

## EDITORIAL

### A look at the decade's peace and security agenda



For centuries, the main problem of the international community, which is based on the sovereignty of states and non-interference, has been the management of armed violence by means of various formulas - some more highly regulated than others - for controlling armed conflicts. The agenda has gradually become more complicated and diversified.

This issue of Peace in Progress takes an overall look at this agenda and focuses on the paradox of this second decade of the century - the third after the end of the Cold War. In a context in which high intensity armed conflicts have reduced considerably (by between 50% and 70% in comparison with the cold war), in a context with greater interest and resources allocated to humanitarian crises and complex emergencies, in a new geopolitical situation and in the middle of a financial and economic crisis, it is apparent that military expenditure has been increasing sharply (at the heart of the system, in the USA, but also in many Southern countries, and

emerging powers, such as Brazil). Furthermore, some long-standing conflicts, which have existed for decades, such as the one in Cyprus, are continuing at a time when their resolution and/or transformation them is easier than it used to be. Is this just force of habit?

Despite the changes for the better and the hope of further improvements, there are still two long-standing problems which are very different in their nature and scope - nuclear weapons and the extension of international criminal law. The conferences reviewing the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, which will be held in May and June (and which will be covered in the next two issues of this magazine) provide a glimpse of hope for further changes for the better, as identified by Camus in 1948 (in an article we reproduce here): "in favour of a genuine international organisation in which the great powers will have no more rights than medium-sized or small nations".

To put it another way, the old problems of the security agenda remain with us, and retain their central role, and are highlighted by the secular nature of the international community, and the lack of a central authority above state level, which is legitimate and accepted by all actors. We therefore need new instruments, like those arising from the struggle for new disarmament or arms control treaties in which we are involved, or new types of internal and partial mediation.

All in all, we are reminded that coexistence of new and old problems on the modern agenda, makes a consideration of the tools needed to resolve them essential. As Camus would say: yes, peace is the only battle, but we must think of various different paths and instruments to achieve peace. Or perhaps to put it better, peaces.

## CONTENTS

<b>EDITORIAL</b> .....	1	<b>THE INTERVIEW</b> .....	9
<b>IN DEPTH</b> .....	2	<b>PLATFORM</b>	
<b>CENTRAL ARTICLES</b> .....	2	Light at the end of the tunnel in Colombia - when? .....	12
The old and new peace and security agenda .....	2	We welcome the Russell Tribunal on Palestine: we had the Law but were lacking the Tribunal .....	13
La pau, l'únic combat: triar entre l'infern i la raó .....	3	<b>RECOMMENDATIONS</b> .....	15
The decline of the USA, the financial crisis and military expenditure .....	4	<b>NEWS</b> .....	18
Time to solve the Cyprus Problem .....	6	International news .....	18
After Cartagena. An Assessment of the Second Mine Ban Treaty Review Conference in Cartagena de Indias, Colombia .....	7	ICIP news .....	20
Internal and partial mediation .....	8		

## IN DEPTH

### CENTRAL ARTICLES

#### The old and new peace and security agenda

Rafael Grasa

Lecturer in International Relations at the UAB and President of the ICIP



How, from a perspective of research for peace, should one consider the second decade of new millennium, and the third of the post-cold war age? How should we react from the perspective of action and based on knowledge, to recent apparently contradictory news items like those mentioned below?

On one hand, the US Government presents the largest military budget in history to Congress for 2011: 708,000 million dollars, 159,000 of which are to be spent on operations in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan, a figure that is approximately 80% of international military expenditure.

On the other, the 2009 Report by the Human Security Report Project (the second, after the 2005 Report by the Centre and Research Group based at Simon Fraser University and led by Andrew Mack), *The Shrinking Costs of War*, shows two facts: there has been a 70% decline in the number of high intensity armed conflicts since the end of the war, and contrary to what common sense would suggest, a decline in the mortality rate during hostilities in most countries involved in armed conflict, despite the foreseeable impact on the battlefield (which is low) and on society (which is higher, due to deaths from collateral damage, malnutrition, and diseases linked to war)<sup>1</sup>. In other words, as well as the fall in deaths among combatants on the battlefield (a long-standing trend, which has reached 90% compared to 1950), there has been a marked decline in civilian victims of wars, despite this figure despite always being higher than the figure for military personnel.

Two things draw one's attention when the two news items are read together. First, not only has the peace dividend not arrived, but instead military expenditure is accelerating in a period of few intensive armed conflicts and above all, of less impact by wars on the battlefield and on society. This is even less understandable during a recession, which has been felt sharply in the USA but has also been very significant in the countries of the South, many of which are also increasing their military expenditure. Second, from a historical perspective, some conflicts have persisted for decades, such as the one in Cyprus and the Palestinian-Arab-Israeli conflict, despite in some cases, such as in Cyprus, the conditions for a solution having been in place for some time.

How should one react from the perspective of an Institute that is committed to research, training and action for peace and the improvement of human security? How can this affect our work?

One possible reaction would be to insist on what Karl Deustch mentioned forty years ago, in his 1970 obituary of Quincy Wright (the author of the most wide-ranging and extensive monographic study of war written by a single individual): "Nothing is more important than the understanding of war and its causes and the possible ways to its abolition on the agenda of our time. War, to be abolished, must be understood. To be understood, it must be studied." Forty years later, we must continue to ask ourselves questions and seek conclusive answers on the causes of wars and the possibilities and conditions for peace. In short, we must recover the agenda and commitment to research for peace and continue with the research and action programme, while hoping that knowledge will bring us closer to the solution.

Another reaction I choose is to start from the standpoint that we are in a situation with problems that are both new and old, without neglecting research into the major problems in the research for peace agenda. To put it in Gramsci's terms, the old peace and security agenda has not died yet, and the new one has yet to be born. We must therefore combine research and action better and above all, strive to increase the transforming impact of our actions.

One way of looking at the problem is to consider the implications of the increasing shift from causal pacificism, formulated by Alfred H. Fried in 1918 ("If we wish to eliminate an effect, we must first remove its cause. And if we wish to set a new and desirable effect in its place, we must substitute the cause with another which is capable of creating the desired effect"), to what Dieter Senghaas has called constructive pacificism. Constructive pacificism does not aim to substitute the cause (international anarchy, unfair international relations), at least in the short term, but instead to aims to make the root and the final objective compatible (to change the causes to provide a permanent guarantee for the new effects), in the intermediate phases, with the task of managing and guaranteeing the beneficial effects. To put it another way, it is a pacificism that seeks to maximise the architecture and construction of peace, first as non-war and subsequently as the creation of justice.

To put it into one sentence, once again inspired by Senghaas, at a time when the peace and security agenda is a combination of old and new themes, when conflict is becoming civilised, to have a cumulative idea, which demonstrates progress and acts as a guideline or route map - or travel guide - in the path towards construction of peace. And today, we know that this is produced gradually, on the hoof, it is radical, and it aims high, but is based on existing conditions and changes its direction when necessary. In short, the construction of peace is a do-it-yourself tool - which we use constantly without rejecting the idea of subsequently having a better one – rather than one for sophisticated social engineering.

To put it another way, when there are very serious problems (military expenditure and continuous militarization, persistence of nuclear weapons, impunity despite the improvements in international criminal law) and new problems (new types of violence that endanger human security all over the world, the growth of internal armed conflicts, very loose links between security and development, among others) it is necessary to remember - as a cumulative logic - that all instruments, old and new, are still valid.

By way of a reminder, we have known that the major new areas of proposals and solutions to prevent war and construct peace are not incompatible, at least not in all their phases, for decades (or centuries, in some cases):

1. Diplomacy and peaceful conflict resolution
2. Contained and limited types of military intervention (collective security)
3. The threat/use of legitimate force, within the framework of international law.
4. Arms control, disarmament and controls on military expenditure and the arms trade.
5. Non-violence and civil or civic defence/disobedience.
6. Solutions based on inclusive power, on the creation of shared interests: development, integration, the creation of security communities, etc..
7. Proposals aimed at achieving international equality and cosmopolitanism is phases.
8. The strengthening of new actors, grass-roots movements, the reinforcement of civil society and its capacities.
9. The commitment to new instruments, public and private actors, such as multi-level diplomacy, the prevention of violent conflicts and new formulas for mediation (such as partial or internal mediation) and negotiation.

