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New Routes

A JOURNAL OF PEACE RESEARCH AND ACTION

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Prevention - is better than cure

Do no harm
-aid agencies learn
how to prevent war, p. 3-7

50 stories
of people resolving
conflict, p. 8-9

After September 11th
- has the world changed? p. 16-21

Contents

- 3 Do no harm**
Wolfgang Heinrich on "Local capacities for Peace".
- 8 Prevention works**
Michelle Piromalli reports on an Oxford Research Group project.
- 11 A labour for peace**
Louise Olsson takes a gender perspective on UN peace keeping.
- 12 Overview: 50 UN missions**
- 16 What is happening in the world?**
Eskil Jonsson analyses the "war on terrorism".
- 19 Security and symbolism**
- 21 Behind the news**
- 22 LPI Research update**
- 24 LPI news: Congo and Somalia**

About the authors

Wolfgang Heinrich, PhD Cultural Anthropology, is based at the ecumenical agency Evangelische Entwicklungsdienst, EED, in Bonn

Michelle Piromalli, MA International Relations, intern at LPI from Project Ploughshares Canada

Louise Olsson, PhD candidate, at the Department for Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University

Eskil Jonsson, PhD, Business Studies, Executive Director at Life and Peace Institute, Uppsala

Prevention is better...

The saying: "Prevention is better than cure" is no doubt also true in conflict and peace matters. In this issue of *New Routes* you will get insights from a successful project that has involved hundreds of aid workers from a great number of contexts. The "Local Capacities for Peace", or more often called "Do no harm", project has been run since 1994.

Dr. Wolfgang Heinrich, well known to many or you from his Somali study, is reporting from the heart of the project, Collaborative for Development Action, CDA, in Cambridge Mass.

There is good stuff that has come out of the project. A number of aid agencies in various countries are now mainstreaming the approach. This means involving headquarters and decision makers at the top. It will be interesting to see how much awareness and policy changes will come out of the project, as the tools for making better decisions and better interventions are available. It is important that aid prevent – not cause – further tensions, violence and war.

On the same topic – doing the right things in the right way – you will come across Louise Olson's reflections on the UN peacekeeping. She is, as a follow-up of our previous issue of *New Routes* (3/01), discussing gender perspectives on the operations. We have also made an overview of all peacekeeping missions from 1948.

Prevention of violent conflicts is also at the heart of the European Union. Read about the new programme that was recently endorsed.

Is the world the same after September 11th? Yes and no. In a couple of articles you will read reflections from an analyses process arranged by the World Council of Churches, and Eskil Jonsson, Executive Director of the Life & Peace Institute.

To wind up this introduction to a new issue of *New Routes*, let me mention that we have received a lot of appreciation for the previous special issue "Targeting women". If you want to access it right away, use our web site www.life-peace.org where you will find all the articles. You can also request a copy from LPI.

There are many more important articles in the pipeline for 2002. Do not miss the opportunity to read *New Routes* regularly. Renew your subscription today.

Tore Samuelsson

New Routes

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Life & Peace Institute

PO Box 1520

SE-751 45 Uppsala, Sweden

Visiting address: Syslomansgatan 7

Tel: (+46) 18 - 16 97 86

Fax: (+46) 18 - 69 30 59

E-mail: info@life-peace.org

Web site: www.life-peace.org

Editor: Tore Samuelsson

Cover photo: Afghan children, photo LPI.

Page 14-15: UN peace keepers in Lebanon.

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Do no harm!

In this article Wolfgang Heinrich reports on the main findings in the project Local Capacities for Peace Projects that has been in process since 1994. As this comprehensive NGO initiative, involving also several UN agencies and governmental donors, is now in a final phase there are a number of lessons learned. And scope for further learning...

Since the beginning of humanitarian assistance in situations of violent conflict, aid workers and organizations have been acutely aware of the fact that aid interacts with the context of conflict very often in a way that exacerbates tensions and prolongs violence. Many evaluations of humanitarian operations provide evidence of this fact. Over the years it became increasingly apparent that aid given in a context of violent conflict is itself part of that context. This is simply unavoidable. Aid's negative effects are inadvertent and unintentional, but that does not lessen the need to avoid them. Rather, it challenges humanitarian organizations and aid workers to be aware of these effects and to do their work in such a way as to minimize the negative impacts to "do no harm". Experience also shows that it is possible to give aid in ways that can help reduce tensions, mitigate violence, and provide the people affected by conflict with the space and opportunity - the breathing room - to disengage from violence and to build peace.

If aid is found to feed into violence, should aid agencies and practitioners continue to give it? The resounding answer given by aid workers all over the world is that the needs of suffering people are too important to ignore. Inevitably, the next question is: How can one give aid in the context of conflict without exacerbating it? If aid becomes a part of the context of violent

conflict, how does this happen? Are there any patterns across various situations, by which these negative impacts of aid occur? If yes, is it possible to use the knowledge of such patterns in future aid programming?

In 1994, *Collaborative for Development Action* (CDA), together with a group of international and indigenous NGOs formed the "Local Capacities for Peace Project" (LCPP) to address this concern of aid workers. The LCPP was organized as a collaborative effort. It brought together hundreds of aid workers from many different local and international organizations. They shared experience in order to learn how aid and conflict interact and to help aid workers find a way to address human needs in a conflict without feeding conflict.

The Local Capacities for Peace Project involved international and indigenous NGOs, several UN agencies, and a number of governmental donors (including Sweden through Sida¹). The Project was intended to help aid agencies learn how to provide humanitarian or development assistance in areas of violent conflict in ways that, rather than feeding into, exacerbating and prolonging war, would help local people disengage from fighting and establish alternative systems for dealing with the problems that underlie their conflict.

The approach of LCPP was to gather broad experience from many aid

projects in many field locations in different contexts of violent conflict and, by comparing and analyzing these, to identify patterns how aid and conflict interact. Thus, in its first year, LCPP conducted fifteen case studies in fourteen conflict zones around the world. From these it was possible to identify a number of common themes and lessons about how aid affects conflict.

With themes and lessons learned from the case studies, LCPP then conducted a series of "feedback workshops" in a number of war zones and in cities of donor countries where many NGOs have their headquarters. Over a thousand aid workers were involved in about twenty-five such workshops. In these workshops, aid practitioners were invited to look at the lessons learned through the case studies and to "test" these against their own aid experience. They were asked to add to, change, correct, and enlarge the learning in order to make it more relevant and useful. These workshops resulted in remarkable clarification about how aid and conflict interact. They also pointed to ways that aid may be provided to reduce intergroup conflict and support intergroup connections. The learning from the case studies and the feedback workshops is gathered in the book "Do No Harm: How Aid Supports Peace - Or War" (Anderson, Mary B., Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder and London, 1999).

Lessons Learned

The following is a brief summary of the lessons learned through the case studies and feedback workshops of the Local Capacities for Peace Project.

Lesson # 1

When international assistance is given in the context of a violent conflict, it becomes part of that context and, thus,

also of the conflict. Although assistance agencies intend to be impartial in relation to who wins and who loses in a conflict, the actual impact of their aid is never neutral regarding whether conflict worsens or abates. In conflict settings, aid can (and often does) reinforce, exacerbate and prolong conflict. However, it can also help reduce inter-group divisions and support people's capacities to find peaceful options for solving problems.

Lesson # 2

Situations of violent conflict are always characterized by two types of factors:

- On the one hand, conflicts are always characterized by intergroup divisions and tensions. This is, in fact, what we believe "conflict" to be. These factors are commonly termed Dividers / Sources of Tensions.

- On the other hand - and more surprising and important for aid agencies - the context of violent conflict is also characterized by a number of things that link and connect people even though they are at war. This is especially true of conflicts that occur within societies, where people recently lived and worked (and often worshipped) side by side; went to school together and, in some cases, intermarried. The LCPP named these factors "Connectors" and "Local Capacities for Peace".

"Connectors" can be found in a variety of areas including: systems and institutions (such as markets or infrastructure); attitudes and actions (such as when families "adopt" abandoned children of the "other side" in a crisis); common experiences (as in the common of experience of war, or of previous dominance by a colonial power, etc.); shared values and interests (as when warriors agree on a day of tranquillity for immunizing children on all sides against childhood diseases); and shared symbols and occasions (as, for example, common historical figures, common "national" or religious holidays).

"Local Capacities for Peace" (LCPs)

are those systems, institutions, organizations and other factors found in every society - including those at war - that are assigned the job of keeping people from engaging in violence against each other. Although they are sometimes incapable of preventing violence, they constitute at least one element on which past peace was maintained and any future peace must be built.

Lesson # 3:

When aid is brought into the context of violent conflict, it inevitably affects the factors that exist in that context, which divide people as well as those that connect them. Aid either feeds into and worsens inter-group tensions and divisions - or reduces them. By the way in which aid is given, it either ignores or bypasses existing connectors and peace capacities and, thus, weakens and undermines them or it supports, and thus reinforces, them.

Lesson #4

Humanitarian aid or development assistance always transfers resources. These resources may be material (such as food items, material to build shelter, medical supplies, and money) or non-material (such as training, capacity building, contacts). The aid workers involved in the LCPP found that the resources transferred by aid into areas of violent conflict affect the context in five predictable ways:

1. Aid resources are often stolen by warriors and used for their purposes to support armies or to buy weapons.
2. Aid has market effects through its impacts on wages, prices and profits; through these, aid either reinforces incentives for continued violence or incentives for peace.
3. Aid has distributional impacts in that it targets some groups and not others; when aid is directed toward one of the subgroups in conflict, it can exacerbate inter-group jealousies and tensions.
4. Aid can substitute local resources that, without aid, would have been

required to support civilian life; this, in turn, frees up local resources for the pursuit of conflict.

5. Aid can legitimize some people and some activities and de-legitimize other people and other activities; insofar as aid's effects legitimize warriors and their actions, it can reinforce violent conflict.

Lesson #5

LCPP also found that the way in which aid is delivered carries "messages". How aid is given, how staff interact with local people, how protection is arranged and the like all convey messages that either reinforce the modes of violence - or reduce them. Aid practitioners have identified seven patterns of these "implicit ethical messages":

1. When aid agencies hire armed guards to protect either their goods or their staff, one implicit ethical message of that behavior is that it is legitimate for people with arms to determine who gains access to food, health care and other aid services and who does not. Warlords also use arms to determine who gains and who is going to be excluded.
2. When international aid agencies refuse to cooperate with each other and, instead, compete for partners or beneficiaries in the field, the implicit ethical message is that, when one disagrees with others, one does not need to cooperate with them. This is one of the fundamental *modus operandi* of conflict.
3. When international aid workers use aid resources for their own personal purposes (as, for example, when they take the agency vehicle to the mountains for the weekend even though petrol is in short supply), the implicit ethical message is that people who control resources may use them without accountability to others who might need them more. This, again, is one of the ways that warlords act.
4. When international aid agencies

have evacuation plans for emergencies which ensure the withdrawal of expatriate staff and high value technical equipment but leave local staff behind, the implicit ethical message is that different lives have different value. This is one of the messages of war.

5. When international aid agency staff refuse to take responsibility for the impact of their aid claiming to be “only one small actor in a complex situation” and “subject to the rules of my headquarters or my donor”, the implicit ethical message is that individuals who work in complex environments do not have to accept accountability for the outcomes of their actions. People in situations of fighting very often also deny accountability; they claim that “someone else made me kill or fight”.
6. When aid workers, who are nervous about conflict and their own safety, approach every interaction with local people with fear, suspicion and belligerence, they reinforce the atmosphere of aggression and provocation that persists in conflicts.
7. When international aid agencies rely on gruesome pictures for their fundraising and publicity, the implicit message is one of demonization on one side of the war and innocence on the other side. Warriors can use such publicity to further their cause on the international arena. Furthermore, war is seldom so simple. Guilt and innocence are present on all sides and aid agencies have a responsibility to educate and interpret complex situations with more respect, subtlety and accuracy.

