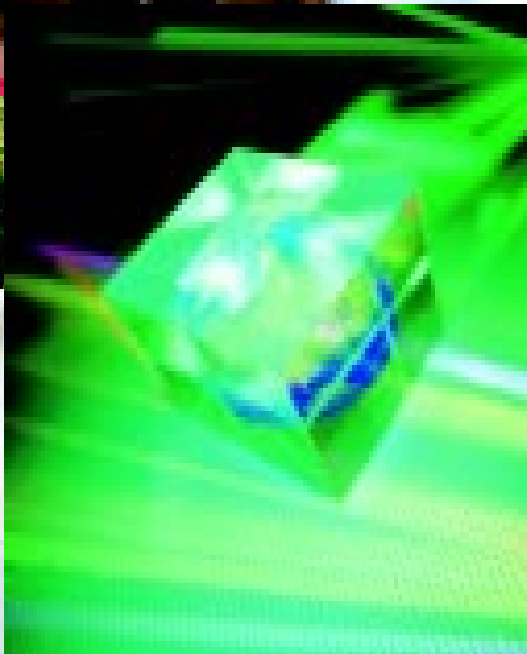


# **Crisis Prevention – Conflict Resolution – Peacekeeping**

Contributions by the  
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung to  
civil conflict transformation



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*Editor:* Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung  
Division for International Co-operation  
and International Dialogue  
Hiroshimastraße 17, D-10785 Berlin

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*Co-ordination and  
Editor in chief:* Helmut van Edig

*Editors:* Armin Hasemann, Ulrich Storck, Almut Wieland-Karimi

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# Preface

by **Hamid Karzai**,  
President of Afghanistan

Schicke



**It is a great pleasure to respond to the request** by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung to write a preface to the publication “Crisis Prevention – Conflict Resolution – Peacekeeping: Contributions by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung to civil conflict transformation”. I am particularly proud to be asked to do this since this renowned political foundation has invariably worked to promote peace, freedom and development all around the world. The Foundation is giving intensive backing to my home country, Afghanistan, as it makes its way towards lasting peace and reconstruction. And so I am happy to call the Foundation a close friend of my country.

Following more than 20 years of war and civil war, Afghanistan has had a very painful experience of what it is like to bear the brunt of international politics and of how destructive a military conflict can be. The Petersberg Agreement on Afghanistan of December 2001 has given us a historic opportunity to bring permanent stability to my country. More than two decades of war have created many lines of conflict in Afghan society.

For this reason, we now need to draw on every possibility for civil conflict resolution: actors from government and society need to embark on a permanent dialogue, reconstruction projects should be planned in a conflict-sensitive manner, so that all sections of the population can share equally in the reconstruction, an independent media sector must be established, and we wish to engage in trusting co-operation in the political and economic field with our neighbours at regional level.

The peace conference on the Petersberg near Bonn was held under the aegis of the United Nations. The Germans, to whom we Afghans are linked in close friendship, were generous and trusting hosts. We regard the fact that Germany has never ceased to work towards peace in our country as a demonstration of friendship. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung plays a special role in this relationship. We have not forgotten Willy Brandt's initiatives for peace in Afghanistan. And an Afghanistan Conference was organised by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Bonn in 1998, focusing on a possible peace accord and the holding of a Loya Jirga (grand council). I myself was at that meeting in Bonn, and greatly valued this exchange, since it helped to pave the way for today's peace process.

Also, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung was one of the first foreign organisations to open an office in Kabul at the end of February 2002, thus showing our country that the on-the-spot support promised by the international community would actually be provided. The holding of several further events relating to Afghanistan has also drawn public attention to our country's difficulties. And it was the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, in co-operation with the Afghan Embassy in Berlin, which gave me the opportunity to speak to almost a thousand of my compatriots in exile when I visited Germany in March 2002. I thank the Foundation deeply for what it has done.

For the sake of Afghanistan and the many partner countries all around the world, I would like to express the wish that the Foundation will continue to be such a resolute advocate of democracy, peace and development. In today's world, increasingly shaken by wars, conflicts and crises, it is very important that one priority of international co-operation should – as is the case with the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung – be in the field of conflict transformation.

It is impossible to overstate the value of this expertise for partners all around the world.

I would like to close by expressing the hope that more and more crises and conflicts can be managed and resolved on a civilian basis. The incalculable pain and suffering inflicted on the victims and their families in the course of violent conflicts can never be made good. Peace is worth the effort, and the active dissemination of this message across the world is another great service of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Kabul, Summer 2002

## Introduction



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**In the twentieth century,** political crises or conflicts culminated in extreme cases in military clashes, in wars between states. At the time of the East-West confrontation, this was the predominant type of conflict, and the only way to prevent it was a strategy of military deterrence to which both politics and the military were geared. Since the end of this conflict between military blocs, new forms of conflict have become increasingly prominent: increasingly, these are ethnically or religiously motivated disputes within society which do not necessarily stop at state borders. Europe experienced these new forms of crisis and conflict particularly painfully and close to home in the Balkans in the 1990s. The usual instruments of prevention have tended to fail in these cases. The traditional blend of diplomatic negotiations and sanctions proved unable to prevent military clashes. However, in the course of the successive Balkan crises, the international community has shown an ability to learn and has developed increasingly workable responses to regional and ethnic conflicts, as witnessed by the successful prevention of civil war in Macedonia. This process has gone hand in hand with a re-orientation of foreign, development and security policy in the national and international context.

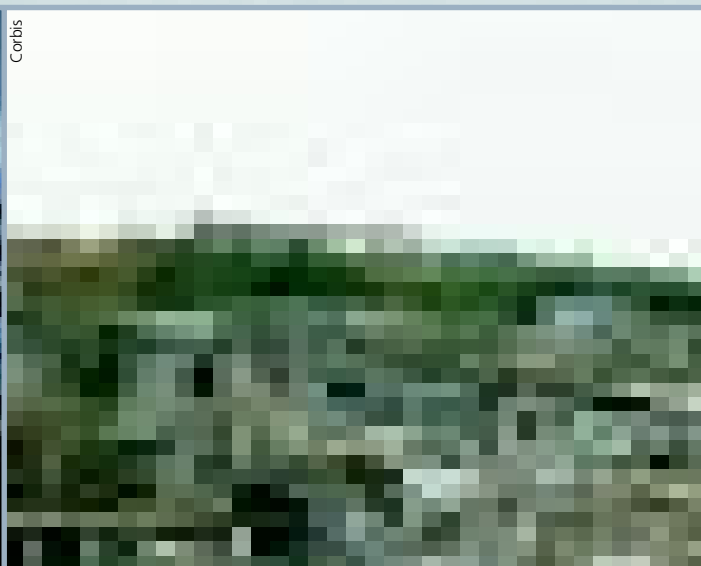
The terrorist attacks of 11 September immediately put these approaches to prevention and conflict transformation, which were just starting to evolve further, to the test. We are confronted with a totally new dimension of challenge. The subsequent arguments about the appropriateness of the term “war” with reference to the operations following 11 September reflect all too clearly the search for orientation when faced with

a form of conflict consisting of privately organised, privately funded, non-location-specific, and self-avowedly religious violence (terror) directed against a nation state, a superpower and ultimately against the entire international community. There are signs of a need for a new quality of prevention, for structural prevention on a global scale. That this may include instances of police or military intervention is not a matter of dispute. But it also shows only too clearly that regional conflicts (Kashmir, Middle East, etc.) will have to be resolved more quickly and more sustainably in future. In particular, it is becoming clear that the international community needs a long-term preventive perspective in the sense of a global approach to attain greater justice, to humanise globalisation. That is the only way to reduce the sympathies for and the recruitment prospects of internationalised terrorist networks, to lessen the acceptance of terrorist activities.

However, two approaches of international politics have become discredited: firstly, the neglect of the zones of poverty and conflict in the hope that the widening reach of the markets would solve all further problems automatically. Instead, the combination of international markets and local exploitative and war-based economies has engendered lasting instability. Secondly, the attempts, for purely power-political reasons, to manipulate local disputes and balances of power in a country's own interest: even where such attempts have been successful, they have in the medium and long term left a legacy of corrupt regimes and counter-elites willing to use force, thus rendering the next conflicts inevitable.



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The alternative to neglect and power-political manipulation is a long-term crisis prevention policy or a forward-looking peace policy. In those cases in which violent clashes have already broken out, these policies do not exclude the use of military means. However, military operations must be integrated into a comprehensive solution, which particularly includes social, economic, humanitarian and cultural elements. But the emphasis is on crisis prevention and conflict management based chiefly on civil means, forming part of a co-ordinated approach by international politics and development co-operation. Kofi Annan, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, memorably formulated this interrelationship in his speech to the German Bundestag on 28 February 2002: "No sustainable peace without sustainable development".

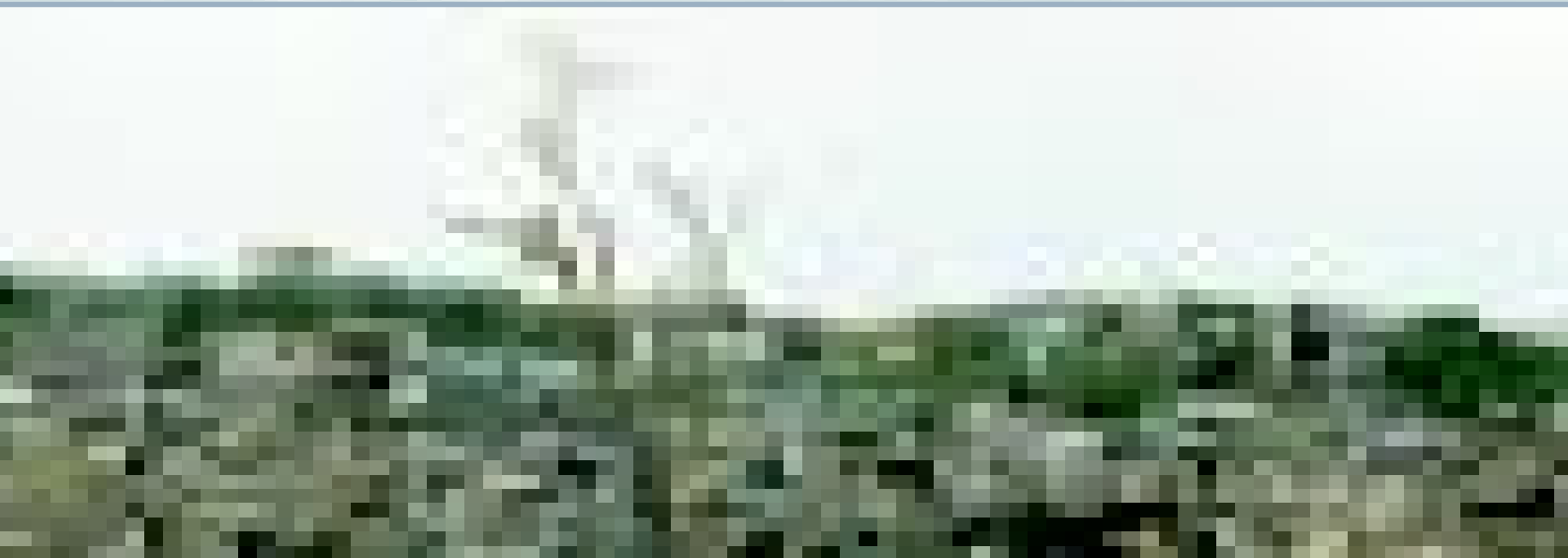
### **Significance of civil conflict transformation for the work of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung**

Against this background, the German Government has made crisis prevention and conflict resolution a central political objective of its international co-operation. The citizens of the partner countries are to be supported in their efforts to find independent and non-violent solutions to conflicts and to pinpoint potential crises at an early stage.

Here, Germany's political foundations (Stiftungen) play a special role, as their programmes to promote democratic transformation, civil society and good governance can contribute towards the establishment of a framework for stability and lasting peace. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung operates in more than 100 countries around the world, many of which are affected by latent and acute conflicts and are home to worsening domestic disputes. For this reason, the field of crisis prevention and civil conflict transformation is becoming an increasingly important aspect of the Foundation's political co-operation: alongside the long-term objectives of stability in social development work, an increasing number of projects with an explicit conflict perspective are being carried out in the relevant countries.

There is no doubt that conflicts can only be resolved by the societies themselves; however, international organisations can play a significant role as external mediators in crisis prevention and peaceful conflict transformation. To this end, there is a need for a targeted development of a variety of approaches in the field of civil conflict transformation in order to strengthen the capacity within societies to manage conflicts in a constructive manner. Civil conflict transformation is a core issue requiring networked and newly developing expertise.





The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung understands civil conflict transformation to comprise all measures taken before, during or after violent conflicts in order to exert a targeted influence on the roots of the conflict, the conflict parties and their modes of dialogue, and to boost the potential for peace within the respective society/societies in a targeted manner. Expressed in model form, this implies a sequence of possible points of approach and intervention by civil conflict transformation: prevention of crises and violence, de-escalation and dispute settlement, reconstruction and reconciliation, enhancement of the capacity of disadvantaged groups to assert themselves in conflicts, the promotion of democratic cultures of argument, and the development of an intercultural capacity to take action where conflicts arise between groups.

In the broad field of civil conflict transformation, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has focused its attention on programmes and projects of international co-operation which particularly coincide with its mandate and skills as a political foundation. A key part of this is the long-term promotion of democracy and socially just development via the influencing of society. Stable democracy and domestic peace are conditional on each other. For the Foundation, conflict prevention is not a by-product of its social policy activities; rather, it is being pursued in

an increasingly proactive and targeted manner and forms a major element of its mandate; in fact, in regions of conflict, it is the precondition for socio-political development work.

### **Helping to reduce structural causes of conflicts and to transform latent conflicts**

The work of the Foundation thus helps to reduce the structural causes of conflicts. In view of the multifaceted nature of conflict situations, and against the background of limited resources, it is rarely possible to undertake comprehensive approaches covering the entire field. The Foundation therefore concentrates on priority projects which are specific to a conflict and which correspond to its particular competences. It tries to complement these appropriately via co-operation and co-ordination with national and international institutions active in other sectors. Additional potential for the further development of approaches to conflict transformation is to be found in the Foundation's world-wide network of offices via which the exchange and transfer of lessons learnt and of best practices in this field of activity is organised.

Beyond that, the specific instruments at the disposal of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung offer various ways to directly

influence latent conflicts. These range from the promotion of the capacities of the stakeholders to engage in non-violent conflict resolution, to mediation between conflict parties prior to feared escalation, and to measures of reconciliation and reintegration following a conflict. Here, the focus is on establishing and maintaining a political dialogue and on a common search for potential solutions, supplemented by the targeted transfer of the necessary skills.

The particular involvement of the Foundation in the field of civil conflict transformation is underlined by its work in the FriEnt Working Group Development and Peace of the Federal Ministry of Economic Co-operation and Development, a joint project involving seven governmental and non-governmental organisations and associations from the fields of peace promotion and development co-operation. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is thus a major player in the exchange of information and experience between the organisations, in the co-ordination of activities, and in the conceptual planning and

(further) development of strategies of civil conflict transformation and crisis prevention, and it is also networked at European level.

The German public is kept informed about the need for targeted prevention and conflict transformation via regular events held by the Foundation in the context of its political consultancy and dialogue programme.

This publication aims to provide an overview of the various approaches, programmes and instruments used by the world-wide network of the Foundation's offices. The emphasis is less on a full listing of all of the Foundation's projects in the field of conflict transformation, and more on the citing of examples to illustrate the approaches taken. The Foundation's increasing involvement in this field in the form of new projects is presented in the last chapter. More detailed information is available on the websites of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung ([www.fes.de](http://www.fes.de)) and of the offices of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung abroad.

*Dr. Ernst-J. Kerbusch*  
Head of Division  
International Development Co-operation

*Dr. Uwe Optenhögel*  
Head of Division  
International Dialogue



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## Fields of activity for conflict transformation

### Contributions towards civil conflict transformation in acute crises

**The long-term aim of the civil conflict transformation work** of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is to build up a culture of peace by means of sustainable changes in society. But in the short term, it also covers the response to acute crises. The following examples show that the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung can make useful contributions towards conflict transformation even when conflicts have turned violent, when violence is about to break out, or when it is a question of stabilising peace following the end of a conflict.

#### **Scope for action in “hot” conflicts: Complementarity to classical diplomacy**

In a “hot” conflict, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung can utilise scope for action which differs fundamentally from traditional diplomacy. Diplomacy generally endeavours to influence the conflict parties from the outside, and uses civil and possibly military means ranging from diplomatic initiatives to sanctions and peace-enforcement measures. However, these instruments are not overly suited to influencing the forces in society on whom the avoidance or resolution of a conflict and a lasting peace ultimately depend. In such cases, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung can take advantage of the stock of confidence and credibility

which it has accumulated in the course of its long-term work on social policy and draw on it as it works with its partners in civil society to promote the restoration and consolidation of peace from the inside. It has direct access to groups in society which are involved in the development or avoidance of conflicts. It is less subject to political and economic constraints than government actors, it can move with greater freedom, and it can enter into unofficial contacts with all sorts of groups, often away from the critical gaze of the public. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and other non-governmental organisations try not to replace traditional diplomacy, but rather to complement it in those areas in which they have special competences.

### **Criteria for the selection of programmes and projects of civil conflict transformation**

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is scarcely in a position to promote peace in every conflict, even if there are humanitarian reasons to do so. There are limits to its involvement. It cannot and does not wish to take the place of government actors, and it does not have the capacities to deal with all the aspects of conflict prevention, conflict resolution or the consolidation of peace. Rather, there will be a particularly appropriate role for the Foundation to play when development co-operation is already in place and there is a risk that its objectives and results will be impaired or negated by violent conflicts. Simply as a result of the structure of their programmes and projects and their choice of partners, organisations engaged in international co-operation automatically become actors in conflict situations, intentionally or unintentionally influencing the course of the conflict. This interaction must be taken into account wherever there is latent potential for conflict between different groups in society – irrespective of whether or not violent escalation appears imminent.

Detailed knowledge of the causes, actors and dynamics of the conflict, experience in the country and a cautious approach are indispensable preconditions when it comes to implementing such programmes and projects.

### **Who are the partners?**

When selecting the partners with whom peace building is to be carried out, it is vital to be particularly sensitive to and aware of their potential role in emergent conflicts.

It is generally necessary to include the political decision-makers, even if they have little democratic legitimacy. In civil society, the main choices will be groups and individuals who enjoy credibility and acceptance with those in authority and with the general public, and who have a certain amount of clout and a tangible potential to transform or mediate in conflicts. Success is most likely to derive from parallel co-operation both with the political and administrative elite and with the grass roots of society. This co-operation should not

be restricted only to the “peace constituencies”, but should also include the most important partners. Here, it is important not to overlook the risk that social groups can also be instruments of the conflict parties.

### **The timing of involvement**

Equally sensitive is the decision on the point in time at which it is opportune to become involved in civil conflict transformation. Ideally, the general political climate should offer a favourable environment for the work. There should be a perceptible desire for co-operation and peace amongst the conflict parties and the various groups in society. They should



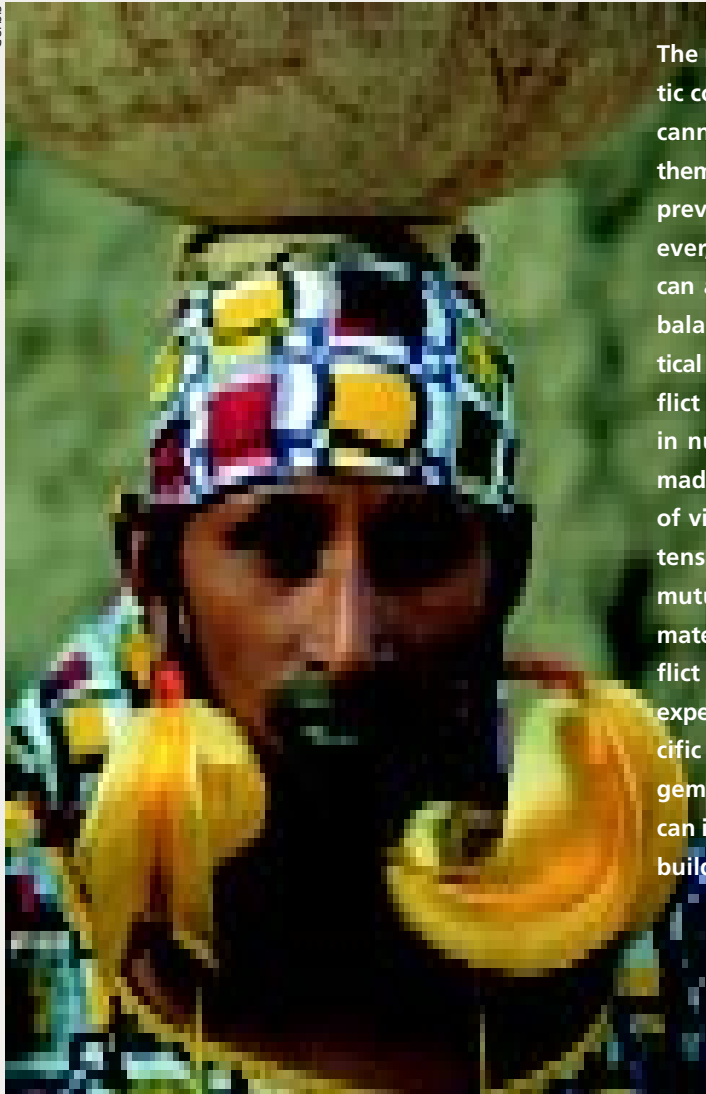
also be aware of their own responsibility, so that help from the outside can help them to help themselves. However, there will be very few cases in which such an ideal situation will pertain. In reality, civil conflict transformation tends to operate in an environment of violence, prejudice and opposing interests which need to be overcome.

