

Conflict Prevention Newsletter

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No place for US unilateralism in a shrunken world

President Bush's statement, "that there is an 'axis of evil' which threatens the peace of the world," may serve to galvanise US public opinion, but it is a dangerous oversimplification of international political and military realities. In the first place, the fundamental differences between Iran, Iraq and North Korea are greater than the similarities. Second, when nations are named and blamed in this way there is a natural tendency for the citizens of those nations to rally around their leaders-no matter how odious - in order to defend their national reputations and identity. Third, this statement was very badly timed, coming as it did when the United Kingdom and other European nations have been trying to develop more positive relations with Iran in order to strengthen the hand of moderate elements seeking to expand democratic space in Iran. Fourth, there was no indication in Bush's statement about how the United States intended dealing with this so-called "axis of evil". It was high on rhetoric and low on substance.

What is becoming increasingly clear is that there is a growing difference of opinion between Europe (the United Kingdom notwithstanding) and the United States on the best ways of dealing with terrorists and terrorism. This may account for Chris Patten's (EU Commissioner in charge of External Relations), scathing attack on American foreign policy. On February 7, he accused the Bush administration of a dangerously "absolutist and simplistic" stance towards the rest of the world. Similarly the French prime minister, Lionel Jospin, warned the US "not to give in to the strong temptation of unilateralism". What seems to have upset both of these policymakers is the way in which the rhetorical gesture from Washington has undermined years of painstaking European effort to develop more constructive

engagement with Iranian moderates and the North Korean regime.

While the United States seems committed to a unilateral assertion of its own power, interests and military reach; Europe is committed to identifying ways and means of solving world problems by more peaceful, regional and multilateral means. There are two very different paradigms at work here. The first is the US reliance on *realpolitik* (which seems much better suited to an old bipolar world rather than the new interdependent global community that is evolving) and the second is an assertion of what the conflict resolution community, and the European Union thinks of as a more collaborative approach to problem solving. This new approach is aimed at addressing the underlying causes of violence as much as its symptoms. In this paradigm, terrorism (as horrific as it is in terms of its brutal consequences) is a symptom of some very basic and unresolved problems within national regional and global political systems. To address the symptoms without tackling the root causes will not make the world a safer place.

The US administration, for example, is seeking a USD 48 billion increase in defence spending. This is the same amount as the whole world spends on development assistance each year. Europe supplies 55 percent of the world's development assistance. European policymakers, therefore, do not wish to see these pro-active development and peace-building initiatives challenged or undermined by a US assertion of the primacy of military solutions. One thing that European integration has taught politicians on this side of the

Change of address!

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Atlantic is the primacy of the political over the military in the resolution of economic, social and political conflicts.

There are some growing and rather fundamental differences between Europe and North America. These are epitomised to some extent by John Bolton, US undersecretary of state for Arms Control. He has condemned multilateralism as a threat to American sovereignty. It was he who withdrew from talks on a convention limiting light weapons and small arms because it would have "undermined America's constitutional right to carry arms". When his comments are added to American opposition to the International Criminal Court, the global ban on anti personnel land mines, action against biological weapons, the comprehensive test ban treaty and the Kyoto treaty on climate change it is clear that there is a growing ideological gulf between the ways in which the United States and most European government's seek to achieve and maintain their security.

As a number of articles in this issue highlight, it is vital that the so-called 'War on Terrorism' does not distract the attention of the world community from all the other problems that have to be addressed in Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America. It is particularly important that it does not result in a withdrawal of international concern for a rapid resolution of the Palestinian/ Israel crisis. It is particularly important that the war on terrorism does not challenge or subvert the regional and multilateral relationships that have been developed and nurtured over the past 55 years. There is no place in a shrunken world for unconstrained unilateralism. This means that we all need to direct much more attention toward medium to long-term peace building rather than short term crisis management.

Second, we must generate more popular political will behind the conflict prevention agendas of the Swedish and Belgian presidencies. These two countries developed very exciting and challenging agenda for conflict prevention and it is important that action plans are developed to give substance to these agenda and that they are implemented in full. (In this regard it is vital that a split does not emerge between the more "interventionist" inclinations of Northern Europe and the more "pragmatic" concerns of South European nations who seem to prefer a less interventionist stance when it comes to security issues).

Third, it is clear that governmental

and intergovernmental organisations are not going to be able to deal with the underlying causes of violence, terrorism and war alone. It is important to incorporate the private sector in this enterprise as well.

Fourth, it is important that commissioner Patten has signalled a desire for a transatlantic dialogue on the two different approaches to peace and peacebuilding that seem to be emerging between Washington and Brussels. This dialogue would be even more focussed if the EU could agree to direct more EU resources to conflict prevention; identify ways of enhancing better coordination between the different pillars and if it would develop a separate budget line for conflict prevention and long-term peace building. While there are many different sources of violence, poverty, social exclusion, and marginalisation (especially when added to religious and value-based movements) are particularly important structural sources that have to be addressed. The EU is in a unique position to develop the means for doing so.

These are undoubtedly turbulent times. It is vital that the European Centre for Conflict Prevention, European Peacebuilding Liaison Office and all the organisations and individuals represented in these networks, renew their dedication to understanding, analysing and removing the root causes of violence while working to deal with its particular manifestations. The war on terrorism has uncertain objectives, it is difficult, therefore, to know how to evaluate its impact and effectiveness.

The new military fronts being opened up in the Philippines, Somalia and Yemen add further complexity and generate their own specific challenges for peacemakers. The task for those of us working to put in place more non-violent ways of dealing with these problems is (i) to counter the totalising unilateralist and military ideology of the United States administration (ii) reinforce the more peacefully oriented strategies of Chris Patten and the EU (iii) stimulate deep transatlantic dialogue on the two foreign policy paradigms and (iv) continue our work on building connectors and relationships between warring parties so that we might identify collaborative and negotiated solutions to those political, military, economic and social problems likely to generate both direct and indirect violence.

Kevin P. Clements, secretary general of International Alert

Lessons learned, evaluation practices, aid and conflict Towards Better Peacebuilding Practice

Newsletter Vol. 4.2 included a special issue on lessons learned in peacebuilding practice. It announced the international conference Towards Better Peacebuilding Practice, which took place October 24-26 in Soesterberg, the Netherlands. The next phase in the international project on Lessons Learned in Peacebuilding will be the publication *Towards Better Peacebuilding Practice: on lessons learned, evaluation practices and aid & conflict*, available in February 2002. It will bring together the results of the project so far.

Conference

More than three hundred practitioners from the field - representatives of peacebuilding and conflict resolution organisations, development and humanitarian agencies as well as governmental agencies - came together at the conference Towards Better Peacebuilding Practice. Key NGOs organised a total of seventeen working groups, sharing and discussing their own learning practices and trying to formulate lessons they learned in their projects and policies over the last years. The work and projects in different areas of peacebuilding such as gender, religion, early warning and security were also debated, as well as learning methodologies and evaluation practices. Bringing together so many people, not only from non-governmental organisations, but also from other sectors including international organisations and governments, was another step towards a more coherent process of learning and reflecting on peacebuilding and conflict prevention work.

An informal debate was organised on the consequences of the events of September 11 for the field of conflict resolution and prevention. Some colleagues openly shared their doubts on the actual impact of the work of peacebuilders, seeing how easily these efforts can be undermined. On the other hand the events raise hope, as they have also shown the importance of other lines of thoughts and actions which can and should be formulated by the field of peacebuilders.

The conference was unique in that it gathered such a large number of practitioners from different areas, but focused on the same set of issues: what have we learned and achieved so far, and, how do we translate this knowledge into future practice? While the conference did not lead to clear-cut conclusions or recommendations, the process of interaction, debate and reflection gave the added value to this

event. The publication, as described below, will further facilitate the process that started in Soesterberg.

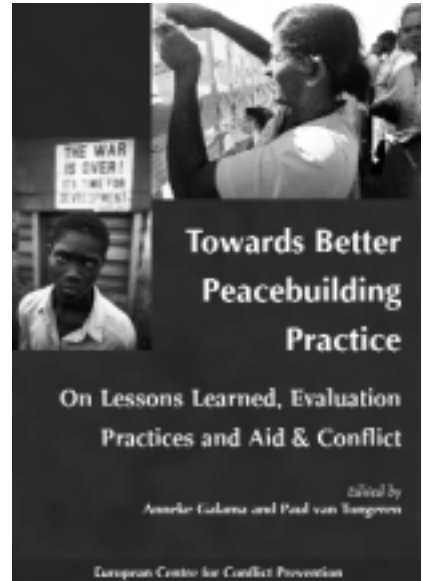
Publication

The publication basically focuses on three clusters of issues: lessons learned, evaluation practices and the debate on aid and conflict. The authors have based their articles on both literature, reports and other background material that has been collected during the project on lessons learned, as well as on the October conference itself. Furthermore, the book contains interesting papers written and compiled by NGOs who organised working group sessions at the conference. The book will hopefully serve as a source of information for, and as a reference guide to, the practice of evaluation and learning within organisations, focusing on both peace building as well as development.

The chapter *Evaluation and Best Practices: Picking Appropriate Strategies, Gauging their Impact, and Remembering what Works* deals with the process and practice of learning. The learning process takes place in the minds of individuals and is mostly directly shared within an organisation or project. However, to disseminate what has been learned and to link up with actors and projects in other areas and sectors, it is important to develop methodologies and frameworks to collect these lessons.

The chapter *Lessons Learned from Ten Years Experience in Conflict Prevention* rightly argues that there are no overall recipes for ending or preventing conflicts; each conflict is unique and so are its consequences. However, summarising the large number of lessons learned, best practices, failures and successes, collected and experienced by practitioners and policymakers, may serve as an eye-opener and important guide.

One of the most important lessons that fieldworkers, academics and policymakers have learned is that aid and conflict are inseparable issues.



Moreover, the context in which humanitarian agencies provide food, shelter and other necessary material to people affected by war, cannot be separated from the conflict or post-conflict situation. Therefore, the linkage or debate on aid and conflict was one of the main issues at the Soesterberg conference, and is also discussed in the chapter *Aid and Conflict: Feeding Armies and Militias or Supporting a Path to Peace?*

One of the aims of the international Lessons Learned project is to facilitate organisations in their learning practices. This is done through regional seminars in different parts of the world, by organising the conference in October and by compiling the publication described above. The ECCP plans to continue facilitating the field of conflict prevention and peacebuilding, and new ideas and follow-up projects are being developed towards this.

Price: EUR 7.50 (excl. postage)

For order information please contact the European Centre for Conflict Prevention at info@conflict-prevention.net



Outlook on Brussels

Jointly prepared by Saferworld and International Alert, Outlook on Brussels focuses upon developments in the European Union relevant to conflict prevention. It aims to keep NGOs up-to-date with how European policymakers and opinion formers are responding to the challenge of preventive action.

This edition of Outlook on Brussels has been edited by Vanessa Haines, Media and Government Relations officer at Saferworld.

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The Spanish Presidency

Conflict prevention and the fight against terrorism

"The 11th of September highlighted in brutal fashion the crisis we are going through and the heavy burden of responsibility which falls upon Spain as it assumes the Presidency, not only toward the European Union but towards the whole international community. Nonetheless, this is an historic opportunity for the European Union's foreign policy to make a crucial contribution to the projection and consolidation of our values in the emerging international order and to promoting peace, co-existence and harmony between all peoples and all cultures."

"More Europe": Programme of the Spanish Presidency of the European Union, 2002

After September 11, it is understandable that the Spanish Presidency has made combating terrorism its number one priority during its presidency. Terrorism demands a comprehensive and co-ordinated international response and it is right that the EU has a role to play. The Spanish Presidency has an ambitious agenda to consolidate the EU's importance, visibility and credibility in the world through strengthening the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). However, this must be balanced with other EU priorities that address the root causes of conflict and instability. The tragic events of September 11 and the emergence of a serious security threat from international terrorist organisations residing in areas suffering from protracted conflict and state failure underlines the need for the EU to redouble its efforts to promote development, effective conflict prevention and resolution. There is now a real opportunity to rethink foreign policies to enhance global security and reduce injustice.

Terrorism and the CFSP

In taking forward the plan to combat terrorism drawn up by the extraordinary European Council of September 21, the Spanish Presidency will largely focus on internal 'aspects' such as strengthening the instruments of the rule of law throughout the

EU; promoting greater co-operation between the security bodies of the member states, including activities such as enhanced airport security and tackling money laundering. The Spanish Government would like to see the EU becoming a decisive player in fighting international terrorist networks, co-operating closely with the UN in areas such as achieving a comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism and through assessing EU relations with third countries with regard to their co-operation in the fight against terrorism.

In the wake of September 11, the development of the CFSP has been viewed with greater importance. Here the Presidency's priorities lie in boosting the military capabilities of the EU, with a view to making the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) operational as soon as possible and extending consultation and co-operation relations with NATO. In building up and implementing the crisis management

'There is now a real opportunity to rethink foreign policies to enhance global security and reduce injustice.'



procedures, Spain intends to push forward measures so that the EU acquires the civil and military capacity to carry out the Petersberg Operations by 2003. To achieve this, the Spanish Presidency has established clear objectives for all four areas of civilian crisis management: the rule of law, civil administration, civil protection and policing. Steps will be taken to ensure that the Gothenberg Summit's target of 5000 international police officers will be met, and that procedures for their improved management and co-ordination will be adopted. Recruitment of extra international judiciary, public prosecutors and prison staff to underpin the rule of law, where progress has been slower, will be accelerated. Alongside this, the powers of the Civilian Aspects Committee will be reinforced and the Union's analytical and forecasting capacity will be improved by developing greater coordination amongst intelligence services. These commitments are welcome, as they will provide a more substantial framework within which civilian crisis prevention capability can be enhanced.

Regional focus

As far as regional priorities are concerned, Latin America figures prominently on the agenda of the Spanish Presidency and there is also a commitment not to neglect the EU's Balkan policy. Following the terrorist attacks, new priority countries and regions have been added. The Spanish Government wants the EU to re-examine its relations with Pakistan, India and Iran, and to work closely with the UN in all matters regarding the future of Afghanistan. Developing further relations with the former Soviet Republics of Central Asia has also been highlighted.