Lesson # 6:

It is the details of an aid programme that determine its impact on the context. The timing of an aid intervention (when and for how long), the location, the staffing (both expatriate and local), the selection of partners and



Afghan refugees and returnees will receive substantial assistance over the next months. Photo: LPI

of “target groups”, the decisions about what and how much external resources to supply - all these decisions affect whether aid feeds into divisions and tensions or supports connectors and LCPs. Finally, and most important of all, it is in the “how” of aid programmes (what kind of distribution system is chosen, how the terms of access to goods are defined and enforced, etc.) that aid’s most direct impact is felt.

Pilot Implementation Projects

All of the donors and agencies involved in the LCPP agreed that the lessons learned from the case studies and workshops are good at helping them understand past experience about how aid and conflict interact. However, the question remained about how to use the lessons in ongoing programmes in areas of violent conflict.

Therefore, CDA initiated a series of “Pilot Implementation Projects”. CDA partnered with twelve operational NGOs that had active programmes in twelve different conflict zones in the world.² CDA provided a liaison person to work with the field staff of these agencies on a regular basis over an

extended period of time (up to three years total) to “try out” the LCPP approach and planning tool. Liaisons visited the project sites about every three to four months. They trained field staff (local and expatriate) in the LCPP ideas, worked with them to analyze their own projects and the contexts in which they were implemented and helped them trace the impacts of their aid programmes on these factors.

This experience has produced a number of practical ideas about how to adopt, adapt and use LCPP in real time and real space. In September 2000, CDA compiled these field-based lessons into a “user’s manual”. (Mary B. Anderson: *Options for Aid in Conflict. Lessons from Field Experience*. Cambridge, 2000)

Mainstreaming” the “Do No Harm” approach

So far, most efforts to minimize the harmful impact of aid on conflict have been focused at the field (project) level. Aid donors have funded these field-based efforts and aid agency headquarters have blessed their staff’s involvement.



Ethiopian civilians cheer soldiers – coming with aid?. Photo: LPI

However, it has become clear that aid workers in the field, alone, cannot correct all the negative impact that aid may have in conflict areas. Some policies and operating procedures of agency headquarters and of donors also feed into and reinforce conflict in aid recipient countries. There are three ways that these centrally-driven aspects of international assistance can cause field programmes to exacerbate conflicts.

First, the most prominent way that donors' and headquarters' actions negatively affect field operations in situations of violent conflicts is through a centrist-driven focus on and control of inputs. Overemphasis on the quantity, quality and timing of aid's resource deliveries - its inputs - can obscure, distort and undervalue aid's actual impacts.

Aid's resource inputs represent wealth and power and, as noted above, these can feed into conflict in five direct ways. More insidiously, a focus on aid's inputs - rather than on impacts - distorts the definition of aid's effectiveness. When agencies' governing bodies or top management calculate success in terms of growing budgets or increasing

tonnage of goods delivered, when fund-raisers are assessed and rewarded according to increases in agency income, when donors rely on and award regular contracts with those NGOs that move the most goods fastest and at least cost - all these processes reinforce an equation of "effectiveness" of aid with the financial health of the agency or its ability to transport and distribute stuff. They ignore impact, they do not adequately assess what happens in a recipient area when goods arrive, how it affects inter-group relations, divisions or connectors. Furthermore, they undervalue - and do not reward - attempts by field or headquarters staff to make the latter assessment. Often, such efforts are penalized as "too costly" in time or financial resources.

Secondly, aid agency headquarters and donors can cause field level programmes to "do harm" by overspecifying the identity of recipients or partners. When an agency focuses only on specific target groups, for example refugees, Christians, or on some other specified group as its aid recipients, this can reinforce intergroup tensions. When a donor specifies that aid should

go only to "those who suffered the worst damage", the "most seriously affected", this may mean that one subgroup in the context of fighting is inadvertently the sole target of aid. Aid may exacerbate intergroup jealousies and divisions rather than building on aspects of intergroup connections. Again, intergroup relations may be damaged. Insofar as these specifications arise from centrally driven mandates or priorities, latitude for field staff to make appropriate field-based adjustments in programming is limited.

Thirdly, when publicity and fund-raising activities oversimplify conflict, demonising some and victimizing others, it misses a critical opportunity to educate legislatures and the public about the nature and complexities of reality in situations of violent conflict. Further more, it opens the possibility for people actively engaged in violence to use the mechanism of aid to affect international sympathies. Combatants can, thus, manipulate the events of fighting and the access they provide for aid workers to enter areas of conflict, and through this, "make a case" for their side of the battle in the broader world.

Areas for Further Learning

Much is now known about how aid and conflict interact. This knowledge is sufficient to guide operational aid programmes in areas which are conflict-prone, where there is active fighting and in post-conflict situations.

The learning achieved by aid agencies through the LCPP is spreading. In many field sites, groups of aid agencies have combined their efforts to learn about, and apply, these lessons to their circumstances. The initiative is essentially in the hands of field staff in these locations.

"Mainstreaming" Do No Harm approaches at agency headquarters and among the staff of donor agencies remains to be accomplished. Some NGOs and donors have invited CDA to work with them as they experiment with strategies to mainstream and institutionalize the approach and tools

of LCPP into their operations, so that staff at all organizational levels learn how to adjust their own operations to ensure that they support the field application of the approaches.

There are three principle areas where further work could prove exceedingly helpful, both for international assistance agencies and for others concerned with conflict. These are:

- Investigation of how activities at the grassroots or sub-regional levels affect (or do not affect) actions and decisions in the higher political sphere. Very often one hears that fighting “spread”, “broke out” or “escalated”. However, one never hears that peace did any of these things. The question that is very important, especially to aid agencies that work with communities within complex emergencies, is how peace can be made to “break out”, “spread” or “escalate”? What does experience show about the circumstances in which small initiatives to disengage from violence and to pursue peace have grown and turned into a more powerful force, reducing ultimately the ability or interest of warriors to continue fighting?

- Investigation of the potential for development assistance to provide effective incentives for preventing violence, for stopping fighting, or for letting go of intergroup hatreds in post-war situations. There is much rhetoric about aid as an incentive or disincentive for certain actions; there is less concrete experiential evidence of the circumstances under which such effects are possible and useful.

- Investigation of “relational” indicators as a way of assessing aid’s effectiveness and impacts. Most attempts to establish indicators of aid’s impacts remain focused on inputs. That is, donors are still asking NGOs to report on impacts in terms that really only reflect what the agency has supplied (e.g.: reporting on changes in nutritional status is a way of reporting on what feeding programme inputs accomplished for the groups that received them; reporting on houses

rebuilt is a way of reporting on the use of construction materials inputs for those who got them). More important in conflict areas is the development of indicators that assess the impact of any of these inputs on the relationships between groups. We need ways to understand how the provision of inputs affect inter-group dividers and tensions or connectors. What impact has aid had on the likelihood that groups can and will work and live together or that they will continue to compete and fight?

For more information regarding Local Capacities for Peace visit CDA on the Internet:

www.cdainc.com

For further reading

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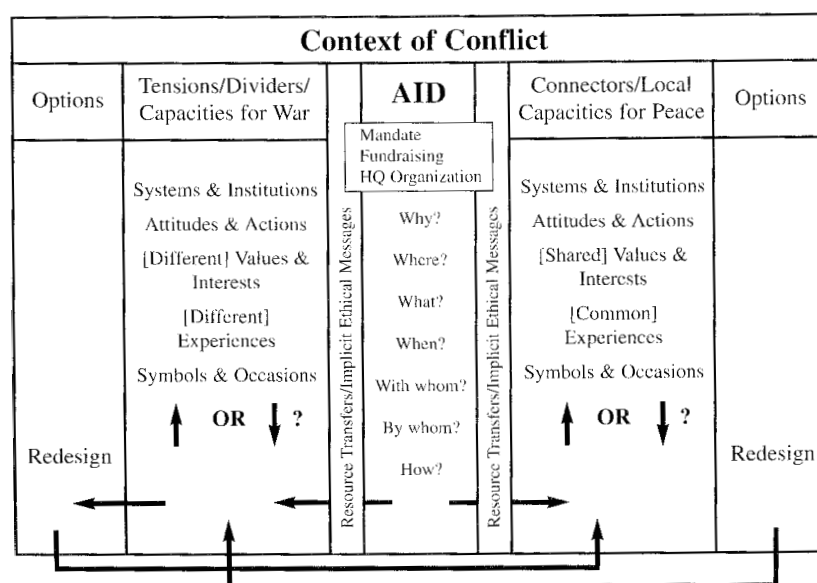
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¹Other donors include: The Danish Foreign Ministry, the Norwegian Foreign Ministry, EZE (Germany) and the German government, the Netherlands Foreign Ministry, the Canadian International Development Agency, the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (USAID), the Swedish Red Cross, the Finish Red Cross, UNHCR, and the Department for International Development (UK). In addition, a number of other U.N. agencies and NGOs have provided either direct financial support to specific activities of the LCPP or in-kind contributions in relation to its field work.

²Included are: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Congo, Ethiopia, Kosovo, Liberia, Northeastern India (Manipur), Northern Sudan, Rwanda, Southern Sudan, Sri Lanka and Tajikistan.



Prevention works

Life & Peace intern Michelle Piromalli has read the book *War Prevention Works* and interviewed Dylan Mathews at Oxford Research Group about this encouraging project.

The sense of loss, despair, injustice, anger, hatred and fear felt in response to the tragic events of September 11, 2001 has been felt worldwide. These feelings are not unique to the citizens of the United States but have been shared universally by all who have suffered the effects of violence. It is what we, as governments, NGOs and civil society, do in the face of conflict that will shape the security of both the region and the world. The military campaign that the US has been waging against Afghanistan in the wake of the terrorist attacks highlights the reality that often violence is the first and most preferred method of resolving conflicts. However, there is some hope, reflected at the recent EU summit in Göteborg, of a growing awareness of the necessity for alternative methods for preventing and dealing with conflict.

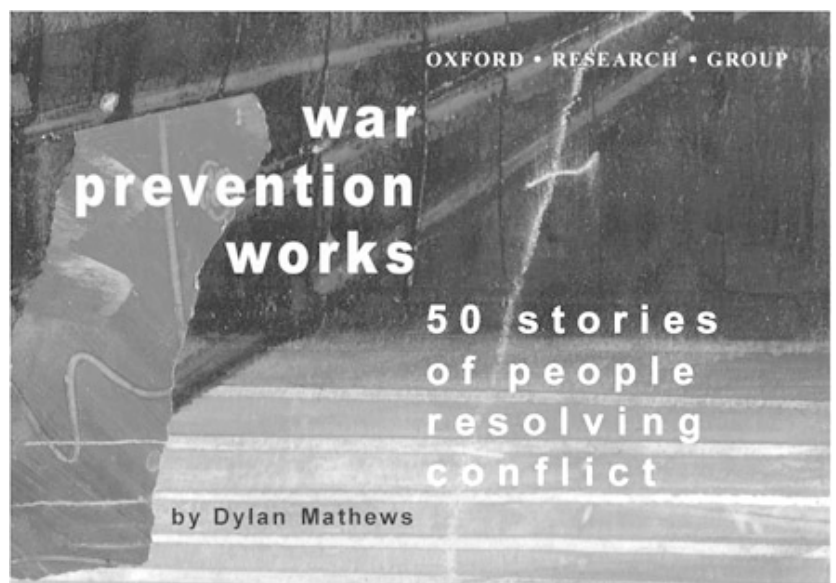
War Prevention Works by Dylan Mathews is a compilation of 50 stories of local communities working to transform conflict. They are stories of ordinary people that are armed only with determination and courage who have been able to end or subdue violence where international and national interventions have failed. It is an attempt to quell the cynicism of key decision-makers, including governments and militaries, as well as fellow NGOs that non-violent, track two methods of resolving discord are not only possible but cost sensitive and effective. It is an activity in awareness building among the decision-makers, the media, and the public of the successful work that has been accomplished and the possibility that these tools and techniques can act as

models for a variety of conflict situations. A lack of reporting on successful cases may actually discourage other preventive efforts. These cases are proof that there are other effective approaches to resolving conflict than costly and destructive military endeavours.

