatives of regional government institutions, research centres, and multilateral organisations. The consultation provided an

opportunity to engage and secure the support of regional governments, UN agencies and other Civil Society Organisations for this process. An important outcome of the regional consultation was the nomination of the Regional Initiator, national focal points and the formulation of the Regional Steering Group.

The Regional Conference is planned for March 2005. Leading up to the Regional Conference, the Pacific regional process will include research and documentation of case studies and best practices in addition to strengthening networking with stakeholders in the Pacific and raising public awareness of the Global Partnership through media campaigns. Another core part of the activity plan is lobbying governments and multilateral organisations in the region. The region has already gained the support of several regional multilateral organisations and regional bodies.

North-East Asia

Structure

The existing structure of the regional network is the result of the North-East Asia Regional Consultation Meeting that was held in Tokyo February 6-8, 2004. On that occasion, fifteen members from civil society organisations in China, Hong Kong SAR, Taiwan, South Korea, Far East Russia and Japan participated. At the moment there are three Regional Co-Initiators: Seoul-based Women Making Peace, Tokyo-based Peace Boat and Hong Kong-based Asian Peace Alliance (APA), with Peace Boat acting as the Regional Secretariat.

Activities

1. Regional Experiences Paper: the feedback for this paper has been collected.

2. Formal Launch of the Global Partnership in Japan

The Tokyo Focal Point process was initiated on 11 August, followed by a consultation meeting that was attended by approximately 25 NGOs and 30 individuals.

A press conference at this meeting resulted in media coverage by Japanese, Chinese and English newspaper/internet groups including the Japan Times, Asahi Shimbun, Kyodo News and others. A focus point for the media's reporting is the importance of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution as a conflict prevention tool and the civilian-led international/regional movement to ensure that the Article is not violated.

A public symposium was held in the evening, attended by over 100 people. Keynote speakers included former International Court of Justice vice-president Judge Weeramantry from Sri Lanka on Conflict Prevention &

International Law; Kathleen Sullivan from USA on Peace Education; Dennis Lin from Peace Time Foundation on Regional Importance of Article 9 Japanese Constitution & Cross-Straits relationship; Kinhide Mushakoji on the role of Japanese civil society and regional peace and security issues.

3. Asia Europe Meeting at the People's Forum in Hanoi, September 6-10, 2004

Peace Boat was present at the event to represent the Global Partnership. The ASEM is a bi-annual governmental meeting organised for European Union members, South-East Asian and North-East Asian countries. The main focus at these meetings is on economic cooperation. The initiation of the ASEM has provided civil society with excellent opportunities to hold parallel events and enhance contacts across continents. In recent years, this kind of network-building has engaged with the official ASEM and is an important entry-point for civil society in the region.

4. North Korea and China

Kinhide Mushakoji visited Pyongyang in early August and presented a formal invitation to the Bureau of External and Cultural Affairs to become involved with the Global Partnership's initiative. This is the third North Korean group that has been approached about joining the Global Partnership. Peace Boat has sought the involvement of the Anti-Nukes Committee, while Women Making Peace have been trying to encourage the women's groups to participate. Mari Kushibuchi from Peace Boat travelled to Beijing and Shanghai in early September to approach more academics/civil society groups about participating in the Global Partnership's initiative.

5. Case Study Documentation of Civil Society-initiated Conflict Prevention Activities in North-East Asia

This is an initiative independently proposed by the North-East Asia Regional Secretariat. The aim is to develop a compendium of case studies that document a diverse range of conflict prevention activities initiated by civil society. By documenting such activities they hope to gain a clearer understanding of what kind of contributions civil society is actually making in the field of conflict prevention. The

information can then be used: i) as part of North-East Asia's *Regional Action Agenda* which will be utilised when making recommendations to the United Nations, governments and regional organisations; ii) to establish greater legitimacy of the role of civil society in helping to prevent armed conflict; iii) learn from our experiences to strengthen the work of civil society relating to peace and security issues; iv) realise the positive impact of civil society-initiated activities. The initial list of proposed case studies included:

- East Asian Common History Textbook project (refer to: *Asia Peace and History Education Network*)
- Reunification Exchange Program Between South and North Korean Women (refer to: *Office for Reunification Exchange Program*)
- Women's War Crimes Tribunal (refer to: Violence Against Women in War (VAWW-NET))
- Promotion of Article 9 Anti-War clause campaign (Japan's Peace Constitution)
- Civilian Initiatives concerning the Six-Nation Talks on the Korean Peninsula Nuclear Question
- Peace Boat Civilian Visits to North Korea over 10 years (refer to: Peace Boat and the Korean Anti-Nuclear Peace Committee)
- Humanitarian Support for North Korea
- Nuclear Weapons' Free Zone in Northeast Asia
- Global Anti-War Assembly (refer to: participating organisations of the World Social Forum process)

6. Tokyo Focal Point Working Group Meeting

The working group meeting took place on August 25, 2004. Fifteen representatives from Japanese NGOs and academic institutions participated. The strategy and direction of the North-East Asia Regional Action Agenda were discussed. A common regional platform was identified to concern itself with the following themes: i) Non-violent/non-military mechanisms to prevent conflict (articulated by Article 9 of Japan's Constitution); ii) acilitation of civil society participation in determining policy-making processes of peace and security matters; iii) Forming concrete recommendations regarding the peaceful resolution of key regional issues (potential armed conflict in North-East Asia).

South-East Asia

The Initiatives for International Dialogue (IID) is the Regional Initiator for South-East Asia. The national focal points who are also members of the Regional Steering Group are: FORUM Asia, Thailand; Gaston Z. Ortigas Peace Institute, Philippines; Women's League of Burma/Burmese Women's Union, Burma; South-East Asian Conflict Studies Network, Indonesia; and Sisters in Islam, Malaysia. World Vision has also been invited to join the Regional Steering Group due to its networks in the region.

Progress and achievements

In light of the goal of interaction between civil society and UN, governments, and regional organisations, the IID brought up the Global Partnership during a January 2004 meeting in Lisbon of the Non-Governmental Forum of the Community of Democracies (CD). The CD process will culminate in a ministerial meeting in Santiago, March 2005. IID will work to secure the support of this body of countries, which has a 'Democratic Caucus' within the UN, for the

Global Partnership.

The regional process will culminate during the regional conference planned for February 2005. The regional conference will provide an opportunity to collate the research findings and lessons learnt as a basis for drawing recommendations for incorporation into the International Action Agenda for the UN, while also formulating follow-up activities for the region.

In the meantime, on July 7-8, 2004, seven country representatives composing the South-East Asian Regional Steering Group met in Manila, Philippines, with regional peace organisations under the GPPAC process. The meeting had as its main focus the Role of Civil Society in the Prevention of Armed Conflict. The countries represented at the meeting were Malaysia, Thailand, Cambodia, Indonesia, East Timor, the Philippines and Myanmar, along with Philippine-based representatives from the Non-Violent Peaceforce and the Catholic Institute for International Relations.



West African Regional Conference, Accra, Ghana, August 2004

West Africa

The 'Regional Conference for Conflict Prevention and Good Governance Organisations and Practitioners in West Africa' took place from August 30 to September 2, 2004 in Accra, Ghana. The conference was organised by Wanep (West African Network for Peace), which is the Regional Initiator for the West African region. Around sixty participants from across West Africa presented and discussed subjects such as the possibility of using elections as a tool for stability in West Africa and the role of CSOs in ensuring individual and collective security in the region.

Speakers from organisations such as USAid-West African Regional Program (WARP), Centre for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) and the Foundation for Security and Development Africa (Fosda) addressed subjects covering the role of CSOs in conflict prevention in West Africa.

Participants in the conference gave their input in the workshops held during the conference that focused on identifying and reviewing existing collaborative initiatives amongst CSOs, between CSOs and governments, and CSOs and Ecowas. Participants also discussed the challenges that are involved in preventing violent conflicts and the strategies that can be used in an integrated approach. Each workshop was separated into a thematic working group addressing key issues in the region: elections, religion, human rights, small arms, gender, conflict prevention, media, youth and chieftaincy. The conference resulted in the Action Agenda for West Africa.