Spain has a particular interest in promoting the Common Strategy for the Mediterranean region, currently stalled by underfunding and differences of opinion over the Middle East. The first problem can be addressed by accelerating the decentralisation of already committed disbursements. The second would require giving a new impetus to the European-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) by reopening dialogue with countries that feel their views are sidelined. Calling a summit of the Heads of State of the 27 EMP member countries would be an effective way to re-launch regional co-operation.

Traditionally the EU has concentrated on reacting to conflict in strategic, visible locations (for example the

'The Spanish Presidency has stated that it will put increased emphasis on political dialogue as a mechanism of conflict prevention.'

Balkans and the Middle East) at the expense of the poorest countries where most violent conflict takes place. It is important that the shift in focus to Afghanistan does not mean that even less attention is paid to addressing latent tensions and violent conflict in other parts of the world. A key lesson has to be that crisis management is not enough and more resources and political will are needed for longer-term conflict prevention.

A role for conflict prevention - addressing the root causes of terrorism

Concrete commitments to take forward and monitor the implementation of the long-term conflict prevention agenda appear conspicuous in their absence on the Spanish Presidency agenda. This is both surprising and disappointing. The tragic events of September 11 revealed serious security threats to the EU from those areas suffering from protracted conflict and state failure which provide a fertile breeding ground and operational base for terrorist networks. As long as the divide in wealth between North and South increases, as well as between the elite and poor majority in developing countries, then conflict and instability will be an ever-present threat. This should provide an added urgency for the EU to redouble its efforts to strengthen and use all instruments at its disposal (including development co-operation and trade) to promote development, effective conflict prevention and resolution beyond its borders and address the root causes of conflict. Placing disproportionate emphasis on crisis management and internal policing instruments only addresses one part of the overall picture.

Implementing conflict prevention commitments

A great deal was achieved under the Swedish and Belgian Presidencies in terms of developing a policy framework in the field of conflict prevention for the

EU. The EU Programme for the Prevention of Violent Conflicts (June 2001), the Commission Communication on Conflict Prevention (April 2001) and the Cotonou Agreement on trade and aid offer, respectively, a strategic outline, concrete recommendations for reform and a commitment to placing conflict prevention and political dialogue at the heart of coordinated, cohesive policy making. A key and logical role for the Spanish Presidency should therefore be to place conflict prevention high on its agenda and take up the challenge of ensuring that current commitments are effectively translated into practical action.

Fortunately, it would appear that the Spanish Presidency is committed to taking forward at least some elements of the conflict prevention agenda. Whilst it has not been made a key priority and it does not feature in the formal statements of intent, the Spanish government will fulfil its mandate of evaluating the progress of the implementation of the EU programme for the prevention of violent conflicts agreed at the Gothenberg European Council in 2001 and will present the findings at the European Council in Seville in June 2002. This evaluation, due to be prepared at a seminar in March 2002, will examine the contributions of the Council, Commission and EU member states to the programme. In a welcome move, the Spanish Presidency has also stated that it will put increased emphasis on political dialogue as a mechanism of conflict prevention and will also seek to strengthen cultural dialogue between the EU and the Islamic world as an element of the fight against terrorism.

In order to inform and influence the Spanish and Danish Presidencies, International Alert, Saferworld and Intermon Oxfam, in association with the European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO) and the European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation, have produced a briefing paper on the opportunities for the Spanish and Danish Presidencies to prevent violent conflict. This paper, which appears in summary form in this edition of Outlook, was presented to officials from Spain, Belgium and Sweden at a high level meeting organised by Intermon Oxfam in Madrid in December. It will provide a central reference point for dialogue with the Spanish Presidency on conflict prevention priorities over the coming months. <

Putting conflict prevention into practice

Priorities for the Spanish and Danish EU Presidencies

This article is a summary of a paper produced by International Alert, Saferworld and Intermon Oxfam, in association with the European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO) and the European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation on the opportunities for the Spanish and Danish Presidencies to prevent violent conflict. Following on from the briefing paper written for the Swedish and Belgium presidencies last year the aim of the document is to highlight practical steps that the EU could take to put the commitments on conflict prevention into practice during the forthcoming Spanish and Danish Presidencies.

Despite the advances made during the Swedish and Belgium presidencies, a great deal remains to be done in order to realise the EU's capacity to help prevent and effectively respond to violent conflicts. Many of the commitments of the EU Programme for the Prevention of Violent Conflicts and Commission Communication have yet to be fully implemented. Conflict prevention has still not been mainstreamed into EU development policy and many of the measures in the Cotonou Agreement have still to be put into effect. There has been no discernible shift in EU resources available for conflict prevention. A key focus of the Spanish and Danish Presidencies must therefore be on implementation.

1. Targeting development aid to reduce or prevent violent conflict

There has been a growing recognition of the relationship between under-development and conflict by the EU and the important role that development co-operation can play in conflict prevention and management. The Swedish Presidency concluded that there is a need for greater integration of preventative perspectives into development policy and this theme was taken up by the Belgian Presidency in its work to develop conclusions on improving the European development response to crisis affected countries.

Co-operation with ACP countries affected by armed conflict

Importantly, with enhanced opportunities for political dialogue and engagement of non- state actors, the

Cotonou Agreement provides for a more pro-active approach to countries affected by armed conflict. Widening and deepening political dialogue is essential to ensure that targeted aid helps conflict affected countries to meet performance targets and provides incentives for peace. The EU should involve civil society in arriving at sound political analysis of the causes of conflict and assessing the likely impact of aid.

The EU should:

- Ensure that political dialogue is informed by a sound understanding of the political situation and the conflict risks and is inclusive and multi-level, and conducted as transparently as possible.
- Build regional, government and local government capacity in conflict prevention activities and processes.
- Combine political dialogue with targeted assistance in the areas covered by the dialogue (e.g. support for human rights).

Co-operation with Mediterranean countries affected by armed conflict

The Mediterranean is a highly unstable area and the recourse to violence is a too frequent occurrence. The root-cause of this instability is the need for socio-political and economic development. There is a need for a detailed plan to implement the conflict prevention commitments of the EU in the Common Strategy for the Mediterranean region, that emphasises the role of development co-operation instruments. The EU has sufficient instruments to drive forward political dialogue, development co-operation and activities with the civil actors on both

sides. But these need to be appropriately targeted.

The EU should:

- Increase the proportion of MEDA funds targeted at poverty reduction. This should not lead to a reduction in loans from the European Investment Bank.
- Accelerate the process of de-concentration to EU delegations in the countries in the Mediterranean zone and improve the disbursement of commitments to the MEDA region.

Using development co-operation instruments

Recent agreements and statements from the EU on development assistance emphasise coherence and flexibility in the use of co-operation instruments. There are however a number of trends with regard to the use of these instruments, such as increased use of budgetary aid and an increase in the size of interventions which have the potential to impact negatively on conflict affected countries. Increased attention also needs to be paid to developing an integrated approach to conflict prevention at the regional level.

The EU should:

- Ensure that solid and transparent accountability systems are in place to prevent diversion of funds where budgetary support is provided.
- Ensure that small-scale interventions which can positively influence local peace-building activities are not overlooked and that a proportion of European Development Fund and budget-line support is allocated towards such interventions.
- Develop and strengthen structures and mechanisms (such as an increased number of regional meetings) which facilitate an integrated regional approach including engagement with non-state actors at a regional level.



Enhancing the role of civil society

Evidence suggests that there is as yet insufficient understanding in the EU as to the role civil society can play in conflict prevention and of the mechanisms and strategies for engaging civil society in conflict prone and affected countries. Identifying legitimate actors who can play a role in conflict prevention, opening space for civil society engagement with the state, and building the skills and conflict management capacity of civil society, are some of the issues which need to be addressed.

The EU should:

- Provide EU staff with specific tools and guidance for engaging civil society (including political and stakeholder analyses) in conflict-affected countries and where necessary provide specialized staff for this purpose.
- Support capacity-building of civil society actors to undertake policy research, advocacy and conflict mediation, including inputting into track 2 peace initiatives.

Resourcing conflict prevention activities

The Spanish and Danish Presidencies should recognise that there is an evident lack of resources committed within National Indicative Programmes of the EDF and the Community budget for specific conflict prevention activities. There has been a decision not to provide a separate budget line for conflict prevention as the rationale is that it should be mainstreamed within other activities. However, it is important that mainstreaming does not become sidelining.

The EU should:

- Increase the allocation within the Community Budget for promotion of democracy and human rights and actions within the framework of the CFSP which have the potential to reduce the risk of violent conflict.
- Increase national budgets for development assistance rapidly to the UN target of 0.7% of GNP and announce an initiative towards this at the Financing for Development Conference in Mexico.
- Ensure that adequate resources are provided for activities that reduce the risk of violent conflict within National Indicative Programmes within the framework of Cotonou.

2. Strengthening the EU's role in civilian crisis management

In parallel with the creation of a military rapid reaction force, the EU should continue to prioritise measures for enhancing civilian capabilities for crisis intervention, and work to ensure that the EU's crisis management and conflict prevention policies and instruments are consistent and complementary.

Crisis management and conflict reduction policies must be better co-ordinated to allow for more consistent input from police, judiciary and civil protection personnel. Civilian crisis management experts, professionals and NGOs should have every opportunity to join in and inform the intended outcomes of military planning exercises. The EU Programme for the Prevention of Violent Conflicts addresses the need to make the crisis management capabilities available for conflict prevention. However, contributions to conflict prevention activities remain sketchy and are likely to remain so as long as civilian crisis management remains tied to one pillar (CFSP), but the competency and implementation drifts across the other two pillars.

The EU should:

- Ensure that civilian aspects of crisis management participate fully in all exercises undertaken by the military aspects of crisis management. This is necessary to test the civil-military relations and to fully test the civilian structures and capabilities for crisis management.
- Move beyond the setting of quantitative targets and begin to identify qualitative requirements for the civilian capabilities that will be required.
- Work towards a long-term solution to the pillar-problem. This should be placed on the agenda of the 2004 Inter-Governmental Conference at an early stage in order to explore all the possibilities.

3. Controlling small arms and light weapons

International attention to the problems caused by the proliferation and mis-use of small arms has heightened in recent years. However, the 2001 UN *Conference on the Illicit Trafficking of Small Arms and Light Weapons in All its Aspects* did not lead to the comprehensive action programme that many had hoped for.

The programme does however, provide a platform to build on.

The EU has a particular responsibility to address the small arms issue as many of its member states are major arms exporters and transit countries. The EU also has the potential to play a key role in working with affected countries to help reduce the demand for small arms and is a major donor of development assistance.

The EU should:

- Strengthen the EU Code of Conduct on arms transfers by making it mandatory for each member state to publish a detailed annual report of their arms transfers, introducing an obligatory 'no undercutting' rule.
- Agree a Joint Action on arms brokering that builds on the guidelines agreed in November 2001 in the Third Annual Report of the EU Code of Conduct.
- Work with the EU Associate countries to help them implement the Code of Conduct and tackle illicit trafficking by supporting action to manage stockpiles, destroy surplus weapons and strengthen end-use controls.
- Implement the Joint Action on small arms by providing financial assistance to combat the spread of weapons in conflict affected regions.

4. Combating international terrorism and organised crime

Since the US-led response to the September 11 attacks there is a growing recognition that long-term responses to terrorism should seek to address some of the root causes, as well as taking measures to reduce vulnerability and deal with other possible security challenges in the future. The tragedy has made the need to develop effective strategies even more acute.

Addressing the root causes of conflict and dealing with security challenges

It is vital that the EU addresses the conditions in which terrorism can thrive. Areas of protracted conflict, poverty, social exclusion and marginalisation are frequently seen as a breeding ground for terrorism. The need to combat terrorism makes it more important than ever that the EU improves the quantity and quality of its development aid. The effectiveness of development aid as a tool to prevent violent conflict is likely to increase if it



is targeted appropriately to programmes that address the root causes of conflict and state failure such as poor governance and unequal access to resources.

The EU should:

- Work towards a common understanding of terrorism, its causes and the need for an inclusive approach to responses that stresses human rights and democratic self-expression.
- Develop a comprehensive sustained initiative to address the special needs of 'failed' and 'failing' states.
- Undertake an assessment of the impact of all trade and other external policies on marginalised groups and communities.

It is imperative that law enforcement agencies are adequately equipped and resourced to effectively address crime and security threats, however the strengthening of law enforcement agencies must be balanced with respect for civil liberties.

The EU should:

- Improve the co-ordination and exchange of intelligence between law enforcement agencies.
- Encourage the three remaining member states to speedily ratify the statute of the International Criminal Court and actively promote the importance of adhering to the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention.
- Ensure that new efforts to combat terrorism by the use of sanctions and/or force do not undermine existing human rights, regional stability or multi-track conflict prevention objectives.

Organised crime

Organised criminal groups are often closely linked with, and use similar methods to terrorist organisations. Organised crime has seized the advent of a Single European Market to expand its illegitimate activities. The conventional separation of civil law enforcement and security agencies is no longer relevant or appropriate to the overlapping threat from trans-national organised crime and terrorism. The activities of organised criminal groups are reinforced by the possession of weapons, which allow groups to carry out their operations through threats and violence.

The EU should:

- Increase co-operation, co-ordination and information exchange between member states and their law enforcement agencies.
- Reform legislation to harmonise laws, penal codes and judicial procedures in different countries.
- Accelerate implementation of existing instruments like the UN Convention Against Trans-national Organised Crime, whilst ensuring that transparency, accountability and respect for civil rights are observed as fully as possible.
- Train and restructure law enforcement bodies, so that they have both the specialisation and the flexibility to understand and respond to new threats posed by criminal networks.

5. Working with the private sector

The forthcoming Corporate Social Responsibility White Paper offers an opportunity to make a direct link between better business practice and reducing the causes of conflict. The EU should take the opportunity to endorse initiatives of other international bodies (UN, ILO and OECD) on the private sector, social policy and conflict prevention. Parties whose interests are served by continuing conflict depend on continuing external revenue. There is now a wide consensus that trans-national corporations which plan their operations without accurate analysis of local conflict indicators may ultimately jeopardise their own investments.