The objective in terms of research and action is therefore twofold. First, it involves giving the idea of conflicting transformation a central role (increasing the likelihood of disputes not becoming violent as much as possible). In certain phases, this approach involves settling for mere management (avoiding or regulating conduct) or resolution (finding solutions for the reasons behind the antagonism). Second, being radical means going to the roots.

The combination of the twofold objective currently involves reconsidering the central nature of the old problems, and demanding radical solutions. As a final example related to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference, would it not be a good idea to return to the nuclear weapons limitation and disarmament treaties, abandoned since the cold war, which have been so successful in other weapons categories?

1. The Report allocates a chapter to the paradox of a declining mortality rate in times of war. They are based on an irrefutable figure: examination of the mortality rates for children under five years old in 18 countries affected by war in sub-Saharan Africa between 1970 and 2007 shows that in 80% of cases, the rates fell during periods of armed conflict. Prior studies by the World Bank show similar results for 2008. Naturally, this is not a beneficial effect of war on health, but instead a whole range of factors warranting study, such as the impact of the general decline in mortality since 1960 - of around 60% - on these countries and the low number of victims. See <http://www.humansecurityreport.info/>.

## Peace, the only combat: between hell and reason

**Albert Camus (1913-1960)**

Writer and philosopher



*Albert Camus, who was a writer above all else, was a very active participant in French public life for four years by means of short articles and reports, which were published in Combat magazine between 1946 and 1950, between his novels The Plague and The Rebel. On 8 August 1945, the day the atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, and two days after the first bomb was used to attack Hiroshima, he wrote the piece that we reproduce here. The piece comes from his book Actuelles. Écrits Politiques, which was first published by Gallimard in 1950, and is one of the contributions published in the chapter "Morals and Politics" (issue XI). We have given it a title based on the two central ideas of the text: the use of science for total destruction places humanity at a terrible crossroads which makes peace the only battle worth fighting, and which must force the peoples of the world to tell their governments that the choice between hell and reason must be made.*

(Rafael Grasa)

(Combat, 8 August 1945)

The world is what it is, which is to say, nothing much. This is what everyone learned yesterday, thanks to the formidable concert of opinion coming from radios, newspapers, and information agencies. Indeed we are told, in the midst of hundreds of enthusiastic commentaries, that any average city can be wiped out by a bomb the size of a football. American, English and French newspapers have poured forth a steady stream of elegant dissertation concerning the future, the past, the inventors, the cost, the peaceful uses and the military implications, the political consequences and even the independent character of the atomic bomb. We can summarise it all in a sentence: the civilization of the machine has just reached its ultimate degree of savagery. We will have to choose, in the relatively near future, between collective suicide and the intelligent use of scientific conquests.

In the meantime, one is entitled to think that there is something indecent about celebrating in this way a discovery that has been put to its first use by the most formidable destructive rage that man has known for centuries. In a world that has torn itself apart with every conceivable instrument of violence and shown itself incapable of exerting any control, while remaining indifferent to justice or even mere human happiness, the fact that science has dedicated itself to organised murder will surprise nobody, except perhaps an unrepentant idealist.

These discoveries must be reported and commented on for what they are, and announced to the world so that man has a proper idea of his own destiny. It is intolerable for these terrible revelations to be wrapped in picturesque or humorous essays.

Even before now it was not easy to breathe in this tormented world. Now we find ourselves confronted by a new source of anguish, which has every likelihood of proving fatal. Mankind had undoubtedly been given its last chance, and the newspapers have seized on this as a pretext for a special edition. But surely the subject deserves some reflection and some considerable silence.

There are also other reasons for withholding our applause from the futuristic romance that the newspapers have been laying before us. When one sees the foreign affairs editor of Reuters proclaiming that this invention nullifies or renders obsolete the decisions made at Potsdam, and makes it pointless to worry about whether the Russians are in Königsberg or in Turkey at the Dardanelles, we must assume that in this fine chorus there lurk intentions that have nothing to do with the objectivity of science.

Let there be no mistake about our meaning. If the Japanese surrender after the destruction of Hiroshima and they face the intimidation of the atomic bomb, we will rejoice. Nevertheless, we shrink from using news as grave as this as a basis for any decision other than to argue still more energetically in favour of a genuine international organisation in which the great powers will have no more rights than medium-sized or small nations, and in which war, a plague that has become terminal by the fruits of the human mind alone, will no longer be decided by the appetites or doctrines of any one State.

Before the terrifying prospects now available to humanity, we see even more clearly that peace is the only goal worth struggling for. This is no longer a prayer but a demand to be made by all peoples to their governments: a demand to choose definitively between hell and reason.

## The decline of the USA, the financial crisis and military expenditure

**Mario Pianta**

Lecturer at the University of Urbino and a member of the Italian peace movement



Thirty-eight million Americans, one citizen in eight, are at a level of poverty that means they are eligible for *Food Stamps*, a card that enables them to buy pre-cooked food from supermarkets, which have an average value of 133 dollars per person per month. If we include children, the percentage rises to one in four: this is the same level as in a third world country.

Six of these thirty-eight million people (two percent of Americans) live in families with no financial income – no income from work, public benefits, pensions, unemployment nor anything else – except for the *Food Stamps*. As a consequence of the crisis, the number of users has increased by 50 percent in the last two years. In 2010, the federal government will spend 60 thousand million dollars - less than 10 percent of the extraordinary provisions made for the financial crisis – on this programme, which is the only means of dealing with poverty in a system of state benefits which has been pared to the bone.

Now, take a deep breath: a pie of the same size is about to be divided up, not among the 38 million poorest Americans, but instead among a hundred thousand bankers, who will on average be receiving half a million dollars each. In total, the five big American banks, in the first nine months of 2009, set aside 90 thousand million dollars to pay salaries and “business bonuses”. All five banks received enormous emergency bail-out loans from the government during the crisis of 2008. After protests from public opinion

and Congress, attempts were made to add conditions to the astronomical payments, and the banks reacted by repaying the loans they had obtained as soon as they could, in order to be free to pay themselves millionaire-level salaries as soon as possible.

This has all led to an accentuation of the disparity which began in the new economy boom of the late nineties: in 1998, the head of Citigroup received payments amounting to 167 million dollars, 4,500 times the wage of an unskilled worker in the same company. However, as Seymour Melman said ten years ago in his book *After Capitalism* – it is at Walt Disney where the disparities exceeded the wildest dreams of Scrooge McDuck: in 1998, the president of the company received 575 million dollars, i.e. 15,500 times the gross salary of a worker in the company.

The fact is that one of the American problems is that this type of inequality is no longer exceptional, and is not limited to Wall Street and Disneyland; they can be found all over the economic world. In the economy as a whole, the ratio between the amount earned by the richest 10 percent of Americans and the poorest 10 percent has increased by 40 percent since 1975, with particularly sharp rises during the governments of Bush Senior and Junior. Neoliberal theoretical rhetoric does not tie in with reality, as is apparent in a study by Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett: major inequalities do not stimulate economic growth, and have serious consequences in terms of a decline in welfare and growing social problems such as exclusion, disease and criminality.

The bad news in the American economy in the first decade of the twenty-first century has affected most of the country's citizens. There has been no increase in jobs, and the increase in incomes has almost entirely been among the 10 percent of wealthiest families, with a further concentration in the 1 percent who are the ultra-rich. Since 1989, real (average) salaries of male workers for graduates have remained unchanged, and have significantly declined for those with only a high school certificate, while women have partially overcome the salary differential compared to men. In real terms, the minimum wage is at the same level as in the 1960s.

The financial crisis was unleashed on a real economy affected by a long decline in its production capacity, and highly dependent on other countries: the surplus of imports to exports has reached 5 percent of GDP. The public accounts are deeply in the red, which is also the result of enormous military expenditure by the USA, which accounts for half of what the entire world spends on weapons. These deficits have increased even further as a result of the measures taken to combat the financial crisis.