The Action Agenda focused on the role that CSOs can play in different phases of conflict - from the pre-crisis phase to peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction. Participants came to the conclusion that CSOs can play an important role in structural prevention before conflicts start, operational prevention during a conflict and structural prevention in peacebuilding. The following is a summary of the Action Agenda recommendations for nine thematic areas pertaining to the West African region*:

1. Prevention of Armed Conflict

The conference agreed that protocols on conflict prevention, and peace and security should be disseminated by CSOs at the community level. At the national level, CSOs should implement mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating the implementation of these protocols by governments. They should form national networks across borders for better collaboration, and share best practices and lessons learned.

2. Human Rights

In this area, CSOs can play the part of an intermediary by sensitising communities to their fundamental human rights on the one hand and lobbying governments and international organisations to enforce laws that protect the human rights of the communities.

3. Elections

CSOs, political parties and governments can research and assess the strengths and weaknesses of electoral processes and inform citizens thoroughly to encourage participation. The conference agreed that computerising votes and making the process as transparent as possible would contribute to efforts in preventing vote rigging and in encouraging an efficient and fair electoral process.

4. Youth

International organisations should develop regional youth policies that will be included in national conflict prevention policies, and that focus on youth skill development in the prevention, management and resolution of conflict. Effective cross-border networking between youth groups can facilitate sharing experiences and best practices.

5. Chieftaincy

Governments and CSOs should research and document the chieftaincy lineages in communities; by now, CSOs are in a position to build on the capacities of traditional leaders in conflict prevention. As most conflicts centre around natural resources, CSOs should advocate for the implementation of an effective resource administration policy. In addition to this, CSOs can facilitate the establishment of a council of traditional rulers who can mediate in conflicts in their regions.

6. Small Arms Proliferation

CSOs can campaign for the fight against small arms proliferation and lobby governments and National Commissions on Small Arms to form a convention from the existing Moratorium on Small Arms. National Commissions can work together with security agencies to reduce the spread of small arms across borders.

7. Gender

Creating a greater understanding and promotion of gender in conflict prevention is an effective way for CSOs to build their own capacities. Organisations such as Women in

Peacebuilding Network (Wipnet) and Manor River Union Women in Peacebuilding Network can work to advocate women's involvement in conflict prevention, management and resolution.

8. Religion

The basis of the recommendation is to call on faith-based organisations to exhort their followers to reject fanaticism and tolerate other believers. Regional interfaith councils should collaborate with governments, Ecowas and the UN to influence policies at the national, regional and international levels, and to prevent faith-related violence.

9. Media

The West African Network for Peace (Wanep) and the West African Civil Society Forum (Wacsof) can facilitate and coordinate the formation of media networks across West Africa to build the capacity of the media, especially in reporting on conflicts.

The key conclusion of the Action Agenda for West Africa is that CSOs can have a huge influence on preventing armed

conflicts. Often CSOs can act quickly and flexibly to respond to conflict situations because of their inside knowledge of unfolding events and their non-political nature, which is especially important when official actors are immobilised due to mandates, political will and their own official status.

The conference also concluded that the greatest need for accomplishing effective prevention is the formation of partnerships and interaction between CSOs, governments, international governmental organisations and other local actors. There is a need for mechanisms and resources for this interaction so that the capacity for prevention can be institutionalised. Also, there is a need for official acknowledgement of the legitimacy of CSOs in peace and security matters. So, although the primary responsibility for conflict prevention rests with national governments and other local actors, CSOs have a great potential for contributing to creating more legitimate processes and sustainable outcomes in conflict prevention.

**Please refer to the West African Action Agenda's complete set of recommendations on www.gppac.net*

The global programme

Panel of Eminent Persons: UN should open itself further to involve civil society

The key messages of the *Secretary-General's Panel of Eminent Persons on Civil Society and UN Relationships* (report released on June 21, 2004) focus on the creation of partnerships with civil society in order to reach common goals. Birgitta Dahl, member of the Panel, presented a summary of the recommendations at the Regional Conference in Dublin on April 1, 2004, immediately following the Panel's meeting in New York the day before.

Both Ms. Dahl's summary and the official report stated that global change on all levels of international relations have prompted the UN to take a step back and look at the reforms it needs to undergo in order to make its operations successful. Also, the number and influence of civil society on the UN and its work has increased rapidly in the last few decades, and the new UN-civil society relationship needs to be examined closer. To this end, the UN Secretary-General has highlighted the need for the UN to engage closely with civil society and established the creation of the Panel, chaired by Fernando Cardoso.