The EU should encourage member states to advise the corporate sector to take an inclusive approach to trade and conflict by, for instance, insisting on the transparency of deals with host governments, encouraging diversification of production and adopting non-exclusionary recruitment and trading practice.

The EU should:

- Use the Cotonou Agreement and Country Strategy Papers to encourage corporations to include equitable resource distribution, anti-corruption and respect for human rights in their long-term investment strategies.
- Create a legally binding framework for regulating European trans-national corporations operating in developing countries.
- Support the adoption and implementation of international

certification of diamonds, which is enforced through a legally binding agreement.

6. Reforming EU institutions

Despite the ongoing reforms of EC external assistance and institutional development within the framework of the emerging CFSP, the institutional, management and decision making set up is not yet optimal in order to facilitate the effective implementation of conflict prevention commitments and policies.

Further efforts need to be made to increase coherence and linkages between conflict prevention activities undertaken within the framework of pillar one, in particular development aid and short-term crisis management undertaken within the framework of pillar 2 (CFSP). The impact of the reform of EC aid and the process of "mainstreaming" conflict prevention needs to be monitored carefully.

The Spanish and Danish Presidencies should ensure that the Policy Planning and Early Warning Unit (PPEWU), established within the Secretariat of the Council reaches its potential. In particular it lacks the capacity to undertake analysis on the basis of information received from a wide range of conflict affected regions, tending rather to focus on areas of immediate strategic interest to the EU.

The EU should:

- Make greater use of taskforces inter-pillar and between Directorates for countries and regions at risk of conflict or suffering from protracted conflict.
- Support an increase in the number of staff in the Commission Conflict Prevention Unit, particularly those working on ACP issues.
- Ensure that the Commission is granted necessary financial resources in 2003 and 2004 budgets in order to carry out the process of de-concentrating staff to delegations effectively.
- Ensure that the PPEWU is adequately staffed and that there is enough space on the Committee agendas to take full advantage of the overview of conflicts in the GAC at the beginning of each presidency, including consultations with NGOs and civil society actors.

New focus on the private sector's role in conflict

With many of the world's leading trans-national corporations headquartered in Europe and active in conflict regions, the EU is slowly beginning to address the business and conflict issues as part of its conflict prevention agenda.

It is increasingly acknowledged that the private sector (trans-national corporations and local companies) can exacerbate conflict in places of operation. The role of natural resource exploitation in perpetuating the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo has gained particular prominence in the EU. The UN Security Council instructed a panel of experts to investigate the link and, as part of its Presidency of the EU, the Belgian government launched an investigation into the role of EU companies in the region. EU member states have also recently participated in the crackdown on 'conflict diamonds' with the recently concluded Kimberly Process that led to agreement on an international certification system of diamonds that the EU will now begin to formulate and introduce in Europe. With many of the world's leading trans-national corporations headquartered in Europe and active in conflict regions, the EU is slowly beginning to address the business and conflict issues as part of its conflict prevention agenda. Coherence is currently lacking however between the various initiatives.

Forthcoming White Paper on corporate social responsibility

Last July the European Commission published a Green Paper on 'Promoting a European framework for Corporate Social Responsibility' to launch a debate to advance corporate social responsibility (CSR) in the EU. Undertaken by DG Employment, the Green Paper defines CSR as "a concept whereby companies integrate social and environmental concerns in their business operations and in their interaction with stakeholders on a voluntary basis". It specifically promotes the 'triple bottom line' concept, which adds social and environmental reporting to annual financial accounts. Elected as Rapporteur on the Green Paper, Richard Howitt MEP has headed the

consultation process that ended last December and received a number of responses from the public, private, and non-profit sector.¹ A hearing on the Green Paper will be held in coming months to debate proposals for a subsequent White Paper that is due to come before a plenary of the European Parliament in May.

No reference to conflict prevention

It was hoped that the Green Paper would explore the role of the private sector in conflict - an emerging aspect of CSR. The EU's role in promoting business activity to prevent conflict was highlighted in the European Communication on Conflict Prevention last April 2001 which cited the Green Paper as an opportunity to address the issue. The EU Programme for the Prevention of Violent Conflicts similarly called for co-operation between the EU and the private sector on conflict prevention. However, although covering areas of human rights, local resources and communities, the Green Paper does not link these to conflict or explicitly mention the business and conflict connection. By structuring the discussion of the private sector within the existing CSR framework, the Green Paper fails to engage the potential contribution of the private sector in the field of conflict prevention. It is hoped that the involvement of DG Development and DG RELEX in the follow up to the Green Paper will rectify this problem by introducing more explicit reference to conflict prevention.

Voluntary initiatives or regulation

One of the key issues in the CSR debate and in turn the role of the private sector in conflict is whether voluntary codes or regulation is the right way to address the problem. The Green Paper has received criticism for solely promoting the *voluntary* nature of CSR. This is inconsistent with the European

Parliament Resolution on the Communication on Conflict Prevention (1999) that calls for "a legally binding framework, with sanctions for companies that contribute to conflict." Experience suggests that voluntary and regulatory approaches are not mutually exclusive, but rather approaches that are potentially complementary. Appropriate measures should be determined according to the problem being addressed. For example, for the issue of corporate security and its impact on human rights a set of Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights was developed and adopted in December 2000 by the UK and US government that is now being considered by a number of European companies and governments. For other areas of CSR however there is a need for government regulation to create a base level standard for all companies.

What the EU should do

There are a number of ways in which the EU can begin to address the role of the private sector in conflict both in terms of its negative and potentially positive contribution. Firstly, the EU could promote better regulation through a system of regulation and voluntary initiatives. Secondly, the EU could do more to de-link arms purchases and natural resources such as conflict diamonds, but also other war commodities. Thirdly, the EU could seek to engage the private sector in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement and in particular those articles relevant to consultation and dialogue with non-state actors within which companies can and should fall. Finally, the EU could promote the adoption of international standards such as the OECD guidelines on Multinational Enterprises.

¹ http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/soc-dial/csr

Update from the EU

By Heike Schneider
EPLO¹

The Council

ACP civil society

On November 8, 2001, the Development Council adopted conclusions on the participation of ACP civil society in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement². The Council reaffirmed the importance of the complementary role of and potential for contributions by non-state actors to the development process and the enhancement of the democratic dimension of the ACP-EC partnership. The Council emphasised the need to expand upon the fundamental principles set out in the Cotonou Agreement for attaining the objectives of the ACP-EC partnership. The Council also adopted conclusions on improving EU development response towards ACP crisis and conflict affected countries. It agreed to continue its work in the area on the basis of the Presidency conclusions with a view to the next Council adopting operational conclusions.

Arms exports

The General Affairs Council, which met on November 19, 2001, took note of the annual report on the implementation of the Code of Conduct on Arms Exports. The Council observed that the number of refused authorisations and the number of consultations had increased. The Council approved conclusions on weapons striking indiscriminately and confirmed its commitment to the Convention on the ban or limited use of certain traditional weapons that may be considered as producing excessive traumatic effect or striking without discrimination. The Council also affirmed its support for the proposal to establish a group of experts on the question of cluster bombs and the proposal aimed at strengthening the regime applicable to landmines other than anti-personnel mines. The third annual report on the implementation of the EU Code of Conduct on Arms Exports was published in the Official Journal C351 on December 11, 2001.³

COARM, the Council working group on conventional arms, has drawn up a list of non-military security and police equipment, the export of which should be monitored to avoid human rights

violations in the country of final destination. Member states plan to agree on a definitive system for controlling these exports. COARM also wants to begin proceedings on effective control by the authorities of each member state on the electronic transfer of the software and technology associated with items on the common list. It was proposed that the system for the control of exports of dual-use goods could serve as a model in this respect.

The Balkans, Africa and Afghanistan

The General Affairs Council, in November, adopted conclusions on the Balkans. It launched an appeal for the Stability Pact to better support the EU's policy for the region. The Council also adopted conclusions on Africa which cover the Great Lakes region, DRC, Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda and Eritrea. On the eve of a ministerial troika visit to the Great Lakes Region, the Council adopted a common position on Rwanda and a joint action on Burundi whereby it would release euro 9.5 million to support the deployment of a special protection unit, provisionally composed of a South African battalion. The Council welcomed the Commission's signing of the National Indicative Programme with Burundi. In its conclusions on Afghanistan the Council calls on the Afghan forces to respect human rights and international humanitarian law. It warns that "the responsible behaviour of the new Afghan leaders in this areas will constitute a deciding factor for the aid which the European Union is prepared to provide for the country's reconstruction." The Council announced that it will step up its dialogue with the countries in the region in order to contribute to the region's stability and has appointed Klaus-Peter Klaiber as Special Representative for Afghanistan.

The Laeken European Council

The European Council, which met in Laeken, Belgium, on December 15, 2001, declared that the EU is now capable of conducting 'some' crisis management operations. The annex to the conclusions of the Belgian Presidency⁴, which deals with the operational capability of the common

European security and defence policy, states, "The Union will be in a position to take on progressively more demanding operations, as the assets and capabilities at its disposal continue to develop." This leaves the EU far behind its original objective, which was to declare the operational capability for the full range of Petersberg Tasks.

The European Parliament

Trade in Small Arms

The European Parliament passed a resolution on November 15, 2001 welcoming the UN Programme of Action on small arms of July 2001⁵. Concerns were expressed, however, about the failure of the compromise document to adequately and comprehensively address problems arising from the proliferation and misuse of small arms. In particular, the resolution draws attention to the lack of national and international mechanisms to control arms brokerage, transport and financing, and the failure of the Action Programme to include concrete measures to address this problem. It therefore calls on the EU Presidency to "appoint a Contact Group of States to pave the way for negotiations on a legally-binding international instrument regulating the activities of arms brokers" and urges Member States and Associated States to adopt a series of concrete measures to establish and improve brokering controls. It also deplores the lack of global norms on arms transfers and calls for agreement of a legally-binding international convention on arms transfers.

Conflict prevention report

The European Parliament adopted a report on conflict prevention drafted by the Dutch MEP Joost Lagendijk⁶. In the report, the EP criticises the incoherence of the pillar structure and requests a re-examination of the pillar-structure during the next institutional reform. The EP affirmed that conflict prevention should be integrated into Union programmes and stressed that it must become a horizontal factor of all joint EU policies. The EP also stressed that the EU needs to increase the budget for its foreign policy. The Parliament called for a non-military rapid deployment unit

and considered that the European Peace Corps could take the responsibility for co-ordination of the training and deployment of civilian specialists.

The European Commission

Financing civilian crisis management operations

On November 28, 2001, the Commission adopted a communication on the financing of civilian crisis management operations⁷. The Commission proposed financing the bulk of civilian crisis management operations under the EU budget and to introduce a new flexible funding instrument for funds needed in exceptional circumstances. According to the Commission, crisis management and conflict prevention should take place, as far as possible, within the

established institutional framework and using existing management structures.

DG Development restructuring

DG Development reconstruction is continuing. The unit B/1: Development policy, coherence and forward studies is no longer responsible for co-operation with civil society. The policy unit B/1

will, however, continue to work on the policy aspects of civil society participation. Co-operation with NGOs now falls under the responsibility of the unit A/3: relations with EU and ACP institutions and with civil society and NGOs.

Notes

- 1 Heike Schneider, Head of Office, European Peacebuilding Liaison Office, Rue Billiard 205, B-1040 Brussels, Tel: +32 2 282 94 21
- 2 The Development Council conclusions can be found on the Council website: <http://ue.eu.int/newsroom/main.cfm?LANG=1>
- 3 The report is available on the Europe website: www.europa.eu.int
- 4 The Presidency conclusions of the European Council meeting in Laeken can be found on the Council website: <http://ue.eu.int/en/Info/eurocouncil/index.htm>
- 5 *European Parliament Resolution on Small Arms*, 15 November 2001, B5-0723, 0729 and 0730/2001
- 6 The report can be found on the EP website: www.europarl.eu.int
- 7 The Commission Communication can be found at the following address: http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/cfsp/doc/como1_647.pdf

Council Meetings		European Parliament Meetings	
February			
18-19	General Affairs Council meeting, Brussels	18-20	Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy, Brussels
		20-21	Committee on Development and Co-operation, Brussels
		25-26	Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy, Brussels
March			
7-8	Democracy, Conflict Prevention and Development Conference, Valladolid, Spain	18-20	Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy, Brussels
11-12	General Affairs Council meeting, Brussels	19-20	Committee on Development and Co-operation, Brussels
15-16	European Council, Barcelona		
18-19	Seminar to examine contributions of the Commission, Council and Member States to the EU Programme for the Prevention of Violent Conflict. Progress report due at the Seville European Council.		
22-23	Informal meeting of defence ministers, Saragosa		
April			
15-16	General Affairs Council, Brussels	15-16	Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy, Brussels
22-23	Euromed Conference, Valencia	22-23	Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy, Brussels Seminar on the role of the EU in a more stable world - date to be confirmed

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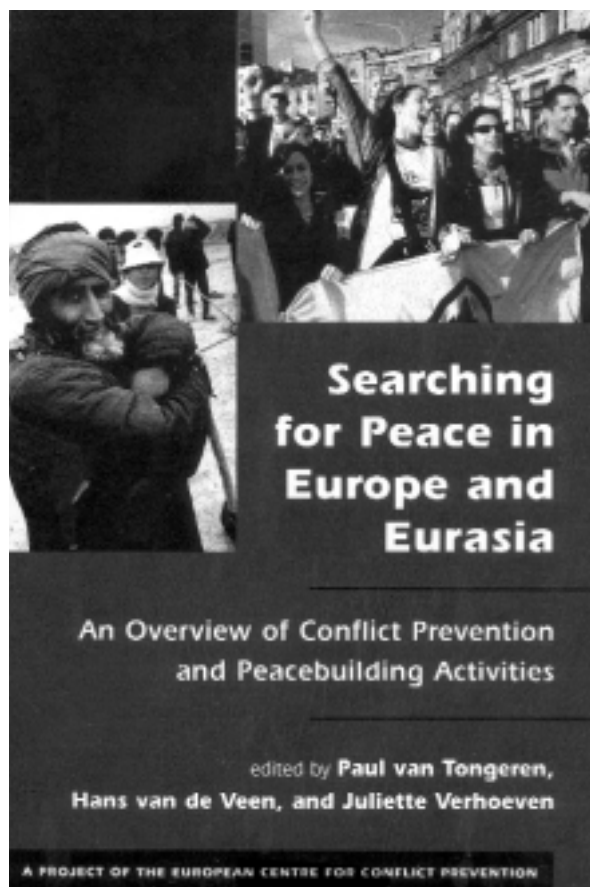
Searching for Peace in Europe and Eurasia

An Overview of Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities

edited by Paul van Tongeren, Hans van de Veen, and Juliette Verhoeven

“For the first time a comprehensive and comparative overview is given on peacebuilding endeavours, their potential, and their difficulties in all major crisis zones in the OSCE region.... a ‘must’ for all practitioners in the field.”-Dr. Norbert Ropers, Berghof Foundation for Conflict Studies, Sri Lanka

Searching for Peace in Europe and Eurasia offers much-needed insight into the possibilities for effective conflict prevention and peace building throughout the region. Presenting surveys of the violent conflicts in Europe, the Caucasus, and Central Asia, the contributors offer a unique combination of background information, detailed descriptions of ongoing activities, and assessments of future prospects for conflict resolution and peace building. A major focus of their work is the efforts of regional organisations and NGOs to make civil society part of any peace process, and the activities of grassroots groups are thoroughly covered. A directory of more than four hundred organisations working in the field of conflict prevention and peace building in the region is also included. More than forty experts and organisations in Europe and Eurasia have collaborated in the compilation of this work, which includes a foreword by Max van der Stoep (former OSCE high commissioner on national minorities) and contributions by prominent scholars and practitioners as Mari Fitzduff, Michael S. Lund, Anna Matveeva, Raymond Detrez, Kevin Clements, John Schoeberlein, and Anara Tabyshalieva.