While American politics immediately came to the rescue of banks in difficulty, this has not been the case for the ten percent of Americans who are now without a job: the effects of the crisis are documented in a new report *Battered by the storm*, published in December by the *Institute for Policy Studies* and other progressive organisations (the authors include John Cavanagh and Barbara Ehrenreich). It is available for download at <http://www.ips-dc.org/reports/battered-by-the-storm>). In the USA, only 57 percent of those without a job receive unemployment benefit, which amounts to half the total of the previous salary, and many have lost their right to healthcare. The main federal income support programme *Temporary Assistance for Needy Families*, has less than 30 percent of the resources that would be necessary to bring above the poverty line the 50 million Americans who are currently below it. Gaps as big as this one in the American benefits system have left the *Food Stamps* as the only means of at least putting some food in people's mouths.

However, there is an alternative, like the one proposed in the study mentioned above: a 400 thousand million-dollar plan, to be spent on social programmes providing income support and help for the owners of homes repossessed by the banks, the creation of a million public sector jobs and coverage of State and local governments' deficits in 2010. This could all be financed by increasing taxes on the rich and on speculative financial operations, and by measures against the use of tax havens. The good news is that the Obama administration is looking for a system to tax finances and to recoup some of the funds spent as state aid last year. The dispute between the White House and the Treasury over which direction to take has yet to be resolved, but something that is new is that in Washington there is now even talk of a tax on international financial transactions – that so-called Tobin Tax that has been discussed for decades by social movements everywhere. After the financial debauchery, will there finally be a political response?

\* Article published in "Il Manifesto", 13 January 2009, p.10.

## Time to solve the Cyprus Problem

**Andreas Kyriacou**

Lecturer in Applied Economics. University of Girona



The Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities are currently engaged in direct negotiations in an effort to resolve the Cyprus Problem. The origins of the dispute lie in the second half of the 1950s when the Greek Cypriot majority, in tune with the self-determination tendencies of the times fought to overthrow the colonial rule of the United Kingdom and unite Cyprus with Greece. This led to a nationalist reaction on the part the Turkish Cypriot minority which started to call for the partition of the island and the unification of the resultant parts with Greece and Turkey respectively. This required the physical separation of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities on the island which at that point lived in mixed towns and villages.

In 1960 the independent Republic of Cyprus was founded based on a power sharing constitution. The 1960s were characterised by conflict - initially democratic but soon violent – which led to the breakdown of the constitutional order, polarised the two communities even further and led to their gradual physical separation. A coup by the Greek military junta (exploiting divisions within the Greek Cypriot community) led to the Turkish invasion and war, cutting the island into two and completing the physical separation between the two ethnic groups.

In the late 1970s the idea of an independent federal bizonal and bicomunal republic was adopted by both sides but the Turkish Cypriot side began to settle mainland Turks in occupied Cyprus and in the early 1980s, unilaterally declared the creation first of the “Turkish Federated State of Cyprus” (“TFSC”) and then of the “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus” (“TRNC”) which is denied international recognition. Strong and sustained economic growth in the South has contrasted with stagnation in the north where public spending has typically depended on fiscal transfers from Turkey.

In the early 2000s, three crucial events occurred. First, faced with growing disaffection among Turkish Cypriots, the authorities in the north opened a number of border crossings in 2003 thereby facilitating the daily movements of Turkish Cypriots to the south for work as well as visits by both Greek and Turkish displaced persons to their homes. Second, in April of the following year a UN sponsored plan was, for the first time, put to separate referendums in the north and the south and was roundly rejected by Greeks Cypriots and accepted by Turkish Cypriots and Turkish settlers. Third, one week later, Cyprus became a member of the European Union, a decision already agreed to by the European Council a year before.

The two communities have different positions as to the nature of a reunified Cyprus. The Greek Cypriots prefer a federal arrangement, the unrestricted enjoyment of the freedom of movement and settlement and the right of property in the long run, 20 to 25 per cent of the land under Turkish Cypriot administration and the complete demilitarisation of the island with a security guarantee provided by the international community. The Turkish Cypriots prefer a confederal arrangement, a permanently limited enjoyment of the freedom of movement and settlement and the right of property, 29+ to 37 per cent of the island under Turkish Cypriot administration and, finally, a continued Turkish troop presence on the island and a legal right of unilateral intervention by Turkish armed forces.

EU accession has clearly increased the negotiating strength of the Greek Cypriot side it allows it to link progress in Turkey’s own EU aspirations to a resolution of the conflict. It also argues that any solution must respect the EU’s basic principles something which favours its opposition to indefinite restrictions to the freedom of movement and settlement. EU accession has also allowed Greek Cypriot displaced persons to pursue the assets of EU citizens who have exploited their properties in the north in EU courts. In response to this, Turkey and Turkish Cypriots point to the possibility of secession by the north. Moreover, Greek Cypriots are aware that a solution sooner rather than later could act to contain the demographic changes in the north due to Turkey’s continued settler policy.

Each side seems to have entered the latest round of negotiations in a spirit of goodwill and a desire to finally put an end to the division of the island. The truth is that the events since 2003 have radically changed the economic, social, legal and political environment framing the conflict offering the real possibility of attaining a reunified European Republic of Cyprus. Spain, the current holder of the EU presidency and itself a multi-national European state, should encourage the two sides to seize this historic moment.

## Després de Cartagena. Valoració de la Segona Conferència de Revisió del Tractat Antimines a Cartagena d'Índies, Colòmbia

**Maria Josep Parés**

General co-ordinator of the Moviment per la Pau NGO and member of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines



Heat, good weather, diplomatic receptions and “events” aplenty... Cartagena de Indias dressed up for the occasion, to show the world that it was at the centre of the fight against anti-personnel mines during the days of the conference. The organisation and hotel accommodation were very good at the Convention Centre where the Ottawa Treaty Review Conference took place. All this was awaiting us in Colombia when we landed there in late November last year.

Everyone in the city knew that the event was being organised there, in the same way as another one - perhaps a business conference - had been organised a few days previously, and a few days afterwards, perhaps there would be one in the tourism sector. Indeed, Cartagena is Colombia's conference centre par excellence.

However, we “activists” knew exactly where we were what we were there for, and we were not about to let ourselves be dazzled by the glittering lights. The reason why we were there was constantly on our minds: the victims caused by the presence of anti-personnel mines, cluster bombs, and other leftover explosives from wars around the world. Those people, who were represented

in Cartagena by a large group of survivors and representatives of affected Colombian communities (such as indigenous peoples), are working tirelessly to make sure that neither we, nor the governments and international agencies who attended, forget this reason. They took part in the talks, lectures and meetings, met the media, and participated in other parallel events. From the very first day, the words of Song Kosal<sup>1</sup> at the opening session guided our work.

Some of the events that took place at the Conference are worthy of mention here. First, Spain was about to take over the joint Presidency of the European Union and for this reason, various meetings took place, to find out how it would focus on the subject within the Union, and the extent of Spain's commitment, which on an individual level, involved increasing aid. It remains to be seen whether the efforts that were promised to us will lead to results, and whether the EU will take firm joint action against mines. There was also an “honorary” guest; the United States arrived and made its voice heard, but if anyone was expecting that President Obama's recent Nobel Peace Prize to make him see that remaining on the fringes of an international humanitarian forum such as this one was neither ethical, legal or reasonable, they were mistaken. The North American representative spoke very briefly, because he had no other alternative. A few days beforehand, Ian Kelly, the spokesperson of the State Department, had said that the Obama Administration had reviewed its policy on mines and that there would be no change. The reaction inside the country and abroad was strong, and the government received so many criticisms that it was forced to rectify this. They went to Cartagena to say that the Obama Administration was still reviewing its policy on mines. Unfortunately, they gave no more details, or a deadline, and did not say what form this review would take. We must continue to wait. However, it is a cause for satisfaction that after a decade, they have finally participated in a Conference. One very emotional moment, which made the hall burst into applause, was when a group of young people who had been attending a parallel programme during the entire week to receive training to become a new generation of activists, made a declaration asking all the States present to become fully involved in the processes necessary to make the world into a truly safe and peaceful place, and all the States that have yet to sign the Treaty of Ottawa to do so, and to listen to them and to their proposals, as they also wished to contribute to making the world free of mines.