The Panel formulated four paradigms on which it has based its proposals, the first of which is that the UN needs to 'reinterpret multilateralism to mean multi-constituencies.' The Panel urges the UN to use its authority more strategically to bring all actors together that are necessary for solving critical issues. These types of 'global policy networks' in which effective coalition-building between NGOs and like-minded governments have had good results (on issues such as the ban on landmines or small arms, and the ICC campaign) are 'an important mode of multilateralism today,' states John Clark, project director for the Panel of Eminent Persons in his report on the Panel's key messages. He adds, 'Yet the UN is often quite peripheral; it needs to adapt to this way of working.'

By appreciating the strength of partnerships, the UN can play a crucial role in creating 'multi-stakeholder partnerships' more systematically, which means that these partnerships can have a more strategic effect on the overall outcome of any



Ms. Birgitta Dahl, member of the Panel of Eminent Persons reporting on the Panel's recommendations in Dublin

given issue. Based on this second paradigm, the Panel recommends that the UN play a 'more strategic convening role to catalyse new partnerships and incubate emerging ones.' In this way, the UN will also be closer to achieving its Millennium Development Goals.

The third paradigm addresses the need for a new set of approaches in UN field offices whereby staffing, skills-mix and information and communication strategies are rethought. The gap between the UN's two main occupations - as a forum for governments to establish new global policies, and as a set of operational agencies - is too wide for there to be enough strength through cohesion. Therefore, a two-way connection needs to be developed so that the 'country-level operations emphasise the partnerships that are needed to

realise globally agreed goals and that the local reality truly informs global policy-making.’

‘By engaging civil society in policy and strategy-making at all levels in the UN, not just as partners in implementing programs, the UN could make important contributions to tackling democracy deficits and strengthening global governance.’ This fourth paradigm refers to the fact that democracy has taken on a different form in recent times, with individuals participating more in issues in which they are interested, some of which are not on a local level: *where* we live is sometimes countered by *what* political issues we are interested in.

The UN has much work to do if it is to implement the Panel’s proposals. As far as the Global Partnership is concerned, one of the UN’s most important assignments is to appoint an Under Secretary-General to lead a new Office for Constituency Engagement and Partnership. In this way, the UN can actively steer its relations with civil society, parliamentarians, local authorities, the private sector, and indigenous peoples.

The consequences of these proposals would mean that the

UN would become a more ‘outward looking organisation, one where the management focuses on global needs and challenges instead of its own resources and work-plans. Also, it would mean that ‘an overhaul in global governance [will give] a clearer role to civil society’ whereby transparency and accountability to citizens (not governments) will be emphasised.

Most importantly, the implications of the Panel’s proposals are aligned with the objectives of the Global Partnership as well. The Global Partnership aims to create a network of conflict prevention actors; the Panel envisages a ‘deliberate shift in the UN’s institutional culture to become a networking organisation’. Just as the Global Partnership is focused on improving the interaction between civil society, the UN, regional organisations and governments, the Panel sees the UN laying an emphasis on building partnerships. Above all, the Global Partnership has as its main objective to create a paradigm shift from a ‘Culture of Reaction’ to a ‘Culture of Prevention’, and this stands at the very centre of the effects that the implementation of these proposals by the UN would have.

The process at the UN

The Global Conference on Civil Society in the Prevention of Armed Conflict and Peacebuilding, July 19-21, 2005 at UN Headquarters in New York



Preparations are well underway as the countdown to this all-important global conference begins. In less than ten months, the United Nations

Headquarters will host a wide variety of grassroots civil society actors, representatives of UN agencies, as well as governmental and non-governmental organisations from around the world. The aims of this Global Conference are to:

- establish a functioning international network of civil society organisations around conflict prevention and peacebuilding;
- articulate a policy change agenda aimed at achieving a shift to prevention in how governments and the international system view and address conflict;
- create a Global Action Plan for implementing the Global Action Agenda;
- discuss the explored roles of Civil Society in Conflict Prevention;
- exchange and networking opportunity between different actors: CSOs, Governments, UN;
- promote improved interaction between CSOs and the UN and to strive for initial commitment from Governments and UN;
- implement awareness-raising activities on conflict prevention and peacebuilding.