### **Can success be measured?**

Only rarely will it be possible to make a clear statement about how successful a programme run in the context of civil conflict transformation has been. Peace processes develop over long periods of time, and sometimes it is more important to keep the process going than to achieve results. Only rarely can progress at the macro-level be ascribed to specific actions at the micro-level. Whether or not certain developments should be assessed as progress often depends on the subjective points of view of the conflict parties and of other actors. Conflict transformation measures primarily take effect in the background and are not very headline-grabbing – but on the other hand they make a lasting contribution to the development of peace.

## Establishment of forums for dialogue and mediation in conflicts

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The possibility to exert external influence on domestic conflicts is often overestimated. After all, solutions cannot be forced on the parties. The conflict parties themselves ultimately bear the responsibility for the prevention or resolution of crises and conflicts. However, third parties can help to restore the balance or can act as facilitators and possibly as mediators in a balancing of interests. With these constraints, political dialogue can be used as an instrument of civil conflict transformation. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has in numerous cases organised dialogue processes or made itself available as a platform for an exchange of views and dialogue. These measures aim to reduce tensions, to create a climate of trust and to promote mutual understanding and tolerance, in order ultimately to achieve an understanding between the conflict parties. It can also be useful to bring together experts from the various parties to collaborate on specific projects of general interest, such as water management, regional planning, health, etc. Such projects can impact beyond their technical aspects, helping to build trust and serving to identify mutual interests.

### MALI

## Dialogue groups to reduce tensions in Nioro du Sahel in Mali

**The Nioro region is part of the Sahel.** Situated to the north-west of the capital, Bamako, it is one of the typical frontier landscapes which are easily forgotten by those in key positions of responsibility. Only 700,000 people live in an area the size of Bavaria in a harsh and hostile environment which, apart from a few acacia trees, has only one thing to offer: almost complete monotony. Water is an invaluable asset. Here at the border with

Senegal and Mauritania, Soninké, Peulh, Bambara, Kassonke and Moors have co-existed peacefully for centuries. Mali was always a transit point, particularly during the age of the great salt caravans moving northwards. Mutual tolerance and openness to the unfamiliar created a complex social structure. Forms of communication were developed which alleviated conflicts, and a shared, enlightened Islam was able to bridge various differences.

## Roots of the crisis

Despite this fundamentally peaceful co-existence, violent conflicts broke out in the early 1990s, in the course of which the village of Tooro became a synonym for one of the most terrible massacres that could have been imagined until then in Mali. People described it as the “banalisation” of murder.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung worked together with ADG, a Malian non-governmental organisation, to pinpoint the causes, and it soon became apparent that the classic checklist of crisis roots was behind the “Nioro case”. External and internal causes could be held responsible for the outbreak of violence, but this was less true of the often overhastily cited “ethnic motives”. Conflicts between other countries in the region, such as the one between Senegal and Mauritania, had produced a stream of refugees from which Nioro suffered more than anywhere else. One of the early side-effects was a flourishing illegal trade in arms. Almost simultaneously, there was a natural disaster which heightened the competition for what were already scarce resources and which devastated the region. 70 % of the people in Nioro still live below the poverty line. In a situation which called for a strong, fast-acting state, something happened in common with events in many other countries at the beginning of the 1990s: there was a revolution. The military regime of Moussa Traoré was deposed, and a democratically elected government installed. But a vacuum arose in Nioro du Sahel. Decentralisation existed only on paper, the allocation of responsibilities was totally unclear – instead, a corrupt justice system held sway. In July 1999, the region was on the verge of civil war.

## Dialogue forums in civil society

At this point, an initiative from civil society started a de-escalation programme. Talks between deputies from the enemy camps were initiated under the direction of a trained moderator; with the help of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, a peace conference was convened in summer 2000 for more than 200 participants. On the basis of the crisis analysis provided by ADG, government representatives, mayors, traditional authorities, development aid workers and the farmers affected started talking. The key to the success of the negotiations was the appeal to recall the traditional values of the community and to focus on the real causes of the violence. An emergency programme was set in motion to tackle the incredible lack of development in the region, and all parties agreed on its unconditional implementation.

## The implementation of the results of the dialogue

In April 2002, the non-governmental organisation ADG made a return visit to the Nioro region. What had happened since the conference? What was the situation one year on? In small dialogue groups at district level, trained moderators directed talks between the relevant government representatives and the affected population, who repeated their desire for peace. However, the promised wells, the necessary new roads, the health centres and the primary schools are taking their time to arrive. “We would begin straight away,” says the relevant government representative, “but we lack the necessary funding.” The dialogue groups of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung are being continued. “Only if the dialogue continues,” says one of the moderators, “do we have a chance of peace.”



## NIGERIA

### In Nigeria, the young are to be won over to the idea that conflicts can be handled peacefully

**The conflicts between the** various ethnic groups in the Niger delta and the multinational oil companies are repeatedly the focus of much attention – particularly in the international media. There are spectacular instances of pipelines being cut, drilling platforms or pumping stations occupied, transport ships hijacked and even oil workers taken hostage. The calls made by the angry groups are always the same: they are about money and jobs. The private security units of the oil companies sometimes respond with extreme violence, often causing injury and even death.

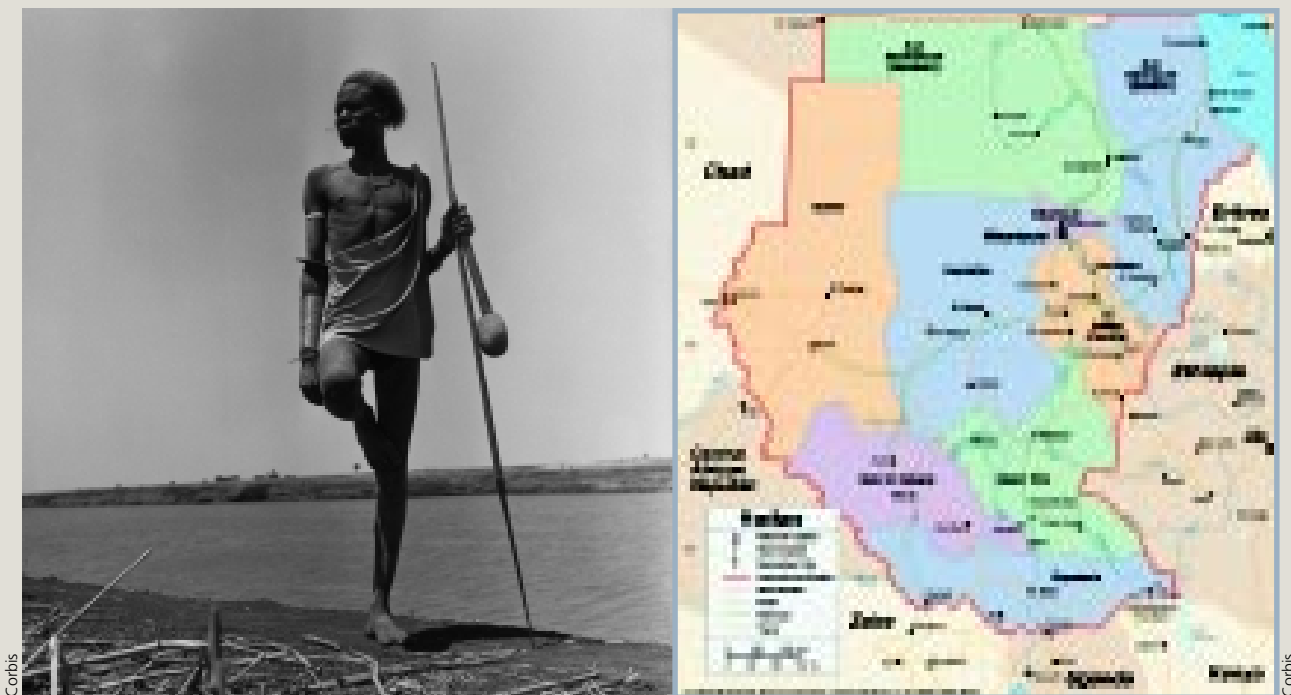
For more than 40 years, onshore oil was extracted intensively in the Niger delta – without any consideration for the indigenous population, and with disastrous ecological consequences. The natural sources of income from fishing and agriculture were largely destroyed, and were not replaced by new ones in the oil industry. It is only in the last few years that the oil firms have begun to involve the traditional leaders and to finance community projects in the villages. However, since there are a large number of ethnic groups in the Niger delta, the disbursement of development funding results in new conflicts over the distribution of the money both amongst the various clans and with the multinational oil companies.

In co-operation with Nigerian partner organisations, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has promoted peaceful dialogue amongst the various youth organisations of the various ethnic groups. This is because the youth organisations tend to be instrumentalised by the traditional leaders as action troops to carry out violent attacks. The Foundation's project work is focused mainly on interethnic violence. The medium-term aim is for it to be possible to take a joint peaceful stance in relations with the multinational oil firms.

At the same time, in co-operation with deputies from the Niger delta, a pilot project of self-employment for young people is being tested. With support from professional business consultants, business plans are being developed for micro-companies. The deputies have committed themselves to ensuring that financing can come not least from the oil firms.

In view of the significance of oil extraction for the Nigerian state, which obtains about 90 % of its revenues from the oil industry, and in view of the plans to expand the liquified gas sector, it can be expected that the conflicts may increase. This implies a continuing need to examine various approaches to preventing outbreaks of violence.





## Parties to the civil war in Sudan are encouraged to enter into dialogue

### Civil war as a permanent condition

The civil war in Sudan between the government and the opposition in southern Sudan has been ongoing since 1955, with only brief interruptions. It is the longest conflict in black Africa. There is an interplay of ethnic, religious, economic and political lines of conflict – ultimately, the north is trying to gain power over the south of the country.

The humanitarian, economic and environmental consequences of the dispute are disastrous. For this reason, conflict transformation and peace building are core areas of the activities of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Sudan.

### Conflict parties and forces from civil society around one table

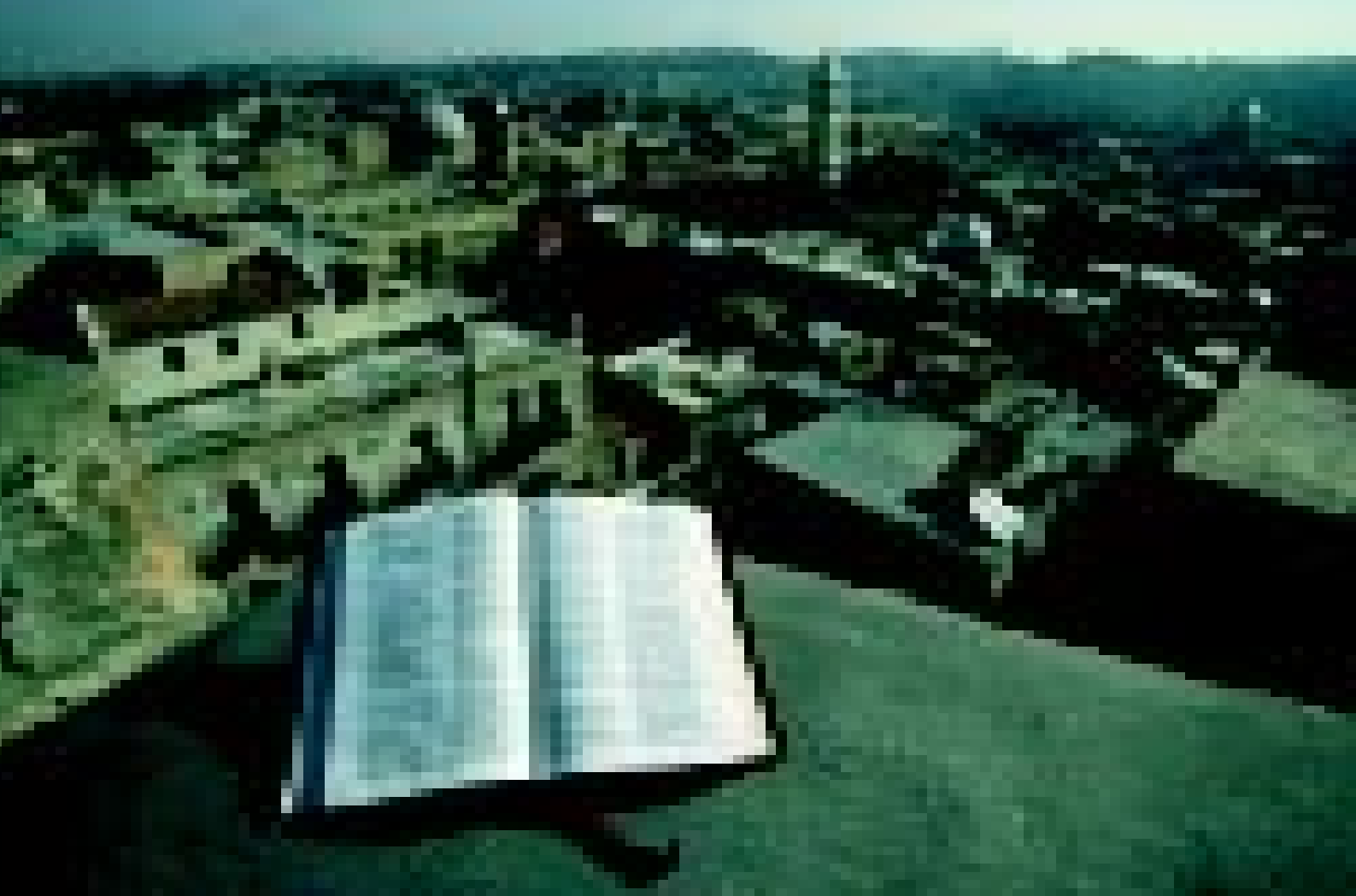
The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung aims to promote a country-wide dialogue on the most important problems and thus to undermine the structural causes of the conflict: the focus is on participation in government, distribution of wealth, the relationship between state and religion, and on overcoming the cultural, ethnic and religious differences. In this context, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung was, along with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the European Union, one of the organisers of two

Round Table encounters in Münstereifel (July 1997) and Città di Castello (September 1997) attended by the government and the SPLM.

The organisation of neutral forums and platforms is intended to make a contribution towards national reconciliation and towards a comprehensive consensus on fundamental issues, particularly on the form of government, mutual recognition and the rejection of violence. The target groups are politicians and academics from the ranks of the conflict parties, and activists from civil society.

### The political will for negotiated solutions

Despite a positive response from the participants and the media, experience shows that simply maintaining a dialogue is not enough. A dialogue can only be successful if the conflict parties themselves have a recognisable interest in a peaceful settlement of the conflict. Peace must be worthwhile for the parties. So it is important to back up dialogue measures and to take account of the economic components of the conflict. Those are the challenges which the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and other facilitators will have to face up to in future in order to have a perceptible impact on the avoidance of violent means in the long term.



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## MIDDLE EAST

### Peace building in the form of permanent dialogue

**The outbreak of the second (al-Aqsa) Intifada** in September 2000 sent the Middle East conflict into a new spiral of violence. It proved impossible to take advantage of the seven years of relative calm between the signing of the Oslo agreement in 1993 and the failure of the Camp David Summit in July 2000 to secure peace – a prime example of the failure of conflict prevention and conflict transformation? The question is directed both to the governmental/international level with its diversity of mediation and intervention bodies (UN resolutions, US mediation, etc.) but also to the numerous non-governmental organisations of civil society working towards the establishment of lasting (“people to people”) dialogue structures in the interest of conflict prevention and transformation. The same goes for the divide within society between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority, which is linked to the “external” conflict and which is unleashing its virulent potential for conflict in truly dramatic fashion in the wake of the second Intifada.

The office of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Israel has for years been supporting activities in both fields aimed at active conflict prevention and peace development, and has itself initiated such activities, including the Economic Cooperation Foundation (ECF), a thinktank founded in 1991, and practical crisis management. The ECF has gained a reputation as a thinktank for the development of strategies to shape Israeli-Palestinian/Arab relations in a peaceful way. The findings of the ECF's academic analyses are chiefly aimed at political decisionmakers and offer possible ways to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In addition to this, the ECF is also involved in practical regional initiatives which promote co-operation and thus peaceful co-existence between Israelis and Palestinians/Arabs. These measures embrace the sectors of society which, beyond the political arena, contain substantial potential for conflict, such as security, commerce, medical care and the environment, but also science and education, and in which fu-

ture-looking conflict-sensitive and conflict-preventive strategies are to be jointly developed.

### The maintenance of a minimal Israeli-Jordanian exchange

To a large extent, this also applies to Jordan, where the euphoria over the potential dividends of a “new Middle East” evaporated just two years after the signing of the peace treaty between Jordan and Israel in October 1994. The policies of the then Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, which impeded the peace process, resulted in a campaign in which the influential leaders of the Jordanian business associations in particular endeavoured to prevent a normalisation of relations between Israel and Jordan. Against this background, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is promoting a dialogue between the Amman Center for Peace and Development and the Peres Center for Peace in Tel Aviv, involving the participation of Jordanian and Israeli multipliers (journalists, academics, policy advisers and former military officers). Confidence-building measures make a constructive contribution towards a better understanding of the other side's position. Since, due to the ongoing crisis, the of-

ficial relations between the two countries have been reduced to a minimum, this informal exchange is of fundamental importance for relations between Jordan and Israel.



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## ISRAEL / PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES

### “Co-operation North” – an example of peace policy in practice

“**International co-operation** is far too important to be left to governments alone.” This sentence of Willy Brandt's encapsulates the way in which the offices of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Israel and in the Palestinian territories understand their work. They operate programmes to promote cross-border co-operation beneath government level. The most important example of this is the “Co-operation North” project, which is supported with funding from the European Union.

On 15 February 1999, an agreement was signed in the city hall of Haifa which can be regarded as historic. “Co-operation North” describes the cross-border co-operation between the Palestinian border region of Jenin on the one hand and the Israeli border regions of Gilboa and Bet Shean and the city of Haifa on the other. The

initiative for this came from the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and its partners, the Israeli Economic Cooperation Foundation and the Governor of the Palestinian autonomous territory of Jenin.

It is the first agreement of its type and, in view of the standstill in the peace process, its symbolic function as practical peace policy should not be underestimated. The fields of co-operation include on the one hand the expansion of regional and cross-border infrastructure like water supply, effluent disposal and drainage, electricity supply, waste management and transport. On the other hand, co-operation is also to take place in the fields of commercial development, local administration, health and social affairs, education, scientific co-operation, and the fight against crime.



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The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung regards its role primarily as that of mediator, both between the unequal partners and between them and Europe. Here, it benefits from its good relations in the Upper Rhine region, the border area between France, Germany and Switzerland, where a comprehensive system of cross-border co-operation has emerged over the last 50 years which is recognised and copied around the world.

The “RegioTriRhena” created a partnership in which French, German and Swiss experts from the Upper Rhine region advise the Palestinian and Israeli partners, agree exchange programmes and provide internships in German and French institutions. The first experts have spent time in Israel and in the Palestinian territories for talks with the representatives of the co-operating regions, and have produced a timetable for further meetings. The project has been so impeded by the virtual state of war between Israel and the Palestinian territories since autumn 2000 that the time spent has to be written off as lost. Nevertheless, the partners have not given up. “Co-operation North” is to continue as soon as both sides recognise the senselessness of a “military solution” to the conflict and find their way back to the negotiating table.

## CAUCASUS

### Civil conflict resolution initiatives

#### The southern Caucasus – an unstable region of conflicts “on ice”

**The foreign and domestic policies** of the three internationally recognised republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia are dominated by secession conflicts, as are the entire public affairs of the three non-recognised secession territories of Abkhazia, Nagorno-Karabakh and South Ossetia. These conflicts not only block the economic co-operation vital for the region’s economic development, but are also sources of danger from which

renewed violence can break out. Since the end of the civil wars between Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia on the one hand and Azerbaijan on the other, and between Georgia and Abkhazia, the southern Caucasus has been an unstable region of conflicts “on ice”:

Azerbaijan and Armenia are in dispute over the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh, which is an autonomous territory subject to Azerbaijan, but whose population is mostly Armenian. Since 1994, the Minsk Group, acting under the aegis of the OSCE and chaired by Russia, the

United States and France, has been unsuccessfully mediating in this conflict, but the potential for negotiations seems to have been exhausted. The will to make concessions and compromises is lacking in the populations of Armenia, Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijan – critical observers regard the negotiations between the two presidents as a farce.

Abkhazia, which used to be an autonomous republic, is striving to break away from Georgia and has enjoyed de facto independence since 1994, but is still claimed by Georgia. Under the aegis of the United Nations, the “Council for the Resolution of the Georgia-Abkhazia Conflict” and the “Group of Friends of the UN Secretary-General” are mediating here – so far without the slightest success. Work is currently taking place on the draft of a document on the “Distribution of Competences between Tbilisi and Sukhumi”.

The secession territory of South Ossetia, which is trying to ward off integration into Georgia, is “waiting for Abkhazia”.