As well as NGOs, the survivors and representatives of affected communities, there were also other voices from people important in their respective fields that made themselves heard; these included the Colombian singer Juanes, who maintained an open dialogue with the Colombian survivors and on this occasion, did not allow the Colombian government to appropriate his speech and politicise his presence in Cartagena, and the photographer and journalist Gervasio Sánchez who made more than a few people blush with more bluntness and clarity to which we are accustomed. He presented his exhibition “Mined Lives. 10 years” in Cartagena, which made no bones about showing everyone who wanted to see it that the terror of mines has no justification.

Now we have a new Action Plan for the next 5 years - a detailed plan of commitments in all areas of action against mines: care for victims, demining, education on risk, destruction of stocks and international co-operation. Care for victims is the area where most progress has been made in the last 10 years. Firoz Ali Alizada, Treaty Implementation Officer of the ICBL, and landmine survivor, said: “in terms of compliance with the promises made to victims, we are still scratching the surface. We face very difficult challenges to provide extensive and timely support for survivors, and to fully respect their rights.” International civil society is ready and we have enough energy to keep working vigorously to achieve this<sup>2</sup>.

1. ICBL Young People's Ambassador against Mines and a survivor of Cambodia.

2. The documents referred to in this article are available at: [www.movimentperlapau.org](http://www.movimentperlapau.org).

## Internal and partial mediation

**Gorka Espiau**

Senior member of the ICIP and the ICRC of Columbia University



*Peaceful conflict transformation theory has traditionally defined the processes of mediation and mediators as impartial agents<sup>1</sup>, in a position that is equidistant between the parties in dispute. This article presents another type of mediation - one which is politically incorrect, increasingly common and above all, very effective.*

John Paul Lederach and Paul Wehr<sup>2</sup> were the first to conceptualise what has become known as internal and partial mediation. Their work is based on an analysis of the work done by the "Contadora" group led by Oscar Arias in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala. Most considerations set out in this work are still valid today, as they were useful in demythologising the way in which mediators worked, but perhaps there are some aspects that could be reviewed.

These authors felt that the social and political culture of this part of the world required a type of mediator that was different to that in the western model, and so they applied this type of mediation specific to a specific geographical area.

The type of intervention described by Lederach and Wehr requires people with the ability to inspire trust among the most implacable sectors, based on highly personal experience and very close links. Unlike traditional mediators, these people belong to the community in which they work, and remain in the theatre of operations when the international delegations have completed their work.

This limits their ability to influencing one of the sides in the conflict. They are people with a perfect understanding of the motivations, aspirations and strategies of each sector because they have experienced, suffered for and often worked towards these positions. Their relationships with the central figures in the conflict are personal, have been built up over decades and they are normally considered to be authorities in their community.

This self-limitation of their area of action does not necessarily mean that their view of the conflict is a partial one. Among the most deep-rooted motivations of partial mediators is the desire to influence the change in internal positions. They share the political objectives of those around them, but disagree with their strategies. In short, they are able to reveal the truth about the other.

They are very conscious of the limitations of this type of internal intervention, and in most cases these people create links with other mediators who can undertake a similar task with the other side in the conflict. What is paradoxical about this network of relations, which is built up through partial mediators, is that it can become more impartial than the traditional work of the external agent. Another advantage of this type of mediation compared to the traditional method is that internal mediators are much more aware of the nuances of each situation, and it is much more difficult to hide unspoken aspirations from them.

The motivation for achieving the objective of peace is also different. Some are seeking the common good, and risking their professional reputation, while others are placing their own future and that of their families at risk. It is obvious that both objectives are equally legitimate, but the costs of failure are very different. Some can afford to fail, while others cannot.

But to return to the conceptualisation of this type of intervention for peace, the limitation of the internal and partial mediator to this geographical area does not appear to have much scientific basis. A study by the Berghof Institute<sup>3</sup> published in 2009 documents this type of mediation in countries as far-flung as Nepal, Uganda, Mali, the Philippines, Burundi, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Algeria, Burundi, Congo, Macedonia, Mexico, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Switzerland.

Closer to home, this type of mediation had an influence in Northern Ireland that was just as important as that of Senator George Mitchell. The priests Alec Reid, on the Catholic side, and Harold Good among the Protestants, managed to convince their respective communities that there was no way to overcome the conflict other than a unilateral commitment to exclusively political and democratic methods. Not only that - they succeeded in creating a system of communication and influence between both mediation initiatives, that led them to be named by the British and Irish governments as witnesses to the decommissioning of the paramilitary groups' weapons after the peace agreements has been signed.

Their success in this area meant that these same men were asked to pass on how they work to the peace movements in the Basque Country<sup>4</sup>. There is a division of opinions<sup>5</sup> on the impact of this intervention, but they undoubtedly made their mark. Today, the only international initiative aimed at rebuilding a peace process in the Basque Country is being undertaken using the same methodology. The South African Brian Currin has been working specifically with representatives of the banned political party Batasuna for several years, with the objective of them following the same path as the republicans in Northern Ireland. His work has been disparaged by the Spanish Government and the main Spanish political parties, but that has not stopped him from continuing. Recently, the newspaper El País<sup>6</sup> said that Brian Currin has been chosen by the Basque nationalist movement to write the conclusions of their internal debate on a hypothetical end to violence.



As a conclusion to this article, it can be said that if internal and partial mediation works and is being used all over the world, we are witnessing a revolution in the way in which processes for the construction of peace can be undertaken. The model of external and impartial mediation, which has been somewhat idealised, and is making way for mediation on a more human scale with all the greatness and limitations that this entails.

1. Zartman, I. William and Saadia Touval. "International Mediation in the Post-Cold War Era." In *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*. Edited by Crocker, Chester A., Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall, eds. Washington, DC : United States Institute of Peace Press, September 1996.

"Mediation is best thought of as a mode of negotiation in which a third party helps the parties find a solution which they cannot find by themselves." [p. 446].

2. John Paul Lederach, *Of Nets, Nails, and Problems: The Folk Language of Conflict Resolution in a Central American Setting*. *Conflict Resolution: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. Ed. Kevin Avruch, Peter W. Black and Joseph A. Scimecca. Greenwood Press: New York, Westport, Connecticut, London, 1991. Pp. 165-186.

3. "Insider Mediators. Exploring Their Key Role in Informal Peace Processes."

4. "The Basque conflict. New ideas and prospects for peace". SR 161. United States Institute of Peace. Abril 2006. Washington DC.

5. "Alec Reid and the Basques" Rogelio Alonso. *Fortnight*, No. 439 (Dec., 2005), pp. 6-7 . Fortnight Publications Ltd

6. *El País* Newspaper. 3/01/10.

## IN DEPTH

### THE INTERVIEW

#### Interview with Thomas Nash



In this interview, Thomas Nash, the coordinator of the Cluster Munition Coalition (CMC) tells us about the highs and lows of the convention on cluster munitions, while also discussing possible ways of broadening the fight for disarmament. This interview has been edited from a selection of the questions and answers of the debate held in Barcelona last November the 23rd in Barcelona, to where he was invited by the Catalan NGO Fundació per la Pau (Foundation for Peace).

**The treaty has already been signed, but when will it be in force? Is it a good treaty?**

It is expected that the six countries needed to obtain the 30 necessary signatories will ratify it before the end of 2009. This means that we can expect the treaty to be in force on June the 1st or on July the 1st 2010. Like all other treaties, it is a compromise between diverse positions, but we believe it is a good treaty. One of its strong points

is article 5, referring to the assistance to victims. It is an extremely unusual case in international treaties, because it is stronger than the draft debated in the last negotiations, in the Dublin Conference of May 2008. Normally, negotiations water down the drafts, but in this case it was exactly the opposite, and the result is a very strong article on the assistance to victims. This could have important implications in the future; for instance, by widening the definition of victims to include also the families and the affected communities. Furthermore, there is the compulsion of data compilation and measurement of the impact of cluster bombs, along with the obligation of not discriminating against the victims who have similar wounds from other types of weapons. The combination of these two obligations implies that the countries acquire the responsibility of compiling data of all the victims of armed conflict. This can have many far-reaching implications in the future of human security.