Each story highlighted in this work is distinct yet common patterns may be drawn from them. Dylan Mathews concludes that common threads include the need to meet and talk about peace, the necessity of outside support, the importance of some spiritual basis to action, the necessity for a slow process of trust building before negotiations can begin, the importance of traditional processes, the potentially powerful role that business and women may have, that more evaluation of work needs to be done, that NGO work may not replace

governmental action, and that these methods are much more cost-effective than military missions. What has made these efforts so successful is that these organizations along with civil society have been able to mobilize the key players by bringing them together to talk about the conflict outside the glare of the media and the international community. They were able to provide the conflicting parties with a safe and un-confrontational environment thereby creating the psychological space necessary for conflict resolution. The clear message that emerges is that collaborative, multilateral initiatives are essential; that individually governmental, NGO and community action is insufficient, and that non-violent, non-military responses are not only more cost-effective but have proven to be more successful in resolving violent clashes.

The U.S.-led global campaign against terrorism has resulted in a bombing campaign against strategic Taliban and Afghan terrorist sites. Could this expression of 'violence begets violence' have been prevented? Can humanitarian and peace organiza-



The first report in a series on war prevention stories from Oxford Research Group.

tions in collaboration with Afghan society put an end to the violence and begin to piece together the fabric of society? The work uncovered by the Oxford Research Group offers hope that this and other conflicts may be resolved through the dedication and courage of ordinary people adopting very basic strategies.

War Prevention Works is only one piece of a much larger vision of the Oxford Research Group. It is the first in a series of four volumes. This first piece addresses cases of direct violence being remedied by those working on the front lines. The following two volumes will focus on more long-term conflict prevention that aims at changing peoples' attitudes which is a necessary pre-condition to prevent the eruption of future violence. The final collection will be focused on less well-known intra-state, inter-ethnic/religious/communal conflicts around the world that deals with actual violence or the threat of it.

This series is building on the previous work started by Hugh Miall in his book, *The Peacemakers: Peaceful Settlement of Disputes Since 1945*, which examines over eighty conflicts since 1945 and has identified factors that are

conducive to the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Give Peace a Bank project is part of the larger project of preventing violent conflicts. It has been set up to act as a repository of tools, resources and funds to empower those who have chosen the non-violent route and to encourage others to do the same. Its aim is to:

- Research and resource hands-on non-violent conflict prevention and reconciliation efforts only
- Proactively seek out and support individuals and organizations worldwide working on the frontline
- Provide support quickly
- Evaluate what works and keep learning

Case Example: Nicaragua and the Local Peace Commissions and the Council of Evangelical Churches (CEPAD).

CEPAD provided support for these peace commissions that were created and composed of civilians. They were able to achieve the return of kidnapped family members, the right of return to their fields in safety and the right to travel in the countryside. Perhaps their greatest achievement was the facilita-

tion they provided for the communication between the Contras and the Sandinistas. It was this communication that provided the opportunity for peace. The positive experiences of the Nicaraguan peace commissions can be used as a mould in other conflicts. A Mexican NGO that has learnt of their success has shown interest in adopting these tools to resolve the conflicts that plague their country.

The Oxford Research Group is a small independent non-governmental organization that is composed of researchers and support staff who's work centers on nuclear weapons decision-making and the prevention of war. They are involved in :

- Researching how policy decisions are made and who makes them
- Promoting accountability and transparency
- Providing information on current decisions so that public debate can take place
- Fostering dialogue between those who disagree

To order a copy of the report, or more information, contact: Oxford Research Group, 51 Plantation Road, Oxford, OX 6JE, UK or on the website: www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk

Conflict prevention in the EU

One of the main objectives of the European Union's external relation is a commitment to pursue conflict prevention. This commitment was manifested in an EU programme for the prevention of violent conflicts, endorsed by the Göteborg European Council in June 2001. The development of this programme was initiated during the Swedish EU Presidency.

- Conflict prevention is at the heart of the European Union. It was the rationale behind already the first steps

of European integration, says Anna Lindh, Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs. And it is inherent in the

ongoing process of enlargement of the EU.

Some immediate steps have already been taken to put principles into practice, for example in Serbia, Macedonia and Caucasus. Relations with the UN have been intensified in conflict prevention, development and humanitarian action.

The European Union is built on a set of fundamental values, which are essential in conflict prevention: democracy, human rights, justice and solidarity, economic prosperity and sustainable development. As important

as a co-operative approach to facilitate peaceful solutions, is the task of addressing the root-causes of conflicts. The development of the European Security and Defence Policy is a step to strengthen the EU's capacity in conflict prevention.

A crucial task in conflict prevention is to take action before a situation deteriorates into violence. Policy options must therefore start with political priorities, accompanied by regular reviews of potential conflict areas. At the outset of each EU Presidency a broad consideration of potential conflict issues will be initiated by the Council, to identify priority areas for preventive actions.

In order to prevent conflicts from breaking out into violence, the Council will have to develop strategies. Necessary measures to be taken are to identify challenges, set clear objectives, allocate adequate resources and ensure co-operation with external partners.

Successful prevention must be based on accurate information and analysis, resulting in an early warning system. Different EU bodies should provide regular information on developments of potential conflict situations. Information from international organisations like the UN and the OSCE will also be used. Increased information exchange between the Member States and the Commission is encouraged.

In its commitment to prevent conflicts, the EU will make use of both long-term and short-term instruments. The long-term instruments include development co-operation, trade, arms control, human rights, environment

policies and political dialogue. In the short-term prevention, diplomacy and humanitarian work are useful instruments. Handled in an effective manner, these instruments will help identify and address the root-causes of conflict, such as poverty, respect for human rights and the scarcity of natural resources. One important example of addressing the root-causes is the Council's recommendations to strengthen the EU electoral assistance and observation as means of contributing to conflict prevention.

field, is needed at all levels. The EU will therefore intensify its exchange of information within these areas. Humanitarian actors and non-governmental organisations are also seen as important actors in this information exchange.

Kristina Lundqvist

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For further information, see website:
www.utrikes.regeringen.se

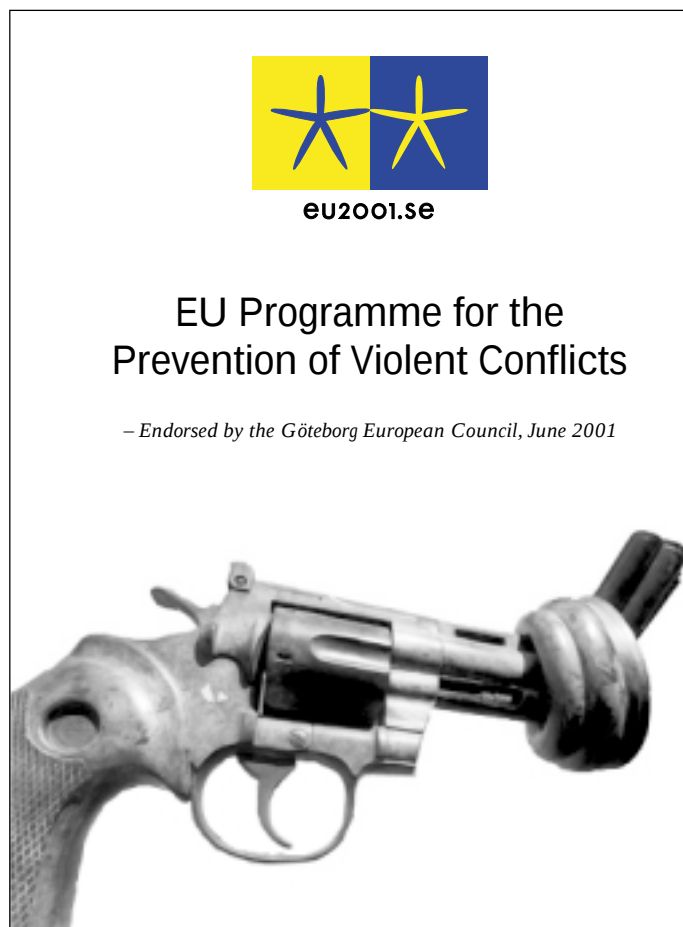
Swedish mapping

A mapping of the work made by Swedish NGOs to prevent violent conflicts and build peace was initiated by Forum för Fredstjänst (Forum for Peace Service), a network of about 30 organisations. 57 NGOs took part in this investigation, which has

now resulted in a report, where 68 different projects are presented. The projects are classified according to different aspects and methods of approach.

The report is published by Forum Syd, a Swedish **NGO Centre for Development Cooperation**.

For further information, see website:
www.forumsyd.se



The Council will also examine how instruments for disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation can be used more systematically. These measures include early warning as well as post-conflict stabilisation and political dialogue.

The EU must build mutual partnerships for prevention with the UN, the OSCE and other international organisations as well as civil society. Increased co-operation, not least in the

A labour for peace

Louise Olsson takes a gender perspective on the United Nations peacekeeping. The article is a follow-up of previous issue of *New Routes* covering gender perspectives in peace and conflict (No 3/01 see www.life-peace.org). On the following pages you will find an impressive listing of 53 peacekeeping operations between 1940 and 2000, some of which the author refers to.

The question of female participation and the need to consider gender issues remained unnoticed in UN peacekeeping until the 1990s. Then, however, obvious negative gender effects of peacekeeping, such as increased prostitution, brought the issue onto the agenda. Unfortunately, it was to take until 1999 before the UN analysed women's situations, both as employees and in the host population. This UN project, called "Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations", resulted in the "Windhoek Declaration and The Namibia Plan of Action" and was a contributing factor to the Security Council resolution 1325. This is the first Security Council resolution to consider women in the context of peace and security.

The new possibilities of the post-Cold War era have changed the conditions for the UN operations. Operations such as that in Cambodia 1992-93 as well as the ongoing operations in Kosovo and East Timor, rely not only on military means but also on the civilian aspects of the mission, such as institution building and election monitoring. Until recently, however, one thing has remained the same: peacekeeping has continued to be a primarily male concern. With the formulation of wider mandates which include civilian tasks as well as military tasks, however, the opportunity to increase female participation has

improved since more women are involved in civilian rather than military work. Furthermore, the wider mandate, which to a higher degree involves the local population, has enabled a more open debate on gender issues in these operations. Women's groups in the UN have at the same time worked to integrate gender issues in the entire work of the organisation and increase the number of female employees.

Most posts in the decision-making command structure of an UN operation have been, and are, held by men. Only two women have held the highest position in the operations; Dame Margaret Joan Anstee was Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) for Angola mission and Ms. Elisabeth Rehn was the SRSG and Co-ordinator of the United

in Cyprus. In the year 2001, however, no women serve as SRSG in any of the 17 ongoing UN missions. The number of women in peacekeeping below top decision-making level is also low. According to UN statistics, in the year 2000 the professional staff consisted of 24.6 percent women, the military personnel of 2.6 percent women and the civilian police personnel of 3.9 percent women. Only in the general service staff did the number of women outnumber the men since 50.9 percent of this personnel category consisted of women.

Apart from the low number of women, the behaviour of certain peacekeepers, both civilian, police and military, toward women of the host society has become more and more questioned. Stories of peacekeepers who commit rape, organize brothels with child prostitutes or participate in the trafficking of women for prostitution have soiled the reputation of the UN soldier. The Cambodia operation was one of the first operations in which negative gender aspects of peacekeeping attracted much attention. The picture is, however, not only black and white.