This is a project of the European Centre for Conflict Prevention in collaboration with the Center for Conflict Management, Almaty, Center for Nonviolent Action (Sarajevo) and the International Center on Conflict Negotiation (Tbilisi)

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Conflict Prevention in Central Asia

Since the events of September 11, Central Asia has been put back on the agenda of the international community. The five republics, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan have had a difficult time since independence in 1991. They have been plagued by violence, political instability and economic hardship, and despite some progress in developing democratic institutions and the enormous potential from the exploitation of their natural resources, the risks of continued political instability and ethnic violence remain. What are the recent conflict dynamics, and how is the conflict resolution field dealing with it?

Compiled by Juliette Verhoeven, European Centre for Conflict Prevention

Inside this issue:

Some strategies for stability • Seminar announcement • Centre for Conflict Management • Women groups in Tajikistan • Foundation for Tolerance International • Open Asia project of Internews • Conflicts on water share • The Inter-Tajik Dialogue • Resources





Some strategies for stability in Central Asia

The five nations of Central Asia have had a difficult time since gaining independence in 1991. They have been plagued by violence, political instability, and economic hardship, and despite some progress towards the development of democratic institutions, and despite enormous potential from the exploitation of natural resources, the risks of continued political instability, ethnic violence, and even interstate conflict remain. Complicating factors are the burgeoning drug trade and the threat posed by religious extremists. The events of 11 September 2001 and the U.S. antiterrorist action in Afghanistan seriously changed the security situation in post-Soviet Central Asia. Internally, democratic institutions and civil society need to be further developed. External actors can contribute by addressing the severe poverty in the region, and by working with governmental and nongovernmental actors to build conflict-prevention and conflict-resolution structures ♦ By

ANARA TABYSHALIEVA*

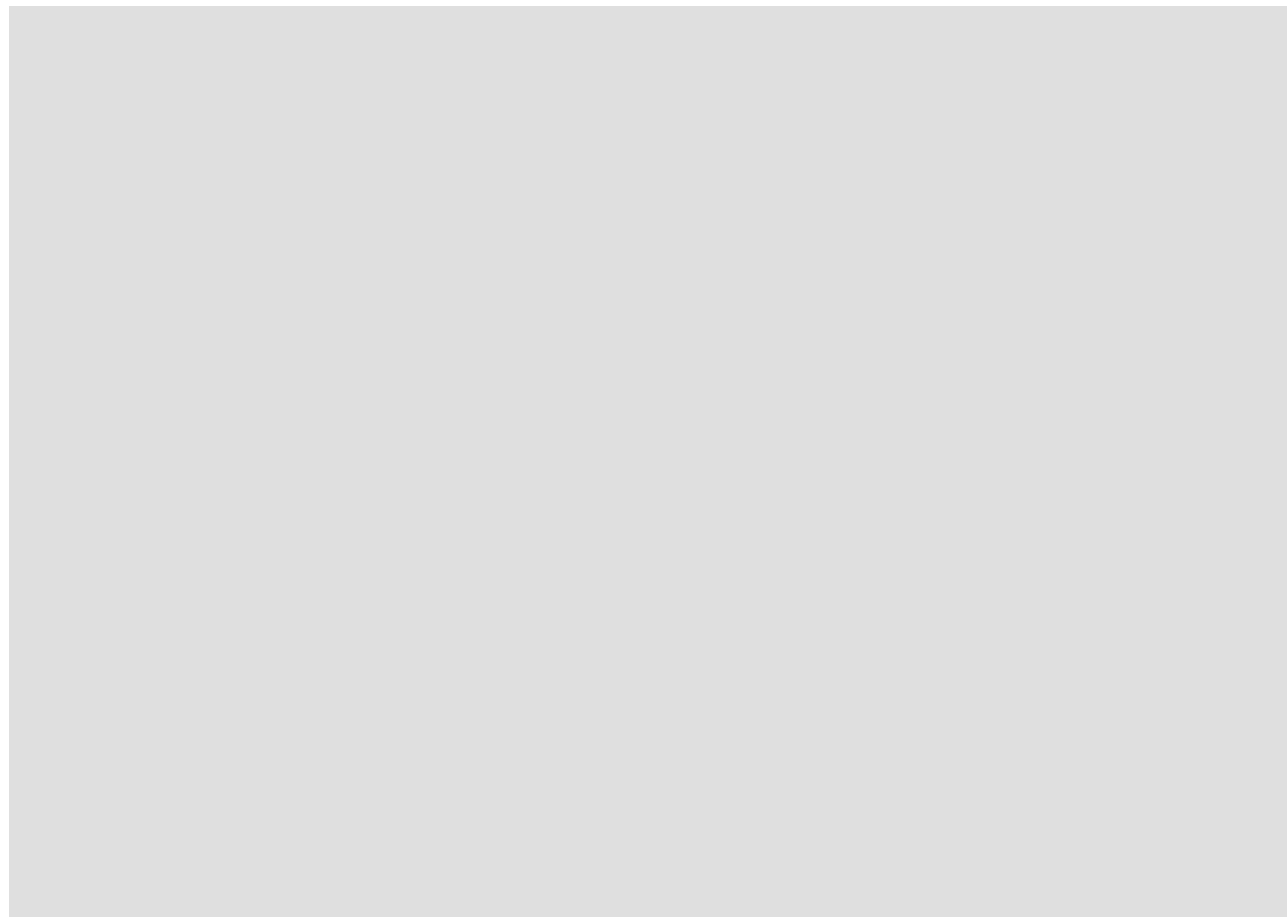


In the Soviet era, unrest in Central Asia (Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkmenistan) was managed and held in check through the highly centralised political structure.

Although the Kremlin's propaganda of proletarian internationalism played a somewhat positive role in achieving rapprochement among ethnic groups, it did not provide any mechanism, free from paternalist ideology, guardianship, and strict control from the centre, for natural cooperation based on mutual economic interests and horizontal links. The Central Asian states entered the postcommunist era suffering from sharp economic decline and experiencing ethnic and political divisions, a legacy of ethnic and religious violence and Soviet border demarcation.

The five relatively homogeneous states of Central Asia have been unable to prevent conflict in the region. Experts argue that

the Central Asian region is sitting on a time bomb that could explode at any moment. International terrorism, violent religious extremism, organized crime, poverty, and drug trafficking represent increasing challenges to the security of Central Asia. Underdevelopment and deprivation, poor governance, overpopulation, scarcity of water, and environmental stress greatly contribute to underlying sources of conflict in Central Asia. The essential differences with regard to cultural backgrounds, level of political and economic development, and degree of transformation and democratisation in the five Central Asian states will increase. There are also different perceptions with respect to a conflict-prevention agenda in Central Asia among governments, international organisations, nongovernmental organisations, and scholars. In some cases conflict-prevention measures are perceived by Central Asian governments as a challenge to a state's sovereignty and an opportunity to muzzle any opposition within the country.



Preventing religious extremism and terrorism

Events of 11 September 2001 and the actions of the antiterrorist alliance in Afghanistan opened a new chapter on the security and geopolitical balance of power in the Central Asian region. All five states expressed a readiness to help the alliance; Uzbekistan offered military bases for the U.S. armed forces against Afghanistan. In response, the Taliban leaders declared a *jihād* against Uzbekistan authorities. Soon after, the Taliban regime crumbled but there is still the risk of retaliation by the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) or former Taliban fighters in Central Asian states. One of the most serious fears is that the man-made water reservoirs could be a target of terrorist attacks. All Central Asian countries unprepared for refugee influx have different policies toward refugees. Moreover, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan have closed their borders to them and stay away from regional co-operation on this issue. Afghan refugees become a Central Asian issue and can be resolved only at a regional level.

Other religious extremists of Hizb ut-Tahrir intend to boost their activities aimed at overthrowing the constitutional order in the Central Asian states. The influence of radical and militant Islam in the Central Asian states and their neighbors poses a number of structural challenges to the region's stability. The emergence of such groups should certainly be viewed in the broader context of global trends, such as the rise of international terrorism and increasing poverty in the region. Meanwhile, Central Asian governments may use the "war against terrorism" as an excuse to further undermine respect for human rights and religious freedom.

There is an alarming tendency to equate Islam with extremism just because a small group of young people are motivated by religion to engage in activities fomenting social unrest, and use religion to justify their terrorist activities. Anti-Islamic propaganda and the oversimplification of the current religious situation in Central Asia may lead to flawed decisionmaking. One

evidence of that is the increasing deportation of citizens of neighbouring states, mainly traders, and the tightening passport and visa regime that restricts people's movement within Central Asia. Although all Central Asian leaders declare common goals and concerns over terrorism, each country has its own agenda and is engaged in rivalry with its neighbours. The Washington Tashkent alliance is changing the role of Uzbekistan in the region. For Uzbekistan, it might be a slippery slope not only in the form of further repression of zealous Muslims and other religious believers, but in continuing land-mining and a hurried demarcation of borders with weaker countries such as Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. The U.S. engagement in Central Asia is also a serious test for Russian influence in the region.

It is clear that in the Central Asian security arena, small and poor countries are more affected than others; Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan could strengthen their independence. International and local experts suggest consultations and negotiation with the external opposition in Uzbekistan. Local actors such as governments, NGOs, or regional organisations may be able to deal with smallscale crises with mediation, conciliation, and assistance with negotiations. Central Asian states should encourage joint actions involving the international community focusing on conflict resolution in Afghanistan. The West may also support intervention to end conflict at whatever stages of development such conflicts have reached.

Development of civil society

There is an urgent need to enhance the capacity and expertise of NGOs in long-term conflict prevention. All governments in Central Asia are still suspicious of nonstate actors. Therefore they are reluctant to grant a monitoring or "intelligence" function to NGOs working together in a network, even though such a network could provide an effective early warning service and might also serve to direct attention to emerging issues. NGOs in



Conflict Prevention in Central Asia

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Central Asia can also play important roles in actually intervening in conflict situations to ease tensions, and to provide mediation and facilitation functions. Increasing regional co-operation among state officials and NGOs would be extremely beneficial in progressive political and democratic reforms, including the strengthening of the rule of law, good governance, and respect for human rights.

Joint programs between Central Asian and Western grassroots organisations are of particular value. It is important to co-operate in the area of conflict prevention and human rights. It is only by embracing the idea of universal human rights that ethnic or subethnic group interests can be transcended in the region. The donors and international organisations could use their influence to encourage improvements in legislative procedures and to facilitate moves toward truly law-abiding civic societies that would replace autocratic governmental structures headed by territorial-based clans or families. The work of NGOs in intervening to resolve disputes should be improved, as well as their capacities to provide policy-relevant information and analysis.

There is a real need for effective monitoring and systematic research in the Ferghana Valley, shared by three states. Monitoring, in and of itself, acts as a stabilising factor in Central Asia. It allows ethnic and social interests to be manifested and leads to reduced tension. The participation and attention of external parties would induce more responsible attitudes from stakeholders on conflict-related issues. To prevent the recurrence of violent conflict in Central Asia, more research on the causes of such conflicts needs to be conducted, and the necessary theoretical models need to be created to help analyse future eventualities.

The open-minded and well-educated people in non-governmental and governmental sectors are eager to participate in critical discussions on the problems of democratisation and conflict prevention. They may monitor conflict and provide early warning and insight into situations in Tajikistan, the Ferghana Valley, and other areas; provide a neutral forum where key stakeholders can discuss factors contributing to destabilisation of the social, ethnic, and religious situation; initiate mediation between conflicting parties (for example, between the IMU and

the government of Uzbekistan); initiate education and training for conflict resolution and conflict prevention; advocate press freedom and initiate media activities; monitor elections and prevent electoral violence; and warn of potentially violent situations.

More effective participation of women in the male-dominated decisionmaking and security processes in Central Asia is essential. Protection, assistance, and training for refugee women, internally displaced women, and children in need of international protection must be articulated and advocated. The gender aspect in the conflict-prevention agenda should not be neglected.

Other urgent strategies to establish more stability in the region would include tackling the unresolved economic problems, fostering regional co-operation for conflict prevention, attacking narco-trafficking, reinforcing the peace process in Tajikistan, anticipating the militarisation of the Caspian subregion and increasing external aid and international intervention.