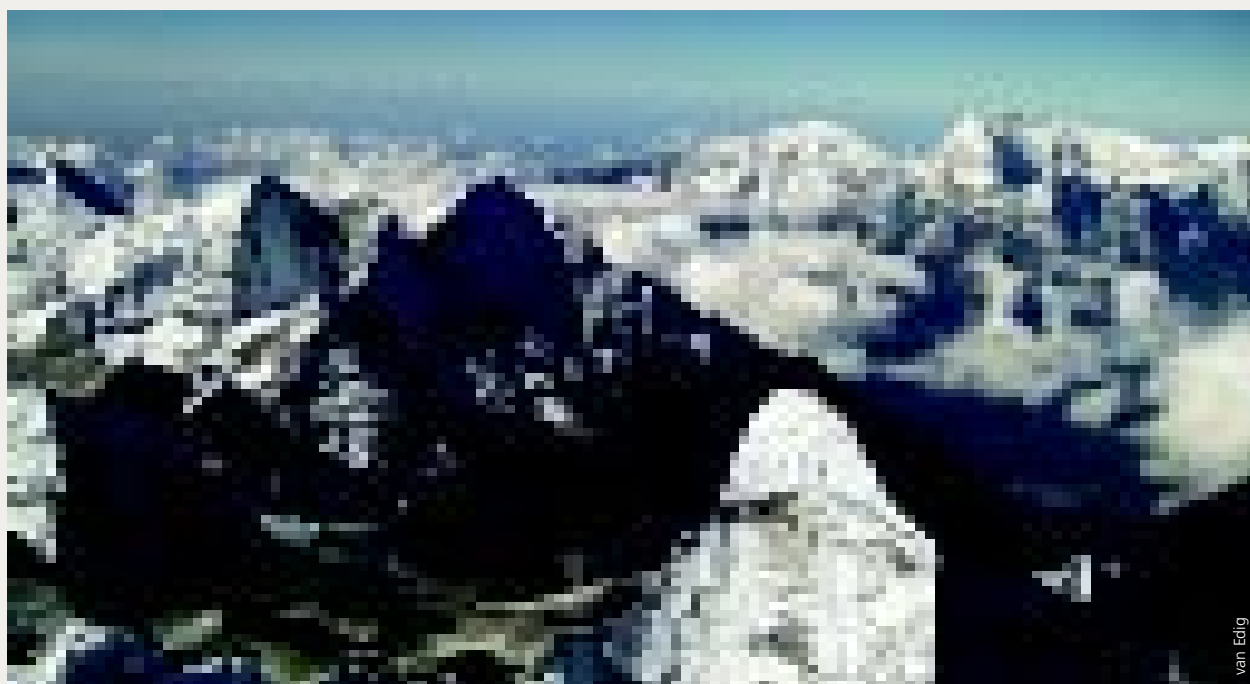
### **Peaceful resolution of the secession conflicts**

The failures of international mediation so far do not mean that other approaches to resolving the Karabakh conflict and the Abkhazia conflict must also remain fruitless in the long term. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung believes there are possibilities at several levels to make a contribution

towards the peaceful resolution of the secession conflicts, or at least towards preventing new outbreaks of violence in the region. The Foundation is supporting initiatives of influential civil associations or “social organisations” which endeavour to improve the capacity for communication between politicians and leading representatives of “civil” society throughout the Caucasian region of conflict – with the objective of winning over public opinion in the region for a peaceful resolution of the conflicts. Amongst others, the following Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung projects form part of this process:

#### **“Armenian-Azerbaijani Dialogue” (“Tsakhkadzor Process”)**

Together with the Armenian “Study Centre of Law and Politics”, Yerevan, and the Azerbaijani “Institute for Peace and Democracy”, Baku, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung organised a first symposium in Tsakhkadzor, Armenia in July 2001 between academics and politicians from Armenia, Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh, at which the participants sat down together “without mediators” to discuss possibilities for a peaceful resolution of the Karabakh conflict. They initiated a process which has been named after the location of the first meeting: Tsakhkadzor. This meeting was followed by a published exchange of views between the directors of the two partner institutions. On the margins of the Caucasus Conference of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Berlin at the end of November 2001, the two directors met in person, and a



continuation of the dialogue was discussed with the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. For 2002, several symposia are planned – alternating between Azerbaijan and Armenia, and, in addition to the existing group of participants, other parliamentarians and government representatives are also to be invited.

### **“Southern Caucasian Network for Understanding between Civil Societies”**

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is substantially involved in this regional media project of the British East West Centre which is funded via the TACIS Programme of the European Union. The publication of the results is the responsibility of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

### **Dialogue between the forces in society in the Abkhazia conflict**

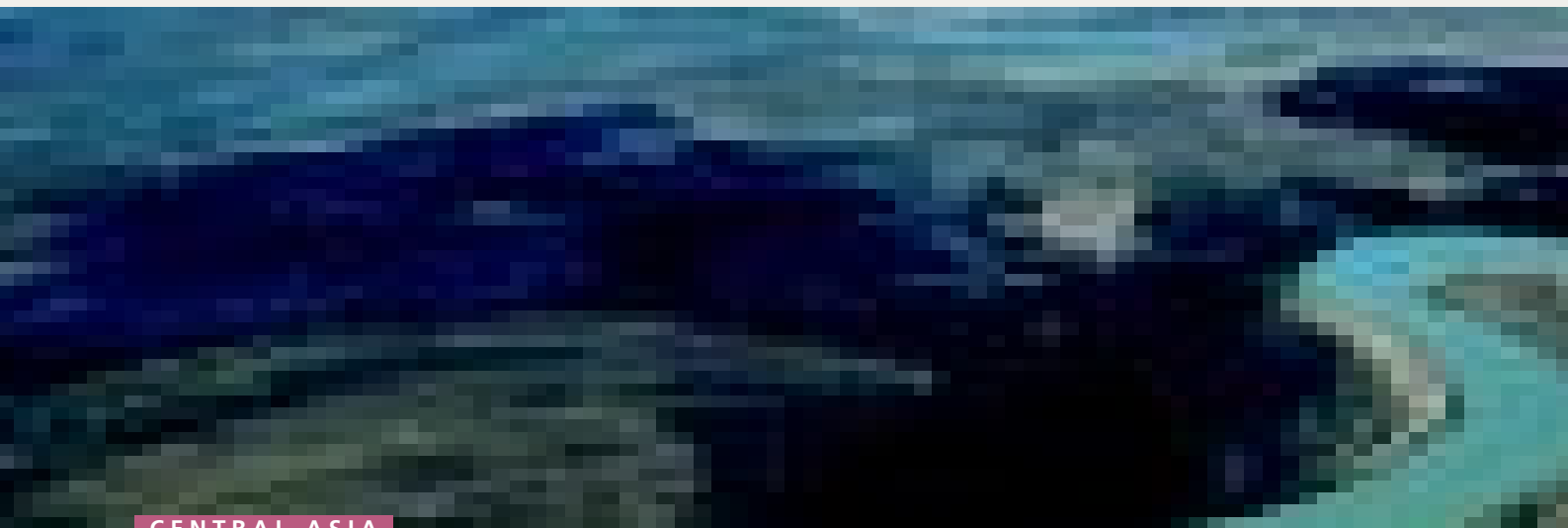
In co-operation with the parliament of Georgia, a direction-defining event was held in 2001 at which the pos-

sible contribution of initiatives from civil society towards the resolution of the Abkhazia conflict was defined.

### **“Southern Caucasian Institute for Security”**

This project is an initiative of the Georgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the Georgian National Committee of the Helsinki Citizens Assembly, i.e. of public and private institutions, to promote “unofficial co-operation between official persons” from Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. The aim is a common search for ways to resolve the secession problems in the southern Caucasus without foreign mediators. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is already working with the Georgian initiators of the project; it will promote the meetings with the Armenian and Azerbaijani sides in 2002 (Ministries for Foreign Affairs, Helsinki Committees).

Other initiatives supported by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung are the Georgian-Abkhazian encounters in Gali (Abkhazia) and the organisation of a regional youth movement.



## **CENTRAL ASIA**

### **Political order and Islam**

#### **Precarious stability in Central Asia**

**The countries in transition** of Central Asia have developed not into democracies, but into presidential, authoritarian regimes. It is true that stability generally prevails, but this is based on increasing repression by the state. Following 11 September 2001, repressive measures against alleged Islamic fundamentalists are justified as a “bulwark function” in the international alliance

against terrorism. The increasing impoverishment of the population, and particularly the systematic suppression of Islamic groups, threatens to destabilise these countries. Social problems and repression create a dangerous potential for conflict escalation due to the exclusion and radicalisation of Islamic groups.

## Approaches to conflict prevention

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung wishes to give these countries a chance to “keep their word” in view of their stated democratic objectives. International experts and academics are to make possible an open dialogue with partners in Central Asia on the subject of “political order and religion”.

The thinking behind this project is as follows: despite all the differences in the traditions of the various countries of Central Asia, Islam is a major factor in these societies. Without the integration of Islamic-based community structures into the state order, there will be no lasting stability in the Central Asian countries. This implies a need to move beyond the terminology of struggle, which the authoritarian regimes use to label themselves as bulwarks of secular democracy and their Islamic opponents as fundamentalist terrorists. The international dialogue between European experts on Islam from various academic disciplines, and representatives of politics, reli-



gion and academia of the partner countries, aims to discuss in a series of consultation meetings the question of how a political order can be built up in the Central Asian states which is anchored in the religious, cultural and shared values of the people.

### The consultation programme on “political order and Islam in Central Asia”

The programme is oriented towards the long term and consists of the following three main elements:

1. Participation in the international expert dialogue via the translation into Uzbek of the book by Professor Dr. U. Rudolph on the Sunni scholar Al Maturidi. This has built a bridge across to Islamic academics in Uzbekistan.
2. A nationwide representative survey regarding the “role of Islam in the everyday life of the Uzbek population”. The findings of this survey are intended to show the political decision-makers how significant religion is in the life of the population (2002).
3. International conference on “Islam and the secular state” to establish a forum intended to help overcome the tough “anti-Islamic” rhetoric. This was assisted by the following results of the dialogue, which were largely established in consensus:
  - The historical development of Islamic countries shows “secular tendencies” in the sense of an increasing separation of political matters from the area governed by





religious rules. There is thus no fundamental contradiction between a secular state and Islam.

- There is substantial consensus between moderate “Islamists” who call for an Islamic state and the application of the Sharia as a comprehensive system of law and values, and the Muslim advocates of a secular state:
- the Koran and Sunna prescribe not a particular form of state, but general principles, guidelines and values, which are certainly compatible with the principles of good governance;
- the specific laws which are to apply in the state according to the Sharia derive not from the texts of the

Koran and Sunna, but have to be established by interpretation, taking account of the contemporary situation;

- the laws of a state must be based on a process of agreement achieved by a majority within a representative body, in which neither the religious scholars nor the Muslims are privileged: “There is no compulsion in religion” (Koran).

This instrument of dialogue and consultation, which is supported and protected by the presence of renowned international experts, aims to gradually create scope for an open debate on political, economic and social reforms in the Central Asian partner countries, involving Islamic-minded experts.

So the process starts from the development of a system based on the rule of law which is very much open to the integration of Islamic community values and the basic elements of Islamic legal culture. Furthermore, this programme should also contribute towards overcoming the gap between the state and the local, Islam-dominated communities, and towards substantial participation by the population in the political system. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and its partners hope that this consultation programme will produce political alternatives to the escalation of repression and terrorism.

## SRI LANKA

### Causes of the Tamil conflict and routes to a negotiated settlement

**Never before has there been a better chance** of peace in civil-war-torn Sri Lanka than today. The signing of the cease-fire agreement between the government and the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam), the “Tamil Tigers”, in February 2002 is having very practical consequences. After twelve years, the road between Colombo and Jaffna, the capital of the eponymous peninsula in the north of Sri Lanka, is passable again. Flights between the two cities have recommenced after an interruption of several years. Numerous internal refugees are making their way back home to the northern part of the country.







### Decades of civil war

Following the decades of civil war between the Hinduist Tamils of the north and east and the Sinhalese majority, these first signs of normalisation are a major advance. After all, the struggle has cost more than 60,000 people their lives, driven almost a million people from their homes, brought the economy to a virtual standstill and continually increased the distrust between Tamils and Sinhalese.

There is a long history to the conflict. Initially, the British occupiers sowed discord. They gave preference to the Tamil minority when appointing officials. After that, the “Sinhala Only” policy of the well-known Prime Minister Bandaranaike further fanned the flames of the ethnic conflict. This turned the justified demands of the Tamils for equality – and their rejection – initially into small violent conflicts, then into major pogroms, and ultimately into an underground war conducted by the Tamil Tigers for an independent state in the north and east of Sri Lanka. The victims of the violence were not only Sinhalese soldiers: innumerable Tamils who disapproved of the guerrilla tactics of the Tamil Tigers and advocated a political solution paid for this with their lives.

### Strengthening the contribution of civil society towards de-escalation

One of the most important aims of the work of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Sri Lanka is therefore to bring about a de-escalation of the ethno-nationalistic conflict. The idea is to promote the willingness and capacity for peace in the organisations and actors of civil society, and to mobilise their constructively critical support for the peace process. This is because a negotiated settlement agreed only between the government and the LTTE – without consultation with and support from civil society – runs the risk of disregarding major social interests and thus of lacking stability. In particular, it is important for democratic and pluralistic principles and human rights to play a role.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung organises seminars, workshops and encounter programmes on conflict management and prevention. These are particularly oriented towards opinion-formers, i.e. teachers, staff of non-governmental organisations, local politicians and members of self-help organisations from the various ethnic groups (Sinhalese, Sri Lanka Tamils, Up-Country Tamils, Muslims). They are given fundamental information about the causes and course of conflicts and methods and instru-

ments of civil conflict transformation. The emphasis is not only on background information, but also on how to act in a conflict-preventive manner in practice. Simple things play a central role here: listening to one another, being aware of and recognising different interests. The process is also being supported with publications.

### **Paving the way for political solutions**

At political level, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is working in two directions. Firstly, it advocates that the LTTE should respect the island's territorial integrity. Secondly, it calls for the recognition by the government of the political rights of the Tamils. To achieve these aims, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung joins forces with its local partners to offer educational measures on forms of "internal self-determination", such as federalism or autonomy.

Such programmes are urgently needed, particularly in the north-eastern province, which has so far been very isolated and dominated by the LTTE, in order to help build up a civil society which is committed to the standards of democracy. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has therefore responded immediately to the new possibilities following the cease-fire agreement, and has been active in this area ever since.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung also directs its peace-promoting work towards representatives of the religious communities, and particularly the Buddhist priesthood, whose approval is of great significance for a stable and peaceful resolution.



Wongee Bergmann

## Tackling the consequences of conflicts



It is only when the guns are silent that the full consequences of armed conflicts become apparent. The human victims and the material damage are only part of the legacy. Just as serious are the divides in society, the loss of confidence in the institutions and in the possibilities for the conflict parties to live in peaceful co-existence. However, the collapse of previous structures also provides an opportunity to make a fresh start and to build the foundations for lasting peace and for sustainable economic and social development. Ensuring public security and protection for the individual, as well as covering the basic needs, are first steps towards stabilisation. Building on this, work can take place on achieving gradual normalisation. The catalogue of problems appears inexhaustible. It is a question of rebuilding the institutions whilst taking account of the principles of the rule of law and good governance. But it is also a question of reintegrating external and internal refugees and displaced persons, or former combatants. The promotion of tolerance and reconciliation must go hand in hand with a processing of the past. The traumatised victims of the armed conflict need help. And last but not least, the rebuilding of the economy and a just social order must also create the material basis for a lasting peace.

### CROATIA AND BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

## Return and integration of refugees

### Almost a million refugees in the territory of the former Yugoslavia

**The collapse of Yugoslavia** and the related wars in 1992-1995 brought about massive upheavals in the structure of the population due to flight and expulsions; the demographic structure was reformed on the basis of ethnic criteria. The number of refugees and displaced persons in the territory of the former Yugoslavia still

amounted to almost one million at the beginning of 2002, with around 480,000 in Bosnia and Herzegovina and just over 42,000 in Croatia. In 2001, some 90,000 refugees returned to Bosnia and Herzegovina and around 23,000 to Croatia – the best figures since the Dayton Agreement at the end of 1995. There is no doubt that this success is partly due to the efforts in the context of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, which particularly supports regional, cross-border co-operation between



the relevant countries. Bosnia and Hercegovina, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have since signed agreements on a common settlement of the refugee problem and have elaborated national action plans to this end.

### **Facilitating the integration of the refugees following their return**

If the refugees are to be integrated following their return, there is an immediate need for knowledge of the laws and administrative rules governing their new situation. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has therefore operated various programmes in recent years to impart the necessary information: alongside Round Tables and public forums, particular use has been made of the media in order to achieve the widest possible dissemination. Further measures of the Foundation's programme aimed at persuading local politicians to support the return of refugees and displaced persons at local level. Here, live radio programmes in which returnees describe their problems and talk with local politicians have been especially effective.

In addition to the legal and administrative barriers, the successful integration of refugees is also impeded by

the bad economic situation of the municipalities: due to the high level of unemployment and the lack of economic growth, those returning find it difficult to make a fresh start. Women, who account for a large proportion of those returning, are particularly affected by this. In order to support this group in particular, seminars on vocational training and preparation for self-employment have been held in co-operation with women's groups. A study on this issue, "Career prospects of women in Bosnia and Hercegovina", has been published.

### **Increasing the social acceptance of returnees**

In Bosnia and Hercegovina in particular, there is still a high latent potential for conflict even six years after Dayton, and the returning refugees of other ethnic groups are exposed to this. In recent years, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has organised programmes of events contributing towards reconciliation and peaceful co-existence between ethnic majorities and minorities, and has thus supported the social integration of those returning. The emphasis is particularly on overcoming distrust of and stereotypical thinking about "others" which emerged as a result of the barbarities of the war.



### **Attempting to integrate those returning at the level of the municipalities**

For several years, the Foundation has held workshops at municipal level with refugee organisations, local politicians, the local administration and the media on the subject of “integrating the refugees”. The Foundation’s work is focused on contributions towards the establishment of a non-violent culture of conflict via dialogue, confidence-building and reconciliation between the former conflict parties. This includes projects to come to terms with the past, to promote a multiethnic culture of co-operation and to reduce ignorance, intolerance and political oppression, and measures to develop conflict-resolution models. Although all of the governments in the region are working towards a sustainable solution to the refugee problem and have agreed on initiatives, the integration processes at local level are rather sluggish and remain encumbered by prejudices and tensions between the various ethnic groups.

### **A refugee-policy initiative of political parties from Serbia/Vojvodina, Bosnia and Hercegovina and Croatia**

On the initiative of a partner political party from Serbia, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung was able to organise a first meeting with broad and high-level participation from eight social democratic parties in the region. The regional situation was analysed, and possible starting points for an initiative by the relevant parties were discussed. A series of agreements have made it possible to continue the initiative. Together with the international organisations active in the field, work has already begun on focusing the instruments of refugee aid more clearly. The extent to which co-operation between political parties proves more successful than the official government measures remains to be seen. However, the mere fact that the first meeting actually happened and that a continuation of the process was agreed must in itself be regarded as a success.

## Security-policy and economic co-operation



Regional co-operation is increasingly becoming an important instrument of conflict transformation. One outstanding example is the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe. It contributes towards the reduction of tensions between states and thus towards the prevention of conflicts. And the Pact also creates a framework in which the efforts of the Balkan states to tackle the legacy of the conflicts can be anchored. The Pact could serve as a suggestion of how to approach problems of a similar nature, e.g. in Central Asia or the southern Caucasus. Of course, account must be taken of the local situation. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, which is making its contribution towards the implementation of the Stability Pact, has begun to introduce initiatives along these lines in the aforementioned regions. The promotion of intergovernmental institutions of co-operation, as well as the cross-border interlinkage of forces of civil society, are approaches being supported in order to build confidence and thus to facilitate the resolution of other problems. If domestic conflicts threaten stability in the region, on the other hand, regional co-operation is needed to limit or remove the risks to regional peace. In this context, it is helpful for states to orient themselves towards common principles and rules, and these particularly include respect for human rights and the rule of law, but also the principle of good-neighbourliness. In a community of states which respect these principles, problems such as the reintegration of refugees or the reduction of discrimination are easier for the individual governments to resolve. Economic co-operation also contributes towards prosperity in the countries of the region, and thus improves the prospects for lasting peace, both within and between the states.

### SOUTHERN CAUCASUS

#### Promoting regional economic co-operation

**In view of the dead end reached** in the political negotiations to settle the disputes about secession, an “economic approach” would appear to offer greater prospects for success in the search for paths towards solutions in the Caucasus. All of the government representatives claim that the resolution of the secession conflicts is a

precondition for economic co-operation between the conflicts parties in Azerbaijan – Armenia – Karabakh and in Georgia – Abkhazia. It is, however, appropriate to examine whether the economic benefit from (limited) economic co-operation might not offer sufficient motivation to move closer together in the political field.

Since there is no bilateral co-operation taking place between Armenia and Azerbaijan, co-operation between Georgia and Armenia on the one hand and Georgia and Azerbaijan on the other could pave the way for trilateral regional co-operation embracing all the republics.

Two sectors in which the benefits are obvious to all sides appear to offer an appropriate way into regional economic co-operation: transport and energy. Just as the European Union emerged from the European Economic Community and the European Coal and Steel Community, the desired (southern) Caucasian economic community could grow out of initial co-operation in these two sectors.

In 2002, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung will on its own initiative bring together for trilateral talks those politicians in government and parliament and those academics who see regional economic co-operation not only as a precondition for economic development, but also as a way to resolve the secession conflicts.