"Peacekeeping has continued to be a primarily male concern."

Nations Operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Ms. Angela King, today the Secretary General's Special Representative on Gender Issues and the Advancement of Women, has served as the Chief Administrative Officer of South Africa and later Deputy SRSG in the same mission. Dame Ann Hercus from New Zealand has served as Deputy SRSG and Head of Mission

The Problem Reaches the International Agenda - Cambodia 1992-93

One result of the genocide and the long war in Cambodia was a demographic discrepancy between men and women. In 1989, about 60-65 percent of the population consisted of women. The effect had been that women had to take on many of the roles previously held



UN peacekeepers help refugees. Photo: LPI

only by men. It is calculated that women headed about 30 percent of all households. However, the status of women in Cambodia remained low. The “*United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia*”, UNTAC, which operated in Cambodia 1992-93, brought with it a more open political environment in which it was possible to work for women’s rights. This is the most positive contribution to equality. Other aspects are less positive.

The UNTAC operation was planned rather rapidly. Unlike the situation in, for example, the Namibian UN operation in 1989, the field leadership had limited influence over the planning of the operation they were to lead. During the mission, the operationa-

lization of the mandate also experienced problems. Demobilization of military factions and the collection of arms failed. This failure in combination with the rise of political tension between the internal Cambodian parties made the situation serious for the operation. Violence became more frequent. This resulted in the hardening of the attitude of the peacekeepers.

The UNTAC mission has become notorious for its contribution to prostitution in the region. Reports indicate that the number of prostitutes in the Cambodian capital Phnom Penh increased from 6.000 in 1992 to 20.000 in 1993. The operation also contributed to the sex industry in Thailand as many UNTAC personnel went there on

R&R. The number of peacekeepers who became HIV positive either in Cambodia or while on vacation in neighbouring Thailand is high. It is estimated that about 150 UNTAC personnel contracted the disease while deployed in Cambodia. This number can be compared to the 78 UNTAC personnel who died from hostile fire or accidents during the operation.

Certain country components and individual UNTAC personnel also committed other forms of sexual abuse or misbehaviour toward local women. The result was an open letter of protest to the SRSG, signed by 170 people outraged by what they call “...the unacceptable behaviour of some male UNTAC personnel...” The letter

contains several valuable suggestions as how to redress the problems of sexual harassment, prostitution and the spreading of sexually transmitted diseases during peacekeeping missions. These suggestions could easily be incorporated in the planning of future mission to deal with these problems. The letter suggests: education in gender awareness and cross-cultural issues; the appointment of an ombudsperson for women with access directly to the military commander and the SRSg; to develop a process of redress for women who have experienced sexual harassment and other inappropriate behaviour by UNTAC personnel; establish a code of conduct for UNTAC personnel as well as, in extreme cases, repatriate the perpetrator; create a women's advisory committee to UNTAC in which Cambodian women are included; and implementing a broad campaign, directed to both UNTAC and locals, which provides information on sexually transmitted diseases. The letter, in combination with a very critical report written by researcher Judy L. Ledgerwood, resulted in the appointment of a Community Liaison Officer, however with very limited resources.

Searching for a Cure

Several peacekeeping operations has since then suffered from similar problems with regard to increased prostitution and harassment of women. The problem also seems to be connected to, or made more acute, when troops, or civilian personnel, are poorly organized or inadequately trained. The failure to include gender

experts with knowledge of the local situation in the planning of missions have also made it impossible to determine beforehand the conse-

keeping operations are other guidelines prescribed.

With Security Council Resolution 1325, adopted in October 2000 and

Several peacekeeping operations has since then suffered from similar problems with regard to increased prostitution and harassment of women.

quences for local men and local women respectively. The UN-project "Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations" attempted to deal with these issues and suggest practical solutions for many of these problems.

On the 31st of May 2000, the "Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia plan of Action" (S/2000/693) was designed by a UN workshop as a result of the UN project on gender and peacekeeping. "The Namibia Plan of Action" contains far-reaching plans on how to make UN operations gender sensitive and mainstream gender in all aspects of UN missions. "The Namibia Plan of Action" considers many aspects of peacekeeping, from the negotiation phase to the monitoring of the situation for local women during a peace mission. It also underlines the need for research on the effects of peacekeeping on gender structures. The need for gender experts to be involved in the planning of a mission, the training of the leadership in gender mainstreaming, formulating, and supervising, codes of conducts for peacekeepers, and obligatory gender units in peace-

which recognizes "The Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action", the issue of women and conflict finally reached the highest levels of authority in the UN system. However, the problems which once catapulted the issue on to the international agenda still persist and the need to implement the decisions taken in ongoing missions, for example in Kosovo and East Timor, are ever so urgent. With regard to research, the full implications of gender and peacekeeping have yet to be analysed. Some research suggests a connection between gender equality and armed conflict. Since the end goal of gender mainstreaming is to reach gender equality, this would only underline the need to gender mainstream all peacekeeping operations.

For further reading: Louise Olsson has written the book *Women and International Peacekeeping* (Frank Cass, London).

If you want to exchange views on the subject you can reach Louise on e-mail louise.olsson@pcr.uu

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UN Peace keeping

50 operations over 53 years

The first United Nations peacekeeping operation was "an attempt to confront and defeat the worst in man with the best in man: to counter violence with tolerance, might with moderation, and war with peace. Since then, day after day, year after year, UN peacekeepers have been meeting the threat and reality of conflict, without losing faith, without giving in, without giving up."

Kofi A. Annan,
United Nations Secretary-General

UN peacekeeping is based on the principle that an impartial UN presence on the ground can ease tensions and allow negotiated solutions in a conflict situation. The first step, which often involves intense diplomatic efforts by the United Nations Secretary-General, is to secure a halt to fighting and the consent of the parties before peacekeepers are deployed.

In May 1948 the Security Council decided to establish a field operation to supervise a fragile truce in the first Arab-Israeli war. Two weeks later, an initial group of 36 unarmed military observers arrived in the Middle East as the first United Nations peacekeepers. More than a half century later, hundreds of thousands of individuals, the vast majority of them soldiers, have served in 53 United Nations peacekeeping operations. More than 1,650 military and civilian peacekeepers have died while serving in United Nations operations.

United Nations peacekeepers have patrolled buffer zones between hostile parties, monitored ceasefires and helped defuse local conflicts, allowing the search for durable, political settlements to continue.

Below is a list of UN's peacekeeping operations during its more than 50 years of existence. You will find the acronym of the operation, the years of

its duration, and a very short description of the type and geographical area of operation.

Source: www.un.org

- UNTSO
1948 – present
UN truce supervision Organisation
- UNMOGIP
1949 – present
UN military observer group in India and Pakistan
- UNEF I
1956 – 1967
First UN emergency force
- UNOGIL
1958
UN observation group in Lebanon
- ONUC
1960 – 1964
UN operation in the Congo
- UNSF
1962 – 1963
UN security force in West New Guinea (West Irian)
- UNYOM
1963 – 1964
UN Yemen observation mission
- UNFICYP
1964 – present
UN peacekeeping force in Cyprus
- DOMREP
1965 – 1966
Mission of the representative of the S-G in the Dominican Republic
- UNIPOM
1965 – 1966
UN India – Pakistan observation mission
- UNEF II
1973 – 1979
Second UN emergency force
- UNDOF
1974 – present
UN disengagement observer force
- UNIFIL
1978 – present
UN interim force in Lebanon
- UNGOMAP
1988 – 1990
UN Good offices mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan
- UNIIMOG
1988 – 1991
UN Iran – Iraq military observer group
- UNAVEM I
1989 – 1991
UN Angola verification mission I
- UNTAG
1989 – 1990
UN transition assistance group
- ONUCA
1989 – 1992
UN observer group in Central America
- UNIKOM
1991 – present
UN Iraq – Kuwait observation mission
- UNAVEM II
1991 – 1995
UN Angola verification mission II
- ONUSAL
1991 – 1995
UN observer mission in El Salvador

- MINURSO
1991 – present
UN mission for the referendum in Western Sahara
- UNAMIC
1991 – 1992
UN advance mission in Cambodia
- UNPROFOR
1992 – 1995
UN protection force
- UNTAC
1992 – 1993
UN transitional authority in Cambodia
- UNOSOM I
1992 – 1993
UN operation in Somalia I
- ONUMOZ
1992 – 1994
UN operation in Mozambique
- UNOSOM II
1993 – 1995
UN operation in Somalia II
- UNOMUR
1993 – 1994
UN Observer mission Uganda – Rwanda
- UNOMIG
1993 – present
UN observer mission in Georgia
- UNOMIL
1993 – 1997
UN observer mission in Liberia
- UNMIH
1993 – 1996
UN mission in Haiti
- UNAMIR
1993 – 1996
UN assistance mission for Rwanda
- UNASOG
1994
UN Aouzou Strip observer group
- UNMOT
1994 – 2000
UN mission of observers in Tajikistan
- UNAVEM III
1995 – 1997
UN Angola verification mission III
- UNCRO
1995 – 1996
UN confidence restoration operation in Croatia
- UNPREDEP
1995 – 1999
UN preventive deployment force
- UNMIBH
1995 – present
UN mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina
- UNTAES
1996 – 1998
UN transitional administration for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium
- UNMOP
1996 – present
UN mission of observers in Prevlaka
- MINUGUA
1997
UN verification mission in Guatemala
- UN CIVILIAN POLICE SUPPORT GROUP
1998
- MINURCA
1998 – 2000
UN mission in the Central African Republic
- UNOMSIL
1998 – 1999
UN observer mission in Sierra Leone
- UNMIK
1999 – present
UN interim administration mission in Kosovo
- UNAMSIL
1999 – present
UN mission in Sierra Leone
- UNTAET
1999 – present
UN transitional administration in East Timor
- MONUC
1999 – present
UN organisation mission in Democratic Republic of Congo
- UNMEE
2000 – present
UN mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea

This “traditional” United Nations peacekeeping continues. Military personnel and structure remain the backbone of most operations. Increasingly, however, the many faces of peacekeeping include civilian police officers, electoral experts and observers, deminers, human rights monitors, and specialists in civil affairs and communications. Their responsibilities range from protecting and delivering humanitarian assistance, to helping former opponents carry out complicated peace agreements; from assisting with the demobilization of former fighters and their return to normal life, to supervising and conducting elections; from training civilian police, to monitoring respect for human rights and investigating alleged violations.

UN peacekeeping operations have normally fallen into two broad categories:

□ military observer missions composed of relatively small numbers of unarmed officers, charged with such tasks as monitoring ceasefires, verifying troop withdrawals, or patrolling borders or demilitarized zones;

□ peacekeeping forces composed of national contingents of troops, deployed to carry out tasks similar to those of military observers and, often, to act as a buffer between hostile parties.

What is happening in the world?

Eskil Jonsson is reflecting on the September 11th attack and the "War on terrorism". The underlying questions concern the right to self-defence, the role of globalisation, religion, ethics and power...

I am sure that similar questions have been raised many times throughout history. This has happened both before and after Napoleon, before and after Hitler, before and after Hiroshima. Many of our friends in third world countries have asked the same question in connection with the genocides that have taken place in countries like Rwanda or Cambodia. For months, we have now been preoccupied with the aftermaths of the September 11th attacks in the USA, and the "War on Terror".

Although very different in size and nature, all events have had considerable effects on the minds of people and the increased feelings of horror and fear. In general we have a tendency to ignore the deeper underpinnings and root causes of such events, as it might delay revenge and punishment. What we have to do is rather to make a collaborative effort to be reflective, look back, situate the events within a broader time frame in order to see how we can mobilise a mutual responsibility in order to prevent violence and promote peace and justice.