The effectiveness of conflict-prevention efforts depends to a large extent on the actions undertaken by many key actors on their own and in collaboration with other key actors. But it would be wrong to embrace a one-size-fits-all approach to conflict prevention in Central Asia. Of course no single measure can completely eliminate tensions in the region and prevent conflict, but it is possible to counteract and drift toward destabilisation, to minimise the risk of ethnic cleansing, and in so doing, to save the lives of potential victims. However, compared to the level of instability and economic hardship, the current efforts of the various stakeholders to improve the situation and prevent conflict are woefully inadequate. The Central Asian region can serve as an incubator for a more peaceful future if proper efforts are made, or it can become a place of disaster for the millions of people who live there.

** Anara Tabyshalieva is director of the Institute for Regional Studies in Kyrgyzstan. This text is the first part of an article that appears in Searching for Peace in Europe and Eurasia. (February 2002)*

Conflict Prevention in Central Asia – The Role of the OSCE

Conference organised by the European Centre for Conflict Prevention and the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Friday March 8, 2002 at the Netherlands Ministry for Foreign Affairs in The Hague.

This conference will bring together representatives of European and Central Asian governments, the OSCE, intergovernmental organisations, civil society groups from Central Asia, international NGOs, and scholars specialising in the region. Issues that will be discussed include the sources of conflicts in Central Asia; new threats to the region; changing security; the possibilities and constraints for conflict prevention and peace building; the peace process in Tajikistan; and the role of the OSCE, other intergovernmental organisations as well as NGOs.

Speakers include Max van der Stoep, Former OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, John Schoeberlein, Director of the Forum for Central Asian Studies, Harvard University, Ivan Sigal, Regional Director Central Asia Internews Network, followed by panel discussions.

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The CCM was established in 1995 as a non-governmental, non-profit

organisation. It has five major spheres of activity: educational programmes; research and monitoring; promotion of non-violent conflict resolution, peace and tolerance; the institutional development of NGOs and developing co-operation among NGOs working for conflict management and civic education; and practical activities in conflict management and prevention.

When the CCM was established in 1995 this concept was very new, not only to the wider public, but within civil society as well. However, since that time a number of organisations have appeared which work in this sphere, some due to CCM's direct or indirect assistance.

This of course has not developed as rapidly as one might have desired, but awareness-raising and promotional work has always been a major focus of the CCM's work. For example, in 1999, the CCM in co-operation with International Alert (UK) established the Central Asian conflict management NGO network, which currently unites around thirty local NGOs working on issues such as human rights, civic education, ethnic relations, gender issues, and refugee related issues. Awareness-raising has entailed considerable educational and promotional work, the latter involving the media, production and dissemination of publications and other material. During the six years of its existence the CCM has published eight books on conflict management, tolerance and civic education, mostly manuals and research papers, both in the Kazakh and Russian languages.

The CCM educational programme has probably been the most intensive. In 1998, CCM initiated a programme that proved to be very efficient. In co-operation with Responding To Conflict (UK), CCM organised a two-week seminar on conflict management. It was targeted at teachers, because of their



The Centre for Conflict Management is based in Almaty, Kazakhstan, but the range of its activities also cover Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan - the former Central Asian republics of the Soviet Union. Its mission is to contribute to the prevention and resolution of violent conflicts in this region, the development of a civil society and the transformation of public consciousness.

contacts with students, parents, other teachers and school administration. Numerous handouts on conflict issues were translated for the seminar, which then formed a basis for a comprehensive seminar report. The seminar was very successful and it was decided to continue it on regular basis. This is the origin of the CCM-idea of Summer Schools. To date, four Summer Schools have been organised. More NGOs have developed and the target group has gradually expanded to incorporate trade unions, journalists and government officials. Correspondingly, the content has changed: more time is allocated for training specific skills, such as negotiation and mediation. One of the Summer School principles distributes useful literature to the participants at the end of the school, so that it can be taken home and shared with colleagues and target groups. Despite the fact that the Summer Schools are very intensive,

they still leave many questions unanswered, and the books are intended to stimulate participants to further learning. The CCM regularly monitors the activities initiated by the participants, and this turns out to be quite an impressive list. Participants have established new NGOs, carried out promotional work with the media, taught peace and tolerance at schools and universities, facilitated training for different target groups, and worked directly with the community, etc.

In fact, for the CCM, continuity and complementarity have become underlying principles. For example, in 1998-2000 it organised a series of training sessions for teachers in human rights education. The follow-up project was a human rights education conference in late 2000 with a strong lobby component with the Kazakh Ministry of Education. A process was initiated, and as a result the National Concept of Civic Education was adopted in July 2001, which makes civic education an obligatory subject in the school curriculum. Meanwhile, the CCM has also translated a manual on human rights and conducted research on the levels of tolerance, as well as continuing smaller-scale seminars for teachers.

The Centre for Conflict Management's achievements were recognised in 1998 when it received the Democracy and Civil Society Award, a prize given by the European Union and the United States in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Marshall Plan and the 40th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome.

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Tajikistan

Women's groups build a new Tajik civil society

A tragic civil war in newly-independent Tajikistan had major impacts on the situation of women in the country. In the post-conflict peace building efforts however, women's organisations have played a decisive role ♦ *By* ALLA KUVATOVA



Following its independence in 1991, Tajikistan experienced a tragic civil war that brought the country to the edge of catastrophe. After the signing of a peace accord in 1997, the country entered into

the process of peacebuilding. However, the impact of the civil war was enormous and its consequences will continue to be felt for a considerable time. The war resulted in 60,000 deaths (1 per cent of the national population), 25,000 widows, and 55,000 orphans. Material losses were estimated at USD 7 billion, almost eighteen years of GDP at the current level. One of every six Tajiks was displaced by the war: more than 250,000 persons fled the country, 700,000 were internally displaced. Society was torn apart by the religious and political controversies, and large parts of the population have to deal with the resulting moral and psychological traumas. Criminality and violence expanded largely as a result of the situation created by the war.

The situation also had major consequences for the situation of women in Tajik society. The gender gap was strengthened in all spheres - economic, political, cultural, and familial. For Tajikistan, where 73 per cent of the population live in rural areas, the most powerful barrier to achieving equal opportunities are the traditional stereotypes about female and male roles. The sphere of gender issues in the city and in the village is different. Urban women have achieved major successes in decreasing gender inequality. The gender gap between men and women in the city in getting secondary and professional education, in the level of economic activity (employment), in access to decision-making, and access to the health infrastructure is considerably less when compared with rural society. The average life expectancy of urban men is less than for women by 9.4 years (rural - only on 3.2). Statistics show that the situation of women is worse with respect to income levels, employment in leading positions and in the high salary spheres of the national economy, and in university education.

During the armed conflict many women lost their men, their defenders and breadwinners. Together with those whose husbands became refugees or labour migrants, they were forced to take the burden of keeping their households on their own shoulders. These women started to search for additional sources of income. Market trading as a form of survival became a major occupation of all groups of women, regardless of their educational and professional levels. Women started to do traditional male jobs, such as growing cereals and vegetables on private plots and gardens.

Following the civil war, the consequent break-up of civil

society and socio-economic difficulties of the post-conflict period created conditions that permitted the growth of criminality and violence in the community. Violence against women is felt in all spheres of women's life, from the private to social. There is always a possibility of becoming a victim of violence. Wife beating is a common problem. In both urban and rural areas, many cases of wife beating go unreported and many of those cases reported are not investigated. The problems of "domestic" and "psychological" violence have become very real in Tajikistan.

The increasing feminisation of poverty, prostitution, drug addiction and other negative social phenomena are causing the situation to worsen. The share of female criminality has grown. In recent years Tajik women have committed especially serious crimes including gangsterism, robberies, murders, and many crimes connected with narcotics trafficking.

The stereotypical view that a woman should be under the protection of a man and the revival of Islam in the region has resulted in the introduction of polygamy into Tajikistan - a new phenomenon in the country. Polygamy is now an everyday occurrence, largely because of the low economic status of women preventing them maintaining themselves, uncertainty in the future, absence of security, etc. Marriages are conducted in a religious ceremony called "nikoh" with the agreement of the parents of the fiancée (bride). In these cases second and third wives have no legal entitlement to joint property, inheritance or their part of the estate in case of divorce, or death of the husband. The full economic dependence and absence of legal rights deprives them of the opportunity to make choices in social and economic activity.

But social and political life is being slowly reformed and a programme of transition to the market economy is being elaborated. Women have played an increasingly large role in all these processes, especially during the last five years. The number of women's organisations has grown from three in 1995 to more than 128 presently working in all regions of Tajikistan. Women NGOs have proven to be the most active private organisations, which largely results from the significant challenges women have faced during the transition period after the fall of the Soviet Union.

After the civil war in the early 1990s, women were initially inclined to look to the state for their well-being as in Soviet times. From 1996, civic and economic initiatives became more frequent, especially for women between the ages of 30-50. As a rule, this age group supported their families, which no longer received a guaranteed income from the husband. During this period, rural women largely focused on economic projects, such as setting up small enterprises in micro-credit programs and marketing their handicrafts. Women in urban areas developed educational projects, including programs for rural women; published civics handbooks and newspapers; conducted research projects; and established women's crisis



centres. These projects were initiated as a way of drawing women into the economy and into community participation. The projects were developed and managed by women themselves. Goals were both operative and long-term. First, they were restoring destroyed dwellings for the returning refugees and rendering assistance to children-orphans, as well as support and help to families which lost the breadwinners during the military conflict. Secondly they were supporting and upholding women's civil and political rights, civil and legal education, the upbringing of women leaders, and the socialisation of women etc.

About half of woman NGOs work on the construction of civil society. The priority of this strand in NGO activity is determined by the traditionally formed gender roles of the family, which are mirrored in all the main structures of social life. As the rights of women have been extended, many women's problems formerly considered private (such as cruelty and domestic violence) have come to be recognised as problems of society. The gender injustice is particularly strong in rural areas. This fact is aggravated by poor communication, lack of access to information and education, low migration mobility of rural women, poverty and other factors.

As the number of organisations has risen, qualitative changes have also occurred. In the early years, NGOs primarily worked within a vertical hierarchy that led from the donor to the organisation to the target group. Now NGOs work more horizontally with local counterparts in conferences, seminars and joint projects. In the past two years, women's NGOs have begun to form coalitions to lobby for their interests, in particular to increase the representation of women in appointed and elected government positions.

As a result of this campaign, in December 1999 the country's president issued a decree entitled "On Increasing the Role of Women in the Society". The decree charged the government with appointing qualified women to leadership positions in the ministries, state committees, agencies, judicial bodies, and educational institutions. Shortly after the president issued this decree, the number of women in both national and local governments increased markedly. Eight women were elected to the lower parliament, Majlisi Namoyandagon in the 2000 elections. These women represent just 13 per cent of the total number of seats in the lower house (compared to 3 per cent in the old Majlisi Oli). The National Program on the Main Directions of State Policy on Equal Rights and Equal Opportunities for Men and Women (2000) was developed by mutual efforts of the scientists, professionals and representatives from women's NGOs and its implementation is now being discussed at the different levels of Tajik society.

NGOs and community groups have become an alternative for women interested in becoming more active. Unlike membership in a political party, NGO activism is seen as largely apolitical. But they can, however, help to get people involved in politics, and they can promote their interests in the upper echelons of power where policies are determined. Unlike political parties, which usually stand in opposition to one another, NGOs can collaborate with several political parties at once.

During the 2000 parliamentary election campaign, many NGOs, including women's groups, helped organise roundtables, training seminars, civil forums and debates, giving candidates equal opportunities to promote their election platforms to the voters. Women, as compared to men, are generally more motivated to achieve agreement among competing points of view than to achieve personal leadership. It is possible that this differing attitude determines the agendas that men and women pursue in their community involvement and in the country's political life.

All these facts testify that non-governmental organisations and movements can help to counter the centralisation and the expansion of state power and facilitate civil accountability and control. They can also help to ensure the participation of people in the political process, creating informal channels in parallel with formal democratic institutions. The experiences of Tajikistan in the resolution of its armed conflict and peace-building at different levels of society is important and useful in itself, but it can also be considered a successful model for other countries having involved in a conflict situation or experiencing the complications of a post-conflict period.

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Large potential for conflict on water share

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the shared water systems in Central Asia also broke down. Coupled with recent severe droughts, this has resulted in a dangerous situation. Negotiations on sharing water between the five governments have not yet started ♦ By MADINA NAJIMOVA



In Uzbekistan there are 4,200 million ha of irrigated lands. This is less than 10 per cent of the total territory of Uzbekistan, and 20 per cent of the arable lands, however, 90 per cent of the agricultural production of Uzbekistan is produced on irrigated lands. The majority of the population (75 per cent) of Uzbekistan lives in the irrigated areas. The main condition for sustainable agricultural production in the irrigated lands is the availability of water resources. The irrigation system of Uzbekistan is part of the unique water system of Central Asia. Ninety per cent of the water resources are received from two rivers systems, Syrdarya and Amudarya. These two river systems have more than seventeen different reservoirs for regulating water resources - they are filled in flood years for use in times of drought.

During the Soviet era, the water systems worked mainly for the irrigation of lands in Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan. The soviet-era water system of Central Asia was irrigation oriented. But, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, each country in Central Asia claimed ownership of the systems in its territory and the unique water system of Central Asia broke down. Each country now tries to use the water resources of the two main rivers for its own interests. Also, the operation and maintenance of the water reservoirs, which were previously funded by the centralised union budget, is now the responsibility of the country, in which it is situated. All this has had its impact on the sustainable water supply for irrigation. In the last two years there has been severe drought and farmers (especially independent farmers and farmers of family plots) are feeling the water scarcity.

Traditionally Uzbek farmers have been self-sufficient food

producers. Even in the soviet period, 60 per cent of family income in the rural areas was received from family plots. At present 90 per cent of all rural family income comes from family-owned plots. Food crops like vegetables, rice and wheat are grown there. But, the scarcity of water resources is impacting on the yields of crops in these plots. For example, in the last two years in the Khorazem region (Aral Sea disaster zone) lands under rice (a popular food and cash crop for the region) declined by up to 60 per cent because of the water scarcity. Families planned to receive five time more income, than they invested if the yield was good. Instead they lost all their investments. There was a similar situation in Karakalpakistan, in the Ferghana Valley.

