

EDITORIAL

The need to be radical, getting to the roots

Rafael Grasa

President of ICIP



It is often said, with a contemptuous or condescending tone, that people and groups that –from academia, institutions or social movements– struggle to build peace are utopian. And undoubtedly we are, but in a particular sense: we often seek that which does not fully exist yet anywhere (as it is expressed by the etymology of the word), but we are never chimerical nor seekers of the impossible. What is sought is possible and probable, with differing degrees of likelihood. Other times it is said that the campaigns and demands of these people and groups are radical, with a connotation of reproach. And yes, we are radicals, but in a different and precise meaning of the term: we are radicals because we want to reach, in analysis and in intervention, the root of things. In other words, we cannot settle for solely treating the symptoms, as doctors do. When something is urgent, it is necessary to study and address the underlying reasons, the aetiology. As it was stated perceptively by John Paul Lederach while debating with William Zartman about whether or not it is possible to negotiate a resolution to a

conflict before conditions are ripe for success, there would never be anything ready for picking in the fields if they weren't previously prepared, cultivated and planted. Investigating and acting for what is right means being radical, getting to the roots.

And now is the time to be radical, as we are reminded by the special edition of the magazine devoted to the final negotiations regarding the future treaty to regulate arms trade. It makes no sense that some statesmen are outraged because, in the midst of a civil war, Russia is selling weapons to the Syrian government or because some countries provide arms to rebel forces –like they did in Libya, in this case breaching the mandates of the Security Council. It is okay to be angry, but then try to find the underlying causes, the reasons for which arms are reaching Syria. If we go to the roots, the facts speak for themselves. First, the primary arms sellers have been for decades the five permanent members of the Security Council, which is as bad an example for peaceful international relations as the fact that all of them are nuclear powers. Second, because so far, they have not wanted to accept the irrefutable conclusion that if you produce weapons to sell, you end up selling them, and that, despite the agreement to respect certain voluntary codes of conduct or weak rules to not supply weapons to countries in armed conflict or countries that violate fundamental human rights, the temptation to sell when there is precisely more demand (i.e., in the midst of an armed conflict) is nearly irresistible. Third, in short, without strict rules and mechanisms for monitoring and compliance based on economic reasons, arms will be sold, bought (or given away) and used.

Hence the importance of demanding the world's largest powers, the permanent members, in New York throughout the month of July, and in general, all countries, to rise to the occasion, to be radical, to get at the roots. We need a clear and precise regulation of arms trade, of the situations in which it is forbidden and/or restricted, with well-designed and efficient control and monitoring mechanisms that are varied and conducted at different times. Otherwise, the business of weapons will continue to cause deaths, injuries, collateral damage, armed conflicts and human rights violations and will hinder the development and building of peace. Let us recall the motto of The Enlightenment so esteemed by Kant, *Sapere aude*, dare to know!

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IN DEPTH

INTRODUCTION

Negotiating the Arms Trade Treaty

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At the International Conference in July 2012, states will be the key players who must negotiate the Arms Trade Treaty. Nevertheless, at the International Catalan Institute for Peace (ICIP), we wanted to focus on the activists, because, as stated by García Moritán in the main interview in this issue, 'without civil society, there will be no treaty'. Indeed, pressure from NGOs is a prerequisite for the success of such a process. That is why here we are proposing a sample of activists who are behind the campaign: who they are, how they work, why they got involved and, in short, what they intend to achieve.

The negotiations in July represent the end of a long journey that began in 2003 with the founding of the Control Arms campaign with the aim of developing an international treaty to prevent irresponsible arms trade. From the start, it has been an alliance of various organisations that combined brought together millions of members worldwide. First of all, Amnesty International (AI), interested in showing the association between armed violence and human rights violations. As we shall see, Yasmin Espinoza also represents a key region in this process: Latin America.

Second is Oxfam, revealing the consequences of arms trade for the socioeconomic development of communities. You will meet Oistein Thorsen, a European living in New York and member of a transnational elite leading this type of initiative for disarmament in recent years, and Midori Natzuki, from Japan, a country that is key to promoting human security issues on the international agenda.

The strength of these two organisations within the campaign demonstrates that the bulk of the activists is not formed in this case by members of the traditional peace movement, but includes a cross-cutting, heterogeneous group of committed individuals with varying interests who share a common goal: the need to put an end to uncontrolled arms trading through global negotiations that affect and will affect the lives of people around the world.

Together with AI and Oxfam, Control Arms is also comprised of hundreds of small organisations grouped together in an international network against the proliferation of small arms, IANSA. For an explanation of what this network is and what it does, we spoke to Joseph Dube, regional coordinator for Africa, a special continent with many of the countries most affected by armed violence and therefore a continent that greatly suffers from irresponsible arms trade.

Along these lines, a particularly important and necessary group of individuals is the group of victims and survivors. The pressure to publish when closing this issue forced us to forgo the testimony of a great woman, Suela Lala, Albanian, who will also take part in the meetings. We will introduce you to her in the next issue of *Peace in Progress*. As always, the issue is completed with the section *Finding out more*, a guide to stay informed about the issues concerning the ATT.

CENTRAL ARTICLES

United for an effective Arms Trade Treaty

Yasmín Espinoza Goecke

Co-coordinator of the "Arms Control Campaign" in Amnesty International-Chile



During the 10 years I have been working in Amnesty International- Chile, I never thought I would be directly involved in such a relevant process. I come from a region, Latin America, highly affected by the presence of armed violence: femicide, organized crime, homicide or gun violence related to drug trafficking are part of everyday life in the region.

Even though Chile's situation is not as serious compared to other countries in the region, we do have an increase on the impact of gun violence in recent times: for instance, in 2005 the number of wounded people due to gun violence in Chile was 1.207, and only between January and September of 2011 the number of injured by guns was 1.957, which shows a continuous increase over time.¹ Moreover, given the rise of the sense of insecurity and of the negative perception of

the system of justice, people are turning more to the use of weapons to *protect* themselves.

This issue should be of concern not only as a security matter but also as a worrying symptom of the quality of our democracy and the capacity of states to effectively comply with their duty to protect human rights of their citizens. The lack of gun control and the proliferation of gun violence contribute to the deterioration of state institutions, and undermine the development processes in the region.