**How would you define the role of the United States and the other countries that have not signed the treaty?**

In this kind of treaty, we often have to choose between a good treaty with some countries missing or a weak treaty signed by all. In the case of cluster bombs, I think we can consider it a good treaty. The United States did not sign it, because half of its present weapons stockpile is formed by cluster bombs. They clearly made a bad investment in the 70s. But this does not mean that they do not feel committed to the treaty's spirit. This is very significant in the case of cluster bombs; the United States did not sign the Ottawa treaty, but since its enforcement there is no evidence that they have continued producing or exporting them. And even more significantly, it is one of the countries with a larger budget dedicated to the deactivation of mines and to the education of the risks that the mines involve in the affected territories. In the Cartagena de Indias summit, held in Colombia in November 2009, the United States participated, for the very first time, in a conference dedicated to the revision of the anti-mine treaty. This is a very important achievement for many reasons. Among them, because their participation implies the commitment to assume 22% of the conference's costs, adjusting to the distribution scheme followed by the United Nations' meetings, with the nations contributing according to their wealth. This means that the richer countries' participation is larger than that of the poorer nations. It is also positive that the United States have approved a national ban on cluster bomb exports with an error margin of less than 1% that, according to our estimates, are the immense majority. In any case, for us it is important to manage that the nations most affected by this problem be part of the convention, because the treaty includes important provisions related to the victims' assistance, which would mean a considerable difference in the situation of these countries.

**Following the terms of the treaty, is it possible for a Spanish company to produce cluster bombs in another country that has not signed the treaty?**

The treaty explicitly bans the manufacturing of cluster bombs in third countries –who have not signed the treaty- by the companies belonging to countries that are signatories. Despite this specification, we are aware that if they want to, they can find the way to go around this clause. And this is where it is important that civil society be on guard to avoid this happening. Reason is on our side; if this happened, it would be a clear violation of the treaty's spirit.

**According to the treaty, is it possible for the American military bases in Spain to maintain cluster bomb arsenals?**

The answer to this question is similar to the one I gave to the previous one. It all depends on how the treaty is interpreted and, in this case, the 21st article, in its reference to joint operations; in other words, the participation of a state that has signed the treaty in joint operations with other countries that are not signatories and who do use this type of weapon. If we read this article literally, the treaty would allow it. But we chose the broader and most coherent interpretation. We believe that allowing this would go against the spirit of the treaty. And, in fact, the United Kingdom is questioning –at this very moment- that the American military bases in their country should not have any cluster bomb stocks, following the aforementioned far-reaching and coherent interpretation.

**What can be done regarding the financing of companies that manufacture cluster bombs?**

Regarding this point, I would like to mention two examples of good practice: Belgium and Ireland, two countries that have banned by law the financial investments in companies that manufacture cluster bombs. Even so, it is fundamentally a question of pragmatism. We believe that there is not a market for this kind of weaponry in the future. It is not a good commercial concept, because the treaty stigmatizes this kind of weapons. In fact, we have just started a campaign with that goal in mind: Stop Explosive Investments. In Spain there are also banks who invest in companies who are manufacturing cluster bombs and this is something we have publicly condemned. If you want to know if your savings are helping to finance cluster bombs visit the following web: <http://www.stopexplosiveinvestments.org/>

**Given that international conventions are only binding for countries, how can non-state actors be pressured into abiding by the spirit of the treaty?**

There is the Geneva Call, an organization dedicated to engaging non-state armed actors into ceasing to use landmines, and we know that they are actively working to include cluster bombs in their goals. Even so, in this case the main problem is different from the one posed by mines, because, nowadays, the vast majority of cluster bombs are not in the hands of non-state actors, they are stockpiled by the states themselves. If we manage to convince these states into destroying their stockpile of cluster bombs and to stigmatize the use of these bombs we believe that this will also prevent their exportation and posterior large-scale use by non-state armed actors. So in the case of cluster bombs the –basically preventive- problem, is different from the one posed by landmines and the solution has to be also different, even though we will collaborate with Geneva Call in order to obtain commitment of non-usage of this type of weaponry from the non-state armed actors.

**What is the relation of the CMC with other networks and, specifically, with the International Campaign to Ban Landmines?**

This is an important point that has a lot to do with the strategic behaviour of the social movements dealing with these issues. We believe that there has to be a balance between the specificities and the synergies that we can produce if we collaborate and work together. As far as landmines are concerned and regarding the obvious links between these two issues, it is very probable that in the future there will still be two campaigns, with their own identity, but probably with more coordination and cooperation mechanisms. Probably even with a joint directing board. In any case, this is still only a proposal that has to be accepted by the bases of both networks, by the NGOs working with cluster bombs issues and the NGOs working on landmine issues, because not all NGOs work with both issues.

**We have banned landmines, we have banned cluster bombs... what is next along the line?**

As you know, in July 2012 there will be a crucial conference where a treaty regulating arms trade should be signed. This is a key issue in the fight for disarmament in the near future, but it does not intend to implement a prohibition, its aim is to regulate the global arms trade. Regarding the prohibition of specific weapons, we believe we have to advance on the plan dedicated to explosive arms as a specific and coherent category within the different kinds of weapons. When we created the CMC, we had to present the problem of cluster bombs as if they were very special weapons. And, in reality, they are not. But it is also true that the same problems (indiscriminate effects that are not in proportion with the harm they intend to cause) can be found in all explosive weapons. What distinguishes cluster bombs from other explosive weapons is the scale of these effects, but the causes behind their prohibition are the same. So this means we have a huge field of operations in front of us. In this sense, we believe that the first step that has to be taken in the issue of explosive arms is at the level of discourse, in order to identify them as a specific category of weapon. For example: the police forces around the world do not use this kind of weapons, because they consider that they have indiscriminate and disproportionate effects. So this is a line that should not be crossed. And this is where we have to continue our work.

Interview by Javier Alcalde.

## PLATFORM

### Light at the end of the tunnel in Colombia - when?

Xavier Badia i Cardús

Director of the Office for the Promotion of Peace and Human Rights of the Government of Catalonia and member of the ICIP Board



I have been in Colombia for a week, accompanying two human rights activists whose lives have been threatened, who have been living in Barcelona for six months. The purpose of the trip was to accompany them and ensure their safety during their reintegration in their homeland. With this in mind, we held a number of meetings with high level representatives of the Colombian government and public prosecutor's office. Our message at all of them was clear: these two people who were returning to Colombia needed to do so with full guarantees in terms of their personal safety and that of their family and associates.

Our stay in Bogota coincided with the presentation of the report by MOVICE [Movement of Victims of State Crimes] in the National Library, which considered the 5 years since the implementation of the Justice and Peace Law, and the presentation of the report published by the Corporación Nuevo Arco Iris [2009 - The Decline of Democratic Security?] on the failure of the policy of Democratic Security, the cornerstone of the current Colombian government's plan to deal with the conflict that has blighted the country for decades, which highlights a considerable increase in violence and action by armed groups - both guerrillas and paramilitary groups.

I therefore believe that this shows a stark division in Colombian society, which is one of the major challenges for a peaceful outcome to the conflict. This double perspective on the situation in the country to a large extent explains the situation in which Colombia finds itself today. From the government's point of view, there is no internal conflict, the violence is limited to isolated actions by terrorist groups, the demobilisation of the paramilitary groups has been completed successfully, human rights are generally respected and thanks to the Democratic Security policy, the country is gaining the confidence of investors and achieving social cohesion. In this line of argument, the government is supported by a privileged and wealthy social minority, and also by an important sector of the population that is unaware of the government's strategic plans and considers the president to be a saviour of the country.