Local people tend to look for easy answers in reaction to the water shortage. Most local people in the Khorazem think that water is scarce because the Turkmen people are using more water for irrigation. In the Ferghana Valley local farmers think that water scarcity is the result of the Kyrgyz government policy of using water for power generation. These are strong signals of possible water-related conflicts in the region. Both Khorazem and Ferghana have close borders with Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzistan. Their people share water from one source, which makes the situation more dangerous.

How can this problem be solved? The most progressive solution would be for Central Asian countries to sign agreements on water sharing and the operation of this unique water system. This would be the most effective way of preventing the problem. But, it will require protracted negotiation. At present, these negotiations on water agreement have not even started.

For an effective prevention of possible water-related conflicts during the drought periods it will be necessary to locate the places of possible conflicts and to educate people on water conservation. This will also help improve the water use efficiency and the agriculture productivity.

Madina Najimova is president of Suvchi, an NGO based in Tashkent, Uzbekistan

OPEN ASIA informs Central Asians about their neighbours

OPEN ASIA is a weekly television magazine programme that covers and is broadcast in Kazakhstan, the Krygyz Republic, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. Produced since 1998, it is the only public interest programme in Central Asia to cover regional issues from a local perspective, as opposed to government-sponsored or sanctioned programming conveying government views and policies ♦ By IVAN SIGAL

OPEN ASIA has a mandate to cover rule of law and human rights issues. Currently the programme is broadcast on approximately forty local stations throughout the region, reaching a potential audience of twenty million.

Internews created OPEN ASIA in an effort to offer alternate sources of information to Central Asian viewers about their countries, and as a vehicle to improve the production skills of Central Asian television journalists. The



programme is produced entirely by local journalists and cameramen. Producers come not only from the capital cities, but also out of many provincial cities and towns, from Khorog in Tajikistan's Pamiri mountains to Aktiubinsk on Kazakhstan's northwestern steppe, and from the densely populated and volatile Ferghana Valley to Uzbekistan's arid and empty western desert.

With the division of Central Asia into independent states, a regional culture that combined influences of many ethnic groups, religions, and languages has become increasingly fragmented, its peoples isolated from one another in states whose boundaries bear little resemblance to traditional cultural demarcations.

The repercussions for the peoples of Central Asia have been serious. Border controls, power, water, and gas blockades, populations of ethnic groups cut off from their compatriots and without political representation, the degradation of a common industrial infrastructure, a stifling of trade and the flow of information, and decreasing contacts between peoples. Such isolation is a precondition for more serious conflicts.

This isolation includes access to information. Predominant information sources remain government or government-affiliated broadcasters and newspapers, or television from the Russian government. These state broadcasters devote little time to the problems of their neighbours, and the existing coverage is strictly official, with biases intended to support the policy of the government in question. Apart from OPEN ASIA, locally produced independent media coverage about the region does not exist.

Furthermore, most Central Asian governments have instituted legislation that limits sources of, and access to, information, for instance denying stations the right to re-broadcast programming from foreign network providers, or practising informal censorship on both the local and national level. In addition, both governmental and non-governmental journalists practice extensive self-censorship, especially about

such delicate issues as regional relations. Finally, customs regulations in most Central Asian states require that books, videotapes, film, and computer discs be inspected and approved prior to import or export; and in fact confiscation of such materials by customs officers is a regular occurrence.

OPEN ASIA has given Central Asian journalists the opportunity both to participate in and to broadcast a challenging, uncensored, and balanced programme on current events and regional issues that they consider vital to their viewers. The program pushes journalists to make better television, and carry out better reporting, focusing on stories about the problems of real people, telling stories through their eyes. This in contrast to the traditional, soviet newsreel-style reporting, in which the reporter reads a text that is laid over images without any narrative relationship to the words.

Audiences throughout Central Asia also have the opportunity to see stories about their neighbouring countries, to learn about problems and conflicts that national broadcasters will not cover, and that local private broadcasters don't have the resources to cover. Hence the programme informs viewers about issues they need to know about in order to participate more fully in the social and political lives of their countries, and of the region.

Stories from recent programmes include:

- Unique footage of Tajikistani casualties from mines on the border with Uzbekistan, despite Uzbekistan's official denials of the existence of the mines;
- An investigation into extortion of migrants and travellers by Kazakhstani police;
- Stories about unilateral border demarcations by Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, splitting towns and families; and
- reports of potential vote fraud in Tajikistan and the Kyrgyz Republic.

Ivan Sigal is regional director of the Central Asia Internews Network (www.internews.org)

Positive Vibrations: The Inter-Tajik Dialogue

Meaningful peacebuilding activities in the region take many forms and operate at many levels, from the street to the highest levels of society, addressing everyday local conflicts like disputes over access to water resources and local markets, as well as cross-border disputes with serious international ramifications. In some cases, those involved may see incremental progress, in a few, a major breakthrough, but often, all that drives them is their conviction that individuals can make a difference. This particular story¹ focuses on non-official dialogue, a story that did not make the headlines ♦ By JIM WAKE



In Tajikistan, the collapse of the Soviet Union led not just to independence, but to political instability, and eventually to a fiercely fought civil war. Even during the eighties, as perestroika brought some degree of political freedom throughout the Soviet Union,

opposition groups had begun to organize themselves to contest the stranglehold on power held by the long-ruling Tajiks from the northern region around Kojand. These movements forged a coalition and backed a single candidate for the presidency in the first post-independence election, held in November 1991. But the election was rigged, most observers concluded, and the coalition candidate was defeated. In the months following, the government became increasingly repressive, and in May 1992, hostilities broke out. By September 1992, fighting was widespread.

With the outbreak of a full-scale civil war, the United Nations became involved in efforts to restore peace and stability in Tajikistan. In April 1994, government and opposition representatives met in Moscow for three rounds of UN-sponsored negotiations, and agreed to a cease fire. Finally, in June 1997, most of the parties to the conflict signed the "General Agreement on the Establishment of Peace and National Accord in Tajikistan".



guidance to participants at the official peace negotiations. And so, finally, in April 1994, the actual UN-sponsored talks began. They would continue over several years, finally leading to the “General Agreement”. Once the peace talks began, the Inter-Tajik dialogue continued to meet in a more “consultative” role, with the aim of

What is unusual about this process is that, more than a year before the two sides met to engage in “official” negotiations, informal discussions had already begun in Moscow under the auspices of the Dartmouth Conference Regional Conflicts Task Force, a forum for US-Soviet (and later US-Russian) discussions dating back to 1960. The Inter-Tajik Dialogue brought together a small group - ten citizens - divided between pro-government and pro-opposition delegates, to examine the causes of the conflict and, according to Task Force co-chairman Harold Saunders, “to see whether a group [could] be formed from within the civil conflict to design a peace process for their own country.” Saunders, a former US assistant secretary of state, employed a methodology he had developed called “Sustained Dialogue”, which creates a “safe political space”² for dialogue and allows for slow, steady, but meaningful progress towards a sustainable peace. Saunders identified five stages in this process:

1. deciding to engage
2. mapping the relationship together
3. probing the dynamics
4. experiencing the relationship by thinking together
5. acting together

The idea behind this process is that these unofficial discussions can “focus on relationship issues such as dehumanization, fear, identity, and historical roots that are beyond the scope of mediation and negotiation, by ‘reaching toward the heart of the relationship where enemies are made, where reconciliation takes place, and where fundamental change can produce working relationships capable of post-conflict peacebuilding.’”³

During the early meetings, which continued until August 1993, the participants at first spoke to each other about their own feelings about the war, and then addressed the conditions that would be necessary to start actual negotiations. In January 1994, opposition groups, united under the banner of the Coordination Centre of Democratic Forces of Tajikistan, presented a set of proposals regarding a settlement to the pro-government participants. For two days, the two parties discussed this platform. Pro-government participants were convinced that the proposals were serious and could serve as a basis for a negotiations. They took this message to the Tajik government, and shortly thereafter, the government informed the UN special envoy that it would participate in a UN-sponsored peace process.

The participants met again in March 1994 and prepared the first of many memoranda which helped to provide

“designing a political process of national reconciliation for the country.” Several participants also participated in the official negotiations.

It is impossible to know if some other channel for peace talks might have been established had the Inter-Tajik Dialogue not existed, but it is clear that in 1993, the Dialogue was the only channel for communication across the political divide, and one high Tajik official observed that “After six meetings of the Dialogue, it was no longer possible to argue credibly that negotiation between the government and the opposition was impossible.” A number of proposals developed by the Dialogue, such as a staged transition to a more inclusive political system, and the establishment of a coordinating council responsible for implementing agreements, were taken up during negotiations and helped shape the General Agreement, which provided for a Commission on National Reconciliation quite similar in function to the Coordinating Council.

Participants in the Dialogue themselves say that they came to understand the roots of the conflict by taking part in the Dialogue, and through a better understanding, they were more willing to moderate their positions and to consider compromises. At present, Tajikistan still has a long way to go before peace, prosperity and stability is assured. But thanks in part to those individuals who came together in the Inter-Tajik Dialogue, there is now hope for the future, and relative peace on the ground. <

Notes

- 1 Much of the information in this section is drawn from “Politics of Compromise: The Tajikistan Peace Process”, Kamoludin Abdullaev and Catherine Barnes, editors, Conciliation Resources, 2001 (available online at www.c-r.org/accord10/index.htm); and “Tajikistan: From Civil War to Peace Building”, by Randa M.Slim and Faredun Hodizoda, which appears in the Searching for Peace in Europe & Eurasia: An Overview of Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities, a joint publication of Lynne Rienner Publishers and the European Centre for Conflict Prevention, 2002. See in particular “The Inter-Tajik Dialogue”, pp. 44-47 (www.c-r.org/accord10/inter.htm), in “The Politics of compromise”.
- 2 Gennady I. Chufurin & Harold H. Saunders, “A Public Peace Process,” *Negotiation Journal*, Vol. 9, No. 3, April, 1993, pp. 155-177. The citation is drawn from a summary, available on the internet at www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/example/chuf7416.htm, prepared by Tanya Glaser of the Conflict Research Consortium at the University of Colorado.
- 3 Ibid



Key resources on conflict prevention in Central Asia

Selected Internet Sites

www.cacianalyst.org (Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, an independent research and policy institution affiliated to Johns Hopkins University)

www.iwpr.net (Institute for War and Peace Reporting. A collaboration of international and local journalists provide weekly in-depth analyses of events and issues on Central Asia)

www.crisisweb.org (International Crisis Group provides regularly policy reports and briefings about Central Asia)

www.osce.org (Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe with links to the homepages of the OSCE mission and centres in Central Asia)

www.reliefweb.int (Relief Web is a project of UNHDA and provides reports from UN, governmental and non-governmental organisations as well as news agencies regarding Central Asia)

www.times.kg (The Times of Central Asia offers daily news from the region)

www.eurasianet.org (Central Eurasia Project of the Open Society Institute focuses on the latest news and analyses of current affairs and political and social developments in the region)

www.fewer.org (Forum on Early Warning and Early Response with comprehensive early warning reports)

www.incore.ulst.ac.uk (website of the Initiative on Conflict Resolution & Ethnicity contains country guides for Tajikistan and Afghanistan)

www.fas.harvard.edu/~centasia (website of the Harvard Forum for Central Asian Studies is perhaps most concentrated source of information on Central Asian studies worldwide)

www.internews.org (Internews provides independent news service in all Central Asian republics)

www.cimera.org (Cimera focuses on media development in Central Asia and publishes monthly online 'Media Insight Central Asia')

www.ferghana.elcat.kg/pe-fvdp.htm (United Nations Ferghana Valley Development Programme)

www.ferghana-valley.net (Ferghana Valley water management project to promote peace and stability supported by CIDA)

www.cango.net (Central Asia NGO Network with a comprehensive overview of organisations in the region, supported by Counterpart International)

www.conflict-prevention.net (Website of the European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation with profiles of NGO organisations in Central Asia and internationally as well as surveys of conflict prevention activities in the region)

www.preventconflict.org/portal/centralasia (Harvard University program on Humanitarian Policy and Conflict research with an comprehensive Internet portal on central Asia)

Selection of publications and reports

Calming the Ferghana Valley: Development and Dialogue in the Heart of Central Asia, by Sam Nunn, Nancy Lubin, and Barnett Rubin. New York, The Century Foundation Press, 1999.

Islam and Central Asia: An Enduring Legacy or an Evolving Threat? Edited by Susan Eisenhower and Roald Sagdeev. Washington, DC, The Center for Political and Strategic Studies, June 2000.

"Managing Conflict in Divided Societies: Lessons from Tajikistan", by Randa M. Slim and Harold H. Saunders. *Negotiation Journal*, 12, no. 1, January 1996.

The Resurgence of Central Asia: Islam or Nationalism? By Ahmad Rashid. Karachi, Oxford University Press, May 1999.

A Public Peace Process, by Harold H. Saunders, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1999

Central Asia's New States: Independence, Foreign policy, and Regional Security, by Martha Brill Olcott, Washington, DC, United States Institute for Peace, October 1997

Civil Society in Central Asia: An Enduring Legacy or an Evolving Threat, edited by M. Holt Ruffin and Daniel Waugh. Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1999

Islam and Central Asia, edited by Susan Eisenhower and Roald Sagdeev. Washington, DC, Center for Political and Strategic Studies, June 2000

Tajikistan: Disintegration or Reconciliation? By Shirir Akiner, London: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2001

The New Central Asia: The Creation of Nations, by Olivier Roy. New York: New York University Press, May 2000

The Subtlest Battle: Islam in Soviet Tajikistan, by Muriel Atkin. Philadelphia, Foreign Policy Research Institute, 1989.

The Tajik War: A Challenge to Russian Policy, by Lena Jonson, London, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998.