Back in 2004, as a women's rights coordinator, I was confronted to the consequences of gun violence in countries, such as Colombia, Guatemala or México. The first question I had to face was; what could we do to effectively protect human rights? Taking into account the consecrated right of states to defend themselves contained in the UN Chart, how could we make states accountable to promote a responsible trade of weapons while ensuring that states' abilities to lawfully sell, acquire and possess arms were not undermined? It is a difficult equilibrium but if there is political will it is an achievable goal.

As I started co-coordinating the ArmS Control Campaign in Chile and begun to attend the Amnesty lobby team in the UN, I realized how challenging and rewarding this work would turn to be.

The main challenge we face is to agree on a legally binding instrument that would lay down the highest common standards on the import, export and transfer of conventional arms to prevent weapons from ending up in the illicit market; establish risk assessment systems for states to make sure that those arms would not be used to commit serious human rights violations; and implement proper transparency mechanisms.

Regarding the first point, some countries, including a few from Latin America, would prefer to have weak criteria on human rights and IHL, basing on the argument that these criteria would not be objective and could be politically used by state powers to prevent smaller states from acquiring weapons. Nevertheless, this is far from reality. As Susan Waltz from Amnesty stated, "*you don't build a ship without a rudder... If the final text fails to link legitimate transfers to principles centered in international human rights and humanitarian law, future arms transfers will be constrained only by the real-politik of Security Council resolutions and the patchwork of existing regional and national laws and regulations.*"²

On the other hand, implementing adequate reporting and monitoring is crucial for the success of the treaty. Some countries in the region are not in favor of compulsory and comprehensive reporting, stating that there are already "too many reports" and that it could "undermine national sovereignty".

Indeed, there are a number of international and regional transparency reports such as the UNROCA or the UNPOA. However, only a small number of states report on an annual basis. The process of collecting information for a legally binding ATT could also serve to submit this information to the voluntary UN instruments already in place³. So, instead of thinking on the fatigue caused by "too many reports", states could reflect on how to improve the efficiency of the reporting mechanism in their countries.

The supposed risk to sovereignty does not have real grounds because, in a world marked by globalization and wikileaks, secret is no longer an option. Also, the information requested would contribute to increase the sense of transparency and to improve mutual international trust.

Despite the difficulties we have faced on this process so far and the challenge of accomplishing a legally binding instrument that would effectively protect human rights, we have proved that a different world is possible. Against all odds we are approaching the Diplomatic Conference with the hope of fulfilling this objective. Even though it might not include everything we hope for, we will put all our efforts in accomplishing a treaty that would serve its purpose to protect human rights, a real bullet-proof treaty.

1. *Diagnóstico básico en materia legislación y acciones con respecto a Armas de fuego y Municiones*. Coalición Latinoamericana Para la Prevención de la Violencia Armada. CLAVE. Yasmín Espinoza Goecke. http://www.clave-lat.com/diagnostico_latinoamerica/fsccommand/chile.pdf

2. *Towards an Arm Trade Treaty* prepared remarks by Susan Waltz, on behalf of Amnesty International, at Nobel Peace Laureates panel on drafting an Effective Arms Trade Treaty, hosted by UN Permanent Mission of Costa Rica, February 14, 2012.

3. *Implementing Arms Trade Treaty. Lessons on Reporting and Monitoring from Existing Mechanism*. Paul Holton and Mark Bromley. SIPRI. Policy Paper 28. July 2011. P.5.

From 4077 M*A*S*H to 2012 UN-ATT

Øistein Moskvil Thorsen

Arms Control Oxfam International, New York



I'm 11 years old and I am watching a convoy of trucks loaded with young boys from the comfort of a white NGO branded Land Cruiser in East Africa. "Where are they all going?" I ask my dad. "To the front," he replies. My first real memory of war. They were kids driven out of the capitol for a military training before being sent to on one of the world's deadliest battlegrounds.

It is an image that has stuck with me. Even if that particular war is no longer raging like it once was, the senseless slaughter that is war and armed violence continues around the world at a staggering rate of up to 2000 people every day. This must stop. One way to help stop it is to make sure we get an Arms Trade Treaty with strong and unambiguous language which will say clearly that States shall not transfer arms when there is serious risk of them ending up in the hands of ruthless killers and human rights abusers.

*I'm 15 years old and I'm watching my daily episode of the TV comedy show "M*A*S*H" – about an American army hospital during the Korean War. Through the sarcastic lens of heroic and overworked surgeons, sipping home-made Martini's between pulling out bullets and sewing together bodies torn apart in battle, the craziness of conflict sunk in, yet again.*

Wars cannot be fought without ammunition, and access to ammunition makes a difference to the deadliness of conflict and can sometimes be the deciding force between atrocities being carried out or not. An Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) that does not cover ammunition – the actual piece of equipment that makes a rifle or a tank that much more deadly - will fail to achieve what it has set out to do. We need a robust treaty to help prevent human suffering, armed conflict, and serious violations of international humanitarian law and human rights.

I'm 21 years old. I'm standing in the corridor at the School of Oriental and African Studies with my friend Mamoudo from Sierra Leone. Someone had just pinned the latest list of how countries scored in the UN Human Development Index on the wall. I find my own country Norway at the top, then Mamoudo finds his, at the bottom.

Violent conflict engrains and deepens poverty. It doesn't just destroy individual lives, it also tears apart entire societies. Armed violence prevents children from going to school, hospitals from treating patients, farmers from growing their land and commerce from thriving. Oxfam and partners issued a report some years ago called "Africa's Missing Billions", which estimated that conflict costs Africa \$18 billion every year, a staggering amount. 22 of the 34 countries least likely to meet the Millennium Development Goals are in, or emerging from, conflict. Conflicts that are fuelled by the reprehensible and irresponsible trade in weapons.