The Global Conference is a civil society conference organised by the Global Partnership, together with the UN. The three-day Conference is a formatted consultation and therefore, participation is not limited to the conference, per se, but is rather an expression of a participatory process that has

occurred till now and that will continue after July 2005. Around 1000 participants from all over the world are expected. Participants of the Conference represent different backgrounds, such as:

1. CSO representatives:
 - CSOs and NGOs from all over the world; at least 10-15 key persons from each regional process
 - Representatives from lead agencies/strands/INGOs/networks on key issues and their partners from the South
 - Development organisations, relief organisations, and human rights organisations
 - The NGO community at the UN in New York
2. Governments: Missions and other representatives from governments.
3. Representatives from the UN Organisation.
4. Academics, think-tanks, and well-known authors on conflict prevention and peacebuilding from around the world.

The Global Action Agenda will be finalised during an International Forum on July 16-17, 2005, and the Global Action Agenda will then be presented on July 19, the first day of the Global Conference, to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan. During the three days of the Conference, participants will discuss themes and issues that arose from Regional Conferences that have been incorporated into the Global Action Agenda. Participants will also begin developing a Global Action Plan to be implemented after the Conference.

Through regular consultation with stakeholders the needs of the Conference have been identified and appropriate measures are now being put into place to ensure that participation at the conference will be both a memorable and rewarding experience. With two full-time staff members at the New York office, soon to be joined by several interns and

volunteers from across the city, to complement the International Secretariat role of the European Centre for Conflict Prevention, the process is well on course.

Word about the Conference, and the regional processes leading up to it, is spreading all over the world. Meetings with UN officials, missions and governments are taking place, which are providing steam for the July 2005 conference. Through such meetings and contacts, several conflict prevention actors and both the UN and the NGO community have pledged their support for the Global Partnership's process in general, and for the Conference and its outcome in particular.

Utilising civil society's knowledge resources

The Global Partnership's greatest resources and unique advantages lie in the experiences and knowledge of partner CSOs in every region of the world. Their experience in conflict prevention and peacebuilding, but especially their experience of interaction with the UN, regional organisations and governments, contains a wealth of knowledge that can contribute to future cooperation between these organisations.

Quite a few 'expert meetings' will be held to bring together the experiences and knowledge of participants who will contribute to the overall research being done for exploring civil society's interaction with the UN.

Principles and Recommendations for Operational Prevention

The United Nations, Civil Society and Preventing Armed Conflict

A discussion paper by Catherine Barnes



The Global Partnership aims to identify and promote options for reform and more effective cooperation between CSOs and the UN in conflict prevention, both in the field and at UN

Headquarters. In this framework, the Partnership is producing a paper entitled *The United Nations, Civil Society and Preventing Armed Conflict: Principles and Recommendations for Operational Prevention* by Catherine Barnes, which is deemed a necessity because it will contribute to the effectiveness of sustainable, multi-stakeholder relations between the UN and CSOs.

A description of the paper is given on page 3 of the document: "This discussion paper focuses mainly on presenting principles and recommendations for strengthening systems and strategies for early stage operational prevention that draws on the combined strengths of the UN system with regional organisations and civil society organisations and networks. The regional action agendas and the Global Action Agenda, to be developed in the first half of 2005, will more systematically address the root causes of violent conflict through structural prevention and building a culture of peace. In general, there is a need to align the global

peace and security agenda to parallel and accompany the Millennium Development Goals so as to create conditions for sustainable human security. Furthermore, although this paper focuses on scrutinising the UN System; equal attention is needed to identify what CSOs can do, individually and collectively, to better engage with each other as well as with the UN, regional organisations and governments in preventing armed conflict."*

This paper will be published simultaneously with the recommendations from the UN Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Global Security Threats, Challenges and Change, due in December 2004. As a result of these regional and international meetings and research, case studies, working papers, and Regional Action Agendas will be formulated. Issues for the Global Action Agenda will be extracted from the Regional Action Agendas and international research in an attempt to meet the Secretary-General's requests.

* A complete version of the paper is available on the Global Partnership's website: www.gppac.net.