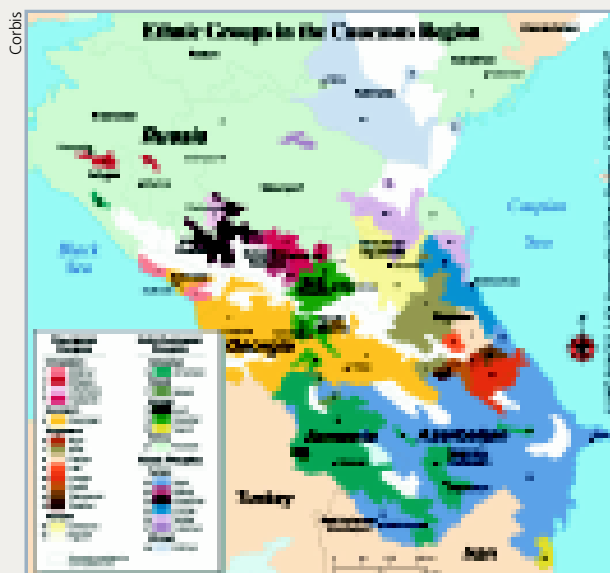
### Integration in supraregional co-operation structures

The most promising way to arrive at a peaceful solution of the regional conflicts would appear to be the integration of the entire region in supraregional structures of co-operation. A particularly significant role is therefore played by the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) organisation, of which all three southern Caucasian republics are members, i.e. also Armenia and Azerbaijan, even though these two countries maintain no diplomatic relations with each other. Other members include Russia and Turkey, which both exert influence in the southern Caucasian region. The BSEC restricts itself to purely economic co-operation – i.e. it provides precisely the platform on which the conflict parties can come closer together. In 2002, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung will enter into co-operation with the BSEC in the economic

field – and will particularly promote the active participation of the three southern Caucasian countries.

### Constitutional design of a system of “confederative structures” in the southern Caucasian region

A system of “confederative structures” can serve as a possible instrument for the long-term solution of the acute and latent secession problems. The system could embrace the three republics and, as direct members, also the three secession territories, with their relations with the respective republics being of a special nature (“not foreign territory for each other”). For areas with ethnic minorities, a graduated regional (in the narrower sense) autonomy would be introduced. In this structure, the rights of the minorities have to be anchored in the constitutions. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung will embark on this project in 2002. Constitutional lawyers from Germany and Switzerland are to be recruited to work in this project on the design of a system.





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## CENTRAL ASIA

### Regional economic and environmental co-operation

**The generally complementary** economic potential of the Central Asian states could be utilised via regional co-operation which could contribute towards economic development and prevent conflicts. In contrast, the current “nationalisation” of the economy in the five “newly independent states” (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan) impedes the development of their productive forces and endangers political stability because, far from resolving the economic and social problems of the majority of the population, it exacerbates them.

#### Cross-border environmental damage

The cross-border environmental damage – a legacy of the Soviet Union – can only be tackled via regional co-operation. At present, there are arguments about who is responsible for what, and these disagreements are blocking any practical solution to the problems. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has already addressed cross-border ecological problems on various occasions with its Uzbek partner, the “Ökosan” environmental foundation (Tajikistan: aluminium; Kyrgyzstan: uranium).

The problem of desertification, particularly in the area of the Aral Sea, also requires regional and international co-operation. In 2001, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, in co-operation with the Uzbek Embassy in Berlin, held a conference on this problem, which was attended by more than 150 representatives of scientific institutes and companies from the field of environmental technology.

#### Water as a potential for conflict

In 2002, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung will consider the pollution and poisoning of the Caspian Sea; the aim is to include not only Kazakhstan but also Turkmenistan in the regional ecological debate. Water – the natural resource par excellence – brings with it a high degree of potential for conflict in Central Asia. The sources and upper reaches of the great rivers which irrigate Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan (and the north of Afghanistan) are located in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan (and China). In 2002, which has been declared by the UN to be the “International Year of Mountains”, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is focusing on this issue.



## Regional effects of the civil war

### Interests of the neighbouring states

**The violent conflict in Sudan** also affects essential interests of the Arab and African neighbours in the region. A joint peace initiative supported by Libya and other Arab states indicates their concern that the granting of the right of self-determination could result in an independent southern Sudan. In this way, extra-regional powers such as Israel could gain influence in the region and thus endanger vital interests of Arab states and of Egypt in particular. A key aspect: use of the water of the Nile. Secession could also be taken as a precedent for similar cases in other Arab states.

### Sensitising the Arab and African neighbours to the complexity of the conflict in Sudan

With the assistance of its comprehensive network of offices abroad, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung organises regional workshops for non-governmental organisations from the Arab world in order to discuss the problems of Sudan. The Arab world is in many cases unaware of the complexity of the conflict in Sudan, 60 % of whose population consists of non-Arabs, and of the country's cultural, ethnic and religious diversity. Other topics include the social and economic repercussions of the conflict, and particularly the impoverishment of the population, flight and expulsion, as well as the damage to the environment.

The regional activities of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung are a contribution towards improved preconditions for a peaceful solution to the conflict in Sudan and towards peaceful co-existence in the region.

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## THE BALKANS

### Regional stability and consolidation of peace in the Balkans

**In the context of the regional orientation** of its activities, and in co-operation with the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung conducts individual projects in all of the countries of south eastern Europe with a view to consolidating regional stability and peace.

#### **Regional conference on “Regional security and national minorities” in Bosnia**

Whilst there are still many sources of conflict within the country, Bosnia’s foreign relations in the region are becoming more significant. In co-operation with the city of Sarajevo and the People’s Chamber of Peoples of the Bosnian Federation Parliament, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung put on a regional conference in spring 2001 on “regional security and questions of the national minorities” with speakers from throughout the former Yugoslavia. In addition to the exchange of experience regarding the respective national situation, conflict resolution models were discussed, and further projects to boost regional security were developed, with the solving of the problem of minorities in the region being regarded as an important element of regional security.

#### **The role of Bosnia and Hercegovina in the stabilisation process of south eastern Europe**

A regional conference held together with the Bosnian Foreign Ministry on this issue at the end of 2001 gave high-ranking members of the Croatian, Bosnian and Yugoslav foreign ministries an opportunity for a joint exchange of experience on questions of regional integration and stability. The participants included the EU ambassadors in Sarajevo, the ambassadors of all neighbouring states, and leading representatives of the pan-state institutions of Bosnia. This conference also hosted discussions by representatives of non-governmental organisations on the role of civil society in questions of regional integration and stability and in international politics.

#### **Parliamentarians discuss possibilities for action and the results of the Stability Pact**

The stabilisation of south eastern Europe via regional conflict transformation and prevention was the subject of an international conference of parliamentarians from all the countries of south eastern Europe, which was held for the third time in co-operation with the “Stability Pact Task Force” of the German Bundestag in Dubrovnik, Croatia. The conference was entitled “The Stability Pact after Two Years: A Critical View by Parliamentarians and National Co-ordinators” and analysed the question of how crises in the region can in future be recognised and mitigated in good time in the context of the Stability Pact. The conference, which began in 1999,



aims to achieve a greater networking of parliamentarians of the Stability Pact countries, to establish a regular dialogue between them on mutual issues relating to the Stability Pact, and thus to enhance stability in the region.

### The future of Serbian-Montenegrin relations

During the Milosevic regime, Montenegro and its government began increasingly to separate itself off from the Serbian partner in the Yugoslav Federation and to stress its own, independent statehood, with a view to achieving full independence as soon as possible. Mutual prejudice and suspicion dominated the public disputes about this issue, which increasingly became a serious impediment to political and economic reforms on both sides. The dialogue ceased, there was a standstill, and Podgorica and Belgrade each accused the other of engaging in blocking tactics.

Against this background, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's project aimed at overcoming the failure in the dialogue and at placing the arguments on a rational basis. To this end, the project included five dialogue events – each involving representatives and experts from commerce, politics and the law, as well as international experts from the EU, security experts and media representatives. The work was based on a comprehensive survey undertaken to analyse public opinion in Montenegro and Serbia. Podium discussions held by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung with politicians from both states in Belgrade, and an international conference in Montenegro, considered

the options and presented the respective arguments. Also, three expertises by international specialists were printed in Serbian and English, and made available to a wider public. On the basis of the experience made in the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's first dialogue events, the DOS governing alliance in Belgrade organised various rounds of experts involving input from the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in terms of staff and conceptual work. These discussion rounds in turn formed the basis of the rounds of negotiation designed by the EU at the end of 2001 (Solana), which also included participation by an expert from the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

In parallel to this, there were political debates intended to permit the participation of a wider public in the search for a consensus. A forum was held in collaboration with the magazine "Vreme" in Belgrade in October. A further international conference in Montenegro took place on the day following the signing of the declaration on the establishment of a new Federal Republic consisting of Serbia and Montenegro, and this event permitted an initial evaluation of the new agreement.

The measures of the project helped to make the debate more objective and in particular to include a larger number of experts and a wider public in the search for a rational solution to the conflict-laden situation in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In the initial phase, these measures played a major role in showing the DOS reformist alliance a way to enter into negotiations with Montenegro and the EU.



## CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

### Contribution towards confidence-building

#### German-Russian dialogue

**The establishment and consolidation** of confidence-building measures in the foreign and security-policy dialogue between German and Russian politicians and experts via annual conferences, congresses and seminars are a major part of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's activities in Russia. In this context, special mention should be made of two series of measures which have proved very popular for several years and have helped to make the discussion more objective and to inform the decision-making elites on both sides:

- The "Schlangenbad Talks", which have been held for many years, are a discussion forum which has proved its worth not least and particularly during the difficult conflict situations in the Balkans. In the forum, conceptual thinking is developed looking beyond the issues of day-to-day politics, for example on how the peace enforcement agencies can work together even before they go operational; the forum is attended by military officers, politicians, members of the governments, academics and journalists; the discussion forum is held together with the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt.

- Analyses and studies provide insights into the underlying attitudes of elites and society in Russia, into the formation of a post-socialist identity, the establishment of new social strata like the Russian middle class, and the impact of economic transition on the change in orientation towards Europe and the western world. These analyses and studies serve not only to inform German politics and academia, but have also become an important element in the process of identity-forming and orientation in parts of the Russian elites. They underpin the process of normalisation and confidence-building between German and Russian elites, and thus help to reduce prejudices and to correct misinformation. Their long-term impact on the objectification of the political dialogue and political decision-making processes can only be imagined.

#### Co-operation in the Baltic region

In the Baltic region, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has worked for years towards the consolidation and sustainability of economic and political co-operation, pointing towards the relevance of transport and other integrated projects, introducing European and German expe-

rience of cross-border co-operation between regions, and promoting co-operation in the Baltic region based on a division of labour between the ports (Baltic bridge).

One key aspect has been the early work with the Russian enclave of Kaliningrad, which is becoming a test case of European-Russian relations. It can be assumed that

the Russian side is scarcely likely to have engaged in long-term thinking about the enclave's future. But this political immobility itself harbours the danger of tensions and conflicts which can only be handled on the European side in the form of a long-term dialogue and specific programmes oriented towards the social and material needs of the population.

## WEST AFRICA

### Development via peace: in West Africa, ECOWAS is grasping the initiative

**The West African regional organisation** ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) aims to achieve greater peace and stability and thus better development prospects for the region via greater integration. The past decade has destroyed the slim results of 40 years of development work in West Africa. One factor behind this was the violent conflicts taking place in the various ECOWAS member states. And support from abroad also declined, since the OECD countries, the most important donors, focused their attention more on other regions in Europe and Asia, to the detriment of West Africa.

Africa and the particularly affected region of West Africa therefore need to take their fate into their own hands. In order to make development possible again, a path

back to stability and peace needs to be found. The conference on "security and co-operation: prospects of regional integration in the fields of security and defence" (5 to 9 August 2002 in Côte d'Ivoire) served this aim: it was organised by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in co-operation with the Côte d'Ivoire Ministry of Defence and Civil Protection.

#### The objectives

ECOWAS has included the topics of security and stability in its programme. It therefore offers the best level at which to handle these issues and acted as patron of the conference. The event began with a four-day meeting of experts at which the following objectives were discussed and recommendations made:



- The establishment of mechanisms for regional integration in the fields of security and defence should be made possible by a joint policy and security council in West Africa. A commissioner for foreign, security and defence policy should co-ordinate the common West African foreign policy. Joint diplomatic missions of the ECOWAS states should underline the integration. And the co-operation and compatibility of the armed forces should contribute towards the integration of security and defence.

- Various measures should be taken towards a common strategy to prevent violent conflicts and to maintain peace. Ratification processes for those conflict settlement mechanisms which have been adopted must be accelerated. Legal, political and military gaps impeding a collective defence must be closed. To support this, an African Academy for Strategic Affairs aimed at civilian and military elites and a unit for peace and conflict research should be established. In order to increase the involvement of civil society, existing texts will be revised at all ECOWAS levels. Co-operation with civilian forces is particularly aimed at in the field of the spread of small arms. Special programmes at schools and universities should promote a culture of peace.

- Improved early-warning systems and an increased exchange of information should underpin the structural stability and thus prevent coups d'état.

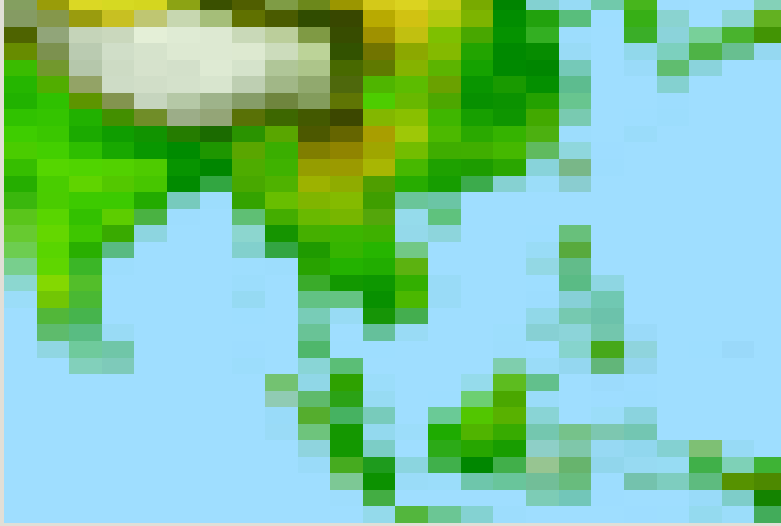
- Civil society should participate in the consolidation of the relations between the armed forces, the nations and the development authorities at ECOWAS level. An ECOWAS liaison agency should be set up for these or-

ganisations which can implement confidence-building measures, for example with the armed forces. This creates scope for increased co-operation between the various state forces – not least on a regional basis in the form of joint exercises by the army, fire and technical services. The priority here is on an enhanced deployment capacity of these institutions, i.e. there is also a development aim. Another objective is the expansion of civil and parliamentary control over the army. Improved co-ordination between the existing regional training centres in Nigeria, Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire will also help to ensure that the concept of "army-nation development" can be implemented successfully.

## Outlook

The findings of the experts have been adopted as a working basis and presented to the member states for a decision. All of the member states will submit their comments to the Executive Secretariat of ECOWAS by the end of September. The resulting document will be presented to the next ECOWAS summit for review.

After the conference, Dr. Ibn Mohamed Chambas, the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS, stressed that peace and security were central to the development of the region. This can only be achieved via a further integration of ECOWAS. This issue is of relevance to the entire African continent. For this reason, increased efforts should also be made in the context of the "New Partnership for Africa's Development" (NEPAD) to establish this stability and at the same time to increase development co-operation. Here, ECOWAS is counting on continued support from the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.



## ASIA AND EUROPE

### Security-policy dialogue with experts from Asia and Germany

**More than 50 politicians**, academics and military officers from eight Asian states and the Federal Republic of Germany met in Berlin in October 2001 to discuss common issues of security policy. The dialogue in Berlin was intended to give them an opportunity to:

- exchange their past experience,
- further expand the international and regional security-policy dialogue between Asia and Europe, and
- jointly discuss European and Asian concepts for a peaceful settlement of conflicts and the prevention of crises.

#### 11 September 2001

Unexpectedly, 11 September became a common thread running through all of the presentations and discussions. There was agreement that terror is not a new type of threat. Most of the participants ultimately viewed terrorism as a mere symptom whose roots lie in poverty, the misuse of natural resources and the global structural imbalance.

#### **Orientations for security policy in Asia and Europe**

In order to be able to tackle the new challenges, it is necessary to take an all-embracing view of the concept of security. Regional co-operation and stability must be promoted even more strongly. Progress in the peace efforts in the Middle East is urgently needed. Regional

associations are becoming more and more important. Positive examples in Asia are the Association of South-east Asian Nations, the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation and Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). Europe can feed its experience of regional co-operation into this debate. International security organisations need to be reinforced and co-operation amongst these organisations encouraged. In order to link up long-term visions and short-term needs for action, a “dialogue between the civilisations” could be helpful.

The Asian participants felt that the differences in Asia are too great for a common security arrangement to be possible. Some people advocated an attempt to “try out” at least a few of the concepts of the CSCE process in Asia and to examine the rules and principles of the process more closely. Non-intervention in internal affairs remains at the core of inter-state relations in Asia, but here too there are cautious changes and concepts like “flexible engagement” or “enhanced mutual influence”.

The interests of Germany (and Europe) in Asia are concentrated on three core areas: stability, development, and respect for human rights.

From the point of view of the European participants, some of the existing Asian conflicts, which are currently still locally or subregionally limited, could easily affect regional and global security. The Europeans therefore called for strong, multi-layered security structures.

## Education and information from media which report accurately and sensitively about conflicts



Fair, accurate and full reporting can contribute considerably towards reducing the potential for conflicts and towards reconciliation following a conflict. Distorted or one-sided information can heighten tensions and accelerate an outbreak of violence. Media controlled by the state or by interest groups often spread hatred and propaganda in a particular manner in order to strengthen the position of one party to the conflict. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung advocates freedom of the press and of information and supports the establishment of a media structure which is based on the rule of law and oriented towards democracy, and it has included in its activities the particular significance of the media in conflict situations. It tries to ensure that the media recognise their role and their responsibilities in civil conflict transformation and engage in the peace-building process.

### BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA AND CROATIA

## Journalistic ethics and the political responsibility of journalists

### Instrumentalisation of the media

In **Bosnia and Hercegovina**, the media were instrumentalised by nationalist politicians during and after the war. Numerous media used their reports to prevent an awareness of ethnic diversity and participated in the nationalistic propaganda. The production of prejudices and stereotypes was part of the daily media work. In view of the fragility of the democratic culture, the media played a fundamental role in the consolidation of intolerant national ideologies. The creation of a new media policy and culture is therefore vital for the reconciliation of the three ethnic groups.

### Education in the field of journalistic ethics

The Foundation supports educational work in the field of journalistic ethics and the interpretation of conflicts. A number of workshops were put on in co-operation

with the Media Plan School from Sarajevo and a further training centre for journalists in Opatija with the goal of familiarising the participants with international standards of journalistic ethics and methods of conflict management. Regular Round Table talks in Banja Luka, Bosnia, on the political responsibility of journalists are intended to strengthen the establishment of a new media culture in Bosnia.

### "Media and war" in Croatia

In Croatia, too, it became apparent during the war that the media have a great influence on the population's moods and attitudes during times of crisis and conflict. In a seminar on "media and war", which was organised in April 2002 together with the Croatian Helsinki Committee and the Centre for Research into the Transition and Civil Society, journalists, human rights activists, lawyers and media analysts from all the states of the former Yu-





Yugoslavia debated the role and responsibility of the media and journalists in the war on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. For the first time since the war, the conference made it possible for participants from various fields

in all of the countries involved in the war to debate the role of the media. In particular, the discussion focused on the extent to which “hate talk” could be eliminated from the media of the states of the former Yugoslavia.

## COLOMBIA

### Reporting about war and peace

**In Colombia, the reporting** on armed conflicts is often characterised by unclear terminology, sensationalism, and a lack of objectivity and conceptual clarity. The reporting of the armed conflict has a substantial impact on the population’s view of it and thus on the population’s willingness to support or reject the process of negotiation. This impacts on the prospects of success of the peace process. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Colombia has therefore been active in this field.

Together with journalists and journalism schools and with financial support from the German Church and the German Embassy, the Foundation co-ordinated the production of a manual on reporting on war and peace. It contains guidelines on reporting and, in particular, clarifications of terminology, e.g. in the field of international humanitarian law and human rights, as well as basic rules on avoiding interest-led, non-objective journalism. The manual was explained to various groups of “war reporters” in a series of workshops.



MEDIA

## Influence of reporting on the course of conflicts

### The role of the media in conflict situations

**The role and function** of the media in conflict situations was the subject of a series of events held by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Berlin from 2000. The series included an international conference in co-operation with the specialist agency Eine Welt Medien/Gemeinschaftswerk Evangelische Publizistik and the German UNESCO Commission, at which the subject was the responsibility of the media in reporting from and about crisis areas.

The media are often used by the warring parties to present their respective standpoints as legitimate and their implementation by force as the only alternative. In this way, the civilian population increasingly frequently becomes part of the war strategy. Reporting on crises therefore has a considerable influence on the course of conflicts.

The danger of the much-practised “disaster journalism” lies in ill-considered use of language, simplified presentations of complex interrelationships, or the use of clichés. A superficial consideration of political and social disputes runs the risk of overlooking the causes, having a tendentious effect and thus further exacerbating the conflict. Unfortunately, the more a journalist quotes sources which he cannot check himself, the more difficult it is for him to remain impartial. Particularly in crisis situations, therefore, journalists should report about processes, and not about individual events. However, this does to some extent run counter to the commercial dynamics to which the journalistic ethos is frequently subject – audience shares come before quality reporting.

### Peace journalism

This contrasts with so-called peace journalism, which avoids victim/aggressor labels, illuminates all sides of the conflict equally and assumes that media communication can have a de-escalatory effect if journalists make possible and promote communication between the conflict parties and with a broad public, in other words if they function as mediators.