I'm 32 years old, and I now have high hopes for the United Nations diplomatic conference on the Arms Trade Treaty in July 2012. I believe that States will not let this opportunity to bring the global weapons trade under control slip away. That's why I go to work every morning for Oxfam. We want to bring people from around the world together to make it clear to our governments that now is the time to lead the charge for global rules on the arms trade! If you're going to engage in this deadly trade, it's a collective responsibility to ensure that no weapons end up in the hand of terrorists or human rights violators – at home or abroad. That's why I think we need an Arms Trade Treaty.

Arms Control and Civil Society: Some Retrospect

Midori Natsuki

Policy Officer, Oxfam Japan



With the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) negotiation conference approaching, I suppose many of those who have been working on this issue will take a while to look back on the long journey we have been through. It is indeed a historic moment, as all the 20th century initiatives to create a universal agreement to control arms transfers met with setbacks. Whether the agreed ATT (if agreed at all) would resolve the obstacles which frustrated the previous attempts - for instance, how to regulate arms transfers in a way which would prevent arms from being excessively accumulated or misused and which, at the same time, would not work in a discriminatory manner against certain states or peoples¹ - remains to be seen. I feel honoured to witness and to be a part of this effort, but also overwhelmed by the responsibility it will entail.

I joined Oxfam Japan in September 2003, one month before the Control Arms campaign was launched, and my organisation and other Japanese NGOs decided to set up the national campaign in 2004. However, the campaign met with difficulties from the outset; there was virtually no public space to discuss on arms transfer control in an inclusive way and very little knowledge about the issue among the national campaign members. After its policy work had found its way to my desk, I needed to face up to the social conditions which lay behind these difficulties.

The widespread anti-war sentiment following World War II gave rise to a variety of peace movements in Japan. As their approach generally rested on the premise of the total abolition of all arms and primarily focused on nuclear weapons, most of them did not dear to take part in the technical debates over how to control conventional arms transfers. On the other hand, the domestic policy debates on security issues were dominated by government officials and experts with similar ideological orientations, who tended to avoid peace activists. Such a polarised situation failed to foster inclusive debate on conventional arms control in the non-governmental sphere. Nor did it encourage young researchers to study conventional arms issues and be involved in NGO campaigns, which were seen as rather pacifistic by academics in defense and security studies.

In addition to regular ATT advocacy work, I have been trying to change the conditions in which we work. Together with activists, NGOs and academics in defense and security studies, we formed the Arms and Civil Society Research Forum² in 2007, which aims to make the domestic debate on conventional arms control more transparent and inclusive. Its regular meetings and seminars are open to anyone interested. Fortunately, many people from various sectors and with different orientations have been involved in the forum, and the ATT has been one of its core themes in the last few years. At first, I worried that the ATT debate could be entangled in the polarised domestic controversies over the relaxation of Japan's self-imposed ban on military arms exports, but the forum participants have maintained their focus on the ATT, bringing in different perspectives. This situation could change, for instance, when newly appointed government officials who are not accustomed to such open debates show fear and reluctance of talking to the domestic civil society. But I feel pretty confident that they will end up changing their mind. Due in part to the technical nature of the issue, the treaty has attracted little media interest in Japan, and this is certainly a challenge that requires further exploration.

Besides such domestic developments, whether or not states will be able to agree on a treaty that has any real benefit next July is entirely another issue. As it is argued by many Control Arms campaigners, the devil is in the details. A treaty that regulates arms transfers could potentially save millions of lives, but it could do harm if it is drafted or implemented in an incorrect manner. As a rather modest supporter of the ATT in the sometimes unstable region of Asia, Japan needs to find the best way the country could contribute to the negotiations in July.

1. See Keith Krause and Mary MacDonald, "Regulating Arms Sales Through World War II," and Keith Krause "Controlling the Arms Trade since 1945," in *Encyclopedia of Arms Control and Disarmament Vol. II*, ed. Richard Dean Burns (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993) pp. 707-724 and pp. 1021-1039.

2. Arms and Civil Society Research Forum blog <http://aacs.blog44.fc2.com/>

Africa needs a Robust Arms Trade Treaty

Joseph Dube

IANSA Africa Coordinator



The current practice of allowing irresponsible transfers of military and security equipment and related items across borders has resulted in millions of lives and livelihoods being destroyed and the fundamental rights of many more people being seriously violated. In July 2012, this could change as United Nations (UN) Member States gather to negotiate an Arms Trade Treaty (ATT). As we celebrate 49 years since Africa Union was established, it is important that we consider what our leaders should do to stop the irresponsible trade in arms. For the treaty to be relevant to Africa those diplomats who head to New York in July for the negotiations, should ensure that the ATT covers five key areas:

1. States must control all aspects of international trade and transfers of conventional arms under their jurisdiction. These should be subject to prior authorization or approved in accordance with national laws and procedures that reflect, as a minimum, States' obligations under the ATT and other relevant international law.

2. The ATT must explicitly recognize existing international law obligations of States. All states have an existing positive obligation to ensure that their international trade and transfers of arms do not contribute to or facilitate serious violations of international humanitarian or human rights laws or crimes under international law.

3. An effective Arms Trade Treaty should require States not to transfer arms internationally where there is a substantial risk that they could be used to perpetrate or facilitate patterns of gender-based violence, including rape and other forms of sexual violence.

4. The ATT must require states to regulate transfers of ammunition, in addition to conventional arms. Africa has suffered from the flows of ammunition. This must be curtailed and the ATT is one way to do so.

5. The ATT should contribute to an enhanced level of transparency in arms transfers to promote confidence in shared security based on international law among States and ensure greater accountability and respect for the rule of law.

Achieving an effective ATT is an urgent necessity. An effective ATT will be one that will work towards saving lives, preserving livelihood and enhancing respect for human rights. Africa should enter into the negotiations united in their commitment to achieve a robust ATT that will save lives. As we celebrate Africa Day our leaders should show commitment to such a treaty by adopting the draft AU Common Position on ATT ahead of the July Conference.

FINDING OUT MORE

10 online resources about the ATT

Many of them are websites offering different kinds of reliable and detailed information about the ATT negotiation process. This section contains the 10 we consider to be the most important.

1 - <http://www.un.org/disarmament/ATT> The United Nations website on the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) has been recently updated to increase and improve the resources provided. It contains documents, official speeches, opportunities to contact with UN staff devoted to these issues, information for the media, and an explanation of the general activities carried out by the UNODA, the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs. Some documents are available in all official languages of the UN, while others are available only in English.