Searching for Peace in Europe and Eurasia: An Overview of Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities. Edited by Paul van Tongeren, Hans van de Veen and Juliette Verhoeven. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002

Reports

Politics of Compromise: The Tajikistan Peace Process, edited by Kamoludin Abdullaev and Catherine Barnes, Accord, issue 10, Conciliation Resources, 2001

The Civil War in Tajikistan: Causes and Implications, United States Institute of Peace, by Oliver Roy, December 1993

The Challenges of Regional Cooperation in Central Asia: Preventing Ethnic Conflict in the Ferghana Valley, by Anara Tabyshalieva. United States Institute of Peace, 1999

Tajikistan: An Uncertain Peace, International Crisis Group, Asia Report No 30, December 2001

The IMU and the Hizb-ut Tahrir: Implications of the Afghanistan Campaign, International Crisis Group, Central Asia Briefing, January 2002

Conflict and Peace in Mountain Societies, paper by S. Frederick Starr, Central Asia - Caucasus Institute, John Hopkins University, 2001

The Islamic Factor and the OSCE Stabilization Strategy in Its Euro-Asian Region, by Arne Seifert. Centre for OSCE Research, Working Paper 4, 2001



The Conflict Prevention Newsletter and Conflict Trends, the magazine of the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), regularly exchange articles. In this contribution, previously published in Conflict Trends 2001/4, Vasu Gounden, executive director of ACCORD, reflects on the effects of the attacks on the US on September 11 and calls for the establishment of a global framework for co-operation.

Call for the Establishment of a global framework for co-operation

Two recent experiences have made me realise that I made the right decision ten years ago, when I decided to abandon my career in law for a career in finding solutions to world conflicts.

The first experience relates to the Bush-Putin summit. Courtesy of CNN, and in the comfort of my own home, I was able to experience the reshaping of history. I was moved by the current rapprochement between the United States of America and Russia. It signifies the beginning of a new era in international relations, and an end to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction by these two nations. It also signifies the final hour of a global ideological conflict that has dominated world politics for several decades.

It should be a time for celebration. Our fears of Armageddon should be replaced by hope for a more stable world. We should be witnessing massive decreases in military spending and the reprioritisation of these resources into social spending, in order to create a more humane and equitable world. Advances in information and biotechnology should be exploited to combat Aids; to provide clean water to the world's poor; to develop techniques to increase food productivity, while at the same time, protecting and preserving our natural environment; and to develop better instruments that would predict natural phenomena, such as earthquakes, cyclones and storms, which devastate the lives of millions of people throughout the world.

Unfortunately, the historic significance and the potential opportunities of the Bush-Putin summit have been overshadowed by the events of September 11, which relate directly to my second experience. When news of

the events in New York came over the radio, I was in a taxi in Bonn, Germany, on my way to the Auswärtiges Amt, Aus-und Fortbildungsstätte (Federal Foreign Office) to, ironically, deliver a lecture on conflict management to German foreign service officers. Within a few minutes I was inside the federal building and once again, courtesy of CNN, I was allowed to experience the reshaping of history.

These events have changed the world forever, and yet nothing has changed. Instead of evolving from conflict to peace, we have evolved from conflict to conflict. An ideological conflict has been replaced by an identity conflict. Instead of reprioritising our resources to combat Aids, we are fighting anthrax; instead of providing clean water to the poor, we are spending money protecting the water of the more fortunate; instead of developing techniques for food production and environmental protection, we are developing techniques to prevent terrorism; and instead of developing innovative instruments in order to predict earthquakes and cyclones, we are developing advanced weapons and smart bombs with the aim of annihilating each other.

Are we at the end of Fukuyama's history, or at the beginning of Huntington's Clash of Civilizations? However we choose to characterise the world, what is certain is that we will be witnessing a world that will be shaped by new alliances, new hatreds, new enemies and new causes. How will we respond to these new challenges? Are they, in fact, new challenges?

In this last decade, hope and fear consumed the world. We saw hope in South Africa and fear in Rwanda; we saw hope (although only briefly) in Northern Ireland and fear in Bosnia; we

saw hope in Palestine and fear in Iraq; and then once again, we saw fear in Palestine. It was a time when we felt hopeful, yet hopeless.

This was also a time when conflict management took centre stage in the work of the United Nations (UN), NGOs, donors, regional organisations and heads of state. There was a scramble to understand the sudden proliferation of conflicts, which led to a proliferation of institutions, mechanisms and instruments aimed at preventing, managing and resolving these conflicts. Academics also made a contribution by publishing a wealth of literature on conflict management.

The world put so much effort into trying to understand and manage conflict. Many will question the wisdom of this investment. I invested ten years of my life in pursuit of a conflict-free world and, on September 11, I questioned the wisdom of my investment. My conclusion has only strengthened both my resolve and determination to continue to contribute towards shaping a better world for our children.

It is incumbent on all of us in the field of conflict management to question our efforts during the last decade. We have to understand why all our efforts have failed to reconcile the disparate interests in the world. The world will continue to be characterised by a complex matrix of interests - ranging from individual to institutional - which will result in the continuous shifting of alliances. This is a normal state of human existence.

The challenge we face is to manage these disparate interests so that they coexist within an environment of stability and peace. One can relegate this responsibility to the UN on the basis that this was the reason for its

establishment. It is within this context that we need to see the benefits of our efforts during the last ten years. Over the last decade, the one lesson that we have repeatedly learnt is that no single entity is able to reconcile all the interests that characterise contemporary conflicts. The resolution of conflict requires the efforts of several players, who can compliment each other and act in concert. Co-operation, on the basis of comparative advantage, is vital.

The last decade has helped us understand our comparative advantages; it has also helped us develop quality working relationships. In our ten years of existence, we have witnessed and experienced this development. In the early 1990s, NGOs, academics and



governments met in their exclusive forums. By the end of the last decade, almost every conference, workshop and forum concerned with conflict management included participants from all these groups. Today, the private

sector is also showing an increasing interest in getting involved in this vital area.

We have to move our efforts one step further. We have to evolve a Global Framework for Co-operation, which would define the roles and responsibilities of all the actors, and which would guide our collective modus operandi in situations of conflict. This framework should take into account our experiences during the last decade. It should also be based on comparative advantage and mutual respect. The defining parameters have already been established. All we need now is the will to execute our intent!



SEARCHING FOR PEACE



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

The purpose of the Searching for Peace Programme is to fill the gaps in information, communication and coordination. The ultimate aim of the project is to contribute to a peaceful transformation of violent wars and conflicts around the world. The Programme consists of several Regional Projects. Each Regional Project starts with the organisation of one or more preparatory seminars and results in a published review of conflicts in the area, and regularly updated web-site information. Furthermore, policy seminars are organised where results of the published reviews are discussed, aimed at applying the lessons learned and formulating policy recommendations for governments, inter-governmental organisations and

NGOs. Regular contact and continuing co-operation with the build-up network of regional experts and organisations is envisioned and stimulated. The Regional Projects involve close co-operation between the European Platform and academic institutions, networks and NGOs in the specific regions. Since starting the programme, we have been approached by an increasing number of people looking for details of contacts or wishing to make suggestions, indicating the need and usefulness of the programme. Besides the supply of information, networking among organisations of different countries and backgrounds is stimulated through the programme.

Africa

In October 1999, the publication Searching for Peace in Africa was finalised in co-operation with the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD, South Africa). It presents an overview of conflict prevention and management activities of local and international organisations in conflict areas in Africa. Included are 31 surveys of conflict prevention and management activities, several introductory articles, and regional articles that look at recent developments and their relevance in terms of de-escalating violent conflict.

Furthermore it contains a directory with profiles of some 100 African organisations working in the field of conflict prevention and management. Instrumental were the co-operation with ACCORD, and with academic institutions, networks and NGOs in the North and in the conflict areas and the expertise of an international advisory group and regional contacts.

South Asia

The last half of 2001 was mostly spent on finalising surveys and articles for the Central and South Asia section of the Asia project. After the preliminary

seminars in India and Sri Lanka in May, authors were asked to provide second drafts which were then sent to a number of resource persons, locally and internationally. The response was great, with people providing comments and suggestions, both critical and positive. The next process was to incorporate all the relevant comments and suggestions. Sometimes the authors did this, other times we requested different people to become involved in the writing and finalising of the articles and surveys. Besides the surveys and articles on conflicts in Central and South Asia, also a directory



Ms Elena Sadovskaya from the Center for Conflict Management at the seminar in Almaty, November 28

with profiles of 180 organisations was collected and written. Before finalising the Central Asia part of the project, we organised in Almaty, Kazakhstan, in November was organised, in cooperation with the Center for Conflict Management. The purpose of the seminar was to discuss drafts of the surveys and lessons learned specific to the region. The end result was sent to the publisher in the end of January, and the publication will be available in print from July 2002.

We are also happy to welcome 2 new colleagues who started work in January and who are responsible for the Southeast and East Asia part of the Asia project.

Asia & the Pacific

As the final editing was being completed on the *Searching for Peace* publication on South and Central Asia, the planning began for *Searching for Peace* in East Asia, Southeast Asia and the Pacific. Initial activities have been to involve those members of the European Platform for Conflict Prevention who are active in that region. Their feedback is being sought in regards to the draft outline of the planned publication, as well as our growing inventory of local and international civil society groups working in conflict transformation. Their knowledge will also help in the selection of an Advisory Panel, which will provide guidance for the publication, which is planned for release in 2003.

Before that date, various activities to support peace building and conflict transformation activities are planned. These include seminars and conferences, and supporting coordination and knowledge sharing through policy papers and information exchange. The first conference is planned for May in the Philippines and will focus upon deciding the approach and structure for the publication, building on our network of civil society groups in the region, but will include discussions of lessons learned and workshops.

Europe & Eurasia

Searching for Peace in Europe and Eurasia - an overview of conflict prevention and peacebuilding activities has been published by Lynne Rienner Publishers in February 2002 in cooperation with the European Centre for Conflict Prevention (see the announcement elsewhere in the newsletter). This book is the result of close collaboration among many experts and organisations of the European Platform. The book contains 19 surveys of the main conflicts in Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia, as well as a directory with profiles of more than 400 organisations in these regions. The publication is the result of a two year project in cooperation with the Center for Conflict Management (Almaty), the Center for Nonviolence (Sarajevo) and the International Center on Conflict and Negotiation (Tbilisi). Many experts (local and international) contributed to this book, and four seminars were organised to discuss the draft texts and outcomes.

The last seminar took place in Almaty, Kazakhstan and was co-organised with the Center for Conflict Management. The seminar brought together more than 25 representatives from NGOs from the five Central Asian republics to also discuss the possible roles of NGOs in peacebuilding as well as the effects upon this region of the September 11 attacks on the USA. A report will be available from the end of March at the European Centre. Within several months parts of the book will be available on the new website of the European Platform (www.conflict-prevention.net). The European Centre will continue to serve as an information/service point about conflict prevention and peacebuilding activities in these regions, and calls upon readers to contact the Centre with relevant ideas and suggestions for a continuation of information collection and dissemination.

Call for information and comments

We request our contacts and the readers of this newsletter to inform us of interesting projects and organisations in the regions that are covered. We are especially looking for information about local NGOs and resource persons. In addition information such as articles, conference reports, publications, websites etc are very welcome. For more information about this project contact Paul van Tongeren, executive director, Juliette Verhoeven, program co-ordinator Europe & the Middle East, or Annelies Heijmans, program co-ordinator Asia, at the European Centre.

News from the European Platform

The European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation is a network of more than 150 key European organisations and international NGOs involved in the prevention and/or resolution of violent conflicts in the international arena. Its mission is to facilitate networking, to encourage co-operation and to facilitate the exchange of

information as well as to develop advocacy and lobbying activities among participating organisations. The European Centre for Conflict Prevention acts as the secretariat of the European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation and initiates, co-ordinates and implements the activities of the Platform.

Networking and information exchange

- European Platform meetings are organised annually. The last meeting took place in Sweden in May 2001.
- The European Platform aims to include participant organisations from all European countries. Optimally, these should be national platforms or networks, such have already been established in e.g. Finland, Germany, the Russian Federation, Switzerland and the UK. In countries where no such focal point exists, the Platform aims to support the creation of one.
- The Conflict Prevention Newsletter is one of the few general newsletters on conflict prevention and resolution in the world. It has a circulation of 2,500 worldwide. Regular contributions to the Newsletter from prominent organisations such as International Alert, Saferworld and the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) greatly enhance its international focus as well as its quality of information.

Clearinghouse

- The European Centre for Conflict Prevention has launched its new website. See page 28 in this newsletter for more information.
- The International Directory was published by the Platform in 1998. It provides an overview of 475 organisations active in the field of conflict prevention and resolution, and lists their activities.
- The Information Centre maintains a large collection of material produced by organisations around the world involved in conflict prevention. Its focus is upon unpublicised 'grey literature' produced by NGOs.

Searching for Peace programme

The Searching for Peace programme is aimed at recording, describing and

analysing prevention and management efforts in the main violent conflicts in the world. Surveys of these efforts are produced per region, as well as complementary directories, which contain profiles of the main local and international NGOs working in the field of peace building and conflict prevention. *Searching for Peace in Africa* was the first publication in this programme. The programme is ongoing. *Searching for Peace in Europe and Eurasia* has been published in February 2002. A publication on Central and South Asia is also planned for this year.

Raising awareness

- The European Centre for Conflict is developing plans to start a public awareness-raising campaign on conflict prevention and peace building. Although it started as a Dutch initiative, international (Platform) co-operation is sought to expand its reach to an international level as well.
- People Building Peace is a project aimed at collecting and publishing inspiring stories of peace building, with special attention to examples of successful peace building by different actors, such as women's groups, churches, media, the corporate sector, etc. The first publication was issued in May 1999: *People Building Peace; 35 Inspiring Stories from Around the World*.
- In the Netherlands, the European Centre established a Special Chair of Conflict Prevention and Management at Utrecht University. The first courses started in September 2000.
- Media & Peacebuilding is a project aimed at developing an operational framework for peace-building activities of media. It will be implemented by the Centre in close collaboration with IMPACS (Canadian NGO) and the European Centre for Common Ground (Brussels based NGO).

Lobby and advocacy

- A group of organisations active in the field of conflict resolution and peace building established the European Peace-building Liaison Office (EPLO) in 2000. The primary tasks of the Liaison Office is to service NGOs working in the field of conflict prevention and resolution with information on relevant developments within the EU institutions and to facilitate their interaction with these authorities. The EPLO is linked to the European Platform through one of its members, the European Centre.
- In June 2000 the European Platform, in close co-operation with International Alert and Saferworld, published a lobby document - *The G8 and Conflict Prevention. Turning declarations into action - aimed at influencing the agenda of the G-8 summit in Japan in July*.
- Aiming at the Swedish and Belgian EU presidencies in 2001, the European Platform, Saferworld and International Alert produced the lobby document *Preventing Violent Conflict - Opportunities for the Swedish and Belgian Presidency of the EU in 2001*
- Following on from this, Intermom Oxfam, International Alert and Saferworld, in association with the European Platform and EPLO produced the lobby document *Putting conflict prevention into practice - priorities for the Spanish and Danish EU Presidencies in 2002*. A summary of this lobby document can be found in *Outlook on Brussels* in this newsletter.