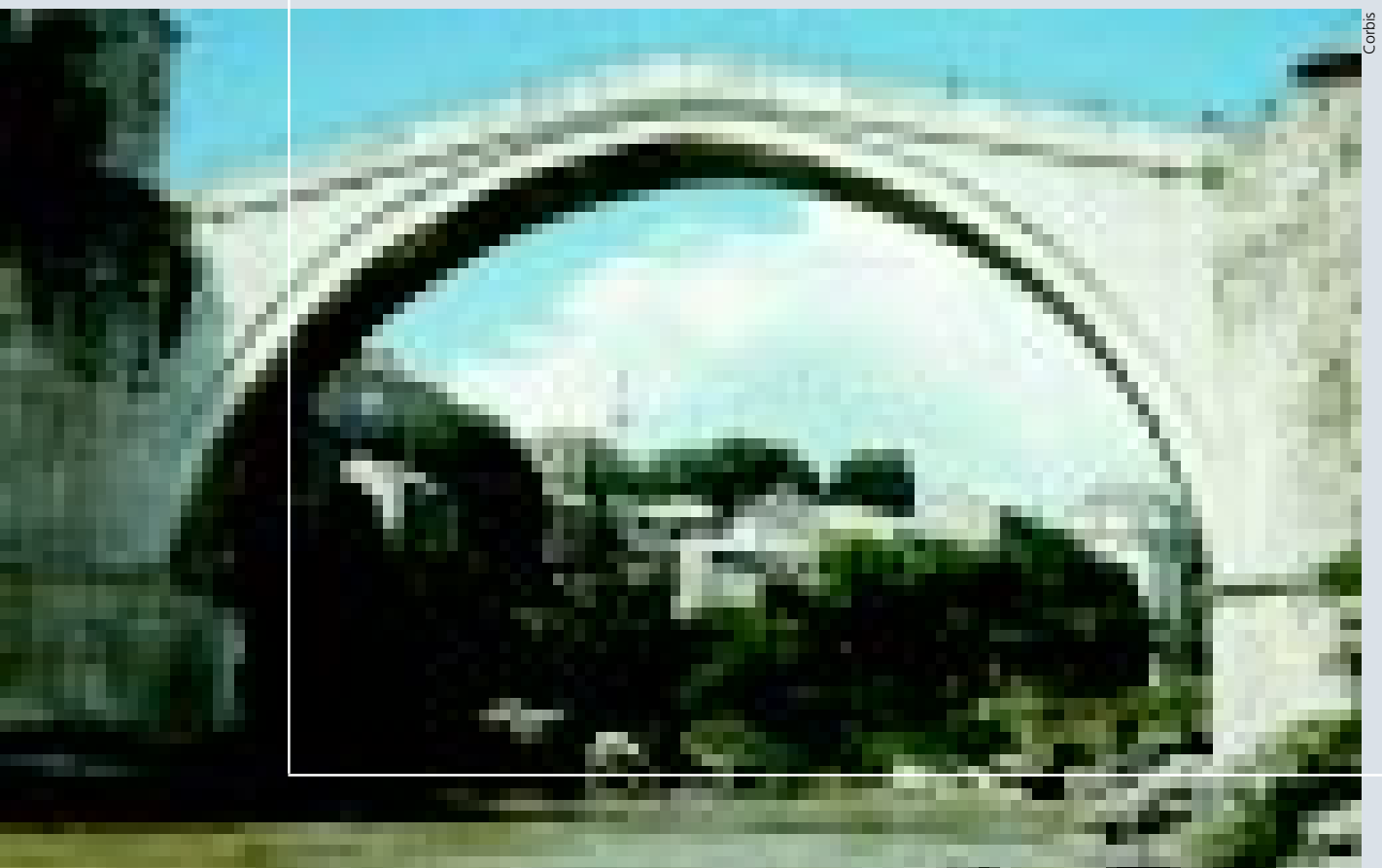
### Independent media in crisis zones

A good example of this is the Fondation Hirondelle – an international institution which promotes independent media in crisis zones. The foundation was set up in 1995 and now runs various radio stations in areas of conflict in Africa and Europe as well as an independent press agency at the International Tribunal in Arusha, Tanzania. It organises training for journalists. The promotion of peace and the prevention of conflicts world-wide is the stated aim of the Fondation Hirondelle. It provides professional and independent information for the population which is cut off from such information by a conflict or a natural disaster. The Foundation basically employs local journalists of various ethnic groups and languages who restrict themselves to simply describing the facts and refrain from any personal judgements.

Within its “media in conflict” conference, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung provided a forum for a debate on the challenges and dangers of reporting on crises by the media, and used de-escalation initiatives from various countries to show specific approaches to and possibilities for “peace journalism”.

## Enhancing the competences of the state and civil society to transform conflicts

**Domestic peace can only be secured** on a long-term and sustainable basis if the state and civil society have the competence to transform conflicts peacefully and to develop a culture of peace. Both the public institutions and the organisations of civil society are therefore necessary partners in the peace building of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. One of the Foundation's core tasks is to strengthen and support them. This goes beyond conflict transformation in the narrower sense hereby laying the foundations for non-violent conflict transformation. Beyond reactions to acute conflicts, it is important to implement a long-term objective by means of persistent efforts, the effect of which often only becomes visible in the future. Here, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung can build on its core competences, since it is an independent and internationally operating organisation and is therefore particularly suited to starting a dialogue between all the relevant governmental and non-governmental actors.



Corbis



## Building democratic public institutions

### Democracy as a catalyst for different interests

**Democracy serves as a catalyst for the balancing** of different interests. Where it is treated with contempt, violent conflicts are not far off. In authoritarian regimes, there are hardly any mechanisms for the non-violent solution of conflicts. They are therefore burdened with a particularly high risk of escalation, even if they appear stable over a lengthy period. In democratic states, this risk is much smaller. However, young democracies and states in transition to democracy often lack the skills for peaceful conflict transformation, as their institutions are still insufficiently developed. The growing number of democracies since 1991 has gone hand in hand with a rise in the number of conflicts which have been resolved or at least put on ice, compared with the pre-1990 period, whilst at the same time the overall number of domestic conflicts finding violent expression has risen further.

### Legitimisation of state institutions by good governance

The creation and strengthening of democratically legitimised and functioning state structures is therefore of vital significance. They are indispensable in order to regulate in a peaceful manner the tensions and conflicts engendered by development and the trans-



formation of society. Here, the legislature, executive and independent judiciary can only give binding orientations and steer developments into peaceful channels if they enjoy the trust of the citizens. So the institutionalisation and promotion of what is generally termed “good governance” is vital. Good governance embraces respect for the division of powers, respect for fundamental rights and democratic rights, transparency and efficiency of government, preservation of security, free and fair elections, but also social justice and equal opportunities for all, including the fight against corruption, and a development-oriented policy, with the citizens participating actively in the formulation of that policy. Good governance should be the guiding light for all state activity – from central government to the smallest municipality.

### **Significance of stable institutions for orderly co-existence in the community of nations**

Stable and functioning state institutions are also an indispensable precondition for orderly co-existence within the community of nations. Weak state structures cannot be permitted to produce areas free of the rule of law which endanger the security of other states and of the international community.

# Free and fair elections as a basis for democratically legitimised institutions



The political institutions in a democracy are legitimised by free and fair elections. Elections which are dominated by violence, intimidation of political opponents and persecution of the free press not only destroy the credibility of the institutions but lead increasingly to sanctions by the international community, as can be seen from the example of the recent presidential elections in Zimbabwe. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung therefore supports efforts aimed at enabling the citizens to make unimpeded and responsible use of this most important of the rights of democratic participation, without having to fear electoral fraud or other impediments to the voting process.

## BENIN

### Activities regarding the 2001 presidential election in Benin

**The third, correctly managed presidential election** in Benin on 4 March 2001 saw the young West African democracy pass another key test in its tenth year. One factor behind the peaceful conduct of voting was the creative and diverse activities of Beninese civil society, which were supported by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and others.

#### Efforts to ensure a proper election

There is a great danger of “fraude électorale” (electoral fraud) and of violence between adherents to hostile political parties in one of the world’s poorest countries (ranked 157 out of 174 according to the World Development Index), which after decades of dictatorship has not had long to develop a democratic culture. For this reason, the efforts undertaken by all involved to ensure that the election and the 14-day election campaign by the 17 candidates were conducted properly were all the greater:

one single voting slip – rather than several in the past corresponding to the number of candidates – was intended to prevent the buying of votes; a special coat of arms on the voting slip which was kept secret until the last day and a special stamp rather than the usual “cross” were intended to stop copying of the voting slip. Monitors spread out around the polling stations, and the votes were counted in public – all citizens had the chance to see it for themselves and to convince themselves of the correctness of the results.

#### Campaign to mobilise the voters against electoral corruption

But the efforts to achieve transparency and correctness did not only come from the official side. Two weeks before the first round of voting, in which the “old” President, Mathieu Kerekou, emerged as the provisional win-

ner with around 44 %, non-governmental organisations and journalists sent electoral observers all around the country to monitor the campaign. In the run-up to the elections, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung supported seminars for journalists on election coverage, at the end of which the participants adopted a press code of conduct for the duration of the election. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung also promoted activities against the buying of votes and in favour of a peaceful election. For example, the theatre group "Orisha" produced two television advertisements, and the Beninese singer Eric Harlem recorded a rap song against the buying of votes on a CD which was distributed to the radio stations ("Achat de Conscience": "Snake, keep your apple"). Together with the "Centre Afrika Obota", the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung relaunched a campaign which had met with a great response during the 1999 parliamentary election: "Opération Zémidjan". Thousands of moped riders dominate the scene in all of

Benin's larger towns. As two-wheeled taxis, the "Zems" transport not just customers along with their goats, televisions and all sorts of large purchases: with hundreds of passengers every day, they also act as the towns' information service and their yellow and purple shirts are like a living advertising board. In Bohicon and Parakou, the taxi-moto drivers were equipped with a total of 1500 brand-new shirts for the election campaign, bearing the message: "Dear sisters, dear brothers, don't give your voting slip away" – "Let us all work for peace" – "Let the corrupters fail" and "Get mobilised for a peaceful and transparent election. Let's all go and vote on 4 March". These messages went down well with the Beninese.

Similar efforts to achieve free and fair elections are also being supported by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Kenya and Tanzania.

## KOSOVO

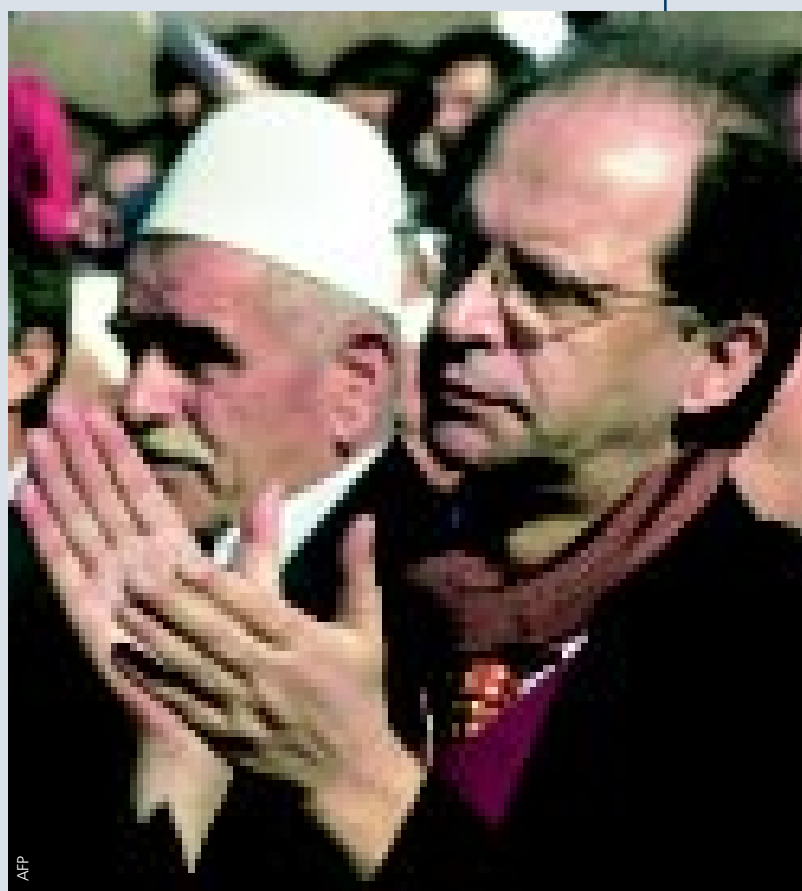
### Local dialogue and parliamentary advice

**Interethnic relations are the key issue** in Kosovo. Without a form of co-existence which permits a dignified life for all ethnic groups in Kosovo, but particularly for the Albanians and Serbs, the province will have no future. All the central issues (self-administration, status, return of refugees, property ownership, etc.) must be approached on this basis.

The international organisations need to face up to this challenge, as do the groups in society and the actors of the various ethnic groups in Kosovo itself. "Dialogue" and "understanding" have been the key words for project proposals and calls for sociopolitical action.

#### Interethnic relations in the work of the parliament and the municipalities

For this reason, interethnic relations soon came to be regarded as a cross-sectoral task in the project work of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, with as many measures as possible contributing towards their improvement. In two areas, the Foundation was involved in targeted attempts to resolve specific everyday problems by joint efforts in



the political institutions created for this purpose: at local level, a dialogue on local political management in five carefully selected municipalities, and, in the Kosovan parliament elected at the end of 2001, the provision of parliamentary advice.

The first local elections took place in 2001. The newly elected local politicians of all parties and ethnic groups needed to find their feet in their new tasks and responsibilities. The dialogue on local policy is an advisory programme accompanying specific issues of local politics, and has so far embraced measures relating to municipal social policy, municipal budget policy, municipal security, and education and the municipality. The programme began with a group of local politicians coming to Germany on an informative and motivating visit. The programme is aimed at local politicians of various ethnic origins with joint events being held. In the course of these, more similarities than differences are discovered as the participants attempt to resolve specific problems. Just talking

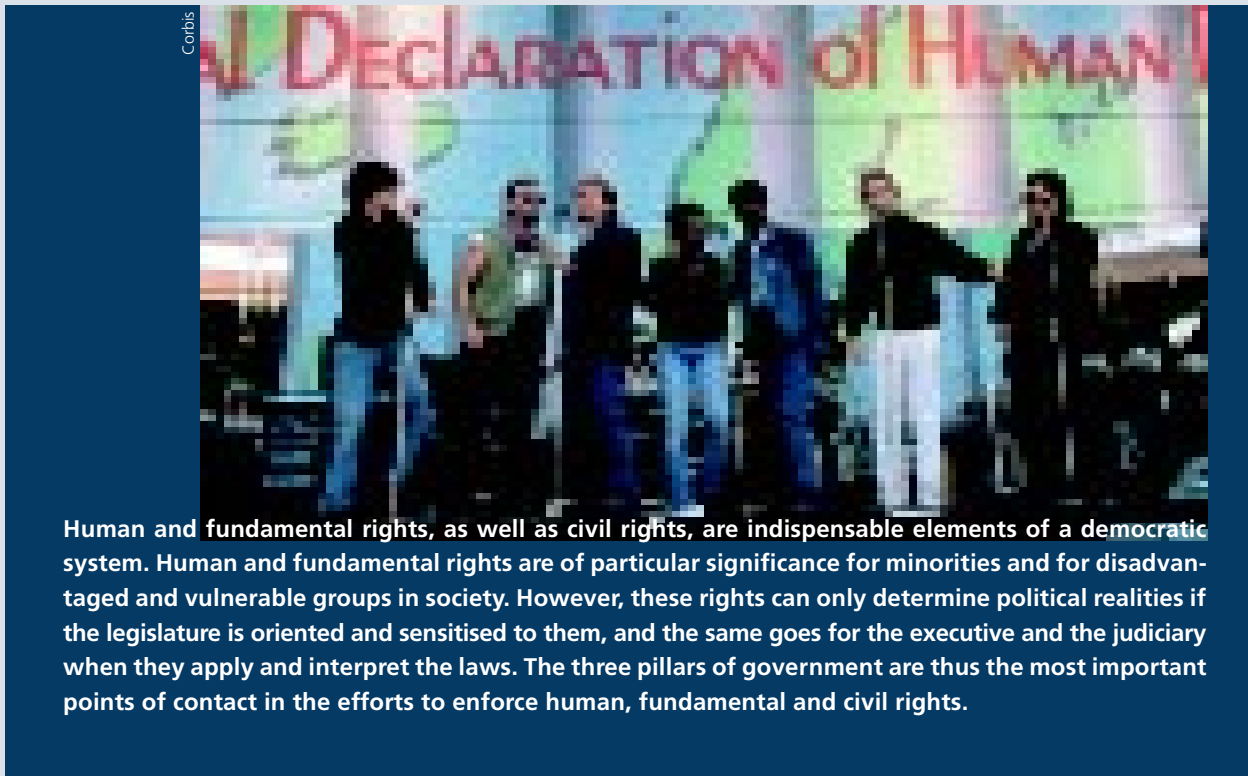
about them together is itself a major step forward in the conditions prevailing in Kosovo.

The parliament which was elected in November and its office-holders are faced with a similar task. If the institution of the parliament is to function, there is a need for certain skills and working structures which permit co-operation between different ethnic groups to be fostered.

The project also supports the initiative of female deputies from various political parties and ethnic groups to discuss common problems across party lines. A group of ten deputies was invited by the German Government to visit Berlin and Brandenburg. The Serb Return Coalition has been the first group in parliament since to take up the project's offer to promote the viability and functioning of the parliamentary groups. In two non-public meetings of the parliamentary group, agreements were made on methods of work, the internal division of labour, and political priorities.



## Safeguarding human rights and political rights: an element of civil conflict transformation



### ANGOLA

## Raising awareness of human rights



**Angola's civil war is one** of the longest-running conflicts on the African continent. With brief interruptions, it has lasted for 26 years, and it was preceded by 14 years of struggle for liberation. The cease-fire agreed in spring 2002 has not been able to prevent the existing culture of violence from continuing to dominate all areas of political, economic and social life.

### Precarious human rights situation

One of the main causes of people's willingness to use violence and of the conflict dynamics in Angola is the precarious human rights situation there. Particularly outside the capital city, the human rights situation in Angola is very difficult. The catalogue of human rights violations extends from illegal arrest, deprivation of freedom, and the use of violence and torture to restrictions on freedom of movement, assembly and opinion. The totally overburdened and scarcely functioning legal system and

the population's ignorance about its rights impede any rapid improvement in the human rights situation. Despite some efforts by the Justice Ministry to reinstate local courts and to build up a database for the registration of those in custody, Angola's prisons are full of people held under investigation, many of whom have not been formally charged, and who have been languishing in custody for years.

### Forces of civil society

In view of this complex mesh of problems and the rather limited capacities of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung to respond, the focus of the project has been on training and enabling actors from civil society to lobby relevant state institutions (Human Rights Committee of the Parliament, provincial committees of the Justice Ministry, etc.). An example of the sensitivity of state agencies to the difficult human rights situation is provided by a seminar on "the justice administration and the prison system",



which was jointly funded by the human rights section of the United Nations and was eventually held in the context of a longer-term project of the non-governmental organisation Associação Justiça Paz e Democracia

(AJPD) in mid-October 2001 – after several postponements and without the originally envisaged involvement of the relevant state bodies. Despite the obstruction by the government, the seminar was very well attended, with about 200 participants, and its discussions were characterised by a constructive atmosphere; a number of important recommendations, particularly on the reform of the outdated code of criminal law, were adopted.

### Human rights work in provincial Angola

Together with the delegation of ADRA, an Angolan non-governmental organisation based in Huambo, a three-day workshop was held at the end of November on the experience with and the prospects for human rights work. The aim of the event was the formation of a network of co-ordination and the drafting of a joint programme of action for the province. The programme elaborated during the workshop provides, among other things, for the establishment of a documentation centre for human rights, the production of radio programmes and the holding of lectures. Also, in the view of the participants, the network should act as a civil society partner of the provincial human rights committee. As a first follow-up measure, just a week after the workshop, a lecture was organised on "constitutional reform and a catalogue of fundamental rights", attended by 36 representatives of non-governmental organisations.

In the course of this work, it proved possible both to pass on methodological expertise and to stimulate a debate on best practices. Also, the Angolan conflict was discussed in depth from the point of view of the civilian population and particularly of affected women. Material on civil conflict transformation and the promotion of human rights is being exchanged with the Center for Common Ground (CCG) and the human rights section of the United Nations. The manuals of the CCG are being used, sometimes in an adapted form, in projects of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. Important national partners which are deeply involved in this field of work include the Angolan churches, and organisations of the churches and of other parts of civil society (women and young people).



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BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA

## Sensitising local politicians to human rights issues

**Even six years after Dayton,** there is still a great latent potential for conflict in Bosnia and Hercegovina: for years, nationalist parties blocked important pieces of legislation designed to ensure the functioning and survival of pan-state institutions. State institutions as understood by western democracies, which exist to serve the national interest and not just the interest of one ethnic group, are only developing slowly and under pressure from international organisations.

### Integration in multiethnic state structures

Despite all the efforts to build up a functioning multi-ethnic state in Bosnia, the integration of the three ethnic groups is still proving difficult at all state levels. A lack of implementation of the constitutional requirements is impeding the desired integration and the political and economic participation of the various ethnic groups. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is endeavouring to make a contribution in its programmes. In seminars on minority issues in the constitution, attention is drawn to the ongoing discrimination between the ethnic groups within the

public-law bodies of Bosnia and Hercegovina which is occurring because the legal basis has not been changed appropriately.