This is counterbalanced by the view of a growing sector - which includes the social movements and human rights organisations - that are the main victims of human rights violations; which is aware of the impact of the Democratic Security policy on specific sectors of the population, especially the peasants, and the types of resistance created by the social movements; which is aware of the changes that the demobilisation process of the paramilitary groups has caused to the landowning structure, leading to massive displacements of the peasant population; which understands that the rule of law and the separation of powers do not exist, and that parapolitics have become indiscernibly embedded in the structures of the state; which condemns the strategies to conceal massive human rights violations by the State institutions (such as the "false positives" scandal) and sees how serious human rights violations go unpunished.

The fact is that today Colombia is practically the only country in Latin America where there is an ongoing armed conflict, with the presence of various guerrilla groups and a recent history that is also defined by the operations of armed paramilitary groups in large areas of the country. This conflict has deep roots in the structure of land ownership, in the failed attempts to reform land ownership in the twentieth century and the major social inequality that this structure has created. In my opinion, it is therefore necessary to consider the "military" conflict as the sign of an underlying problem and not as the root of the problems itself. And this means that the solution to the problem will be found in the political arena rather than in strictly "military" terms. I believe that efforts should focus on creating agreements which make significant breakthroughs in the democratisation of the state mechanisms, which would involve strict respect for human rights and a complete separation of powers, and especially of justice, as the basis for moving towards recognition of all the victims of the conflict by means of truth and redress. And it is also necessary to focus these efforts on a humanitarian agreement that facilitates an end to hostilities, and which creates a situation in which it is possible to reach wider-ranging long-term political agreements. This humanitarian agreement must include an end to kidnappings, the use of anti-personnel mines and harassment of the civilian population; i.e., it must entail the application of international human law to all parties, including the guerrilla forces. I believe that international pressure should be brought to bear in these directions, as a decisive contribution to facilitating an agreement in Colombia.

(This article was also published on the ICIP blog: <http://blocs.gencat.cat/blocs/AppPHP/ICIP/>)

## We welcome the Russell Tribunal on Palestine: we had the Law but were lacking the Tribunal

**Dr. David Bondia Garcia**

Professor titular de Dret internacional públic. Universitat de Barcelona



Israel's failure to respect international law in terms of its actions towards the Palestinian people, and the serious violations of international human rights law and international humanitarian law ordered and committed by members of the Israeli government and army, have repeatedly been reported to various Spanish and international authorities. It is highly likely that these violations would have been impossible without some degree of complicity...

We had the Law but were lacking the Tribunal... The International Court of Justice has no power to judge these violations as Israel has not accepted its jurisdiction. At present, it is impossible to judge the individuals directly or indirectly responsible for war crimes and crimes against humanity committed against the Palestinian people before the International Criminal Court, as Israel has not ratified its Statute - we await the final decision at the review conference scheduled to take place in Kampala in late May this year. The Israeli internal courts refuse to deal with these individual liabilities. One door that remained open, in Spain at least, was the universal jurisdiction; but this has been reduced and distorted after an agreement between the two main political parties, at the request of the Socialist government and after pressure from foreign authorities. Unfortunately, this decision leaves many victims of human rights violations without hope, without justice and without the right to know; it aims for them to remain invisible, not only where they suffered from the violations, but also in Spain...

In order to challenge this attempt to render the victims invisible, and in view of this legal void, it was necessary to return to the spirit of the first Russell Tribunal, which was held in 1967 to investigate the war crimes committed in Vietnam. It was followed by others that sat in judgement on the atrocities of the dictatorships in Latin America, the invasion of Iraq and finally, we now have a Russell Tribunal on Palestine.

The first session of this Tribunal coincided with Spain's six-month presidency of the EU Council, and was held in Barcelona between 1 and 3 March. Its mandate was to consider the degree of complicity of the European Union and its member States in prolonging the occupation of Palestinian Territory and Israel's violations of the rights of the Palestinian people. Other sessions are scheduled: a second session of the Tribunal is being organised for London in 2010, to consider the complicity and omissions of multinational companies; other sessions will subsequently be organised on various continents to deal with other complicities and omissions, especially those of the United States and the United Nations, and, finally, the process will end with a closing session.

Based on an initiative by the Bertrand Russell Foundation, promoted in Catalonia and Spain by the coordinator of organisations Amb Palestina al Cor - with the support of Barcelona City Council and the ICIP - the Barcelona session will consider the complicity of the EU and its member States with regard to various specific issues such as the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, the blockade of Gaza and Operation Heavy Lead, the building of settlements and stealing of natural resources, the EU-Israel partnership agreement and the annexation of East Jerusalem.

Those responsible for judging this complicity at the Barcelona session (Michael Mansfield, Gisèle Halimi, José Antonio Martín Pallín, Ronald Kasrils, Mairead Corrigan-Maguire, Cynthia McKinney and Aminata Traoré) are individuals of acknowledged intellectual prestige. Leaving their pro-Palestinian or pro-Israeli positions to one side, they have been leading advocates of the defence of human rights and the force and application of international law.

Among the documentation available to members of the jury is the report produced by the Russell Tribunal's Spanish and Catalan Committee of experts, with the support of the ICIP, for the Barcelona session and subsequent sessions which analyses: the fallacy of security and threats to human security; the passive complicity of the European Union with regard to the violations of international law arising from the Israeli occupation of Palestinian Territory; Spanish foreign policy; the arms trade and military and security co-operation between Spain and Israel; the consultative opinion of the International Court of Justice on the legal consequences of the construction of a wall in the occupied Palestinian Territory, with special reference to the issue of the settlements and Jerusalem; Israeli policies regarding water resources in the occupied territories and the consequences for the Palestinian population; Gaza, Operation Cast Lead and the Goldstone report; the restrictions on access to international justice for Palestinian victims of serious human rights violations; and the policy of apartheid against the Palestinian people.

The Russell Tribunal for Palestine thus opens the door to a new initiative that reminds us that it is always possible to act against injustice by mobilising civil society. Although the sentence issued by the Russell Tribunal will have no obligatory legal force - which does not mean it has no legal value - as pointed out by Julio Cortázar, a member of the Board in one of the previous sessions of the Tribunal, "the real effectiveness, the real strength of the Russell Tribunal does not lie in the immediate and circumstantial effect of its meetings, but instead in the work of universal investigation that may be carried out based on what is said during its sessions. The proceedings of the Tribunal should not be confused with the moral and political impact that its sentence may have. Although the sessions are public, the capacity of the hall is insignificant compared to the millions of people for whom the work and conclusions Russell Tribunal are important".

Although the capacity of the hall may be limited, the place where the session is to be held is not. If we are talking about judging complicities, I could add another one to the list: that of my University, which after having agreed months beforehand to host the session of the Russell Tribunal in the Paranimf, decided to carry out refurbishment works that just happened to be taking place on those days, after pressure from who knows where. No problem - we will all be in the Saló d'actes of Barcelona's College of Lawyers, between 1 and 3 March.

More information at: <http://tribunalrussell.blog.pangea.org/lang/ca/>

# RECOMMENDATIONS

## Philosophy for caring. A co-educational proposal for peace

Irene Comins Mingol. *Filosofia del cuidar. Una propuesta coeducativa para la paz*. Barcelona: Icaria, 2009



The starting point of the author's work is the concept of cultures for making peaces as developed by the Chair in Philosophy for Peace at Universitat Jaume I in Castellón, which stresses the human capacity for mutual help, solidarity and care, and the various ways in which human beings cultivate relationships between each other and with nature. Among the various human skills for making peace, Irene Comins highlights caring and proposes using care and tenderness as human abilities for living in peace.

To that end, the book is divided into two parts: the first deals with the ethics of care and its contributions to a culture for peace; and the second part includes a proposal for an ethics of care as education for peace. While the first part analyses two contributions of the ethics of care that are considered important for a culture for peace, which are peaceful conflict transformation and care and concern for others, and questions the factor of time in everyday life; the second proposes the inclusion of values and tasks on the school curriculum that have traditionally been assigned to women and are considered as belonging in the private sphere, such as care and expressing emotions. Education for peace would thus have one aspect that would be intellectual education, and another that would be sentimental education, in order to stimulate the

development not only of cognitive skills, but also of emotional and interpersonal relationship skills. (E.G)

## International Crisis Group (ICG)

[www.crisisgroup.org](http://www.crisisgroup.org)



“Why had it been so difficult for the international system to effectively respond to Bosnia and other conflicts?” – The question posed by the institute’s founders on a plane out of war-torn Sarajevo in 1993, which sparked the idea that eventually led to the creation of one of the world’s most respected conflict- assessment, warning and resolution institutions.