New Literature on Preventing, Managing and Resolving Conflicts

compiled by Pieter Schultz (European Centre for Conflict Prevention)

Mari Fitzduff, Cheyanne Church (Eds.) **NGOs at the Table: Strategies for Influencing Policies in Areas of Conflict.**

Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004, 195p. ISBN 0-7425-2848-0 (cloth), ISBN 0-7425-2849-9 (paperback).

Reviewed by Jim Wake

Table talk

In conflict situations, can NGOs really influence policy? And if so, how? In *NGOs at the Table: Strategies for Influencing Policies in Areas of Conflict*, editors Mari Fitzduff and Cheyanne Church answer the first question in the affirmative, and present six case studies and two focused essays to provide some guidance in response to the second. Refreshingly, they offer a realistic appraisal of what can be done, what needs to be done, and what must be avoided, with plenty of good advice and cautionary remarks on how things can go wrong.

In the first third of this comfortably thin volume, the possibilities of 'stepping up to the table' are explored at some length. The editors begin with a discussion of the evolving roles NGOs have played in conflict situations, and some astute observations about the culture clash between policymakers and NGOs. They then offer an overview of much of what follows in a section entitled 'Strategies to consider'. One of the most fundamental decisions that NGO advocates must grapple with, they suggest, is whether they should try to influence policy as 'outsiders' using the media, public campaigns, and so on, or as 'insiders', working alongside policymakers.

Chapters 2 and 3 examine the processes of policymaking, strategies for exerting an influence on policymakers, and the inevitable challenges that members of the NGO community will face in undertaking such efforts. Hizkias Assefa, in Chapter 3, stresses, for example, how difficult it is to gauge the impact of an effort to influence policy, and rightfully urges the unwary policy advocate to keep in mind that 'policy decision making is not a rational and linear process, but rather an outcome of all sorts of bargaining, horse trading, and at times, power plays between various powerful stakeholders.'

The next six chapters present the case studies - six very

different examples of how NGOs can push an agenda from inside, outside, or in some cases, a combination of the two, to make a real difference. It is that variety that gives the book particular relevance and utility. The focus moves from the Caucasus to Northern Ireland to South Africa to Burundi and the Great Lakes region of Africa to Turkey - with one global action to push for a central role for women in peacebuilding. The organizations range from the nascent - the establishment of an NGO in Turkey to 'reframe' the Kurdish problem in the eyes of Turkey's policymakers, to the nearly staid - the Norwegian Refugee Council (established 1946) and the Harvard University-linked Conflict Management Group working together to get Georgian and South Ossetian officials to talk to each other informally in the hopes of building relationships and exploring strategies to resolve a seething conflict. The focus shifts from local - assisting families victimized by sectarian violence in North Belfast and demonstrating, to skeptical communities in South Africa, that the concept of community policing is indeed feasible - to regional, with the establishment, at the initiative of Search for Common Ground, of the Great Lakes Policy Forum in Washington and the European Great Lakes Forum in Brussels as platforms for exploring policy options in Africa's Great Lakes region - to global with the Women in Peace Campaign. And likewise, the number of players ranges from a handful in one small organization, to thousands working in hundreds of NGOs.

The conclusion, that NGOs can be effective in influencing policies and policymakers, comes with a useful caveat, sketched out in the final chapter. Success, say Fitzduff and Church, is dependent on a number of crucial factors: good preparation, the development of good relationships with target organizations and individuals, an awareness of the importance of timing, understanding how to effectively use the media, and professionalism.

NGOs at the Table only hints at how to successfully address those concerns. But what it does do is to offer encouragement and useful examples to those who hope to join policymakers 'at the table'.

Op de pagina komt nog de cover van het hierboven besproken boek.

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- Austin, Alex; Fisher, Martina; Ropers, Norbert (eds.). **Transforming ethnopolitical conflict: the Berghof handbook.** Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004 - 473 pp.
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- Kievelitz, Uwe; Kruk, Gabriele; Frieters, Norbert. **Joint Utstein study of peacebuilding: national report from Germany - commissioned by the Evaluation Division of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ).** Eschborn: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ); BMZ, 2003 - 88 pp.
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- Nhema, A.G. **The quest for peace in Africa: transformations, democracy and public policy.** Utrecht: International Books ; Addis Ababa : OSSREA, 2004 - 416 pp.
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Calendar of Events and Conferences

- EUROPE'S INVOLVEMENT IN CONFLICT AREAS IN THE WORLD
November 5-6, Oberaula, Germany

The seminar explores possibilities for European assistance in the process of reordering the Middle East, in the pacification of Afghanistan, and in the democratization of the Balkans.