2 - <http://www.controlarms.org/> Control Arms is a civil society campaign comprised of various non-government organisations calling for a strong legally binding ATT. This website offers reports on treaty negotiations, official documents drafted in preparatory committees in recent years, Control Arms Positions Papers on treaty negotiations, and important information about the arms trade.

3 - <http://www.armstreaty.org/> 'Mapping the arms treaty' is an initiative of Reaching Critical Will, Control Arms and other organisations to track and categorise states' positions on key issues concerning the ATT through maps indicating states' positions on each point of negotiation. It is a site that will become increasingly more important as treaty negotiations move forward.

4 - <http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/legal/att/prepcom2/index.html> Website of Reaching Critical Will, a project of the non-profit organisation WILPE. Reaching Critical Will is involved in the Arms Trade Treaty negotiation process as a non-governmental player. It provides all the official documents drafted within the Preparatory Committees and links to other organisations that are important in monitoring and promoting the Treaty. In particular, it contains the daily notes summarising discussions between diplomats in each session.

5 - <http://attmonitor.posterous.com/> The Arms Trade Treaty Monitor is an initiative supported by Reaching Critical Will of the Women's International League Peace and Freedom, Global Action to Prevent War, Oxfam, and the International Action Network Against Small Arms (IANSA) which from the first PrepCom in July 2010 has featured independent articles and reports on ATT negotiations. It is a blog with a variety of material that is updated regularly with contributions from different members of civil society throughout the negotiations.

6 - <http://armstradetreaty.blogspot.com> The Arms Trade Treaty legal blog brings together legal discussions regarding the ATT. Developed by the Geneva Academy of International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights, it exhaustively tracks the negotiations and features a regular summary of the various positions of states on the issues addressed and gives solid legal arguments concerning various issues in the framework of the ATT negotiations.

7. <http://armerdesarmer.wordpress.com/> For French speakers, we have included a blog in French about the Treaty proc-

ess. Very active during the days of negotiations, it focuses on different aspects of arms trade, paying special attention to French-speaking players. It is updated frequently, also during July 2012.

8. <http://www.es.amnesty.org/actua/acciones/tratado-comercio-armas-2012/> Amnesty International is one of the three pillars of the Control Arms campaign. Here you have the opportunity to sign in favour of the ATT. There are also links to other AI resources worldwide, such as documents, blogs, etc. AI will be in New York with a large team of lobbyists.

9. <http://www.intermonoxfam.org/es/campanas/proyectos/comercio-de-armas-sin-control-alza-tu-voz> Oxfam is the second pillar of the Control Arms campaign. This Oxfam site features information about arms trading in Spain and links to other international resources. Oxfam will also be in New York with a large team of lobbyists.

10. <http://www.fundacioperlapau.org/tca/signa.php> The Catalan ONG Fundació per la Pau, as a member of the IANSA (the third pillar of the Control Arms campaign), has long been active in the ATT process and will also be in New York. The website allows visitors to sign in favour of the Treaty in four languages (Catalan, Spanish, French and English) and contains other resources and links.

Lastly, the website of the ICIP is one of the most complete and up-to-date currently on the Internet. It features a summary of the main web pages with **resources** on the arms trade. It also has a history of national and international **news** stories related to weapons trading. We have also compiled a collection of related **academic material**, whether in the form of special issues or journal articles, all of which is available in the **ICIP library**. Furthermore, the section on the ATT contains the major **official documents** from the Preparatory Committee of the negotiations, a **schedule** of activities to stay on top of major developments in this area, as well as a **timeline** of the entire process.

INTERVIEW

Roberto García Moritán, chairman of the Global Arms Trade Treaty Diplomatic Conference

Eugènia Riera

International Catalan Institute for Peace



With a professional career focused on international security issues and disarmament spanning nearly 40 years, Argentine ambassador Roberto García Moritán now has the privilege to chair the Global Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) meetings and to preside over the Diplomatic Conference in New York in July. We spoke to him about the benefits that the ATT will entail and about the difficulties that have hampered the long process leading to its approval.

It has been said that you are a skillful consensus builder with wide diplomatic experience. Has this profile facilitated the ATT negotiations? Are you satisfied with the work that has been done so far?

The ATT process began in 2005, and from the very beginning I was in charge of leading the various evolutionary stages: first, in a UN Group of Experts, then, in a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly, and, finally, in the Preparatory Committee for the Diplomatic Conference to negotiate the Treaty. It has been a long and intense process, and the result has been satisfactory because it has allowed all countries to understand what an ATT would imply. And it has also been a success considering the asymmetry of perceptions on international security issues that exists in the UN, since we have reached the July conference, where the 193 members are willing to negotiate, which has not been the case in other organs such as the Disarmament Conference. I am satisfied to see the political will of all involved to advance towards a serious and complex negotiation.

One of the things that still must be negotiated is what will be considered consensus on the Treaty. Different options are being considered: adopting the text by a large majority or granting states the right to veto. Can consensus be an obstacle?

The fact that the Treaty must be ratified by consensus is, undoubtedly, a challenge, but not an impediment. In fact, the Chemical Weapons Convention or the Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty have highlighted the fact that consensus is not an obstacle when there is political will. In the case of the ATT, despite the logical fundamental differences – that became apparent during the debate in the Preparatory Committee – political will has always prevailed. On this basis, I am optimistic and I don't think that the consensus rule will be a difficulty if we are able to agree on and negotiate the essential points in a serious and responsible manner. Where there is a will, there is always a grammatical way to strike a balance, even in a legal provision.

Supposing there was one specific point of the treaty on which agreement was nearly unanimous, with the opposition of only one or two states. Could that be considered consensus?

Consensus and unanimity is not the same thing. Nevertheless, in the United Nations there is a tendency to use both terms as synonyms. That is why, to determine the degree of consensus, we should also look at other factors that these states oppose. Recently, for instance, in a multilateral meeting dealing with an environmental issue, the opposition of one state was considered a consensus. Naturally, it is always easier and more convenient to negotiate something that is put to the vote, but a Treaty that does not obtain universal adherence would be useless. In many cases, a vote tends to hinder the achievement of this objective. In my opinion, an effective ATT must be universal and consensus can help in this respect.