### Minorities and ethnic co-existence at local level

With a view to presenting practice-related data on human rights violations of national ethnic minorities in five municipalities to a circle of experts and to illustrate the policies of the two Bosnian territorial authorities in practice, a specialist conference was held in 2001 in co-operation with the institution of the ombudsmen of the Bosnian Federation on "mechanisms to protect the national minorities and ethnic co-existence in the context of local self-administration in Bosnia and Hercegovina". The event was attended by representatives of the ethnic minority organisations and of refugee organisations from the various regions of Bosnia, and by local politicians and ministers from the cantons. The contributions to the discussion were published in the newsletter on the website of the institution of the ombudsmen.

# Reform and democratisation of the security agencies



Ensuring domestic and external security is one of the key tasks of the state. It has a monopoly of force to achieve this, and exerts this via its security agencies. The military, police, customs and border authorities, as well as the justice and prison authorities, are entrusted with security functions. In weak states or in crisis situations, the security agencies frequently assume such a degree of power that this results in substantial risks for the rule of law and democracy. Abuse of power can easily happen in such cases, either with the military undertaking a coup d'état or acquiring material and other privileges, or with the police, for example, being used as an instrument for certain interest groups. Especially after conflicts, the prominent position taken by the security agencies as a consequence of the conflict impedes a normalisation of the situation and confidence-building between groups in society and the state. If such undesirable developments are to be prevented or corrected, the security agencies must be integrated into the democratic structures. The government and the parliament must be in a position to exert civil control over the armed forces and the police, and to define their respective tasks clearly. The internal constitution of the security agencies needs to correspond to the requirements of the rule of law. Expenditure must remain within the limits of what is needed to meet the security needs, and it must be transparent.

## BOSNIA

### Establishment of a multiethnic police force

**In the interest of public security** and the rule of law, the further development of civil institutions and the local police is of great significance in Bosnia and Herzegovina. There have been substantial improvements in the training and equipment of the police in recent years.

With regard to the return and integration of displaced persons in particular, which frequently results in conflict situations, the ongoing expansion of multiethnic police forces is a confidence-building and conflict-reducing factor. In co-operation with the police trade unions of both entities, a series of seminars was held on this issue from 1999 to 2001. The seminars aimed to include the police forces in the process of democratisation and to

strengthen the dialogue and co-operation between the police forces of the two entities. Here, seminars and radio programmes with "Kontakt Radio" from Banja Luka on "the police and civil society" met with great interest. The programmes offered members of non-governmental organisations, representatives of the police forces, politicians and citizens the possibility to debate the role of the police in the process of democratisation and to include the citizens in the discussion. The programmes also aimed to increase the level of acceptance of the multiethnic police in the population. The content of the discussions was also made available to a wider public in the form of a publication produced together with the "Centre for Geostrategic Research".

## The role of the security agencies in a democracy

**Until the fall of the Suharto government,** Indonesia was considered to be largely free of conflict. Sporadic conflicts, mostly away from Java, were violently suppressed by drastic military operations. In such cases, violence was mostly used against groups aiming to break away from the Republic, but also against active advocates of an Islamic state or general critics of the regime.

### Indonesia increasingly confronted with internal conflicts

The current conflicts are occurring in various forms, in various regions and in very different degrees of intensity. The causes also vary: some conflicts can be explained by the attempts by entire parts of the country to secede (Aceh and Papua provinces); others are based on disputes between ethnic groups deriving from population movements from the Suharto era (Central Kalimantan, Central Sulawesi). A third category is religious differences (Islam-Christianity, e.g. in the case of the clashes in Ambon, Moluccas).

The causes for the outbreak of the conflicts also vary: a deterioration in the economic and social situation in the context of an ongoing economic crisis, the interest of those formerly in power to regain power and influence as a result of instability in the country – people who are therefore trying to blame democracy for producing the conflicts – and not least the military itself, which has a power of veto over democracy. It hopes for a return to power once the social conflicts in the country can no longer be contained by the civilian government and the military has to be called on to help.

All of these conflicts have involved brutal violence. There are tens of thousands of victims, and at least one million internal refugees.

### Impartiality and professionalism as objectives of security agency reform

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is concentrating its work not least on the security agencies as key actors in the conflicts and on their role in democracy.

Often, police forces not only take sides, but are responsible for causing an intensification of conflicts, their lack of training leading them to act unprofessionally and sometimes even to provoke an escalation. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung therefore supports a training module for the police on how to deal with young protestors, and it includes senior police officers in its events on the reform of the armed forces.

The civil-military dialogue which the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is backing aims primarily at the implementation of reforms of the military and at the definition of its role in democracy. This certainly includes strict religious and ethnic neutrality when the military handles conflicts in cases in which the overstretched police force seeks its support. The taking of sides, as is occasionally observed, should not be possible. This is also the aim behind the dialogue between civil society and the military.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is continuing to try to set in motion a process of truth and reconciliation (a Truth and Reconciliation Commission along South African lines). To help achieve this, a study trip to South Africa is in planning. Subsequently a corresponding process of truth and reconciliation is to be introduced on the basis of a law which has just been adopted, involving military officers, representatives of civil society, and religious leaders.



# Decentralisation and self-administration



In centrally governed countries, the citizens tend to have little say in regulating their regional or local affairs. Central government only gives a certain degree of consideration to the specific interests of ethnic and other social minorities or of certain regions. This leads to tensions which can result in violent conflicts. Centrifugal forces arise which are frequently suppressed by means of violence. A carefully balanced decentralisation can counteract such developments. Basically, decentralisation means the transfer of responsibilities and resources from central government to regional and local authorities. The administrations in the regions and municipalities are empowered to make decisions on their own responsibility. The population has an opportunity to participate in decisions via direct elections to regional and local parliaments. Decentralisation involves far-reaching autonomy in the use of financial resources. However, decentralisation must also compensate for the gap between regions with different levels of infrastructure and development. Decentralisation is often a balancing act: if it goes too far, a state can break up. It is important for everyone involved to make responsible use of the possibilities of decentralisation with a view to the common good.

## SENEGAL

### Promoting decentralisation

#### Hesitant start of decentralisation

**The roots of Senegalese efforts** towards regionalisation reach back into the colonial past, in which the centralist French administrative model had determined the structure of the Senegalese state. Following independence in 1960, almost 40 years passed before the state decided to introduce genuine decentralisation. Senegal's

reputation as the oldest democracy in Africa was still lacking the decisive proof that it is a society oriented towards the participation of a predominantly rural population (1993: 59 %). Regionalisation initially involved the shifting of administration out into the regions, but lacked political participation in the broadest sense. There were special factors which impeded far-reaching decentralisation for many years, such as the commercial in-

terests of the Muslim Brotherhoods and the general trend towards a centralist-oriented development which the socialist-minded governments in power following independence also followed. In addition, there were the country's land laws. But a lack of civil society structures also lessened the pressure for decentralised self-administration.

### **Fundamental decisions on decentralisation**

The decision to undertake far-reaching decentralisation in 1996 was arrived at in a consensus. Both external and internal factors played a role in the move towards the decision. It cannot be denied that, by opting for a decentralised state, the political leadership wished to make a proactive response to the separatist movement in the Casamance region. The aim was to undermine the Mouvement des Forces démocratiques de la Casamance (MFDC) and its demands for autonomy, which were backed up by violence, in the civil-war-torn southern Senegalese region.

### **Focus on decentralisation**

The co-operation between Senegalese partners and the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung began at a very early stage. A far-reaching regionalisation and decentralisation was viewed as an opportunity for a qualitative and quantitative improvement in Senegalese development. It proved possible not only to advance the discussion on decentralisation in the country, but also to gain the confidence of all the sides working unreservedly towards this objective. Quite a few of the laws and regulations were elaborated in the meeting rooms of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. The climate in which the discussions took place ensured a debate which remained centred on the issue at stake, which was certainly contentious but remained focused on the objective. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung succeeded in mobilising public opinion and the political authorities nation-wide for this undoubtedly decisive reform. The process included experts from the relevant ministries, particularly the Interior and Decentralisation

Ministry, from parliament, and from the staff of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung itself. The fact that the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung was initially the only institution to devote itself to this task may derive both from its early involvement and the flexible way it operates and can respond rapidly and efficiently to developments and issues. In Senegal, the input from the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung into the decentralisation project has met with wholehearted appreciation.

### **Training the municipal officers in local and regional self-administration**

Special attention must be paid to improving the decision-making skills of the regional office holders. Almost all of them are taking up office in a regional parliament or in a district or local authority for the first time. Many know neither their tasks nor their duties. Quite a few of them are illiterate. The basic texts on the tasks and nature of their office are unknown to them. Some even have to express themselves in the assemblies in a language other than their native one. The demands were enormous. Despite a commitment throughout the country, it was possible only to address aspects of these, e.g. by addressing particular target groups as multipliers, such as women as elected office holders. All of this was based clearly on the view that "decentralisation can only be secured if it proves possible to strengthen local self-administration". Ultimately, progress in Senegal depends on developments outside the central government area and on the nation-wide implementation of decentralisation.

### **Linking decentralisation and democratisation**

In recent years, it has also proved possible to forge a stronger link between the process of decentralisation and elements of democratisation. The services of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in this regard are differentiated in line with specific target groups, e.g. by addressing not only political parties or the youth association, but all sorts of groups in society, such as women's organisations or female office holders at the various parliamentary levels.



AFP

## NICARAGUA

### Local development and decentralisation

#### The local level: economic promotion and local authority management

**Two areas are in the centre** of the co-operation with the local authorities in Nicaragua: promotion of the local economy and local authority management. The concept of “promoting the local economy” is understood very broadly and includes all measures and efforts at local level to promote socio-economic development, i.e. local development policy.

During a pilot phase, a concept to promote economic and social development at local level was to be developed in practical co-operation with four local authorities in line with the national situation. The first step was to define a concept for the development of the local area in these pilot authorities. This concept forms the basis for all further planning and covers questions of the problems, resources and potential of the local authorities and of the direction which the development of the local authority should take.

#### Participation of the citizens

In order to arrive at the widest possible assessment of the current situation and to shape a development vision supported by a broad consensus, it is vital to include much of the population in the discussion and planning process. To this end, participation structures were built up, initially in the urban centres of the local authorities, consisting of development committees made up of representatives of a large number of local organisations

and institutions. In this context, it should be mentioned that large sections of the population in Nicaragua display an extreme willingness to organise and participate, something that can be regarded as a positive legacy of the Sandinista government. There is a close relationship in all four local authorities between the local government and the development committee, which is chaired by the mayor.

In a further step, local development committees were set up in the rural areas of the local authorities and integrated into the work. The development committees were supported by experts giving advice on matters both of substance and of method, and in the early stages these advisers also usually moderated the meetings. In the course of time a number of specialised sectoral commissions were established under the umbrella of the committees. In order to render these structures capable of working unaided, suitable interested members were systematically trained in planning and moderation techniques. In a time-consuming process, a local development plan was elaborated in all four local authorities, on the basis of which specific projects are designed.

As in the field of promoting the local economy, the local authorities were also supported on issues of local authority management. This is primarily a matter of giving further training to councillors and mayors on local authority law, on planning and negotiating techniques and on shaping constructive co-operation between the mayor, the council and the administration.



The experience of the last few years has shown that, despite extreme political polarisation, it is possible at local level to achieve co-operation on matters of substance between the various forces across party lines. This

also helps to encourage tolerance and to reduce the potential for conflicts. The strengthening of participation in the local context also results in a deepening of democratic modes of behaviour and democratic awareness.

## SOUTH AFRICA

### Local politics and democratisation

**The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung** also aims to contribute towards the process of democratising South Africa and thus towards the stability of the country's new system. The most important South African partner organisations are the African National Congress (ANC) and its alliance partner, the trade union congress COSATU. Furthermore, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung works with parliamentary structures at national and provincial level and with various non-governmental organisations. The field of local politics and promoting the local economy has become a major aspect of the work of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in South Africa since the local elections in 1995/96.

The basic principle of the local reform in democratic South Africa is to merge previously divided areas into larger territorial authorities and to integrate the formerly separate administrative units. The ultimate aim of this is to align the extremely different levels of supply of local services (water, effluent, public transport, waste disposal, etc.) and thus to help to improve the quality of life of the previously disadvantaged black majority.

### Integration of traditional tribal leaders

In rural areas of South Africa, and particularly in the former so-called homelands, the traditional tribal leaders continue to play an important role in political, social and commercial life. In places where these traditional institutions still exist, the level of local politics frequently has a dual structure. The question was therefore taken up in the course of the project of whether and to what extent the traditional tribal leaders can be integrated into the new local authority system.

Various measures have helped the issue to be taken up by the ANC as a relevant one in the debate on local authority reform and have led to the development and discussion of a specific proposal on the integration of traditional tribal leaders.



# Policy of social justice and of balanced inclusion of all groups of the population



Extreme poverty, unfair distribution of wealth, a lack of resources and inadequate state institutions as instruments to steer the balancing of economic and social interests are factors which exacerbate the tendency of a society to engage in conflicts. Their significance particularly tends to increase during times of political, social and economic upheaval. Long-term development co-operation aims to remove these structural causes of conflicts. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung makes substantial contributions towards this via its work on social policy.

## COLOMBIA

### Co-operation with the trade unions

#### Social injustice as a cause of conflict

**Colombia is regarded as a state** at risk of disintegration. The state has lost its monopoly of force. The concentration of incomes and assets in a small upper class has resulted in deep splits in society, and these stoke the fires of the civil war which has been going on for years.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is trying to support the peace process which has been launched by the present government but which has yet to bear fruit. One major issue is greater social justice, which has also been discussed at the public hearings of representatives of civil society by the government and FARC, the rebel organisation. These public hearings, which have since been interrupted by the renewed outbreak of hostilities, aimed to encourage Colombia's civil society to present its ideas for reform of the state, commerce and society to the conflict parties.

#### Trade unions and non-governmental organisations

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung had a great influence on the comments made by the president of the Central Unitaria de Trabajadores (CUT), Colombia's largest trade union, at the first public hearing on the issue of "labour market/employment policy", as well as on the contributions by representatives of other organisations on the same topic at later hearings. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung also co-ordinated the work of various organisations of civil society towards a coherent proposal for a package of social policy measures to be presented at the hearings.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung set up the first working group consisting of representatives of different schools of economic thinking which otherwise do not communicate with one another, i.e. so-called post-Keynesians and so-called neoliberals, in order to elaborate a co-

ordinated proposal on politically viable redistribution policies on land, incomes and productive assets. "A fair distribution of wealth" is the traditional, official, political programme of the guerrillas. It must therefore be given

serious treatment even though the current image of the guerrillas is that such political interests appear to be outweighed by financial, military and territorial motives.

## ZIMBABWE

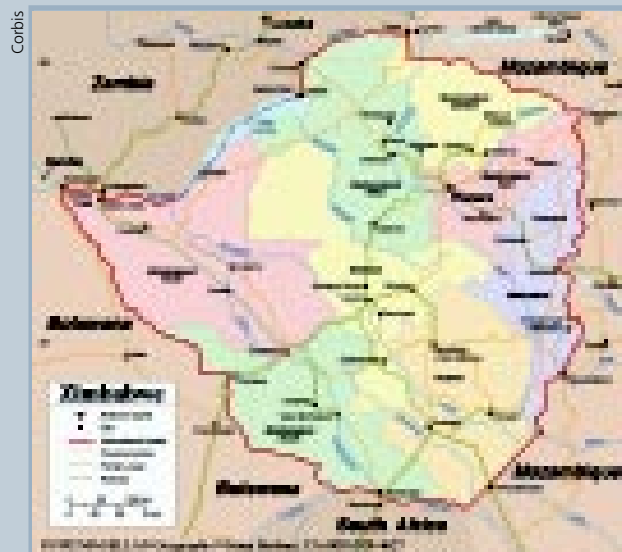
### Agricultural reform

#### Political and social significance of land distribution

In Zimbabwe, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung recognised at an early stage that the unfair distribution of land is one of the problems which can lead to conflicts in society and trigger violent crises. Overcoming the unfair property ownership situation created during the colonial years was the *raison d'être* of the liberation struggle, and it has continued to play a central role in the political life of Zimbabwe since the country became independent. The debate about land reform has now reached a violent climax, not least because it is being misused as an argument in the political power struggle and the problem has been presented in a distorted fashion. There is basically a consensus that social justice requires that broader sections of the population be given access to ownership of land. The appropriate methods to achieve this goal have so far been contentious.

#### Promoting an objective dialogue

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has therefore tried to gather the main actors around one table in order to get an objective dialogue going. Those involved have understood



that a compromise is needed and that it requires concessions from all sides. It is a matter of shaping the land reform in such a way that it benefits Zimbabwe's economic and social progress and takes equal account of the rule of law and of social interests. Redistributed land should continue to be used efficiently. If this is to happen, the new owners of the land need support, and the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung will contribute what it can.





CHIAPAS/MEXICO

Corbis

## Conflict transformation

**On 1 January 1994, the day** on which the North American Free Trade Agreement entered into force, the inter-ethnic conflict in Chiapas, the most southerly state of Mexico, flared up and has since smouldered without resolution. Despite the march by the guerrilla organisation Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (ELZN) to Mexico City in March 2001, despite the law to protect the indigenous population (adopted against the resistance of the states with indigenous majorities, and particularly of the Chiapas government, in May 2001), and despite the envisaged "Plan Puebla-Panama" economic development plan (rejected by the ELZN as an attempt to roll over indigenous desires for autonomy), the efforts at peaceful conflict transformation have not been consolidated. The interethnic contradictions are primarily conflicts between rich and poor. A peaceful solution would appear possible only if there is genuine participation of currently marginalised groups in the decisions on regional policy and an integration of the indigenous population in the attempts to achieve economic and social development by the central and regional governments.

The government of Chiapas, which emerged from an alliance of opposition parties under Governor Pablo Salazar Mendiguchia (elected for a term from December 2000 until November 2006) is therefore working towards a participatory and conflict-transforming development of what is – despite enormous and diverse natural resources – one of Mexico's least developed states. The centuries of polarisation between the upper class consisting of whites and mestizos and the indigenous lower class – as manifested by the ELZN guerrilla movement – is still over-shadowed by interethnic and religious conflicts within communities. Breaking down the resistance of previously established and privileged groups and the distrust of many of the indigenous communities close to the ELZN is difficult, and the differences which keep emerging are serious impediments for an administration keen to strike a balance of interests.

One of the projects planned by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung therefore has the long-term goal of reducing the potential for conflict and introducing preventive political, social and economic solutions – both at local and at regional level. For this, the Chiapas government needs actors from civil society who can build the bridges for a dialogue and place the efforts to develop the region on a foundation of (minimal) social consensus.

This primarily necessitates a dialogue between opposing interest groups and between representative organisations of civil society and the government. Moderators specially trained in conflict prevention and resolution from government institutions and non-governmental organisations are to be deployed here. It is to be ensured that the debate takes place in public and that the results remain capable of consensus in both the short and the long term. Local, sectoral and regional events, studies, and radio and television programmes are to contribute towards this. Also, there are plans to produce a media-based concept for conflict resolution. The events and studies are being organised by regional non-governmental organisations together with target groups and are being discussed publicly with government representatives. At the end of 2002, an international forum on the economic and social development of Chiapas is to be held, with the participation of international experts and solidarity groups with specific experience in the region.

## Strengthening the competences of civil society in conflict transformation

**Crisis prevention and the stabilisation of internal peace** can only succeed if there is a functioning, committed and educated civil society. The formation of social capacities therefore requires special support, not least in order to fill a vacuum if the state becomes less able or unable to function. Frequently, it will initially be necessary to help civil society to organise itself and to familiarise it with civil conflict transformation, and particularly with the instruments of dialogue and mediation. Groups in society which advocate the objectives of good governance and specific interests of the citizens are frequently composed of a cross-section of the population not restricted by religion, ethnic group or other characteristics. They are therefore particularly suited to making a contribution towards conflict prevention and resolution and towards stabilising peace. At the same time, it is important to exert a moderating influence on radical groups which exacerbate tensions. Experience shows that women can make a particular contribution towards the avoidance and ending of crises and towards reconciliation and reconstruction. Their capacities to do peace building therefore merit strengthening and support.



## Enabling society and the individual to manage conflicts constructively; strengthening tolerance and pluralism



In a conflict situation, positively acting forces of civil society can build bridges between the polarised camps and contribute towards a non-violent solution. Human rights networks, peace groups, as well as leading individuals from religious communities, traditional authorities, trade unions and professional associations can help to create trust and an awareness of shared values and objectives, which are preconditions for a lasting solution and sustainable development. Thanks to its activities in the field of social policy, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung helps in many countries to promote tolerance and pluralism and to highlight the causes and history of conflicts with a view to laying the foundations for co-operation and understanding between the various groups.

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### Israel 2025 – Social dialogue on the future

#### Developing scenarios for the future

**In Israel, due to the external** Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the tensions and conflicts within the very heterogeneous Israeli society have been neglected for many years. In addition to the conflict between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority – which is directly related to the Middle East conflict – there are numerous other sources of conflict within Israeli society, such as the arguments about the influence of religion on the policies of the state, the assimilation of the many immigrants from the former Soviet Union, the widening gap between rich and poor, the influx of guest workers, etc., arguments which are overshadowed by the tense political situation and which do not contain the same potential for violence in the short term. The strategies pursued in the programmes of the political parties to cope with the conflicts are, in line with political habits, tailored rather

one-dimensionally to certain sections of the electorate and thus offer rather incomplete analyses and approaches. This makes it virtually impossible to undertake a comprehensive analysis of society, of the conflicts within society, and of the problematic trends. What is needed is a joint debate involving all political orientations, with a discussion of the future development of society and of the ways in which certain trends can be supported or impeded.