What is being noticed in the many conferences and media today is very much the immediate reactions and the need for closer control in the midst of pleas to defend an open society and particularly the Western ideas of freedom and democracy. When dealing with conflicts in general, greater attention is paid to what appears to happen today, rather than to understand-

ing at a deeper level. We should of course be able to cope with the need for prompt action against all forms of terrorism, whatever that means, and at the same time ask critical questions to ourselves. What is our responsibility to prevent such things from happening again?

The purpose of this article is thus to argue for further reflection on the issue of terrorism and to assess if we need to ask for alternative methods of analysis in order to understand at a deeper level what is happening or is seeming to happen in the world today. This would be necessary in order to fulfil our duty as human beings and take a mutual responsibility in order to promote life and peace.

Do we know what is true?

The reports on CNN and even the rest of the mass media coverage have basically given only one message; there is a need to strike back and to fight international terrorism in order to defend freedom and democracy. Without really questioning that, there is still a need to be clear about what is really the truth. Can we take for granted that the established view is also ethical, democratic and justified? Is there a real freedom of speech and voicing of opinions? Or is it possible that world media is bringing us to only one publicly accepted view?

As a root cause of conflicts some critics may argue that terrorism is caused by economic injustice between rich and poor. If that was a good

explanation, one would think that the terrorists should be many more than the Saudi billionaire Osama bin Laden. Rather, the terrorists should be the poorest of the poor, women and children in the third world. According to others, who may explain the motivations for the attack on the World Trade Center, it looks as if it originated from individual religious fanatics who have a master plan that is not even known by the terrorists operating on the field or on the planes.

It may be politically easy to justify the new "war on terror". From a Christian ethical perspective, it may on the other hand be problematic if we want to manifest the identity of the church as sign of peace and reconciliation. This is particularly the case for a church that is supposed to be an advocate for the victims and the poor. The church cannot of course refer to the same right of self-defence for those people as is politically recognised for the state.

Who has the right of self-defence?

The UN has endorsed the US bombings in Afghanistan as a right to self-defence. A question which has not been raised in the UN Assembly is whether the civilian population who may be innocent victims like the people in the World Trade Center also have a right to self-defence. Should the UN care about states only? Secretary General, Kofi Annan has stated that UN has a particular role to play in defending the poor and the victims. But still, the world community is basically silent about US threats to those who do not follow their demands for scrutiny.

What happens in Civil Society?

Political authorities all over the world



The headlines that shook the world – what's going on? Photo: Pressens Bild

have also had to take action against various civilian organisations, even without presentation of evidence or convincing explanations. Many lawyers have already expressed serious concern about these violations of peoples rights for the sake of achieving a greater national or global security.

US has already indicated that it will continue to punish other countries like Somalia, Iraq, Indonesia, Jemen and the Philippines which do not cooperate in the “war on terrorism”, without hesi-

tation. While it is easy to understand the concern to destroy the “evildoers” there are many who think it will be extremely difficult to achieve that goal without disastrous consequences for the civil rights and the victims of such action.

Does the pressure for growth and profits lead to conflicts?

The above questions, in relation to the aftermath of September 11th, has risen new conflict perspectives compared to

the traditional methods of mediation between top leaders or between local tribes and war lords. The questions indicate changes in terms of patterns of power and ethics. Could it for instance be that a wider centralisation of power and control is going on despite the general pleas for democracy and freedom? Could we connect what happens today as typical for what is a form of “military globalisation”?

In “Dollars for Terror” Richard Labeviere¹ demonstrates that the

outbreak of terrorism during the last twenty years is in fact facilitated by modern globalisation with deregulation and market orientation so eagerly promoted by the US and political authorities all over the world. Recent global events in general indicate that institutional and political-economic changes are characterised by a centralisation of power.

ber 11th attacks have tried to show that terrorism with the movement of funds etc have been possible due to the globalisation and deregulation of money transfers and trade. That is why a number of Islamic bankers and NGOs are listed as supporting terrorism.

In the third world similar malpractices are sometimes called "bad gover-

"new" conflicts may therefore be difficult to treat with conventional methods of conflict management which largely assume an ethic where all "stakeholders"⁴ have just different self interests or cultures of their own. The official aspect is missing.

Religion, Ethics and Power

In order to create a basis for common values, an interfaith ethic has been outlined by world religious leaders⁵ with the common denominators love, solidarity, truth and justice. It is obvious that there is need for all religions to demonstrate tolerance and peace particularly with regard to what has happened after September 11th. The Christian ethical perspective of stewardship shows mutual sharing and accountability. When I visited religious leaders and other proponents for mutual religious dialogues in Africa, it was suggested that there is need to develop a common identity within which it is possible to promote mutual cooperation for the development of common resources, cultures and interests.

It is for this reason, the Life & Peace Institute now gather relevant experiences and views from people on the issues mentioned, in order to search for alternative tools of analysis and interpretation of conflicts. It is our hope that the new patterns, including issues related to power, resources and ethics, will be taken more into account.

¹ Labaviere, R. 2001, *Dollars for Terror*, The United States and Islam, Alogra Publishing, New York

² Markakis, J. 1998, *Resource Conflicts in the Horn of Africa*, Sage Publications and PRIO, Oslo.

³ Aseto, O and Okelo, J A., 1997, *Privatization in Kenya*, Studies in Modern Economic Policies Basic Books Kenya Ltd. Nairobi

⁴ Pratley, P. 1995, *The Essence of Business Ethics*, Prentice Hall Inc, Englewood Cliffs

⁵ World Faiths Dialogue, 1999, *Poverty and Development – An Interfaith Dialogue*

"New conflicts may therefore be difficult to treat with conventional methods"

Several research reports, including our own, point in the direction of a fierce competition for scarce resources with the exploitation of oil and other minerals in African countries such as the Sudan and Congo Kinshasa. This constitutes one of the root-causes for conflicts². It is also argued by Labaviere that the war against terrorism is even more a war that in the long run aims to secure control over the rich natural resources in Central Asia. That is perhaps why the political establishment all over the world can sacrifice civilian rights on a large scale as it might be a question of survival for the Western culture with its spirit of economic globalisation.

What is often called "economic globalisation" appears largely to be driven by the pressure for growth by political and business actors. If that is the case, it would seem important that future analysis of conflicts and the building of peace and justice be done with tools of analysis that also incorporate external environment and actors with their interests. So called intrastate conflicts have otherwise usually focused on differences between nationalities, cultures and ethnicities assuming then that external mediators and conflict management tools designed largely in the North will be able to transform such conflicts.

Bad Governance

TV documentaries since the Septem-

nance" and appear like mafia-like and feudalistic power styles, which has become a threat to a truly free and fair market. Studies, for instance from Kenya, on privatisation processes³ demonstrate clearly that the recent market orientation has implied that business actors with political affiliations are the ones who have benefited most, and have contributed to widespread corruption and increased marginalisation of the poor. When visiting Tanzania in 1999, I was told by university lecturers at the business department of the University of Dar es Salaam that similar problems developed as a result of privatisation in Tanzania.

Other reports indicate in a similar way that conflicts e.g. in Liberia, Rwanda and Democratic Republic of Congo, should be explained as reactions from groups that do not receive what they may have been promised by political leaders. Such leaders control resources that in many instances have been received from outside. And they probably would not stay in power if they did not have external political and financial support.

It would, therefore, seem important that alternative tools of analysis be used that assume a mutual responsibility and accountability rather than vertical relationships and control that easily induce "divide and rule" strategies. That could be more fruitful if we want to suggest new approaches that can also propose new forms of leadership. The

Security and symbolism

Consequences of September 11 attacks

"We are faced with a conflict targeted at the symbolic level," stated Rev. Dr Konrad Raiser, general secretary of the World Council of Churches (WCC). Speaking during a 29 November-1 December meeting in Geneva on "Beyond September 11: assessing global implications", Dr Raiser said the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon heralded a new type of war - one not waged for territories or economic resources, but rather over symbols. Our current tools of political, social and economic analysis are inadequate to understand the nature of the current conflict, which is about "symbolic hegemony" - the perception that certain economic, military, and political systems and beliefs are imposed on all parts of the world, he said. Yet it is precisely this symbolic dimension that is a particular challenge for churches, given that religion is "the major carrier of symbolism", Raiser argued.

The WCC meeting brought 20 participants from churches around the world together to assess and reflect, with WCC staff, on the consequences and long-term impact of the September 11 attacks and subsequent military actions. The purpose of the meeting was to begin to discern together the meaning of these events, rather than to formulate a common statement or make an immediate plan of action for the churches.

Participants shared regional perspectives on the global situation and then focused discussion in the following areas:

Global governance: Mr Peter Weiderud, director of international programmes with the Church of Sweden, analyzed three levels of the events' impact on international law and global governance:

- dealing with the immediate threat, to which the response has been primarily a military one;

- dealing with terrorism, which has a criminal law perspective; and
- addressing root causes, which is in the realm of conflict prevention.

In-depth discussion focused on the role of national governments, the United Nations system, and the churches, including how powerful countries could be held accountable under international law, the need to affirm multilateralism, and to address the increasing world polarization that is a consequence of September 11.

Weiderud affirmed that the purpose of all measures of global governance must be "to protect human rights and democracy, not undermine their principles".

Global Security: Dr Patricia Lewis, director of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), addressed changing concepts of security, and the need for new understandings of security to embrace human and collective security rather than to rely on military power. Dr Raiser later identified vulnerability and security as central issues, noting that one of the few "new" consequences of September 11 was a feeling of vulnerability among the citizens of the world's most powerful nation.

Human Rights: Dr Bertrand Ramcharan, United Nations deputy high commissioner for Human Rights, stressed the indivisibility of human rights, peace and security, arguing the imperative of strengthening human rights in all regions. He pointed out that the impact of the events on civil liberties and border controls is particularly evident in Northern countries, where they most affect non-citizens of those regions.

Global Economy: Dr John Langmore, director of the Division for Social Policy and Development/ Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations, assessed the economic consequences of the September 11 attacks in the global context of inequality of power and

resources, and distinguished between short- and long-term consequences. He noted a changing relationship between markets and states as a result of the attacks; governments, he said, are becoming more interventionist in the economic sphere. This is a new development, given the globalizing tendencies in which markets are supreme.

Humanitarian Concerns: WCC staff member Dr Elizabeth Ferris looked at humanitarian issues emerging as a result of the military actions in Afghanistan. While many of these issues - military-humanitarian interaction, security, landmines, access - have characterized previous emergencies, they are dramatically evident at the present time. Participants stressed the need for new thinking about the ethics of humanitarian assistance, and particularly the need to reclaim for the term "humanitarian" its prior emphasis on neutrality and impartiality.

Challenge to Religions: Bishop Manowar Rumalshah of Pakistan introduced the topic of the challenge to religions, and particularly to Muslim-Christian interfaith relations. He suggested that to deny the potency of religion in this conflict is naïve. Participants grappled with the difficult question of the extent to which religion is a factor in the present conflict.

More visible contradictions

Geneviève Jacques, director of the WCC cluster on Relations, noted in her opening remarks that the social, political, and religious issues and challenges discussed at the meeting are not new; the difference is that after September 11, "the contradictions are more visible than before". "We share more questions than answers, but we have the common conviction that a simplistic vision that this is a conflict of 'good vs. evil' is not the answer," she noted.

Participants felt that the concept of terrorism needs further reflection since it is defined in different ways by

different people. So too does the concept of victim-hood, since it is necessary not only to identify the victims of the attacks and military actions in Afghanistan, but also to understand the relationship between victims and oppressors.

New “imaginings”, the participants said, are needed to discern the significance of these events. This requires financial and political support for institutes and organizations exploring alternatives to current systems of security; it will be important, they added, to incorporate the perspectives and strategies of grassroots groups as well as of intellectuals.