Bosnia was the Group’s first project; George Soros’s Open Society was their first donor; the humanitarian tragedies of Somalia and Rwanda gave the Group the final push it needed. In 1995 the ICG was created.

The ICG’s mission is tripartite: assessment; advice; advocacy. The Group provides expert field research taken from where there is concern for a possible outbreak of conflict, an escalation or recurrence and it offers an analysis of possible underlying factors and immediate causes. The ICG offers practical, imaginative policy prescriptions: what needs to be done by all types of actors to avoid, mediate and/ or resolve conflict. The Group engages in high-level advocacy to supply the well-founded arguments demanded to incite the political will to act.

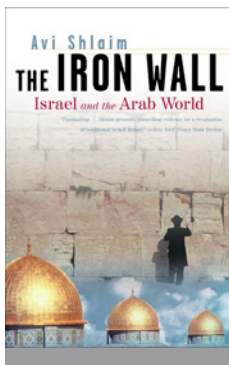
The ICG has central offices in Brussels, New York, London, Washington, Beijing and Moscow. It has regional offices and advocacy or liaison locations worldwide and it monitors over 60 countries throughout Europe, Latin America, Middle East, Africa and Asia. Beyond its conflict focus it centres on the core themes of: Responsibility to Protect, gender issues and Islamism.

The positive service provided by the ICG is undeniable. It has been praised by diplomats, academics and field-workers globally, as being one of the most premier non-governmental organizations working in early warning, conflict prevention and resolution.

(C.C.)

## The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World

Avi Shlaim. *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*. New York: W.W.Norton, 2001



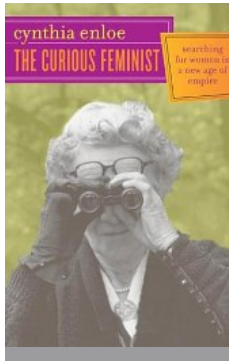
It is difficult for a book on the conflict between Israel and Palestine or in broader terms, between Israel and the Arab countries, to become a classic. But that is what has happened to this book written by Avi Shlaim ten years ago. It is recommended by Jewish and Palestinian, American and European historians, revisionists and new historians, politicians and academics... as well as activists. This is for various reasons. First, the references to new evidence and the original testimony from central figures are overwhelming. Second, the author's ability to explain a complex conflict will fascinate a demanding reader eager for enthralling stories. Finally, the argument that the strategy of the Israeli hawks has imposed itself in the country's relationship with the Arab world is convincing, and some would say, even inevitable.

The history of Israel can therefore be seen as the construction of a large iron wall facing its neighbours that gets bigger, higher and thicker, longer and more opaque every day, despite the chinks giving grounds for optimism that have occasionally been visible. In this context, the author shows us that the various players in the international arena and in the Arab world, and the representatives of the Palestinian people in particular, have no more than secondary roles in a story in which the main action takes place inside the Jewish state, between hawks and doves, with doves that turn into hawks and hawks that turn into doves.

The magnificent version in Spanish (*El Muro de Hierro*), translated by Regina Reyes and Bernardino León is worthy of particular mention.  
(J.A.)

## The Curious Feminist: Searching for Women in a New Age of Empire

Cynthia Enloe. *The Curious Feminist: Searching for Women in a New Age of Empire*. Berkley: University of California Press, 2004



In this elaborate collection of articles, short essays, dialogues and works in progress feminist political scientist and international relations analyst Cynthia Enloe takes us on an interesting journey into the lives of women living in the era of American imperialism. Through these texts Enloe exhibits what "asking feminist questions can reveal?"- hence the Curious feminist. Through her unique analysis of international politics she develops new ideas on identity, power, and the social construction of relationships and she links them to "grand" ideas in international relations: military, foreign policy and globalization.

In her feminist exploration Enloe presents a multi-level approach to analyzing international politics through which she exposes sophisticated connections between the brand name on university sports teams' sneakers, corporation owners, army generals and Korean daughters for example. She takes a new approach to understanding globalization by weaving in the needed awareness of gendered constructions and constructed gender; something she also does in her analysis of wartime rapes or state inter-relations for example.

Cynthia Enloe uses a causal and ironic tone throughout her work as she shows us why feminist questions matter and why the gendered perspective is necessary. She presents an alternative type of foreign policy investigation in her descriptions of relations between the US and its allies and foes. She offers an indispensable analysis, which at times is hard to follow as she divulges the intricacies of international relations that are often forgotten or ignored. Her work appeals to an audience with an established understanding of either feminism or international politics.

(C.C.)



## Brookings Institution www.brookings.edu



The Brookings Institution is one of the most internationally renowned think tanks. It was created in 1916 by Robert S. Brookings, and today it works in the field of research and training in the social sciences, with particular focus on public policy in the USA. It has traditionally been linked to America's Democratic Party, and the majority of its directors have occupied important posts in various Democratic administrations. Its slogan is: quality, independence, impact.

One of its most important programs focuses on foreign policy. The programme has two main objectives: global understanding of the world and the challenges that it presents for the international community; and influencing policies and institutions in order to promote sustainable prosperity, security and peace in the world.

This programme includes the creation of security indexes for countries in the Middle East (Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan), with updated details on their situation.

The focus of this think tank has sought to counteract the strong influence on North American foreign policy exerted by the neoconservative research centres (such as Project for the New American Century and the Center for a New American Security).  
(P.A.)

## NEWS

### INTERNATIONAL NEWS

#### Obituary: J. David Singer



J. David Singer, lecturer in political science and researcher for peace, died on 28 December 2009 in Ann Arbor, Michigan, home of the university at which he had taught for decades. Singer was the creator of an original and ongoing project in 1963: the Correlates of War project, which was established to use the accumulated scientific material on war. With the help of the historian Melvin Small, Singer began the project by gathering very precise and meticulous series of data on the prevalence and scope of interstate wars and extra-systemic wars since the post-Napoleonic era. By doing so, and in the face of conceptual difficulties such as defining “state” and “war”, they continued the work of the fathers of research for peace - pioneers such as Pitirim Sorokin, Lewis Frye Richardson and Quincy Wright. The first major result was the book by Singer and Small, *The Wages of War*, a book published in 1972 which established a definition of war which is still essential reading today. Today, the Correlates of War database is still one of the most comprehensive and frequently used databases on armed conflicts. We at the ICIP would like to express our condolences, and once again, our admiration for his constant, committed and consistent work.

Finding out more:

Singer’s personal website (<http://sitemaker.umich.edu/jdsinger/home>)

‘Correlates of War’ website (<http://correlatesofwar.org/>)

#### **The number of ratifications necessary for the entry into force of the International Convention for the Prohibition of Cluster Bombs is reached**

On 16 February 2010, Burkina Faso and Moldavia ratified the International Convention for the Prohibition of Cluster Bombs, which now has the 30 ratifications necessary for it to come into force. The treaty will become a binding international law on 1 August 2010.

The first meeting of member States will take place in November 2010 in Laos, the country that is most heavily contaminated by cluster bombs, as a result of bombardments by the USA over 30 years ago.

The 30 countries who have ratified it are: Albania, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Croatia, Denmark, Slovenia, Spain, France, Ireland, Japan, Laos, Luxembourg, Macedonia, Malawi, Malta, Mexico, Moldavia, Montenegro, Nicaragua, Niger, New Zealand, Norway, San Marino, the Vatican City, Sierra Leone, Zambia and Uruguay.

A total of 104 countries have signed the convention since it was opened for signing in Oslo in December 2008. The text prohibits the use, production, storage and transfer of cluster bombs. It also provides for the clearing of areas contaminated by unexploded bombs and the provision of care for the victims of these weapons.

Spain was the first signatory country to complete the destruction of its stocks. 12 other countries are in the process of doing so. Albania was the first signatory country which completed the clearing of areas contaminated by these bombs in its territory.