Contact: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS)

Email: KAS-Wiesbaden@kas.de
www.kas.de/veranstaltungen/2004/9197_veranstaltung.html

- LINK GROUP CONFERENCE FOR NON-VIOLENT RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT
NOVEMBER 19-20, RUGBY, UK

Peace Direct is organising a one-day conference for link groups in the UK and for those who are keen in establishing a link, to share information, knowledge and experiences. We would like to explore with you what are the rewards and challenges of supporting other groups and communities. Are you a group who has established links with another group or community in the UK or abroad, or are you thinking of setting up a link? We would like to hear from you. We will bring our experience of working with those living in conflict areas. Together we can examine and understand how linking initiatives can help and support those who strive for non-violent resolution of conflict and how we could work together.

Contact: Francesca Cerletti
Email francesca@peacedirect.org
or Madeleine Clarin:
Email: Madeleine@peacedirect.org

- COURSE: STRENGTHENING POLICY AND PRACTICE
8-1 November 2004, 18-22 July 2005,
Birmingham, UK

This workshop, organised by Responding to Conflict, is a workshop for staff of international agencies with advisory or direct management responsibility for relief, development and peace-building programmes.

Contact: Responding to Conflict
Email: enquiries@respond.org

- WAR ON TERRORISM
November 19-21 2004, West Sussex, UK

769th Wilton Park Conference, in co-operation with the United States Institute of Peace, Washington DC. Is the struggle against terrorism being won? Are divisions among key countries adversely affecting international responses? How can international cooperation be improved? Is there enough contact between key groups in different countries: first responders, healthcare agencies, relevant industries, intelligence and law enforcement? What is the role for international agencies? Is enough being done to deal with root causes?

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heather.ingrey@wiltonpark.org.uk
www.wiltonpark.org.uk

- TRANSCEND, PATRIR
November 22 - 26, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

A Five-Days Advanced Training Programme for practitioners, aid and development workers, UN staff, policy-makers, and NGOs working in peacebuilding, conflict transformation, war to peace transition and post-war recovery.

Contact:
Tel.: + 40 742 079 716
Fax.: + 40 2 64 420 298
Email: calina@patrir.ro
<http://transcend.org/>

- COURSE ON HUMAN RIGHTS FOR ARMED, SECURITY AND POLICE FORCES IN PEACE OPERATIONS
December 6 - 10, Sanremo, Italy

The course on Human Rights for Armed, Security and Police Forces in Peace Operations focuses mainly on peace operations and aims at giving basic knowledge of relevant Human Rights Law, analyzing its applicability and the obligations of armed, security and police forces in those operations. The course focuses on practical

aspects of and approach to human rights issues in peace operations scenarios particularly from the Armed, Security and Police Forces perspective. Besides lectures on human rights provisions and their applicability in peace operations, practical seminars and case studies are also included in the course programme.

Contact: UN Peacekeeping Best Practices

Mr. Juhani Loikkanen
Email: sanremo@iihl.org
<http://pbpu.unlb.org/PBPU/Event/Event.aspx?eventid=34&status=1>

- SEMINAR ON CONFLICTS AND PEACEBUILDING IN INDONESIA - PUBLIC LAUNCH OF *SEARCHING FOR PEACE IN ASIA PACIFIC*
December 17, 2004, The Hague, The Netherlands

A seminar on the current situation in Indonesia, with specific discussions around the current conflict situations and peacebuilding initiatives in Aceh and West Papua, will be organised on the occasion of the book launch of the last publication in the *Searching for Peace* series. The seminar will be a public meeting, structured around a plenary session and discussions in working groups.

In terms of content, the objective is to draw attention to the efforts of peacebuilders in their respective conflict areas. Experts from Indonesia, Australia and the Netherlands will be invited to present and facilitate the discussion around the above mentioned issues, as well as academics, government and civil society representatives from the Netherlands and other European countries.

Contact: Annelies Claessens or Marco Mezzera
E-mail: a.claessens@conflict-prevention.net