There is no security against the kind of attacks that occurred on September 11, suggested Raiser in his concluding remarks. Understanding this axiom leads one to a different understanding of power as being based not on the ability to protect oneself or provide maximum security, but rather in “the energy of life in relatedness”.

“All power is legitimized through symbols, and the symbolism of power has religious roots...All forms of human power are mirrors of how you understand divine power,” Raiser said. Because religious symbols have been used both by those carrying out the attacks and by those launching the military campaign, Raiser thinks we need to learn to communicate between different symbolic systems. And also that, because our traditional forms of analysis are proving inadequate,

religious insight and theology are needed to understand this new - symbolic - form of conflict.

The insights gained during the meeting will guide the on-going work of participants and WCC staff in this area. Regional meetings, with international participants, to discuss the consequences of September 11 are planned.

The following guests were invited to take part in the meeting:

Dr Agnes Abuom, Anglican Church of Kenya, Executive director, Research & Development Consultants – TAABCO, WCC Africa president

Mr Wim Dierckxsens, Departamento Ecuénico de Investigaciones / DEI, Costa Rica

Prof. Rudolf El Kareh, Relations with Europe, Middle East and the Arab World, International Consultant, Lebanon/France

Dr Alison Janet Elliot, Church of Scotland, Member of the WCC Commission of the Churches on International Affairs

Rev. Eberhard Hitzler, Development Policy Desk, Protestant Church in Germany - EKD

Mr Victor Hsu, senior advisor, Church World Service and Witness, National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA

Dr John Langmore, director, Division for Social Policy and Development/DESA/UN, United Nations - New York, Member of the WCC Commission of the Churches on International Affairs (WCC/CCIA)

Dr Patricia Lewis, director, United

Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR)

Mr Senituli Lopeti, director, Tonga Human Rights and Democracy Movement, Member of WCC/CCIA

Ms Aida Jean N. Manipon, coordinator, Asia Regional Exchange for New Alternatives – ARENA, Hong Kong

Dr Soritua Nababan, Indonesia, Former WCC president

Rev. Dr Bernice Powell-Jackson, executive minister, Justice & Witness Ministries, United Church of Christ, USA, WCC Central Committee member

Rev. Dr Mitri Raheb, general director, International Centre of Bethlehem, Palestine

Dr Bertrand Ramcharan, deputy high commissioner for Human Rights UN Office Geneva-OHCHR

Dr Pablo Richard, director, Departamento Ecuénico de Investigaciones / DEI Costa Rica

Bishop Manower Rumalshah, general secretary, USPG Pakistan/United Kingdom

Rt Rev. Michael Kehinde Stephen, bishop of the Methodist Church Nigeria, WCC Central Committee member

Rev. Peggy Orr Thomas, coordinator for Interfaith Relations, Presbyterian Church (USA)

Mr Stein Villumstadt, associate general secretary, Norwegian Church Aid

Mr Peter Weiderud, director general for International Affairs, Church of Sweden Mission/Aid

Ms Glenda Wildschut, director, Desmond Tutu Leadership Academy, South Africa, Member of WCC/CCIA

Argentina

Churches play a role in the crisis

As Argentina struggles with a serious economic, political and social crisis, the general secretary of the World Council of Churches (WCC), Rev. Dr Konrad Raiser, has praised Argentina's churches, ecumenical organizations and civil society.

In a letter to the country's churches, Raiser said he had been deeply moved by the way they had responded to what, for him, was also to some extent an “ethical and spiritual” crisis.

Raiser urged “Christians, churches, people of other faiths and all men and women committed to peace to join

forces to overcome this crisis and build a society of greater justice and solidarity in Argentina, strengthening ties with other countries in the region”. He also reminded politicians of their responsibility in this respect, stressing that it is essential to “put an end to corruption, impunity and abuse of power and to take immediate steps that will lead to genuine national reconciliation based on justice”.

Mass protests about the disastrous state of Argentina's economy started in December. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) refused payment of a

loan tranche worth billions of dollars because the country had considerably overstepped the agreed borrowing level. With debts of \$132 billion, Argentina is now on the brink of bankruptcy; it has been in deep recession for the past three and a half years. Official figures put unemployment at 18.3 percent in October. The government of former President de la Rúa, who resigned, introduced drastic cuts in public spending and strict economy measures in an attempt to meet the IMF loan conditions.

Behind the news

- lots of resources through the Internet

If you want to follow the developments behind the news, there is an ecumenical services arranged to provide useful information.

The desk for alternative information on the unfolding crisis after the 11 September attacks, is a joint effort by World Council of Churches (WCC), Action by Churches Together (ACT) and the Ecumenical Advocacy Alliance (EAA).

A bulletin which is called "Behind the news: Visions for peace – Voices of faith" has come out for some months. It will continue on a monthly basis. It will provide materials that are not generally available elsewhere.

The focus is on faith-based reflections and resources on the consequences of the 11 September attacks, including connections with the rapidly deteriorating situation in the Middle East.

Behind the news is also providing a website: <http://www.wcc-coe.org/wcc/behindthenews>

Here are some of the highlighted material in the January 2002 issue of the bulletin:

Various statements and actions of the global church and ecumenical family:

- Statement by His Holiness Patriarch Alexy II of Moscow and All Russia (available on website: www.russian-orthodox-church.org.ru/ne112131.htm)
- Seminar on "Unpacking religious dimensions after September 11 – Christian perspectives" organized by the Ecumenical Working Group at the Church Center for the United Nations (contact Damaris Frehrking by e-mail: damarisf@earthlink.net)
- U.S. Catholic bishops issued a Pastoral Letter "Living with Faith and Hope after September 11th" which calls for a dialogue (see website www.wcc-coe.org/wcc/behindthenews/us136.html)

Responses from other faith communities:

- The Middle East Council of Churches and WCC jointly arranged a series of three meetings at the local, regional and international levels on Christian-Muslim dialogue. The meetings were held in Cairo, Egypt 17-21 December (see websites: www.wcc-coe.org/wcc/news/press/01/45pu.html and www.wcc-coe.org/wcc/news/press/01/46pu.html)
- An international conference on "Peaceful coexistence between the great monotheistic religions" was held in Brussels, 19-20 December 2001 (see website www.wcc-coe.org/wcc/behindthenews/us135.html)

Resources for further reflection:

- Paul Rogat Loeb, an associate scholar at Seattle's Center for Ethical Leadership in the USA, suggests that individual compassion is not enough to create a just world. There is need for ordinary citizens to collectively ask difficult questions and make necessary choices that respect the dignity and humanity of all human beings (see website www.soulofacitizen.org/articles/worldtrade.htm)
- Sojourners (Christian magazine) editor Jim Wallis interviews three non-violence theologians concerning recent events. Two of them, Walter Wink and John Paul Lederach are appreciated contributors to the work of Life & Peace Institute. Read about their views on the following websites: Walter Wink: www.sojo.net/news/index.cfm/action/display_archives/mode/current_opinion/article/CO_010702w.html

John Paul Lederach: www.sojo.net/news/index.cfm/action/display_archives/mode/current_opinion/article/CO_0107021.html

Stanley Hauerwas: www.sojo.net/news/index.cfm/action/display_archives/mode/current_opinion/article/CO_010702h.html

- Women Waging Peace is a global initiative of Harvard's Kennedy School of Government that breaks new ground by identifying the essential role and contribution of women in preventing violent conflict, stopping war, and sustaining peace in fragile areas around the world (see website www.womenwagingpeace.net)
- 9-11peace.org is an interactive website of dialogue, resources and action calling for "action for justice, not war". It promotes a non-military response as the best strategy for a permanent end to terror (see website www.9-11peace.org/index.php3)
- in Bush's International Charade, Richard Falk, professor emeritus of international law at Princeton University, challenges the perception that the American president has seen the multilateral light. The article appeared in AlterNet on 20 December (see www.alternet.org/story.html?StoryID=12134)

These resources are just samples of what is offered by "Behind the news". If you are interested in more, or if the suggested links fail, use the website for Behind the news or write to WCC, PO Box 2100, 1211 Geneva 2, Switzerland, where the desk is hosted.

Tore Samuelsson

Research update

Assessing Peace: An Inter-ethnic and Inter-religious Grassroots approach to Peace building in Sri Lanka

This project is carried out in partnership with the Inter Religious Peace Foundation in Sri Lanka. We had planned to bring this project to a close at the end of the year 2001. In keeping that target we planned to hold the final consultation in Uppsala in November of 2001. But, as the situation in Sri Lanka changed and the country decided to hold parliamentary elections in December we postponed the consultation and hope to hold it in March 2002.

The report of the Second Consultation held in Uppsala in November 2000 is printed. If you wish to have a copy of it, please contact the Research or Communication's Unit of the Institute. It is also released on the web site, www.life-peace.org. In order to draw your attention to this document we wish to highlight at least two issues, which have come to the surface as a challenge during the last two consultations.

- a) One of the leaders from the diaspora community raised the following question in order to challenge those engaged in finding a peaceful solution to the ethnic conflict within the framework of a unitary state. His question is: Can two nationalisms that are mutually exclusive, historically hostile, politically irreconcilable, religiously antagonistic, socially incompatible, economically adversarial, ethnically belligerent and culturally intolerant, co-exist within a unified, single sovereign national entity?

Some may dismiss this question saying that it does not reflect the Sri Lankan reality accurately and try to argue that the Tamils living in Sri Lanka may not go along with this type of extremism. As there are several questions within this question alone, it needs to be addressed properly and reflected upon carefully. Some of us believe this

question needs to be further researched in order to determine whether it is pure diaspora rhetoric or something we need to wrestle with as we search for a lasting solution to the long drawn conflict in Sri Lanka.

- a) Another thought, which got highlighted at the Second Consultation, was the view that the solution to the present conflict is to build the political will to restructure the state. The suggestion is to do this restructuring based on the theme of one country, one state for each and all equally, and to evolve the new institutions, which will provide for the dignity, equality, security and autonomy of all the nations and communities within a united Sri Lanka.

Some are sceptical of this suggestion and want to know how practical it is to talk about a restructuring of the state when the demand and the struggle of the LTTE is for a separate state. What needs to be researched at depth is whether Sri Lanka has reached the point of no return or how much does the Sinhalese have to let go in order to live in peace with justice with the Tamils and the Muslims. We hope to wrestle with some of these questions at the next consultation.

Middle East Workshop postponed

Community-Based Peace Building, Religion and National Identities in the Middle East

We had planned to hold the third workshop of this project in Jordan in November 2001 with a research focus to address the issue of Palestinians and their struggle within the context of the entire region. As the situation got out of hand in the region, we were informed by our local partner, the Middle East Council of Churches, that it was advisable to reschedule the workshop. It was another disappointment but it is in such contexts that we are engaged in research.

We held the second workshop in Alexandria, Egypt, in partnership with the Middle East Council of Churches

and the Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies. At this workshop we discussed the following issues: a) globalization, marginalization and the mechanisms of impoverishment b) gender c) citizenship d) tolerance and theory of practice in Egypt.

A condensed version of a report coming out of this workshop is available and can be ordered from LPI Uppsala. We are also planning to print a detailed report of this workshop in both English and Arabic.

Democracy, gender equality and citizenship are three issues which have surfaced at all workshops and need to be probed at depth while keeping in mind the role of religions, especially Islam, and the structure of many of the states in the region. Very often Islamic scholars try to separate Islam as found in the Koran and the manifestation of institutionalized Islam in many countries. We hear similar discussions taking place in relation to other religions. Therefore, it will be useful to do research in order to highlight the distortions in institutionalized forms of religion and the vision and core values of the founders of these religions. We hope that this issue will get picked up as a research topic in the near future.

The postponed workshop will be rescheduled and held in Jordan or in Palestine as early as possible.