Can reaching a broad consensus lead to a less ambitious text?

Every negotiation presupposes that states yield in their ambitions in the name of a common objective, and it is obvious that for consensus to be reached positions must be accommodated. The final result, in terms of the conceptual force of the instrument, will ultimately depend on the skill of this diplomatic negotiation so that the essence of what is expected is not lost.

What are the red lines that must not be crossed in order not to delegitimize the essence of the treaty?

Regarding its scope, the ATT must include small arms and light weapons, their components and also their ammunition. I cannot imagine a treaty that does not include these arms. As for criteria or parameters, I cannot imagine a treaty that does not firmly and categorically include the issue of human rights and international humanitarian law. And with respect to objectives, the Treaty must work towards the regulation of both the legal and illicit markets.

Civil society organizations also sustain that the ATT should regulate technologies needed to manufacture arms, including those of dual use. Do you think it is feasible for states to take on this issue?

If dual use refers to arms used for sport and other recreational activities, in my opinion they should be included and, perhaps regarding implementation, certain criteria should be included to distinguish between them. If the concept of dual use refers to technology, the issue takes on another dimension and experience could suggest certain difficulties. That does not mean that ways cannot be found to deal with the issue while avoiding the concerns of those who believe that it could affect their development policies.

What role should NGOs play in the process? Should they be allowed to attend all the working meetings along with the states?

NGOs have been an important partner from the beginning. They have offered their support and worked hard to make the Treaty a reality, and the international community should be grateful for this work. NGOs will be present in the Conference in July and will share their points of view. There will be no Treaty without civil society.

Does the violence in Syria, with over 10,000 deaths according to the UN, demonstrate that the ATT is indispensable? Would the Treaty have avoided arms transfers to Syria?

World violence demonstrates that the ATT is necessary even though it is no panacea. Unfortunately, there are many examples of conflicts and indiscriminate violence, some more urgent than others. Each case highlights the fact that, with an instrument to regulate the arms trade, the acquisition of arms to exert violence will not be so easy. Human rights wouldn't be systematically violated and human suffering would be reduced. And the same can be said regarding organized crime and terrorism. Through a control mechanism that will be similar in all states, the ATT will prevent these criminal groups from having easy access to arms and will result in strong cooperation so that this doesn't occur.

What other benefits will the Treaty entail?

Apart from tightening the grip on organized crime and terrorism, it will contribute to the transparency and trust among countries and it can also have an effect in the humanitarian field. It will not be a panacea, but I am convinced that it is an important step in the right direction.

PLATFORM

Syria: almost everything, except good news

Pablo Aguiar

International Catalan Institute for Peace



The situation in Syria is unsustainable. This would be an initial impression after reading the newspapers in recent weeks. But the truth is that the news we are hearing about the country has been worrying for some time now (the country's state of emergency has been in force for nearly 50 years) and particularly worrying since March of last year. Syria, another country where the so-called Arab Spring took place in 2011, was the site of protests that were immediately labelled by the government of Bashar al-Assad as part of an 'armed insurrection led by religious extremists'. Pacific groups demanding democratisation in the wake of violence brought against them have begun forming an opposition that in some cases has become a violent force, leading to a situation where there is a civil-war-like confrontation.

Syria is a country which for 50 years has had an authoritarian system and a centralised bureaucratic regime that integrates the security forces. The entire regime is directly controlled by the president and his inner circle. Any kind of opposition or internal discrepancy has been squashed, giving the dictator an imprecise view of reality, which has been conducive to bad decisions.

From an international standpoint, management of the crisis has been slow and sterile. Last April, Xavier Pons (<http://www.anue.org/revista/Naciones-Unidas-y-Siria-idea-y-realidad.pdf>) reviewed the actions taken to date by the United Nations. As noted by Pons, the United Nations is neither more nor less than the will of its member states, particularly of those with more power and, specifically, those who have veto power within the Security Council. We thus find ourselves with a European Union paralysed by its internal economic problems and a United States that does not cease to keep an eye on its upcoming presidential elections in November. However above all Russia and China, who are doing what they can to limit actions against Syria. The reasons given are varied: the classic argument of not interfering in internal affairs or the excuse of labelling the opposition as extremist terrorist. Moreover, the recent history of Libya is in no way positive. The Security Council passed a resolution that many of its members interpreted differently and whose execution was heavily criticised, understandably so, precisely by Russia and China. Lastly, we must not forget that both have been the most important suppliers of arms to Bashar al-Assad, with Russia having at times sold over 90% of the weaponry bought by the country.

Regarding civil society, the news from Syria in recent days is frightening. Genuine massacres of civilians are taking place: on 25 May, 108 dead in Al-Haula, 49 of whom were children; on 6 June, 78 more victims in Madrat al-Qubair... These actions have remained authorless, with neither side stepping up to claim them as their own, but there are elements pointing to the involvement of government forces or the forces of the shabbiha militia, which is close to the al-Assad regime. What is clear is that since the protests began, there have been a high number of deaths, a number which has been increasing in recent months. The opacity of the regime makes it impossible to make accurate estimates, but the truth is somewhere between the 6,000 admitted by official sources and the over 14,000 proclaimed by opposition sources.

Although delayed, the latest diplomatic moves seem to be headed in the right direction: strong pressure on the regime, recognition of the Syrian National Council, and threats that continued breaching of the plan proposed by Kofi Annan may lead to more coercive actions. Nevertheless, there are significant challenges to finding a peaceful solution to the crisis. A political regime that revolves so heavily around the dictator's inner circle is easily set on the *all or nothing* solution. And in this scenario, it is unlikely that those holding power will agree to surrender without offering any resistance. The situation is even more complicated if we add the country's ethnic diversity, with a Sunni majority (75%), and the influence of regional powers (Saudi Arabia and Iran) on each of the opposing sides. Unfortunately, the current situation presages a generalisation of the violence. For this not to happen, the countries with the most leverage must put pressure on Russia and China, the real bastions outside the Syrian government, so that they give up their unconditional support to the regime.