#### “Israel 2025” project

This is precisely the goal which was pursued by the “Israel 2025” scenario project of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung between 1999 and 2001 in Israel. This project was developed on the basis of a planning game for the future of South Africa, which had been designed at the initiative of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung back in 1991/92. The aim

is to utilise the various scenarios to point to potential dangers and to develop in advance a plan to cope with them. As demonstrated by the two scenario projects in South Africa and Israel, this sort of planning game is also useful in the political context.

### Fresh approaches to the debate as a result of scenarios

In a laborious and far from conflict-free process, the scenario team eventually produced four scenarios. All of them referred to the relationship between Israel's Arab minority and the Jewish majority, and the power struggles between secular and religious Jews. During and following the first major public presentation of the "Israel 2025" scenario, it became clear just how sensitive the issues it addresses are, and that far more attention needs to be paid to them: the representatives of the Knesset and political associations etc. attending the event subsequently debated the questions raised about the future of Israel in the country's media. Further presentations of the scenarios to political decision-makers and major institutions also helped to deepen the discussion process. This means that one objective of the planning game has already been achieved.

### Willingness to engage in dialogue

But mention must also be made of other "side effects" of the scenario process: the participants in the scenario, who themselves are either opinion-leaders in their political spectrum or are closely linked to decision-makers, actively crossed ideological frontiers for a lengthy period by engaging in debates with their political opponents



on how to achieve common goals. They were able to actively try out the possibilities of dialogue and co-operation. They learned to know and respect the positions of the other side in a comprehensive manner and formed informal networks.

It is perhaps possible to summarise the contribution of such an exercise to prevent social conflicts in the following points:

1. Comprehensive analysis of the state of society and its inherent conflicts
2. Socialpolitical dialogue on dangers or conflicts, particularly between opinion-leaders and decision-makers
3. Model of co-operation between antagonistic social groups
4. Development of instruments to form a consensus

It is clear that this type of exercise will never be a fast-acting cure to resolve acute conflicts. Viewed in the long term, however, it can serve as an appropriate instrument to develop conflict prevention and conflict transformation strategies which are tailored to the society in question.

## FORMER YUGOSLAVIA/ALBANIA

## Strengthening dialogue and tolerance

### Reducing the potential for social conflict in Bosnia and Hercegovina

**Enemy stereotypes still exist** in Bosnia and Hercegovina, fostered by nationalist forces via the media and religious communities, and by the massive movement of refugees caused by the war. They make it harder to develop a new culture of co-existence. It is thanks to the presence of the international community and its military potential that the outbreak of a new widespread

conflict has been prevented in Bosnia. In this context, the work of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Bosnia and Hercegovina is focused on contributing towards the creation of a non-violent culture of conflict by means of dialogue, of confidence-building measures, and of reconciliation between parties to conflicts. The work includes projects to come to terms with the past, to promote a multiethnic culture of co-operation, and to reduce ignorance, intolerance and political oppression, as well as measures to develop conflict resolution models.

## Tolerance as a national heritage in Albania

In contrast to the ethnically motivated clashes in its neighbouring countries, in which the Albanians play a major role, a climate of tolerance prevails in Albania itself. Muslims and Christians traditionally co-exist in peace. For some years, this situation has been under threat from fundamentalist movements building mosques in Albania and training students at Middle Eastern universities. For a number of years, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has supported seminars and events intended to recall the national heritage of tolerance in Albania. These events are particularly held in the provinces, since these are regions in which one-sided information prevails.

## Interethnic relations at local level

A fresh impetus is being given to interethnic relations at local level in the area of the former Yugoslavia by a "Protocol on interethnic tolerance" agreed between the cities of Novi Sad (Vojvodina, Serbia), Ossiek (Croatia) and Tuzla (Bosnia and Hercegovina). These cities have for many years served as examples for the co-existence of people from different ethnic origins. The project grew out of this special feature. In co-operation with the local state and non-state institutions of the three cities, it aims to focus attention on the promotion of interethnic relations

as a task for local policy, to indicate areas for work, and to bring about specific agreements.

To this end, a co-ordination group was formed with experts from all three cities, to undertake a survey of the existing and future fields of work. The discussions with various institutions of local politics and the local politicians resulted in the "interethnic protocol", which was subsequently signed by the local parliaments and the participating local non-governmental organisations.

The tasks of local policy which are covered by the protocol include state education and training, culture, the organisation of society, the administration and public services, communications and the media. The protocol has now been signed in all three cities. The institutions supporting the programme – including the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung – are now trying to ensure that the agreement is implemented. However, the process of creating the agreement has itself helped to promote interethnic tolerance, since a large number of politicians, social, municipal and cultural organisations, as well as individuals, participated in the expert meetings, round tables and public debates held under the programme in the three cities. The intention now is not only to ensure the follow-up, but also to encourage other towns and cities in the region to join the initiative.

## COLOMBIA

### Award of a peace prize in Colombia

**The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung** has instituted a national peace prize in Colombia, and it was awarded for the first time in 1999. The co-sponsors included leading Colombian media. The prize serves to promote peace, a humane society, and solidarity and understanding amongst the Colombians. The prize is to be awarded to individuals, organisations or institutions which have initiated peace processes in a special way at local and regional level and have thus made a contribution towards a resolution of the violent conflict. These examples are brought to the attention of the public and reported widely. In 1999, out of three hundred proposals, a small municipality of

12,000 inhabitants was awarded the first prize in recognition of the fact that the local authority and all of its citizens had succeeded in reducing corruption and managed to get both paramilitaries and guerilleros to respect their integrity. The national peace prize became established even in its first year as the most important prize in this field and thus as a central focus for proposals and enquiries about the peace process. On this basis, a "map of hope" is being produced with examples of active and successful peace initiatives in Colombia, and thanks to their publication in the media, these may serve as models for other attempts to bring about peace.



## Academics in Sri Lanka call for peace

**Following the cease-fire in the civil war,** Sri Lanka is now just at the start of negotiations intended to result in a lasting peace. The still fragile peace process needs firm support from all the social groups, and particularly from those which can influence society. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung therefore supported a conference in Colombo in summer 2002 at which more than 150 academics from universities in all parts of the country discussed how to contribute to peace.

The conference involved members of all the ethnic groups – Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims – which are part of the laborious process of nation-building in Sri

Lanka. In contrast to similar events which have generally been organised only for the representatives of one or other grouping, the conference thus offered an opportunity to build trust and to work towards a consensus on the objectives of the peace process. Here, the participants were aware of their social responsibility, which reaches beyond their professional work and which imposes a duty on them to make a specific contribution towards understanding as a way of giving something back to the state and society which provided them with education and training.

### Joint concept for peaceful co-existence

Individual academics had worked in the past to achieve a peaceful settlement of the conflict between the government and the Tamil Liberation Front. For the first time, the academics joined forces to make their voice heard and adopted a “declaration on lasting peace”. The academics’ final declaration supported the peace process, and particularly pointed to ways in which peace can be secured on a lasting basis. They called for urgent negotiations between the conflict parties, negotiations which should be held transparently so that civil society can also provide its input. It is remarkable that the body calls for a correction of the discrimination against the Tamils and other ethnic groups. No multiethnic forum had previously addressed the deeper roots of the conflict so clearly.

The strengthening of democracy and respect for human rights are regarded as necessary foundations for lasting peace. At the same time, in the view of the participants at the conference, changes to the constitution and the promotion of a positive socio-economic development are key elements of the peace settlement.

Overall, the conference has consolidated the basis for stronger co-operation between the academics of all ethnic groups in the interest of peace. This means that a group of important opinion-leaders has become more deeply involved in the peace process and that its contribution to the transition from a precarious cease-fire to a lasting peace can assume greater weight.



# Strengthening the conflict transformation competence of multipliers



KROATIEN

Civil conflict transformation needs actors who are capable of providing conciliation and mediation and who can negotiate peaceful solutions. The better qualified such actors are for their tasks, the more likely it is that their proposed solutions and strategies will be accepted. For their part, they act as multipliers propagating the concept of civil conflict transformation. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung therefore helps to give training in the field of civil conflict transformation to individuals and institutions who, in view of their position in society, can act as multipliers.

## Conflict transformation at individual level

Alongside measures oriented rather more towards society as a whole, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has organised seminars in Croatia in recent years, particularly with non-governmental organisations, which have tended to focus on behavioural strategies for conflict transformation at individual level. The “Mali Korak” Centre for the Culture of Peace held 18 sessions on the issue of “non-violent communication” in 1996. A total of 315 people participated in this series, predominantly teachers, social workers and students working with multiethnic groups of the population. The aim of the events was to provide the participants with techniques for the constructive resolution of conflicts via non-violent communication.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung also organises sessions with students and intellectuals on “training for conflict transformation and human rights in political parties and NGOs”. Several seminars on non-violent conflict resolution were held with the Croatian Centre for Peace Studies. The participants – trade unionists, members of non-governmental organisations and representatives of political parties – were provided with appropriate communication strategies in order to cope better with conflict situations. At the beginning of December 2001, an international seminar was organised with the same centre with participants from the former Yugoslavia. The meeting focused on “multiethnic co-existence in south eastern Europe: opportunities for reconciliation after the war”. This seminar aimed to enhance the participants’ competences for specific local peace building.

## Experience and activities in the field of crisis prevention

**By holding the seminar** on “experience and activities in the field of crisis prevention” in Berlin on 11 March 2002, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung aimed to bring together senior representatives of the German legislature and executive, commerce, academia and practice, in order to

- provide an overview of the experience gained in crisis prevention and to review fields of activity and concepts on this basis,
- define further need for action in the field of crisis prevention, and
- examine possibilities for the further development of an efficient and flexible crisis prevention policy which takes account of the experience and the changing nature of the conflicts and their actors.

The discussions can be summarised as follows:

Crisis prevention and conflict transformation are long-term processes which are not tied to legislative periods and budgetary plans. The aim is to promote positive social change, and this occurs only slowly. One element of German peace policy is a commitment to crisis prevention. Limited resources mean that priorities have to be set, and vital German interests need to be taken into account here. Crisis prevention requires a transition from reactive to preventive action. The problems lie less in the early recognition of acute crises and more in the transformation of the available knowledge into policy decisions.

External interventions need to be able to rely on the sense of responsibility of the conflict parties themselves. But “robust mediation” should not be excluded. Basically, crisis prevention can involve the use of military and civil means. The division between military and civil conflict transformation should be regarded as outmoded.

The deployment of military means can only be successful if certain minimum conditions are met in terms of strength and equipment. The question of whether the existing military resources can achieve this must be examined carefully.

Civil crisis prevention instruments embrace both influence from outside and co-operation with the forces in society within the country. These instruments are being increasingly refined (e.g. application of smart sanctions). The formation of manpower resources is one of the preconditions for effective involvement in crisis prevention. There must be a concerted assessment of the conflict situation and choice of crisis prevention instruments if the approach is to be effective. In the interest of a coherent strategy, all policy fields need to be brought together. Co-ordination at international level requires effective internal co-ordination. Experience shows that no great expectations should be placed in international and national co-ordination. The extent to which international organisations can be used for co-ordination depends on their weight and their legitimacy. Co-ordination at international level should result in a fair division of labour. The public should be given greater and comprehensible information about the crisis prevention efforts. Insufficient use was made of the situation after 11 September 2001 to make the public aware of the need for crisis prevention. The preconditions at the time were favourable, since the public took a greater interest in foreign policy issues following those events.

In the course of the seminar, it became clear that the positions of the three federal ministries represented there were coming together. This is also something that could be explained to the public, in order to confirm that the Federal Government is endeavouring to proceed in a coherent manner.

The seminar proved to be a platform on which actors from all sorts of fields were able to reflect together about the phenomenon of “crises and conflicts”. The seminar thus gave the existing expertise an additional channel through to the political decision-making level and helped to ensure that the political decision-makers have the same level of knowledge and information as the executive, the non-governmental organisations and academia.



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## Support of strategic and disadvantaged groups of relevance to conflicts



Identifying peace-desiring, socially influential groups and providing support for them are key elements of civil conflict transformation. This is particularly the case when the state does not have or has lost the necessary authority to intervene and settle or mediate. Peace groups and other forces in society frequently turn out to be points of stabilisation which – when linked by a network – can influence a conflict situation in the interest of a peaceful solution. Development co-operation should therefore particularly promote women's organisations and non-governmental organisations, but also groups representing a cross-section of society, if they work actively towards non-violent conflict resolution. Support for disadvantaged and marginalised groups can also help to reduce tensions, if this enhances their capacity to represent their interests in relations with state institutions and in society.

### BULGARIA

#### Participation of the Roma in local self-administration

**With a share of 15 %** of the total population in Bulgaria, the Turks, Roma and Pomaks are minorities. Whilst the political party of the Turks has now become part of the governing coalition, the Roma are among the losers of the transition process. Their economic situation has worsened.

In Bulgaria, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is pursuing a project line to strengthen the position of the Roma in local self-administration. In 2001, a seminar was held with the National Association of Local Authorities on the problem of minorities in the local authorities, and here the problem of the Roma poses particular difficulties, as it does in all the Balkan countries. Co-operation with the Roma and the local authorities therefore remains on the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's agenda.

## Work with Palestinian refugees in Lebanon

### Consequences of the civil war in Lebanon

**The civil war in Lebanon** lasted fifteen years. Between 1975 and 1990, various religious denominations and foreign troops battled each other on Lebanese soil. The war resulted in an estimated 200,000 dead and 500,000 injured. Hundreds of thousands were displaced or fled into various parts of the country; two million Lebanese – around half of the population – left the country.

### Work of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung with Palestinian refugees

In recent years, the work of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in the field of peace development has focused on Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. In view of the role played by Palestinian groups in the civil war and of both internal and external political considerations, the Palestinians in Lebanon are in a desperate situation. With few exceptions, the Palestinians have so far been refused citizenship. The Palestinians in Lebanon thus have no claim to civil rights. More than 300,000 Palestinians in Lebanon live in refugee camps in indescribable conditions. They are totally dependent on supplies from the United Nations.

The refugee camps are a time bomb, and thus also part of Syrian politics in Lebanon. In the last few years, it has become apparent that the Syrians have sought and found an alternative to the radical Hizbollah group – which has an uncertain future, particularly following the events of 11 September 2001: if the Hizbollah is neutralised, the Palestinians are to serve as a means of exerting pressure on Israel in possible peace negotiations.

So the potential for violence and conflict in the refugee camps is enormous. The Palestinians are – and this does not imply any apportioning of blame – a security risk for Lebanon.

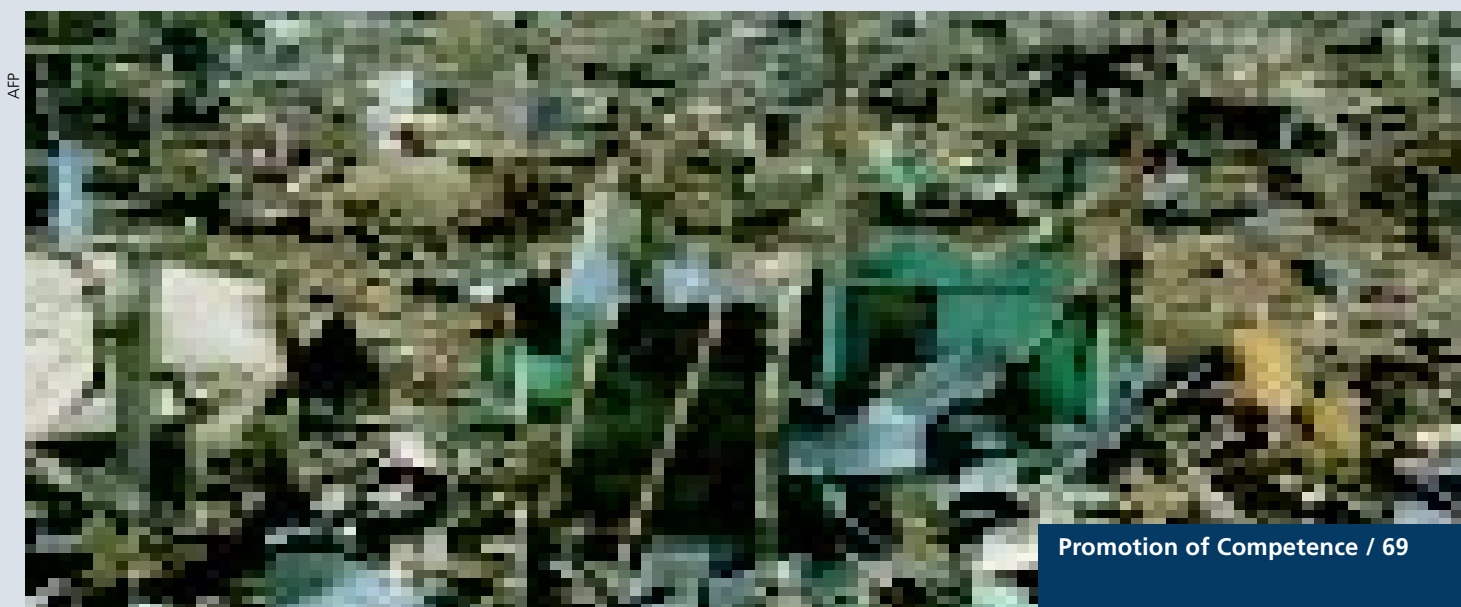
For some years, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has been working in Beirut to counteract this situation, and it holds regular seminars with a Palestinian partner organisation on conflict management and confidence-building measures for young Palestinians.

These events give the young people the technical expertise and the skills to develop peaceful, dialogue-based concepts to resolve conflicts, and to turn emotions into strategies for peace development.

### Regional expansion of the project

In the context of the Meda Democracy Programme of the European-Mediterranean Partnership, which the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is administering and implementing in Beirut for a period of two years, a workshop was held in summer 2001 which for the first time brought together Palestinian youths from the region and provided an opportunity to analyse the situation of the Palestinians and to develop joint concepts.

The event was a great success. Its results are to be utilised in the long term to promote joint regional approaches to the development of peace and the management of conflicts.



## Involvement of women in civil conflict transformation



ANGOLA

Women respond to conflicts in different ways. It is sometimes said that they are always victims who have a natural interest in acting in a mediating and peace-fostering manner, and thus in contributing to the end of violent clashes. However, this is not always true. History, and particularly more recent history, has numerous examples of women being actively involved in violent conflicts. This is particularly true when one party to the conflict also advocates the right of women or when women wish to liberate themselves from their role as victims as a reaction to violations of their human rights. Whether or not women can play an effective role in conflict transformation depends on the overall situation. If women are marginalised in society, they lack the necessary clout to influence a policy which leads to violent conflicts. The empowerment of women is a necessary corollary to the efforts to get them more involved in civil conflict transformation. In particular, women therefore need to be more involved in political decisions. Their capacities to organise themselves and to represent their interests effectively need to be strengthened.

### International Women's Peace Conference

**As part of the democracy project** in Angola, the First International Conference on the Role of Women in Peace Processes was held in co-operation with the partner organisation Mulheres Paz e Desenvolvimento (MPD). The three-day conference, attended by some 320 people from groups in society and political parties, including 30 or so from the various provinces of the country, was part of a programme of action of the Angolan peace movement. For the first time, the analysis gave a lot of space to the effects of the Angolan conflict on women and to the future role of women in conflict management. Particularly positive factors were the presence during the entire conference of the Minister for Wo-

men and Families, Cândida Celeste, and the closing speech by the Interior Minister and Chairman of the Intersectoral Commission for Peace and Reconciliation, Fernando Piedade dos Santos Nandó. The conference met with a great response in all of the national and some international media. The whole event was broadcast live by the Catholic radio station Radio Ecclesia. In a final communiqué, both conflict parties were called on to enter into peace negotiations involving civil society. At the same time, a civil-society commission on women was set up to monitor the peace process, and it is represented in international contacts and delegations by the chairwoman of the MPD.

## “No war without women – without women no peace?” – a series of events by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung



van Edig

**There is no denying the central role** women play in peace and development. The United Nations supports the need to involve women in the resolution of armed conflicts. But women also play an important role in the course and escalation of conflicts. On 13 November 2000, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, in co-operation with the Marie Schlei Association, therefore held an expert congress which focused on the role of women in war situations under the title “No war without women – without women no peace?”.

### Different roles of women in armed conflicts

In war, women are exposed to additional dangers in the form of sexual violence; mass rapes are known from many countries. Even the stationing of peace troops can result in an increase in sexual exploitation and child prostitution. Unlike in cases of torture and terrorism, the people committing these crimes generally go unpunished. Sexualised violence is regarded as a part of war, as a sign of power over the opponent.

But women are not always victims. Their role in armed conflicts can be active and can vary widely – but this has so far gone virtually undocumented. They can have a moderating effect, but can also foster escalation, as in Rwanda, for example, where women played a major

role in the genocide. However, their lack of power generally prevents them from being directly involved in causing violence.

### Inclusion of women in conflict transformation

The gender variable is frequently overlooked in peace processes. A “gender analysis” which takes account of the different forms of communication of women and men, their approach to negotiation and the way they deal with conflicts should be a firm component of the planning and practice of external interventions in conflict situations and in the reconstruction work following a conflict. In this way, it might be possible to prevent women, who often play a central role in the rebuilding of their society, from being marginalised.