Militarisation, economic penetration and human rights in the Pacific

The research project on militarisation, economic penetration and human rights in the Pacific was a joint venture of the LPI Uppsala and the Pacific Conference of Churches in Suva, Fiji. It was carried out at the end of the 1990's and resulted in three manuscripts on militarisation and a further three on economic penetration. These manuscripts are now being compiled into a research report and will be printed in the beginning of 2002.

Reflecting on Peace Practice: Phase II Feedback Workshops

With the end of the first phase of this project, the Life & Peace Institute has relinquished its role as the core Co-ordinator of the project. But we still continue to serve on the Steering Committee of the project that oversees the second phase, planned for May 1,

2002 to July 31st 2002. The purpose of the second phase is to engage a broad range of individuals and agencies working on conflict and/or living in conflict areas in a focused process of feedback on RPP learning to date in order to, 1) systematize what has been learned in ways that are useful for peace practitioners, and, 2) to disseminate these findings to the broader peace and conflict resolution community. The second phase is already in motion and several agencies and individuals are conducting workshops in different parts of the world.

Completed Workshops

October 2001

- 24-26 Soesterberg, Holland
Co-hosted by European Platform for Conflict Prevention. Participants included representatives of 25 European and other international humanitarian agencies and conflict resolution organizations that undertake peace programming in diverse conflict areas around the world.

November 2001

- 27 Cambridge, Massachusetts
Conducted as part of a 3 day Collaborative for Development Action consultation for the Local Capacities for Peace Project. The sessions focused on special issues that humanitarian and development agencies face when undertaking explicit peace programming.

December 2001

- 10-11 Cambridge, Massachusetts
This workshop brought together international practitioners based in Cambridge and other east coast cities, as well as some individuals from conflict areas (Middle East, Sri Lanka, Bosnia) who have been engaged in peace work.

January 2002

- 11 Londonderry, Northern Ireland
Co-hosted with Institute on Conflict Resolution and Ethnicity, involving conflict resolution and other agencies in Northern Ireland.
- 14-15 London, U.K.,
Co-hosted by International Alert, Conciliation Resources, and Responding to Conflict, involving staff of all three agencies that are working with

conflict transformation programs around the world. Will also include other UK-based practitioners.

- 15-16 Jakarta, Indonesia
Co-hosted by Catholic Relief Services, World Vision, and Mercy Corps involving staff of each agency as well as partners from Indonesian peacebuilding agencies, and other international NGOs with programs in the region.

- 21-22 Maluku, Indonesia
Co-hosted by Mercy Corps, involving staff and local partners, as well as staff of other international NGOs with peacebuilding programs in the region.

- 21-23 Ghana
Co-hosted by the West African Network for Peacebuilding, involving practitioners from all West African countries. Will be co-facilitated by the Conflict Transformation Program of Eastern Mennonite University (USA).

Upcoming Workshops

**Some dates/locations/plans are still tentative*

February 2002

- 11-13 Vancouver, Canada
Co-hosted by the Liu Center for the Study of Global Issues. This workshop will focus on special issues for humanitarian and development agencies pursuing peace programming. It will include one day focusing on the donor-NGO relationships in peacebuilding and the positive and negative funding dynamics that affect the work with participation from CIDA.

- * Southeast Asia
Co-hosted by World Vision, and planned to follow a large-scale meeting of the agency's peacebuilding team from around the Asia Pacific region. Will also include selected international agencies with programs in the region, and local peacebuilding organizations and activists.

March 2002

- 1-2 Ibadan, Nigeria
Co-hosted by the Center for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Ibadan, and the Institute on Conflict Resolution and Ethnicity (Northern

Ireland). Participants will include practitioners and academic-practitioners from Nigeria and other areas of Africa.

- 6 - 7 Nairobi, Kenya
Co-hosted by The Coexistence Initiative (USA) and the Nairobi Peace Initiative (Kenya). Participants will include practitioners from around East Africa, including individuals who have worked at both the grassroots and international level.

- 11-12 Stockholm, Sweden
Co-sponsored by Swedish Peace Team Forum. Participants will be primarily international practitioners based in Sweden with experience in a range of conflict areas (particularly in Colombia, the Middle East and Sri Lanka).

- * Capetown, South Africa
Co-hosted by the Center for Conflict Resolution. Participants will be primarily practitioners from South African conflict resolution and peacebuilding agencies.

- 7-9 Irvine, California
Co-hosted by the U.C. Irvine Center for Peace Studies. This workshop will focus on the role of dialogues in peace processes, involving a mix of international practitioners and individuals from conflict areas who have participated in more than one dialogue (in order to allow some comparative analysis). Regions represented will include: Sri Lanka, Colombia, Middle East, Northern Ireland, Burundi.

- 7-16 Philippines
A series of three meetings in the Philippines, co-hosted by Catholic Relief Services and World Vision for their staff and local NGO counterparts, and other international agencies with programs in the region.

- * Dublin, Ireland
Co hosted by the Institute on Conflict Resolution and Ethnicity, involving development agencies focused on conflict.

Another some 13 workshops are tentatively planned for the period April-May.

Democratic Republic of Congo

Research for peacebuilding

The Life & Peace Institute (LPI) was asked in the year 2000 by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) to implement a research and develop guidelines on how to support peace building in the eastern provinces of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The research was implemented in two phases. The first phase included a relative brief visit to the North and South Kivu provinces in April/May 2000 while the second phase included several months of field-work in the year 2001.

As a result of the research done for Sida, LPI concluded it has the capacity and the mandate to respond to some of needs in the DRC. Consequently, LPI is preparing a project proposal and has started negotiations with donors. The future LPI programme will, through research, capacity building and facilitation focus on bottom-up peace building work and the role of the Churches in the conflict.

In order to familiarise its partners and the readers of the *New Routes* with

the situation in the DRC, a special issue of this magazine about the DRC, together with Congo-Brazzaville, another country where LPI has recently started a programme, will be published in spring 2002. The current article provides an introduction to the DRC conflict and is based on the recommendations formulated in the already mentioned research report.

The conflict in the Congo has at least three layers. In the special issue on the two Congos those will be

further analysed while details can also be found in the report on the LPI website. We identified those as:

- o The 'local conflicts' between Congolese ethnical and political groups. The causes of these conflicts are a complex set of factors concerning, amongst others, the access and control over resources, the respect of the traditional authority, political representation and ethnicity. Of which the latter is rather a result of political manipulation than a root cause.
- o The 'national conflict' between a variety of political movements, including the Government in Kinshasa. The causes for this level of the conflict are strongly linked to the other two layers and concern the political system and the access to power and resources. The most important players are the Joseph Kabila led Kinshasa Government, the RCD¹-Goma led by Adolphe Onosumba, the RCD-ML led by Mbasa Nyamwisi and the MLC led by Jean Pierre Bemba. All these groups control substantial parts of the DRC territory.
- o The 'Great Lakes conflict'. This layer of the conflict is related to the disparity of wealth between the countries in this region, the conflicts in the neighbouring countries and the relative weakness of the Congolese State.

The international community and some of the larger powers amongst the Northern countries like the USA and France have also played important roles at the different levels of the conflict in the DRC. They supported the Congolese and Rwandan regimes that created a lot of the pre-conditions for the current conflict, while they also provided political and military support to the different groups that are at this moment involved in the war. The reasons for these interferences were initially partially linked to the Cold War but the enormous mineral riches of the DRC have attracted the lion share of the international interest.



Busy street in Bukavu, one of the major towns in the Eastern part of Democratic Republic of Congo. Photo: Hans Romkema, LPI

Help for peace building in the Congo should be altruistic, with the only objective being to help the Congolese people. Quick fix and superficial solutions not dealing with the root-causes of the conflict will at best provide temporary improvement but are likely to be counter-productive in the long run. A sustainable peace can only be reached if the government is a government of unity, supported by the people and providing physical and economic security to all groups. To achieve this, the people need to participate fully in the peace process.

Because the DRC has no democratically chosen politicians, it is of utmost importance to support the civil society as it is the only 'structure' that can claim, with some confidence, that it represents the population. However, the civil society is not spared from internal division and political manipulation. Therefore, international organisations ready to support the Congolese civil society with its contribution to the peace process should choose their partners carefully.

There are different currents in the civil society; some are rather moderate in their position whereas others are militant and sometimes exclusionary. In the east of the DRC it is the controversy surrounding the role and the position in the society of the Banyarwanda and the Tutsi in particular that cause the most heated debates. Peace building however demands non-partisan support to the civil society aiming at bringing the different groups together around subjects of common interest.

Peace building work is a rather new area of activity for most of the civil society organisations. As a result, the technical capacity of the actors will need to be strengthened. More in-depth and independent research is also an important requirement. Many aspects of the conflict are not sufficiently understood or are creating controversy. This cannot be avoided in a conflict situation but the population and the peace workers should at least be offered correct and unbiased information in order to improve their analysis of the conflict.

Women and youth are both important actors at the grassroots level and badly represented at the co-ordi-

nation levels of the civil society. For reasons of efficiency and mere justice, active efforts need to be made to promote the equal representation of women and youth at all levels of a civil society peace building programme. We recommend focusing on those women and youth who already have experience in peace building activities at the grassroots level.

The different Mayi-mayi groups (these are ethnic militias fighting for the emancipation of a range of ethnic groups in North and South Kivu) are taking a key position in this conflict. They represent a local resistance against the presence of foreign armies and the political system that was developed under Mobutu. Moreover, the Mayi-mayi are armed groups that can easily be manipulated because of their dependency on resources from third parties. Till this moment the Kinshasa Government and the foreign militias benefit from the Mayi-mayi's inability to function as an independent force. As long as the Mayi-mayi are not accepted on the negotiation table this manipulation will continue and be a major obstacle for peace and security in the East of the DRC;

The United Nations is currently developing more detailed plans for the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of the so-called negative forces. In the future, if the Lusaka Accords succeed, a national demobilisation of excess military will also take place. The civil society will have to play a role in the reintegration process and it is recommended that the civil society receive assistance to prepare for this role.

The report of the LPI research will soon be published on the LPI website www.life-peace.org

Hans Romkema

¹ *RCD - Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie [controlling the southern half of eastern DRC] ; RCD-ML - Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie-Mouvement de la Libération [controlling the northern part of eastern DRC]; MLC - Mouvement pour la Libération du Congo [controlling most of northern DRC]*

Civil Intervention as an alternative

LPI has participated in a Civil Intervention conference that was held in Paris in October 2001. The "Non-Violent Civil Intervention" concept was born some 20 years ago, and was progressively experimented by NGOs like the International Peace Brigades in Central and Latin America, or by the Balkan Peace Team in the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s.

The purpose of the conference was to make an inventory of the research works related to this concept, and to present the necessity of providing adequate training to the volunteers. But it was mainly a forum to discuss what are the real stakes of such an intervention as an alternative way to solve armed conflicts.

Members of a civil intervention force clearly show, indeed, that they act without weapons in order to create ideal conditions for a peace process: it provides them with a positive image, it brings some legitimacy to their action in favour of peace, democracy and respect of human rights. A civil peace intervention is nevertheless a form of interference, and the conference explored both its foundations and principles. There has been, moreover, intense debates on the need to define precisely the concept and to precise its limits: conflict prevention, peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction have to be confronted to the field realities of the civil peace missions. Finally, the conference tackled the issue of humanitarian interventions in conflict-torn areas.

The conference interested LPI in different ways:

- The theme is in line with LPI's work: how to promote peace in conflict-torn countries, and support non-violent conflict transformation.
- Some potential partners were attending the conference.
- The conference was an opportunity for networking, and a good forum to promote LPI's work.

Jérôme Gouzou

New partner in Somalia

A new forum in Somalia

Basil BS Nyama, editor for the Horn of Africa Bulletin, reports from the launching of FOPAG a Somali partner to the Life & Peace Institute.