Scenarios like these can make us believe there is nothing we can do. However, there are actions to be undertaken, relating to both the situation and to the structure. Regarding the former, it is difficult to imagine that social pressure will be a determining factor in international policy, since decisions are taken by states and, more specifically, the individuals representing states. The fact is that these decision makers base their decisions on a rational calculation of the costs and benefits of their actions. Therefore, without getting into ethical arguments, if the decision (or inaction when deciding) is costly in terms of social pressure, it is reasonable to think that those who must make the decision will bear it in mind. Thus, any support or pressure for a peaceful solution to the crisis plays its part, and along these lines, new forms of activism based on the use of new technology (Change, Avaaz...) can be useful.

With respect to actions of a more structural nature, there is probably a unique feature common to all wars in the world: a country, or group of countries, has made considerable gains by selling arms to one or to the various opposing sides. Hopefully the future treaty on arms trade discussed in the current issue of the magazine *Peace in Progress* will make it possible

to regulate arms transfers in order to prevent countries in armed conflict or countries that violate human rights from receiving arms. In fact, these countries will likely be the stage of the next war to be endured by the world.

An Arab world without a model

Ricard González

Journalist and political scientist



There is always a need to find flashy headlines able to simplify complex realities. Different media have recently resorted to the expression 'Arab Winter' to refer to the supposed failure of the democratisation movements in the Arab world. According to this view, the 'spring' that flourished in early 2011 has already withered as a result of persisting age-old hate and the strength of counter-revolutionary forces.

Nevertheless, the reality is that as of today there is no single model to describe the political processes occurring in Arab states. While it is true that all of them were subjected to the pressure of popular movements with similar demands –freedom, dignity and social justice–, the uprisings have followed different paths due to the varying social and political situations in which they emerged.

In some countries, such as Egypt and especially Tunisia, the processes of transition to democracy have been going through the various stages outlined in their respective roadmaps. Even though the way forward has not been without setbacks and failures, the progress made enables these countries to face the future with relative optimism. Both countries have already held several elections viewed as legitimate by the majority of the population and by the international community, and they are currently in the process of drafting a constitution that guarantees a new framework of freedoms.

On the flip side, there are those countries in which pro-democracy movements have been brutally crushed by the government, such as Bahrain, or have led to a bloody civil war, such as Syria. In these cases, it is indeed appropriate to speak of an 'Arab Winter', as the dreams of freedom have become genuine nightmares and the degree of repression is now higher than it was before the 'Arab Spring'.

However, it is important to note that the regimes in both countries, after several months of using violence, have not been able to fully quell the uprisings. Therefore, we must not yet assume that their revolutionary movements have failed. Nonetheless, the prospects of implementing a pluralistic regime that tolerates the freedoms of the minorities continue to decrease as the use of violence intensifies, and this violence often takes on a sectarian nature –or at least that is how most of the population views it–.

It is probably not a coincidence that the two countries where the 'Arab Spring' has succeeded have a quite homogenous population, while the societies with a marked ethnic or sectarian diversity are the ones where the future is bleaker.

There are two countries halfway between the two extremes, Libya and Yemen, which are just beginning their transition after leaving behind a period of armed confrontation between supporters and opponents of regimes with over three decades of rule under their belts. Marked by persisting tribal loyalties and a rather weak national identity, Libya and Yemen offer both reasons to be optimistic and reasons to be pessimistic. A positive end to these drives for change that overthrew their presidents, Muammar el-Qaddafi and Abdullah Salem, will largely depend on the responsibility of their elites and their willingness to share power.

Equally uncertain is the success of the pro-democracy movements in other Arab countries like Morocco, Algeria, and Jordan. In all of them, and even more so in Saudi Arabia, the brunt of the popular uprisings has been weaker than in neighbouring countries and the governments have been able to appease spirits with a series of economic promises and promises for political reform limited in scope. However, hopefully, if democracy is consolidated in several states in the region, these governments will receive renewed pressure from citizens.

In summary, the diversity of the political processes in the countries of the Arab world makes it impossible to define them with a single label, let alone if this label is 'winter'. Rather, the region is currently experiencing different 'seasons'. Moreover, in most cases, the triumph of the drives for change remains uncertain. The consolidation of democracy often requires years, or even decades, of negotiations and power struggles among political players. Therefore, we currently still lack historical perspective to reach any kind of conclusion regarding the success or failure of the 'Arab Spring'.

RECOMMENDATIONS



Nelson Mandela Digital Archive: bringing his legacy to the masses

<http://archives.nelsonmandela.org/#!home>

At the end of March 2012 an extensive digital archive on Mandela was launched, making available almost 2.000 entries about the first South African president to be elected in a fully representative democratic election.

Many of the documents, which are stored in the Nelson Mandela Foundation Centre of Memory in Johannesburg, have never been accessible or digitalised before. They include, amongst others, images of the cell on Robben Island, in which he spent many of his 27 years in jail, smuggled letters, posters, unpublished autobiographical manuscripts, photos, videos, and thousands of handwritten documents. Content is accessible free of charge anywhere in the world and available in English, Afrikaans and Xhosa. They have even thought about

those who cannot decipher Mandela's handwriting, there is also a text version available.

The project, which makes it possible to "scroll" through the life of the man who received the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize, as well as over 250 awards, for his struggle against apartheid and his deep commitment to defending human rights, also aims to target poor, rural communities. Key in this respect is that the centre runs outreach programmes to help communities that may not have internet connections, so that they can also experience the archive.

The \$1.25m costs of the project have been donated by Google, which also sponsors a similar project on Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Holocaust archive (partnered with the Vad Yashem centre). It might come to mind that Google, whose slogan is "don't be evil" but which is often criticised for censorship and turning a blind eye to human rights abuses in countries like China, might be doing this to improve their image, but they are interesting projects nonetheless.

L.v.T.

US Peace Index

<http://www.visionofhumanity.org/uspeaceindex/>



On 24 April the second annual edition of the United States Peace Index was launched by the Institute for Economics and Peace, a non-profit research organization "dedicated to shifting the world's focus to peace as a positive, achievable, and tangible measure of human well-being and progress".