The Cluster Munition Coalition, of which the Fundació per la Pau, Greenpeace Spain, Justícia i Pau and Moviment per la Pau are members, has asked states which have not done so to sign, ratify and begin to implement the treaty. It has specifically asked the states which have ratified the anti-mines treaty and the convention on disabled people’s rights, as the three treaties are based on the same humanitarian and human rights principles in terms of supporting the affected communities and dignified lives for the survivors and victims of armed violence.

Cluster Munition Coalition Website (<http://www.stopclusterbombs.org/>)

## **Review of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (TNP)**

The NPT is the multilateral disarmament treaty that covers nuclear weapons. It is universally recognised and has 187 member states. The treaty has three main distinguishing features: First, there is a sharp distinction made between the rights and obligations of the five states that have acknowledged possession of nuclear weapons (the USA, the Russian Federation, France, the United Kingdom and China) and the other party states; the former commit themselves to gradual disarmament, and the latter undertake not to seek to obtain nuclear weapons.

Second, a system of safeguards is established, which is monitored by the IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency); and third, the treaty has a five-yearly review mechanism, which means that there is a review this year in New York.

Agreements on the agenda and various procedural issues have been reached at the preparatory meetings for the review of the treaty. However, no agreement has been reached on recommendations for important issues. The conference will probably be dominated by two questions: first, it will show to what extent the US government is committed to progress in terms of safeguards and disarmament measures. Second, there is the Middle East, and more specifically Iran's behaviour in accepting controls over its nuclear programme.

These two questions will be dealt with in issues of Peace in Progress in the near future.  
More information at: <http://www.un.org/NPT2010/>

## **The School for a Culture of Peace presents a database on conflicts, tensions and peace processes around the world**

The School for a Culture of Peace (ECP) has created a database on the conflicts, tensions and peace processes around the world.

The ECP Database on Conflict and Peacebuilding is bilingual (in Spanish and English) and is supported by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It has been developed for the ECP Conflict and Peacebuilding Programme and complies with the methodological criteria used by the publications of this research team.

In the first phase, the database includes information on thirty ongoing conflicts in all regions of the world. Each one includes information on the origins and development, the main parties involved, the type of conflict, its intensity and basic information on the country in which the conflict is taking place.

The database provides information on a three-monthly basis, from 2003 to date, and a news archive. In the future it is anticipated that the database will have information on around 70 situations of tension, and 50 peace processes in the world.

The system currently also includes gender files on each conflict, in order to highlight the particular impact they have on women and men, and the role they play in initiatives for the construction of peace and the rejection of violence, according to United Nations resolution 1325 on women, peace and security.

Database on Conflict and Peacebuilding Website (<http://escolapau.uab.cat/conflictosypaz/index.php>)

## NEWS

### ICIP NEWS

#### **Iraq: Resistance**

The ICIP presents a series of fifteen reports entitled *Iraq: resistance*, on today's Iraq, consisting of texts and documentary clips by the journalist Alberto Arce, a collaborator with the Institute. The pieces were published every day between 15 February, the anniversary of the worldwide demonstrations in 2003 against the invasion of Iraq (the largest anti-war mobilisation in history took place on 15 February 2003) and the Iraqi legislative elections on 7 March.

Alberto Arce, political scientist and freelance journalist, travelled around Basra, Rumeitha, Najaf and Baghdad last December and January, and shows the resistance by trade unionists, students and teachers in his report, the majority of which are accompanied by a video clip subtitled in Catalan, Spanish and English.

Alberto Arce is a collaborator of the ICIP, and also works with print and audiovisual media. He directed *Nablus, la ciudad fantasma* [Nablus - the ghost town], which won the TV3 Docupolis Best Producers Prize in 2005; *Mesalla, pacifistas en Irak* [Mesalla, pacifists in Iraq], for El Documental on TV3, 2007; *Borrados del mapa* [Wiped off the map], for Documentos TV on TVE, 2009; Barcelona-Gaza peace park for the organisations co-ordinator "Amb Palestina Al Cor", and *To shoot an Elephant*, which won the best director prize at the Florence Festival in 2009. He also won the Anna Lindh Journalism Prize in 2009 for this series of reports from Gaza for El Mundo.

To follow them every day until 7 March, visit the ICIP website. ([http://www.gencat.cat/icip/cat/col\\_1.htm](http://www.gencat.cat/icip/cat/col_1.htm)).

#### **The ICIP successfully completes the international seminar on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict**

On 2 December, the ICIP ended its private international seminar and a second series of public lectures "Palestine-Israel: seeking answers to the conflict". On this occasion, the Institute brought together various opinions from the different contexts in order to analyse the conflict. Among the guests were the ex-Israeli foreign minister, Shlomo Ben-Ami, John Ging, the director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, among other well-known figures, including politicians, academics, activists, negotiators and humanitarian workers from both Israel and Palestine.

The participants discussed the obstacles to peace based on the areas covered in the Camp David negotiations, analysed the humanitarian situation in Gaza and examined the outlook for the future. The conclusions of the dialogue highlighted a series of strategies and opportunities for transforming the conflict. Among these were the importance of international law, of constructing a coherent working framework and of understanding the different psychologies of Palestinians and Israelis, the role that can be played by new actors – the younger generations and members of the two diasporas – and the potential of regional approaches in dealing with the conflict.

#### **International experts debate new ways of measuring peace**

On 4 and 5 March, the ICIP brought together thirty multidisciplinary international experts on global indicators and indexes, to debate new ways of measuring peace in the world. The international seminar "Measuring Peace. Initiatives, limitations and proposals" aims to analyse some of the limitations and challenges involved in creating a new global index of peace and to provide new proposals and solutions in this area.

The seminar was designed for researchers and organisations working specifically on indicators and measurement of various aspects related to peace and human security, centres proposing an index on how to measure peace or aspects of peace, people who have worked in the areas of human security and peace while not necessarily using indicators, and representatives of leading centres working for peace.

Among the participants were Peter Croll, director of the Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC); Andrew Mack, director of the Human Security Center (Canada); Monty Marshall, director of the School of Public Policy at George Mason University (USA); Camilla Schippa, vice-president of Global Peace Index (Australia); Manuela Mesa, president of the Spanish Association for Research for Peace; Lourdes Beneria, from Cornell University (USA), and representatives of the International Peace Research Institute (PRIO, from Norway) and the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI, Sweden).

## ICIP Documents

The ICIP begins a new collection which will contain two lines of publication: the first is Documents, which begins with the report from the Barcelona Forum 2009, which was held in July in collaboration with the Office for the Promotion of Peace and Human Rights and the United Nations Staff College. The other line focuses on reports and studies commissioned by the ICIP, and the first issue will be the study of the creation of a Non-violent Catalan Civil Service for Peace, by Rubén Campos, which was published recently.

The Barcelona Forum on Decentralized Governance and Conflict Prevention ([http://www.gencat.cat/icip/cat/butlleti\\_6/pdf/The-BarcelonaForum.pdf](http://www.gencat.cat/icip/cat/butlleti_6/pdf/The-BarcelonaForum.pdf)).

## ICIP Working Papers

The ICIP Working Papers series aims to participate in today's debates on peace, conflicts and security in the world, providing innovative perspectives and approaches.

We remind readers that we are open to receiving proposals for the future. For this reason, the e-mail address 'recerca.icip@gencat.cat' has been created for sending suggestions.

You can consult all issues published at:  
[http://www.gencat.cat/icip/eng/icip\\_wp.html](http://www.gencat.cat/icip/eng/icip_wp.html)

**Rafael Grasa**, ICIP President  
**Tica Font**, ICIP Director  
**Rafael Grasa**, Issue Co-ordinator  
**Guifré Miquel**, E-Review co-ordinator

**Design/Layout:** ComCom

### **This issue involved the participation of:**

Pablo Aguiar, Javier Alcalde, Xavier Badia, Rosa Bergés, David Bondia, Albert Camus, Catherine Charret, Gorka Espiau, Rafael Grasa, Elena Grau, Andreas Kyriacou, Guifré Miquel, Thomas Nash, Maria Josep Parés, Mario Pianta