The work of Life & Peace Institute in Somalia enters a new phase in 2002 with the formation and subsequent launching of the Forum for Peace and Governance (FOPAG). Founded to continue with the work of conflict transformation, peacebuilding and civic education, FOPAG is one of the means to realise a culture of peace and good governance in Somaliland and Somalia.

As a locally owned civic organisation, FOPAG's mission is two-fold. Firstly, to contribute towards the development of a democratic system of governance within the framework of an enhanced participatory conflict transformation and peacebuilding process in Somalia and Somaliland. Secondly, FOPAG strives to strengthen community centred peace initiatives and community based democracy and good governance.

FOPAG's approach is based on the Somali traditional mechanisms used for conflict transformation and peace building. These traditional processes start with and involve the ordinary people or 'the bottom level' of the Somali society. Gradually, the process moves towards the middle and upper levels of society. Eventually, the processes ensure the sustainability of peace and a just form of governance.

FOPAG strives to enhance emerging civil society organizations and improve the capacity of representative institutions so as to enable them plan better.

Thus the founding of FOPAG is timely given the lack of a culture of non-violence, peace, and a broad-based participation in good governance to ensure that the links exist between democracy, sustainable peace and development. There is also a need for Somali and Somaliland to promote peaceful co-existence and good neighbourliness with its neighbours in the region.

From the context of the global peace movement, FOPAG comes in as one of actors with the commitment to uphold the values of human rights,

socio-economic justice and non-violent conflict transformation. In her speech on November 22, 2001, the LPI Director of Conflict Transformation Programme (CTP), Claudette Werleigh describes the 'birth' of FOPAG as a challenge and inspiration to the work of conflict resolution and peacebuilding. The full text of Claudette's edited launching speech follows.

"Ladies and gentlemen, friends of the Life and Peace Institute (LPI), we celebrate the launching of FOPAG – the result of a long process of almost a decade – in today's world where many countries and regions around the globe especially in Africa need Peace, and where a lot of countries around the world, including countries in Africa, need good Governance.

The Life and Peace Institute (LPI) stands for "Life" which is a better or a good quality of life. It also stands for "Peace". This kind of peace is not merely peace that results from cessation or absence of war but peace based on Justice, Equity (for example gender equity but also fairness in the sharing of resources). It is a peace that stands for the respect of human rights, harmony, conviviality or friendliness, just to name a few. These are some of the values that the LPI passionately upholds in its work, mission and life. Thus it is necessary to say more about what the Life and Peace Institute is in relation to this new civil organisation – the Forum for Peace and Governance.

The Life and Peace Institute (LPI) is a Research Institute. It conducts academic, scientific, applied research for a better quality of life. LPI is an ecumenical organisation. Created by the Christian churches, LPI works in close collaboration with the churches as its natural partners, though it does not work exclusively with the churches and the Christian denominations.

The Life and Peace Institute is international. Although its direct activities have basically been in the Horn of Africa region, it has been involved in other parts of the world particularly in Croatia (Eastern Europe) and more recently in Congo. Its research has been carried out in Asia, Latin America and the Middle East.

As a Conflict Transformation Programmes Director, I'll say something that perhaps you already know: that we cannot avoid conflicts. Conflicts are the result of our diversity. That is to say, people are different; they have different cultures, live in different situations, have different points of views; pursue different, and often, opposite interests. Thus, we cannot avoid conflicts. What we can do – and what we are trying to do – is to learn how to prevent violent conflicts and how to deal with conflicts in a non-violent manner through the recommendations, suggestions, or results from our research, by our education and training approach, and through the communication-based aspect of our work.

Eventually, the launching of FOPAG is certainly going to have an impact (actually, it is already starting to have an impact) on the Somali staff of the Life & Peace Institute and the Somali people, LPI's Regional Office in Nairobi, and LPI as a whole. But the launching is also significant for and in the context of the peace movement in general.

From an international perspective, it has an impact on the North-South cooperation. Too often, NGOs that originate and are based in the North and come to help people in the South tend to entrench themselves and will not simply "let go" or leave the local people to own the organisation and or its activities. Instead, such NGO's end up staying in a given country much longer than initially scheduled (or at least as much as so) for their sake.

The launching of FOPAG is extremely significant for the peace movement, as it also shows that we at LPI are trying to put in practice what we have been teaching. That people who are immersed in the conflicts are the primary or the most important actors in the building and maintaining of any sustainable peace.

The launching of FOPAG today is a clear illustration that "handing over" is possible. Now, it is up to FOPAG to demonstrate to LPI, to the peace movement, to our funding agencies, to the world at large that "taking over is not only possible" but that it can be beneficial for all those involved.

I hope that FOPAG will live up to our expectation, to the expectation of the Somali people, and to their own commitment to the values that inspire and bring about qualitative life and peace in Somalia and elsewhere.

On behalf of the Life and Peace Institute, I wish the Board and the Executive Committee of FOPAG my best wishes of Success."

Book reviews

The movement(s) of the Taliban

Michael Griffin, *Reaping the Whirlwind. The Taliban Movement in Afghanistan*. Pluto Press, 2001, 283 pp.

The Taliban movement in Afghanistan has hit the headlines daily and has been a global topic over the past months. Still, there is room for more reporting and insights from behind the scene. Although the book *Reaping the Whirlwind* was published in early 2001, before the September 11th attack and the escalated "War on terrorism", it is worth reading as a background. It is a comprehensive report that offers a Taliban mosaic based on hundreds of documents and unique interviews.

The author, Michael Griffin, being a well known and respected journalist, suggests that the book can serve as an "aide memoire". It certainly can. You can follow the conception of the Taliban in 1994, and Mullah M Omars appearance – not on the scene, but rather in hiding. The key political role of Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, as well as the US in relation to the new movement is featured. The UN peace initiative that goes back to 1981 is a long story, interwoven in the civic war and the political turbulence.

Michael Griffin does not hold all the answers, but he covers a wide range of topics and suggests explanations for the developments where Mullah M Omar, Osama bin-Ladin and al-Qaeda are key actors; one as the host and the others as powerful "guests". With the gradual take-over by the US-backed Northern Alliance during the winter 2001/2002, the situation has changed. At this moment the search for Omar and bin-Ladin is still intense, but the trails are cold.

Griffin, citing a CIA official, is raising the question if Washington has turned bin-Ladin into a "North Star" for the entire Muslim world. That question is still valid as the search for the most wanted terrorist goes on outside Afghanistan.

The future of the Taliban movement – and Mullah M Omar himself – is another open question. As Griffin could not predict the dramatic and fast change over the past months, the book does not offer any direct answer. The circle might be about to close; the tiny beginning may meet the tiny ending. But, who knows. Quoting an Afghan saying in Griffin's book: "You can't buy an Afghan, but you can rent one at a very high price" there is scope for surprises.

Tore Samuelsson

The aftermath of September 11th

For those interested in alternative and critical views to what is usually reported in official media about globalisation or terrorism, I would like to recommend a few books and that can help to reflect at a deeper level. In the analysis of these alternative views it is not a bad hypothesis to assume that much of the arguments by various warring parties use religion, nationality, ethnicity or culture in order to maintain power and resources. It may not matter whether such cultural references originate from modern or traditional contexts. The moral impulse or the imperative of mutual love and sharing is obviously being eliminated in the new era of globalisation, whatever that is.

In "**Dollars for Terror - United States and Islam**" (Algora Publishing, 2000) Richard Labeviere gives an exhaustive account of the growth of terrorism. It is basically argued that the conflicts are about power and the need to control the vast resources of oil and minerals in the Middle East and now in Central Asia. It is thus about power and money but not religion as such. It is concluded that US itself through CIA has been very active in the support of Bin Laden against the former Soviet republic.

In 1993 Elisabeth Ferris, wrote about the important role of Women as Peace makers, "**Women War and Peace**", (Life and Peace Institute, 1993). The main message is that women have to play a unifying role in the family and has to secure the survival of the family as a household. Therefore they know the basics of peace building. Looking at today's conflict that involves men against women, and power conflicts over resources, it is all the more important to recognize the role of women. LPI has continued to stress the role of women in peace building and will develop research and education further on this.

It is also important for those who blame the killing on foreign cultures in an attempt to support their own national culture. Recently Elisabeth Ferris, now at World Council of Churches, has edited a report from **WCC conference in December 2001**, which assesses the global implications beyond September 11th.

What is the way out of this dilemma? How can for instance the churches seek reconciliation and contribute to world peace? Today it is commonly argued that religion can still play a

crucial role for a culture of peace and tolerance.

A recently published book, "**The Fragmentation of the Church and Its Unity in Peacemaking**" (edited by Jeffrey Gros & John D. Rempel, WM.B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. 2001), is important as it explores the inner connections between the search for church unity and the call to peace making. It is argued that the Gospel itself places peace making at the center of Christian identity. A conventional Christian argument has been that peace making is a social responsibility alongside with evangelization. This book, however, argues rather that unity and the gospel of Jesus Christ is to make peace, and without internal peace and unity it will be difficult to bring peace to the society at large.

What this book tells us indirectly is that unless the churches and the religious communities and people themselves confess internal conflicts, reconcile and take the love of God seriously the prospects for life and peace in the society at large look very unrealistic.

Eskil Jonsson

Non-violent solutions in Haiti

They were initially invited to provide unarmed protective accompaniment to freedom fighters and human rights activists whose lives were in danger. When the Peace Brigades International (PBI) reached Haiti, the political setting had changed. PBI chose to adjust to the new situation and respond to the call of the Haitian people for training in non-violent ways to deal with conflicts.

"*Experiences non violentes en Haiti: La paix est là, nous la cherchons*" is both a detailed account and a critical evaluation of the work done by the Peace Brigades between 1995 and 2000. Here is a book that highlights the originality and specificity of an experience. Still, with creativity, it conveys to the readers some more universal approach to peace building: patience and tolerance, respect of cultural differences, listening with "the brain but also with the heart", mutual understanding, sharing and trust building to name a few.

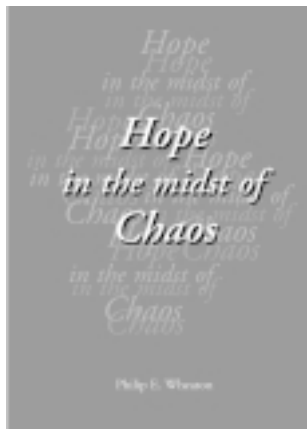
"*Experiences non violentes en Haiti: La paix est là, nous la cherchons*" is a publication of Karthala-PBI. We formulate the wish that the book can be translated and published in English soon.

Claudette Werleigh

New publications from LPI

These are some of the recent publications from the LPI. If you are interested to order or need more information please contact us by regular mail, phone or e-mail.

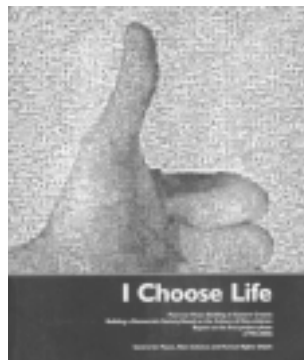
For a more complete overview of our publications and reports visit our updated website www.life-peace.org



Hope in the midst of Chaos, written by Phillip E. Wheaton, is a new report on Reconciliation and the Churches – this time from Nicaragua. It is the final report in the series Transition to Democracy. Release in February 2002.



Att vara eller inte vara kyrka – en fråga om förvaltare. Eskil Jonsson, Executive Director of the Life & Peace Institute, has written this book about the role of churches in relation to stewardship in times of globalisation. The book is in Swedish.



I choose life, is a report on the first project phase of the post-war peace building in eastern Croatia. Editor is Katarina Kruhonja.



Iglesias Evangélicas y derechos humanos en la Argentina, is an account for human rights and the role of churches in Argentina during 1976-1998. It is written by Pablo R. Andinach and Daniel Bruno and included in the series Transition to Democracy. The book is in Spanish.

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