This 2012 US Peace Index highlights the US's most and least "peaceful states and cities". More precisely, the index examines levels of "peacefulness" at the state and city levels, while also looking at the costs associated with violence and the socio-economic measures associated with peace. In fact, it claims to be the only fullfledged statistical analysis of crime and the cost of crime in the US, looking into 50 states and 61 cities.

On the website of the US Peace Index, which also offers an interactive map and an explanatory video, we find that "peacefulness" is defined according to five indicators: the number of homicides, number of violent crimes, the incarceration rate, number of police employees, and the availability of small arms.

Important conclusions of the index include that the US is currently more peaceful than at any other moment in the past 20 years and that further improvements in peacefulness would generate hundreds of billions of extra economic activity. Hence, the index provides us with both some good news and an interesting suggestion, one which could be particularly appealing in times of economic crisis. Based on the data provided one could argue that, rather than cutting heavily on peace related activities, governments should actually seek further improvements in peacefulness. In fact, it is particularly right now, in times of economic crisis, that the relationship between poverty and peace deserves special attention.

L.v.T.



Extramurs: a new website about the world today in Catalan

www.extramurs.cat

Production routines of conventional media (newspapers, radio and television) all too often force journalists to cover international current affairs using major international news agencies, which are generally based on official, poorly verified sources.

The world news website in Catalan Extramurs was created in order to break out of this dynamic and flee from the 'monolithic' vision of these agencies. It is presented as a window to the world to speak up about what is happening around the globe, without filters, and with a network of professionals solely utilising local sources: not only local media, but also communities and associations and the potential of social networks. With the ever so commendable commitment to provide ethical and honest coverage based on in-depth analysis, interpretation, context, pluralism and knowledge of the political and

social reality on the terrain.

The project currently has seven journalists at the news desk in Barcelona and collaborators in 20 countries –most Catalan journalists residing abroad–, and the goal is to continue to grow little by little.

We therefore welcome an ambitious project that is much needed in journalism today.

E.R.



Visualising the Conflict

<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/victims/gis/index.html>

Since the beginning of this year the Conflict Archive on the Internet (CAIN), an institution devoted to the collection of material on the “troubles” and located at the University of Ulster, is using a new way to approach the conflict that shook Northern Ireland for over thirty years: they have created a virtual island in Second Life, a 3D virtual world where people can socialize and connect.

On the island, called Ulster Inco, you will find virtual recreations of the peace wall, murals and other types of memorials of the conflict in Northern Ireland. Information panels provide users with background information and it is possible to attend classes

and interact with other users.

This new way of approaching a topic as sensitive as the conflict in Northern Ireland should be welcomed and it will be exciting to see how successful using Web 2.0, a type of website which promotes socialization through the creation of interactive virtual platforms, is for the dissemination of information on conflicts. CAIN's researchers will therefore collect data to evaluate the impact of this initiative. One thing is clear: it certainly makes learning about the conflict more interactive and entertaining.

Take a look for yourself at the virtual educational space developed in Second Life and interact with 3D models of the rapidly disappearing murals of Belfast. If you have Second Life viewer installed on your computer, and have a pre-existing avatar, you can click on the link above and visit the Visualising the Conflict virtual educational space. If you are currently not a user of Second Life you first have to download the programme/viewer and sign-up for an account and avatar. For those who are interested in knowing more about how to develop a virtual educational space, CAIN has made available guides that aim to pass on lessons learned, in order to help others trying to achieve similar projects.

L.v.T & L.M.

NEWS

ICIP NEWS

Second ICIP Peace in Progress Award announced

ICIP has announced the second edition of the ICIP Peace in Progress Award, which aims to publicly recognize entities or institutions that, in an outstanding and extensive manner, have worked and contributed to the promotion and building of peace. The award consists of public recognition, a sculpture created by the Nobel Peace Prize winner, artist and activist, Adolfo Pérez Esquivel, called *Porta del sol*, and 6,000 euros. Nominations must be submitted by June 30 and the winner will be announced in September.

The first edition of the ICIP Peace in Progress Award in 2011 recognized the struggle of conscientious objectors and *insumisos* (people who refuse to do military service or any substitute social work), symbolized in Pepe Beunza, first conscientious objector for ideological reasons in Spain. Before that, in October, a special edition of the award was presented to the Parliament of Catalonia for representing the continuity and legacy of the institutions Pau i Treva and Consolat de Mar.

ICIP president appears before Parliament

ICIP president Rafael Grasa appeared before the Cooperation and Solidarity Committee of the Parliament of Catalonia on May 4 in order to present ICIP's Annual Activity Report for 2011, and thus render an account of the work done by the Institute in the last few months. The president of ICIP stressed the Institute's "well-known efforts to contain costs" in the present context of economic crisis and budgetary adjustments, and its commitment to fulfill the obligations entered into under the current 2009-2012 Multiannual Plan. Grasa reported that 75% of the intended objectives had been fulfilled in 2011, and he explained that "ICIP is struggling to do the same work with fewer human and material resources."

The spokespersons of the parliamentary groups congratulated ICIP on the work it carries out in the building and promotion of peace in Catalonia. Taking part on behalf of the various groups were Beth Abad (CiU), Núria Segú (PSC), Rafael Luna (PPC), Dolors Camats (ICV-EUiA) and Pere Aragonès (ERC).

New publications

The collection "Eines de pau, seguretat i justícia," published by ICIP and Icaria Editorial has expanded this spring with the publication of the book *La societat noviolenta. Converses amb Pepe Beunza*, by the researcher on peace issues, Pere Ortega. The book narrates the experiences of Pepe Beunza, the first conscientious objector to oppose compulsory military service for ideological reasons in Spain.

Other new ICIP publications worth mentioning include the Working Papers *Segregation and the Onset of Civil War*, by Lesley-Ann Daniels (published in Catalan and English), *New Developments of Peace Research. The Impact of Recent Campaigns on Disarmament and Human Security* by Javier Alcalde and Rafael Grasa (in English), *The Analysis of the Framing Processes of the Basque Peace Movement: the Way Lokarri and Gesto por la Paz Changed Society*, by Egoitz Gago Anton (in English), and *Autonomía comunitaria y caciquismo: identidad étnica, control social y violencia en una comunidad mixta de Oaxaca*, by Ignacio Iturralde Blanco (in Spanish).