Lessons Learned

The Lessons Learned project is aimed at formulating common lessons learned in the field of conflict prevention. It should contribute to expertise and policy-making on conflict prevention and conflict management. 'Lessons Learned' and 'Best Practices' which experts have judged to be crucial will be

formulated and integrated to stimulate greater coherence and an integrated body of knowledge in this field.

Publications

Free publications, brochures, reports

- Annual Report 2000 of the European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation / European Centre for Conflict Prevention, April 2001
- Code of Conduct. Conference report, June 1999
- Conflict resolution in schools. Report of the international seminar held on March 2 and 3, 2000, the Netherlands, in co-operation with Sardes Educational Services, March 2000
- G8 and Conflict Prevention-Turning

Declarations into Action. By Saferworld and International Alert, June 2000

- Lessons Learned in Conflict Interventions I & II, Background papers for the Lessons Learned Expert Meeting held on February 1-4, Northern Ireland, January 2001.
- Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution: An overview of University Programmes and Training Courses in Europe, July 2001
- Putting conflict prevention into practice - priorities for the Spanish and Danish EU Presidencies in 2002. By Intermom Oxfam, Internal Alert and Saferword, January 2002
- Conflict Prevention Newsletter

Books

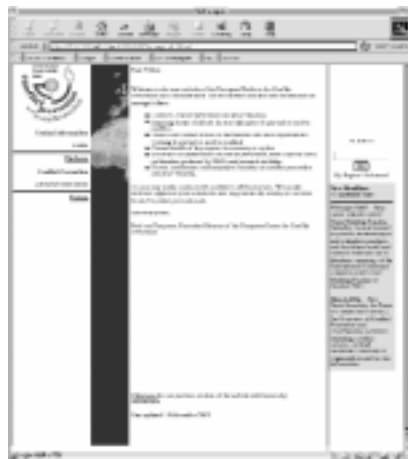
- Prevention and Management of Violent Conflicts - An International Directory. 1998 (EUR 28)
- People Building Peace - 35 Inspiring Stories from Around the World. May 1999 (EUR 17)
- Searching for Peace in Africa. An Overview of Conflict Prevention and Management Activities. October 1999 (EUR 34).
- Towards Better Peace Building Practice: on lessons learned, evaluation practices and aid & conflict, February 2002. (EUR 7,50)
- Searching for Peace in Europe and Eurasia. An Overview of Conflict Prevention Peacebuilding Activities. March 2002. (EUR 28).

The new website of the European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation

www.conflict-prevention.net

In February 2002 the new website of the European Platform was launched. After three years of good service <www.euconflict.org>, was shut down. The new site leads visitors through advanced database systems to a vast array of information about conflict prevention and peace building.

In the space of three years, <www.euconflict.org> became one of the major sources of information on conflicts and conflict prevention in the international arena. This was reflected in the increase from an average of 20,000 hits per month in 1998 to an average of 100,000 hits at the beginning of 2001. As a consequence of the expanding network of the European Platform and the amount of information on conflicts and conflict-prevention activities, especially due to the *Searching for Peace Programme* and *Lessons Learned Programme*, the structure of the website had to be revised. For this reason, the ECCP started the project: *www.conflict-prevention.net: a new website of the*



European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation.

A priority within this project was the development of databases in order to improve the accessibility of the information on the website. The goal of the website is to provide a *virtual portal* for information on all violent conflicts, and on conflict-prevention and peace-building activities around the world.

On <www.conflict-prevention.net> visitors will find information about:

- Conflicts, conflict prevention and peace building
- Inspiring stories of efforts by non-state actors to prevent or resolve conflicts
- Profiles and contact details of international and local organisations working to prevent or resolve conflicts
- Contact details of key experts in a country or region
- References to publications on conflict prevention, with a special focus on literature produced by NGOs and research institutes
- Events, conferences and campaigns focusing on conflict prevention and peace building

Work on the website is still in progress. Comments or questions are welcome and can be sent to the European Centre for Conflict Prevention. For more information, please contact Pieter Schultz, information specialist, p.schultz@conflict-prevention.net.

New Literature on Preventing, Managing and Resolving Conflicts

compiled by Albert J. Jongman (PIOOM), Esther Kloos and Pieter Schultz (European Centre for Conflict Prevention)

Priscilla B. Haymer. **Unspeakable Truths. Confronting State Terror and Atrocity. How Truth Commissions around the World are Challenging the Past and Shaping the Future.** New York, London: Routledge, 2001, 340p. isbn 0 415 92477 4

This well-researched and well-documented study addresses how societies cope with periods of state terror and gross human rights violations in order to prevent them from occurring in the future. This is done by studying the effects of the relatively new instrument of truth commissions. The author investigated a selection of 21 of the most important commissions that have been active since 1974. Five of them (Argentina, Chile, El Salvador, South Africa and Guatemala) were selected and dealt with in more detail for their exemplary function. A truth commission serves five basic aims: to discover, clarify, and formally acknowledge past abuses; to respond to specific needs of victims; to contribute to justice and accountability; to outline institutional responsibility and recommend reforms; and to promote reconciliation and reduce conflict over the past.

Hayner also looked into several situations, especially Mozambique and Cambodia each with more than 1 million deaths, in which governments decided not to establish truth commissions. Reasons for not seeking a truth commission are the following: 1) fear for the negative effects; 2) lack of political interest; 3) existence of other more urgent problems; and 4) the presence of alternative mechanisms or preferences. In Mozambique for example, the so-called traditional healers (the curandeiros) were responsible for the perpetrators returning to their communities and were accepted again by the families of the victims. With their help, community structures were maintained even when there was no effective police presence. In Cambodia it was only after intensive pressure from the international community that a process was started to prosecute former Khmer Rouge leaders. The activities of a number of NGOs in the collection of important documentation were crucial.

Hayner emphasises that there is no universal blueprint for societies to deal with the past. According to her argument, there is no international obligation to establish a truth commission after a period of violence. The wish to deal with the past has to come from the society itself. In addition to a number of philosophical and practical issues with respect to the establishment of truth commissions, Hayner deals extensively with the role of NGOs and the international community and points at an important dilemma. International efforts to persuade governments to deal with their past presupposes that other states also show a willingness to discuss their own policies in public. In this respect Hayner criticises the United States. The complete documentation on the activities of the paramilitary organisation FRAPH in Haiti was transported to the United States and is now kept by the US Department of Defence. The US is only willing to hand over sections of the documentation if it is allowed to black out details of its own role in Haiti. Hayner calls it the worst example of a foreign power that is blocking another state's access to its own truth.

Currently, there are almost no transitional governments

which, after a period of high-intensity conflict, do not discuss establishing a truth commission. Sierra Leone and East Timor are the two most recent examples. For these and other governments, Hayner's study offers an excellent starting point because it offers practical recommendations and describes the circumstances under which a truth commission may contribute to a process of reconciliation. The study is not only interesting for policymakers or lawyers. Successful reconciliation is dependent on the involvement of civil society. Hayner's discussion of the dilemmas involved in dealing with a violent past in order to find the best mixture of remembering and forgetting, deserves a much broader readership. The lessons learned from previous commissions described in this study may improve the models for the future.

Rob McRae, Don Hubert (Eds.) **Human Security and the New Diplomacy. Protecting People, Promoting Peace.** Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001, 279p. isbn 07735 2218 2

This book, written by Canadian foreign policy practitioners and professionals from the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, takes stock of the first phase of a Canadian initiative to develop and lead a radically new foreign-policy agenda built around the concept of human security. In their personal stories they describe the hurdles which had to be overcome and the lessons which have been learned.

Lloyd Axworthy clarifies the new concept and describes the emergence of the Human Security Network which tries to bridge the gap between a short-term task force approach and the lowest common denominator approach of more traditional international organisations. The new global network of like-minded countries associated with international organisations and NGOs which work together on human security subjects, started with the Lysøen Declaration by Canada and Norway.

After an initial phase, human security has become a central organising principle of international relations and a major catalyst for finding a new approach to conducting diplomacy. The aim of the human security agenda is to construct a global society where the safety of the individual is the central priority. It is aimed at weaving universal humanitarian standards and the rule of law into a coherent web protecting the individual. Those who violate these standards are to be held accountable. Finally, global, regional and bilateral institutions are built and equipped to enhance and enforce the developed standards. Canada is one of the first countries that has made human security a priority of its foreign policy and has tried to involve its citizens in this program.

The emergence of a global civil society brings together states, international organisations, NGOs, and individuals in radically new combinations in an attempt to protect and enhance security by a series of interlocking instruments and policies. The thematic chapters and case studies in the book throw light on the development of a number of new foreign policy instruments and offer some thought on what direction future work should take. Themes covered include among

others the evolution of peacekeeping, peace building in post-conflict societies, humanitarian military intervention, protecting war-affected children and the evolution of international humanitarian law. The case studies deal with the situation in Sierra Leone, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Haiti, Guatemala, Kosovo and Angola.

Attention is drawn to the principal lessons of a task-force approach which has resulted in a 'new diplomacy'. A new connectivity based on the use of modern communication technologies has been instrumental to the emergence of a global civil society based on a set of shared values, which has changed the political landscape. Connectivity not only breaks down walls, it makes borders porous, erodes traditional hierarchies, promotes lateral thinking and unconventional networks animated by like-mindedness and shared values.

The key issues identified for a fairly rapid follow-up are:

small arms and light weapons; humanitarian intervention; expert civilian deployments; international civilian police; UN sanctions; ICC; war-affected children; human rights field operations, the economic agendas of conflict; the establishment of a culture of prevention; and post-conflict peace building. This inspirational book underlines the major tasks ahead of those of us who are active in the field of conflict prevention in the attempt to counter the dark forces of globalisation. By inspiring the right people, by using soft power creatively and by creating the most suitable networks a world may be created in which fewer people are threatened by fear and more people live in greater safety.

Developments related to the Human Security Network can be tracked on the following website: <http://dfait-maeci.gc.ca/protectingpeople/>

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Calendar of Events and Conferences

- STRENGTHENING THE UNITED NATIONS

March 4 - 7, 2002, Sussex, UK

667th WILTON PARK CONFERENCE.

What institutional and other changes would strengthen the UN's political leadership, especially in response to global and regional crises? What does the UN stand for and how can it enhance its relevance in the current environment? What should it do to promote a culture of conflict prevention? What is the UN's role in law-making? How can the UN's performance in peacekeeping, human rights, and poverty reduction be improved?

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- CONFLICT PREVENTION IN CENTRAL ASIA - THE ROLE OF THE OSCE

March 8, 2002, The Hague, The Netherlands

Conference organised by the European Centre for Conflict Prevention and the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs and brings together representatives of the OSCE, governments, civil society groups from Central Asia, international NGOs and scholars specialising in the region. What are the sources of conflict in Central Asia, what are the new threats to the region in a changing security context, what are the possibilities and constraints for effective conflict prevention and peace building, what is the possible role of the OSCE? Contact: Juliette Verhoeven

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- 10TH ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CONFLICT RESOLUTION - SHARING TOOLS FOR PERSONAL / GLOBAL HARMONY

May 9 - 19, 2002, St Petersburg, Russia

The conference, organised by the Common Bond Institute focuses on the dramatic and violent decline in world relations and moves toward peace, understanding, and harmony in the global community. It includes an added focus on the dynamics of terrorism and the "Other" throughout the world and on issues in the Middle East and South Asia.

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- UNU/INCORE INTERNATIONAL SUMMER SCHOOL

10 - 15 June 2002, Derry/Londonderry, Northern Ireland

UNU/INCORE's International Summer School offers a structured learning opportunity based on the latest research and concepts of conflict resolution and is designed for senior level participants from all backgrounds: practitioner, policy maker and academic. The courses on offer for 2002 are: Dealing with the Past; Managing Peace Processes; and Religion & Conflict. In addition there will be a series of Policy Panels exploring policy approaches to conflict resolution. The deadline for registration is 19 April 2001.

Tel: ++ 44 (0)28 71 375500

Fax: ++ 44 (0)2871375510

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

Website: www.incore.ulst.ac.uk

- UNU/INCORE INTRODUCTION TO NORTHERN IRELAND

9 - 10 June 2002, Derry/Londonderry, Northern Ireland

UNU/INCORE offers a new programme for 2002 providing an introduction to peace building and policy in Northern Ireland and the opportunity to learn more about the history and politics of the province. There will be meetings with both local community practitioners and representatives of regional statutory

agencies to enable the exchange of ideas and experiences, as well as tours of Derry/Londonderry and Belfast. The programme is available as a pre-Summer School course and is also open to non-Summer School participants.

Tel: ++ 44 (0)28 71 375500

Fax: ++ 44 (0)2871375510

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Website: www.incore.ulst.ac.uk

- CONFLICT PREVENTION: WHAT ROLE FOR THE UN AND REGIONAL ACTORS?

July 1 - 3, 2002, Sussex, UK

678th WILTON PARK CONFERENCE.

How can conflict prevention be better practiced, particularly long-term structural prevention? How can the UN's conflict prevention capacity be strengthened and its structural-prevention and capacity-building activities be implemented more systematically? What are the appropriate roles of regional and sub-regional organisations, and when should the UN leave them to lead? How can co-operation between these actors be optimised?

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- ETHNIC CONFLICTS: PREVENTION, INTERVENTION AND STRATEGIES OF RESOLUTION

June 13 - 16, 2002, Belfast, UK

This conference, organised by the European Research Forum on International Migration and Ethnic Relations focuses on ethnic conflicts, to be studied in the context of peace research. The conference should be a forum to a multitude of approaches, the debate restricted to empirically proven case studies and theoretical reflections with an emphasis on the historical background of the conflicts.

Contact: Eurofor

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