For many years, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has held expert meetings with the Marie Schlei Association dealing with issues of relevance to human rights with a focus on the situation of women and girls. Lively discussions with women from different world religions and working and living environments show clearly that the problem is much deeper than a rough categorisation into offenders and victims. Conflict avoidance and resolution can only succeed through fair and equal co-operation between all sides.



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## Challenges and prospects for the future work of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

**The changing global environment** also necessitates new ideas on how to design civil conflict transformation. The problem of failed states is becoming more of an issue. Since the resources available to tackle growing tasks in the field of conflict transformation will continue to be limited, the future work must aim at a higher quality and an increased efficiency of conflict transformation. Suitable instruments are enhanced co-ordination and co-operation, and conflict-sensitive planning, monitoring and evaluation. The distillation of transferable best practices can also help to boost efficiency.



# Crisis prevention and conflict transformation in the light of failed states

**The level of inequality** within and between countries and regions of the world has risen in the last two decades. Globalisation has polarised the world, producing winners and losers. At the same time, an ongoing lack of order has emerged in many regions of the world. In the course of the so-called “low intensity conflicts”, from Colombia to Afghanistan, from Bosnia to Somalia, many states have increasingly become shadows of their former selves, whilst rival parties to civil wars have bypassed the state and networked themselves directly with the global markets.

Economic misery and an ongoing lack of order at local or regional level are not phenomena that can be isolated: rather, they have a negative impact on the world order. The illegal trade in narcotics, diamonds, overexploited raw materials, embargoed goods, hazardous waste, arms and people frequently has its origins in the shadow states and conflict zones. Global criminal networks, massive flight and migratory movements, and

environmental degradation often result from “low intensity conflicts”. And no event has illustrated the threat deriving from these conflicts for the industrial countries as clearly as the terrorist attacks of 11 September: the civil war in Afghanistan and the ongoing failure of the state of the Taliban and their predecessor regimes provided an ideal breeding ground for terrorism. Unfortunately, the eyes of the international community were not opened until the dreadful attacks took place, even though experts dealing with Central Asia had repeatedly pointed to the existence of the Islamist networks.

So in future it will be important to be as preventive as possible. Here, it must be borne in mind that the large majority of countries around the world are located neither in the gilded niche of the winners of globalisation, nor in the zone of local civil wars, but in a grey area of fragile stability and uncompleted processes of modernisation. Many of these countries are at risk of relapsing into regions of poverty and conflict.

## The failed state problem

Terms like failed state, collapsed state, shadow state, etc. have come into use as a way of describing an extreme and long-lasting form of state failure. These terms imply the existence of a standard, since they suggest the conditions pertaining to a “functioning” state. They refer to the modern-era European state which exerts an effective monopoly of force over its territory and in which a distinction has emerged between a private (commercial) sphere and a public sphere which is (in principle) free of private interests. Failed states are states which a) exert no effective monopoly of force over their territory and in which b) there is no distinction between public and private spheres. In reality, however, it is not always possible to draw a precise line between functioning and “failed” states. Certainly a high level of corruption and organised crime is not in itself sufficient to characterise a state as “failed”. Also, a state exposed to a civil war or a secession movement has not necessarily failed as long as the objectives of the parties to the civil war

are defined in political terms and are oriented to the attainment of political power.

Failed states are characterised by a lack of congruence between the state, the territory and the people. Sovereignty is exerted only in a precarious and incomplete form, with the area in which the state is in control being reduced to the capital city, key economic zones and transport routes. Access to the local level is only possible indirectly via “mediators” (tribal chiefs, etc.).

Failing states, which are characterised by the private distribution of public goods or by arbitrarily generated externalities, motivate entrepreneurs of violence to build their own area of business – particularly in the security field. Many of the low intensity conflicts in developing countries are the politically masked outcome of the enrichment strategies of these entrepreneurs of violence.

Failing states and low intensity conflicts are two sides of the same coin: states which do not provide “security” as a public good, but distribute it privately at a price, undermine their own monopoly of force, by offering entrepreneurs of violence incentives to provide security themselves, to sell security and to make profits from

insecurity. In this way, lasting violent conflicts arise, which can be termed “post-nation state”, since the parties are not aiming to attain and utilise state power and the disputed resources are realised in transnational (regional, global) economic areas.

## “Lessons learned” lead to the development of options for a forward-looking peace policy

### Changing approaches to development policy by the industrial countries

**As long as they remained** within the frame of reference of the Cold War, the development policies of the industrial countries were unable to prevent the formation of failed states and lasting post-nation state conflicts:

- Against the background of the bonus granted to states gaining independence, they initially treated the developing countries as though they were already functioning states. In most cases, few conditionalities were imposed on help from outside (particularly humanitarian aid) and – as it later transpired – the aid was not provided in a very conflict-sensitive manner, even though such aid can become a disputed resource in conflict situations. In certain circumstances, it contributes to the funding of parties to civil wars, or it is instrumentalised by the state elites or warlords as a means of private enrichment and is seized as an annuity.
- Subsequently, development policy became realistically disappointed at the lack of ability or the lack of will on the part of the governing elites to adopt good governance and equated this with a failure of the state. As a reaction to this, development policy relied in a later phase on “deregulation” and “liberalisation” – the allegedly self-regulatory effect of the markets. In the 1990s, it became apparent that, where this liberalisation does not go hand in hand with a state regulatory framework and the functioning rule of law, it does not produce a socially balanced development. The call for the partial withdrawal of the state did not automatically lead to free and orderly markets, but produced structures in which profits were made from (often violently engendered) differences.

- Seeking another option, and once again out of disappointment, development policy became directed to the immediate beneficiaries of the aid at grass-roots level. This had two effects. Firstly, it produced numerous non-governmental organisations, which could be regarded as predecessors or elements of an emerging civil society. Secondly, it also led to the existence of those local “para-sovereign” actors which fill the gap between the central state and the territory. But these tend to belong more to the warring than the peaceful capacities of the respective states/societies.

### Willingness to “intervene in internal affairs”

Crisis prevention and conflict transformation have now become a priority of development co-operation (or rather of the foreign policies of the industrial countries in general). A formally correct diplomatic policy which also treated failed states as states, as fully recognised subjects of international law, has yielded to a readiness to “intervene in internal affairs” – including the use of military means. This willingness is based on the perception of the dangers to international order which derive from failed states and low intensity conflicts. Against this background, the significance of crisis prevention has grown substantially. It primarily relies on the formation of internal institutions of peaceful conflict resolution within the state and on conflict-alleviating education and training programmes. Here, pre-existing – e.g. ethnic – lines of conflict are often taken as a given fact. But ethnic tensions tend to be the result rather than the cause of post-nation state conflicts: they are deliberately stirred up in order to produce the disputes from which commercial profits can be made. It may be that specific commercial interests and rational cost-benefit calcula-

tions underlie what are apparently atavistic hatreds between peoples, religions and cultures. A policy of prevention which does not try to build the house from the roof downwards or to permit external resources to go to the conflict parties should recognise and take account of these interrelationships, as well as systematically creating alternative incentives.

### Promoting democracy in the context of conflict

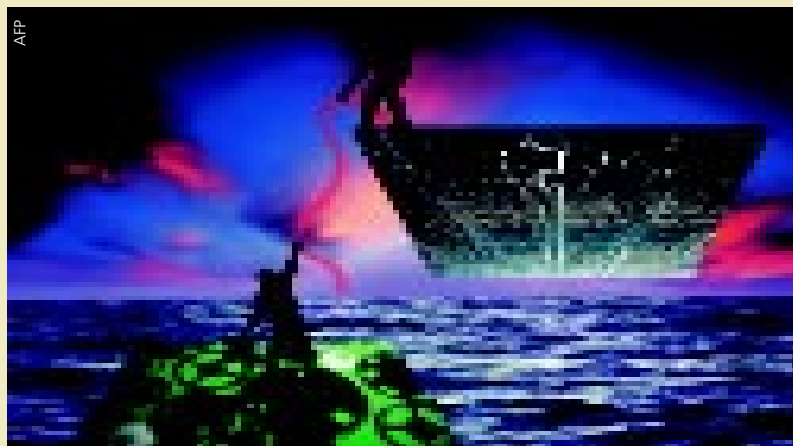
The development work of political foundations is rooted in the conviction that the development of democratic structures leads to stability and peace. That is the reason for the preference in each partner country for co-operation with democratic forces, in order to promote pluralism and participation, which form a precondition for a differentiated social development. In this framework, the holding of elections is just one factor, but is itself not a sufficient indicator of a democratic society. Here, the political foundations are operating between the perspective of the democratic objective on the one hand and the realities of power politics in the partner countries on the other.

In view of the large number of states which are increasingly unable to function and of the parallel power structures which often feed on “low intensity conflicts”, it is necessary to seek an adequate approach to social-policy work in such an environment. Should authoritarian power structures, many of which are rooted in violence, be ignored and the co-operation be focused on support for opposition groups in civil society? Does the isolation of violence-based regimes weaken their power base and lead to reforms initiated “bottom-up”, or even to the overthrow of the regimes? A variety of examples show that this hope is often disappointed because organisations of civil society cannot and should not assume central functions of the state. The real problem which is cropping up more and more frequently in such contexts is not too much, but too little state. In contrast, it appears more useful in many cases to retain access to the relevant decision-makers via a carefully selected degree of co-operation, to keep interfaces open for political dialogue, and thus to obtain the possibility to strengthen constructive actors and to support reforms from within.

In the face of undemocratic, corrupt and violent power structures, it certainly appears natural for international partnerships to bypass these and to co-operate with

partners from non-governmental organisations of civil society. However, particularly in well-organised authoritarian regimes, the “bottom-up” opposition tends to be so weak that there is little prospect of a radical change despite the help from abroad. The development of a pluralist but functioning civil society also requires there to be a functioning regulatory framework within which civil involvement is possible. Without a functioning state which guarantees security, the rule of law and stability, there is no framework in which a civil society can develop.

There is therefore much to suggest that a range of approaches be combined in political co-operation: even with undesired power structures, there should be as much conditional co-operation as necessary, and as much partner-based support for civil society organisations as possible. Experience shows that dialogue processes within these two fields of co-operation, but particularly through their interlinkage, have a long-term impact.



In this context, in view of its limited range of instruments, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is primarily faced with the question of choice of partner. In a co-operating country with latent or even acute conflict developments, it cannot be sufficient to relate only to the partner organisations with which the Foundation traditionally has close links. Rather, the conflict-relevance and the conflict-sensitivity of the various actors must be borne explicitly in mind in the strategy underlying the Foundation's work. The prevention and transformation of conflicts should become a priority aim of the strategy, and when partners are selected, their potential for conflict or their peace agenda must be analysed and taken into account.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has therefore recently elaborated a series of lines of work which take account of this aspect.

# Afghanistan: development of a conflict-sensitive advisory programme

**In the last decade, and** especially under the Taliban regime, Afghanistan clearly failed to fulfil the criteria of a “functioning” state. In particular, the lack of state services in areas like education or health, and the suppression of women and of ethnic and religious minorities, underlined the severe lack of legitimacy of those in power in Kabul. In parallel to this, a well-developed shadow economy emerged in trade in narcotics and arms and in the form of training of Islamist forces willing to engage in violence. During the 1980s and 1990s, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung repeatedly tried to collaborate on solutions to the conflict – for example, with a major conference in summer 1998 at which more than 100 Afghan multipliers debated the convening of a grand council as a first step to peace. It is thanks to its good relations with Afghan project partners that the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung was one of the first international organisations to be able to open up an office in Kabul in February 2002 – directly following the conclusion of the Bonn peace accord on Afghanistan in December 2001.

## Conflict-oriented planning and peace and conflict impact assessment

In order to lessen the danger that the project work of the Foundation in Afghanistan might tend to exacerbate rather than alleviate the momentum of the conflict, the project planning bore conflict-sensitive aspects in mind right from the start: building on an initial detailed conflict analysis and the evaluation of experiences from other conflict regions, particularly the Balkans, a diverse range of instruments was developed with an emphasis on the following fields of action:

- training – particularly of women, NGO staff and public officials,
- involvement in the establishment of social institutions and a democratic media system,
- formation of networks and platforms for democratic groups and peace alliances,
- advice for the administration and advice on planning methods,
- support for international contacts, and
- specific measures in the field of conflict transformation. The latter include a peace education programme run by women for women, a workshop with artists and lecturers at Kabul University who work through their experiences of conflict in artistic form, and training in the field of conflict transformation.

Another important element of the project strategy is co-operation with a broad spectrum of peace-oriented Afghan capacities – reform-oriented forces in the government, democratic groups in civil society, representatives of the Afghan intellectuals and experts in exile. The work is intended to focus not least on the development of alternative strategies for the previously warring alliances which (so far) have clearly profited more from war than from peace. It is necessary to show them all that peace is worthwhile. A peace and conflict impact assessment is taking place at the end of 2002 in co-operation with the FriEnt Working Group Development and Peace with a view to developing appropriate concepts for future project planning which are also be made available to other actors of the development policy community.

## A problematic environment

In the current early phase following the Bonn Agreement, the fact that the efforts to undertake reconstruction are almost exclusively restricted to the capital city, Kabul, is particularly problematic in view of the precarious security situation out in the country. The mandate of ISAF, the international protection force, (still) applies only to Kabul. On the other hand, the operations of the anti-terror alliance against members of al Qaida have caused numerous casualties in the civilian Afghan population and thus created more and more opposition. The opening of numerous offices of Afghan and international organisations within a few months has engendered further potential for conflict. Firstly, it has already led to the partial formation of a “UN economy”. Secondly, some of these organisations are fronts for Afghan groups working to undermine the peace accord and seeking international support. Since the international community made Afghanistan a priority following the events of 11 September 2001, the country has gained a historic opportunity for peace. However, the question of whether this can be utilised effectively by Afghanistan and the international community remains open.

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# Raising the quality and efficiency of conflict transformation

## Co-ordination and co-operation – example: FriEnt

### The FriEnt Working Group Development and Peace

Since January 2002, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has been represented in the FriEnt Working Group Development and Peace by a seconded staff member. The group has been set up as a joint working group by seven governmental and non-governmental organisations in the field of development policy and peace promotion. FriEnt is an innovative set-up. For the first time, the Federal Ministry for Economic Co-operation and Development (BMZ) has become involved in a joint working context together with organisers of technical co-operation, church-based development services, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung as the representative of all the political foundations, and umbrella organisations of non-governmental organisations and academic establishments focused on peace policy. The objectives are to link up research and practice, and to systematically process and exchange expertise and experience in the fields of crisis prevention and peace promotion. The aim is to make development co-operation more skilled, firmly anchored and focused in this increasingly significant field. The comparative advantages and strengths of the various organisations in the instrumental field should be analysed and enhanced, in order to achieve greater coherence and effectiveness in the medium term as a result of improved co-ordination.

### Central tasks

The central tasks taken up by the FriEnt Working Group Development and Peace are therefore:

- improved knowledge and information management (collation, evaluation and provision of information on

projects, best practices, lessons learned, particularly in the operational field, and practice-related research findings);

- the further development of methodological and conceptual foundations, and the identification of further need for action;
- the promotion of lobbying and networking at German, European and international level (exchange and co-operation with selected bilateral and multilateral governmental and non-governmental organisations of peace building in the field of development policy); and
- the promotion of co-operation (country-specific and issue-specific forums to co-ordinate approaches and projects of peace development amongst the various parties).

### Priorities

In an initial phase, three priority projects were formulated, on the basis of which model solutions are being elaborated and offered for a range of core problems confronting development co-operation in the context of crises and conflicts. All of these issues are responding to the specifically formulated needs of the group of member organisations:

- economic dimension of conflicts: consequences of the existence of violence-related markets for the shaping of peace-oriented development co-operation;
- possibilities to act under the conditions of failed states: ways to operate development co-operation in countries with largely informal clan and network structures; and
- conflict-related aspects of development co-operation in Islam-dominated states: local concepts, structures, sources of financing and sponsors of international projects; possible starting points and partners; risks.

## Development of a “peace and conflict impact assessment”

If there is to be targeted influencing of latent or even of acute conflict developments, the instruments must be deployed as efficiently as possible, and the appropriate combination of instruments can only be selected on the basis of a systematic analysis. Furthermore, the active and passive role of potential partners in the conflict, their conflict potential and their peace agenda must also be analysed and taken into consideration, as must

the way they are perceived by other groups and actors in society. However, there is so far little empirical knowledge about the effectiveness of certain instruments in different conflict phases and different conflict situations. This is due not least to the difficulty in ascertaining the gradual shifts in what tend to be long-term social changes and in relating these to short-term and medium-term projects. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is therefore

working in the methodological field to develop a range of instruments for peace and conflict impact assessment (PCIA) which is specifically tailored to the needs of programmes of co-operation on social policy.

### Conflict analysis and evaluation of experience

In a first step, a systematic conflict analysis was carried out in Macedonia in autumn 2002 which presents the current dynamics of the conflict, its deeper rooted structures, actors and dimensions. The analysis includes the evaluation of experiences which the various organisers of programmes of socio-political co-operation have gained from their projects. It also offers a basis for strategic thinking aimed at identifying possible fields of action for conflict transformation using the instruments of political foundations and at pinpointing suitable partners and strategically important target groups. Furthermore, hypotheses can be derived about the impact of programmes of socio-political co-operation and indications of their possible conflict-exacerbating effects and (any lack of) donor co-ordination (the do-no-harm perspective).

### Recommendations and proposals

The first interim results are a range of recommendations on the applicability of the traditional instruments of political programmes, and proposals for innovative measures in various conflict situations and phases. These are to be reviewed in a second phase on the basis of

further conflict analyses in Uzbekistan and Afghanistan and are to be taken into consideration in the planning of programmes for these countries. The elaborated methodology of conflict analysis, including the identification of appropriate partners and fields of action to develop conflict-sensitive projects, is also to become a fixed element of the international project planning work of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

### Empirical review

In parallel to the development of methodologies and programmes, work is underway in the three pilot states on a system for the systematic and ongoing collation of the necessary information to monitor the future development of the conflicts. The spectrum ranges here from the networking of existing institutions (e.g. opinion poll institutes or human rights organisations) through to the establishment or promotion of such appropriate structures. Beyond the development of conflict-related indicators and the integration of appropriate test points into the programmes, an attempt is to be made to review the formulated impact hypotheses over a project period of three to five years and thus to arrive at findings which can be generalised in the sense of an impact assessment. The methodological elements selected and adapted for this are integrated into the evaluation system of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and are made available together with the planning instruments, not least in the form of a set of methodological guidelines.

## Elaboration of best practices in the field of international intervention

### Initiatives in the United Nations

**The New York office** of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung was involved in 1994 in the establishment of a "Lessons Learned and Best Practices Unit" designed to process the experiences made under various UN mandates and proposed by Kofi Annan, who at the time was the head of the Department for Peace Keeping Operations (DPKO) of the UN. Comprehensive experience with the implementation of civilian components of such mandates has been gathered, particularly in south eastern Europe since the second half of the 1990s, where the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is involved under the Stability Pact in reconstruction work and in ensuring peace in the successor states of the former Yugoslavia.

Against this background, an initial exchange took place at the end of 2001 which is to lead to a process of systematic evaluation of experience and the formulation of recommendations for the design of future mandates. The focus was on the question of the correct blend of civilian and military components in a given situation and the possible contribution of programmes of socio-political co-operation – and thus of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung – in such a process.

### Possibilities to transfer experiences

In the same context, the question was examined of what lessons can be learnt by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung from the experiences in south eastern Europe and



of the extent to which these can be transferred to new challenges, e.g. in Afghanistan, in order to achieve the most efficient use of the available instruments. For example, central elements of the various mandates were analysed, taking Macedonia, Bosnia and Kosovo as examples, and their effectiveness was scrutinised in the light of different environments and initial situations. Particular attention was given to the potential for stabilisation and the opportunities of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe.

### **Supraregional exchange and network formation – example: transferability of experience from Macedonia and Kosovo to the Middle East**

In view of the apparent insolubility of the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, which is assuming ever bloodier dimensions, the probability of (and need for) international intervention is increasing. Neither party to the conflict seems able on its own at present to break out of the cycle in which violence is responded to with further violence. Most of the numerous peace plans on the table provide for some sort of intervention from outside. Here, the stance taken by the two conflict parties is totally different: the Palestinians are in favour of such an intervention, because they not only believe it will end the bloody conflict, but also hope that it will finally give them statehood on a democratic basis. The Israelis have so far categorically rejected this in view of their bad experiences, particularly with the UNIFIL UN force on their border with Lebanon.

The office of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Israel has therefore launched a programme aimed at drawing on the various experiences made with international interventions, peace-keeping and peace-building. Here, too, despite all the differences in the conflict situation and in the form of the international interventions, it is necessary to seek out elements which might be transferable to the shaping of a mandate for Israel and the Palestinian Autonomous Territories. Against this background, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung started by organising a programme of information in spring 2002 for a group of Israeli military and security experts in Macedonia and Kosovo. Here, the discussions with representatives of NATO, the EU, the OECD and UNMIK (the UN administration in Kosovo) were concentrated on the military and security aspects of an international intervention. In a second step, in summer 2002 the same group visited institutions in Germany with experience in crisis prevention and civil conflict transformation, and the change in perspective here resulted in new options for the Israeli participants.

In a further step, a sizeable delegation from civil society, consisting of representatives of non-governmental organisations, think tanks and academia, will make a fact-finding trip to Macedonia and Kosovo – and, depending on the political situation, there may also be Palestinian participants. Building on these specific experiences from other crisis regions, the conclusions for the Middle East conflict are to be drawn at a major public event to be held in Israel in 2003 – and to be attended also by Macedonian and Kosovan representatives, and the results might also influence the decision-making process at the highest political level.