As for the collection of Documents and Reports, the following papers have been published: *Prevenió de conflictes, foment de la pau i cooperació per al desenvolupament*, by Nadja Gmelch (in Catalan), *La responsabilidad penal del personal de Naciones Unidas*, by Xavier Pons (in Spanish), and the proceedings of the seminar *Companies in Conflict Situations* (in English), organized by ICIP in autumn 2011.

Finally, the fifth issue of the ICIP Bibliographic Dossier has also been published this spring. This dossier is a compilation of magazine articles available in the ICIP library, with a specific section on the Arab Spring. The ICIP Bibliographic Dossier is published in an electronic format in Catalan, Spanish and English.

Resource Bank: new ICIP website section

The ICIP website has opened a new section called "Resource Bank," which includes all the exhibitions and audiovisual productions produced by the Institute. In this space you will find information about five exhibitions (*Libya, Year Zero; Barefoot Words. Women Making Peace; Iraqis; Srebrenica, Memory of a Genocide;* and *Project ESCOLTA*) and about various documentaries and clips (*Om Mohammad; Srebrenica, 15 anys després; Daily Life in Kabul; Iraq: Resistances;* and the episodes of the Televisió de Catalunya program, *Latituds*).

All the exhibitions and audiovisuals are available to entities, organizations and administrations interested in their dissemination. We invite organizations interested in borrowing any of these materials to contact ICIP by e-mail (icip@gencat.cat) or by phone (93 554 42 75).

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Charles Taylor, sentenced to 50 years in prison

The Special Tribunal for Sierra Leone has sentenced the ex-president of Liberia, Charles Taylor, to 50 years in prison for instigating crimes of war and against humanity in Sierra Leone between the years 1991 and 2002.

The sentence considers it has been established that Taylor provided military and financial aid to the Revolutionary United Front rebels in exchange for marketing diamonds mined in areas controlled by this armed group. The crimes he has been charged with include assassinations, mutilations, public rape of women, slavery and recruitment of child soldiers. Taylor, 64, is the first head of state convicted for war crimes by an international war crimes court since the Nuremberg trials after World War II.

International Criminal Court celebrates tenth anniversary

The tenth anniversary of the entry into force of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court will be commemorated on July 1. The text is known as the Rome Statute, since it was adopted in that city in 1998, although it didn't enter into force until 2002, when it received the minimum of 60 ratifications required.

The International Criminal Court was created as an instrument to tackle the impunity of those who commit crimes against humanity, war crimes, genocide and aggression, and the prosecutor has so far opened seven investigations, all of which are in Africa (Uganda, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sudan, Central African Republic, Kenya, Libya and Côte d'Ivoire). At present, 120 states are state parties to the Statute of the Court, but those who aren't include states of great political and economic weight, such as the United States, China, and Russia, and others that stand out due to their demographic weight or their nuclear potential, such as Egypt, India, Israel or Pakistan.

The ICC has just sworn in a new chief prosecutor, the Gambian jurist Fatou Bensouda, who has taken over from Argentinian Luis Moreno Ocampo. She is the first woman to head the organization, in which she has worked since 2004. Formerly, she had been a deputy public prosecutor, Gambian attorney general and justice minister, as well as a senior legal adviser at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.

Brazil launches its own Truth Commission

In May, the president of Brazil, Dilma Rousseff, launched a Truth Commission to investigate crimes committed between 1946 and 1988, especially during the years of dictatorship. These crimes include assassinations, torture, forced disappearances and illegal detentions. According to official data, 475 people were detained or disappeared, 50 000 were imprisoned and more than 20 000 were tortured during the military dictatorship, between 1964 and 1985.

Despite the establishment of a Truth Commission, those responsible for these crimes cannot be prosecuted, since they are protected by the Amnesty Law of 1979.

Appeal to the Spanish and French governments to establish contact with ETA

The International Contact Group, promoted by the lawyer Brian Currin to “facilitate the achievement of political normalization in the Basque Country,” met in May to evaluate the progress made in the peace process following the Aiete Declaration in October, in which ETA was urged to declare the cessation of violence.

The Group notes that there was a prompt response by ETA, in terms of a declaration of the cessation of violence, and adds that the International Verification Commission has reported on the continuity of this cessation. Given this scenario, the Group urges the Spanish and French governments to establish contact with ETA in order to deal with the consequences of the conflict, without going into political issues.

Regarding the need for dialogue among all the Basque political parties, the group admits that the present pre-electoral campaign in the Basque Country can pose obstacles in the way of progress, and states that the best time to move forward will be after the elections. In its press release, the Group also notes that the initiative taken by the Basque government to organize a meeting on Memory, and the plan for the reintegration of prisoners, are steps forward. However, the Group also expresses its concern with the delay in the resolution of the legalization of SORTU, since it considers that the peace process should include all the political actors.

The Permanent Peoples’ Tribunal examines the case of Mexico

The Permanent Peoples’ Tribunal (PPT) held a session in Mexico in June to give visibility to the current situation of violence in the country, the human rights violations, especially of indigenous peoples, and the deaths of thousands of people caused by a series of conflicts and dynamics of social disintegration.

The chapter on Mexico has identified the series of free-trade agreements signed by the Mexican government as a fundamental cause of the structural deterioration of the country’s economic, social, environmental, political, cultural and institutional quality of life. That is why the central theme of the chapter is entitled “Free Trade, Violence, Impunity and Peoples’ Rights.” The PPT is an ethical, international, non-governmental tribunal, created in 1979, that examines the causes of violations of fundamental human rights and rights of peoples, and publicly denounces those responsible for these violations.

The session on Mexico has coincided with the campaign for the presidential election, scheduled to take place on July 1. In this context, the movement “Yo Soy 132,” a pacifist platform born on a university campus, has emerged demanding changes in the country. The name of the movement refers to a protest by 131 students against PRI candidate, Enrique Peña Nieto.

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