Civilian Conflict Management, Prevention and Transformation

in International Organisations strategies

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INDEX

- I) Introduction: conflict prevention and transformation in the documents of International Organisations.
- **II)** Basic principles of European Union for Foreign Policy and Conflict Prevention
- II.1)The new European security and defence architecture in the European Parliament's vision
- II.2) An integrated policy for conflict prevention: the European Commission strategy
- II.3) EU guidelines and instruments for international civilian crisis management
- **III**) Prevention and civilian management of conflicts in the documents of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)
- IV) Chances for UN: White Helmets and interventions of Non Governmental Organisations
- V) Conflict prevention and management into the papers of G8 Summits
- VI) Conclusions: towards an extension of conflict transformation actors

PARAGRAPH I

Introduction: conflict prevention and transformation in the documents of International Organisations

In the past decade the traditional approach to national and international security has been strongly threatened by a new one¹. Where the old approach was focused on the military dimension, the new approach is multidimensional, affirming that (inter)national (or continental) security can be assured only by assuring at the same time safety and security for people, environment and collective interests.

In other words, social cohesion become the most strategic objective in this approach, where military potential can even be considered counterproductive on the long term and only partially useful in the short term.

This approach has been sided by another conceptual evolution in peace research studies and (only partially) in international organisations' positions concerning conflict management: the shift from conflict prevention to conflict transformation.

In fact, if we consider conflict as a permanent social factor coming form the unavoidable diversity of individuals and social groups, the violent conflicts are just one of the different ways to face social conflict.

Considering that, peace researchers² remind that conflicts are unavoidable in societies, but they are not necessary armed conflicts. More, they have to be constructively managed, not necessarily "solved". This is the reason why conflict transformation has been recognised as a more correct definition for policies and social actions aiming at prevention of violent conflicts.

Nevertheless, International Bodies still mix definitions in this field. In this paper we will try to stress, where opportune, differences among the terms used in the official documents and the corresponding scientific concept.

The multidimensional approach, largely used by multi-track diplomacy supporters³, try to find out for each conflict phase the appropriate instrument for a pacific management. In this sense, conflict transformation could include a very wide range of instruments. As the multi-track approach is not always the prevalent view in International Bodies, we consider for this paper a more limited definition of conflict transformation and prevention, more tuned on general assumptions of official documents themselves.

PARAGRAPH II

Basic principles and structures of the European Union for Foreign Policy and Conflict Prevention

A "common foreign policy" was incorporated for the first time in the Treaty of the European Community in Maastricht (Treaty went into force on 1 November 1993). The provisions on the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) were revised by the Amsterdam Treaty which entered

¹ See also James Burk (ed. by), *The Military in New Times. Adapting Armed Forces to a Turbolent World*, Westview Press, Boulder (CO), USA, 1994.

² See e.g. J. Galthung, *Conflict Transformation with Peaceful Means*, UN, Geneva, 1998.

³ See also Gianni Scotto/Emanuele Arielli, *I conflitti*, Bruno Mondadori Editore, Milano, 1999.

into force in 1999. Articles 11 to 28 of the Treaty on European Union are since then devoted specifically to the CFSP.

An important decision in terms of improving the effectiveness and profile of the Union's foreign policy was the appointment of a High Representative for the CFSP (an innovation of the Treaty of Amsterdam), Mr Javier Solana Madariaga, who took up the post on 18 October 1999 for a period of five years.

The new Treaty of Nice entered into force on 1 February 2003 and contains new CFSP provisions. It notably increases the areas which fall under qualified majority voting and enhances the role of the Political and Security Committee in crisis management operations.

The European security and defence policy

The Treaty also provides the Union with a common security and defence policy (ESDP) that covers all matters relating to its security, including the gradual formulation of a common defence policy - i.e. the ESDP forms part of the CFSP. This common defence policy could lead to a **common defence** if the European Council were to so decide and a decision were adopted and ratified by the Member States.

The Cologne European Council meeting in June 1999 placed **crisis management** tasks at the core of the process of strengthening the European common security and defence policy; these are also known as the **Petersberg tasks**, so named after the place where the Western European Union (WEU) Ministerial Council that formulated them was held in June 1992.

They are humanitarian and rescue tasks, peacekeeping tasks and combat-force tasks in crisis management, including peacemaking. The European Council has decided that, to this end, "*the Union must have the capacity for autonomous action, backed up by credible military forces, the means to decide to use them, and a readiness to do so, in order to respond to international crises without prejudice to actions by NATO"*.

The Nice European Council decided to establish within the Council new permanent political and military structures to provide political control and strategic direction in a crisis, particularly a **Political and Security Committee and the appointment of a High Representative for the CFSP.** Three instances have also been set up: a **Committee for civilian aspects of crisis management, a Military Committee** and a **Political-Military Group.** In addition, a military staff composed of military experts seconded by the Member States has been set up.

The CFSP is part of a *single institutional framework*: the institutions are those which exist in the Community framework. However, the balance of powers between the Council, the Parliament and the Commission is different. From this point of view, implementation of the CFSP differs considerably from the implementation of Community policies. For example, the Commission is fully associated with the CFSP but does not have the exclusive right to submit initiatives. These come mainly from the Presidency, a Member State or the High Representative. The European Parliament is consulted by the Presidency on the fundamental choices of the CFSP and is briefed on how it is developing

II.1) The new European security and defence architecture in the European Parliament's vision

Considering EU institutions, the path of the multidimensional approach to security had a complex history but the most advanced results **in the European Parliament documents.**

In 1995, Alexander Langer, Green Member of the European Parliament started to campaign among colleagues for the idea of **European Civil Peace Corps (ECPC)**, to give a multinational and nonviolent instrument to the nascent Common Foreign and Security Policy.

After several quotations of ECPC in some resolution of EU external relations, in 1999 the resolution <u>A4-0047/99</u>, approved on 10/02/1999, writes: "[European Parliament] Recommends to the Council to produce a feasibility study about the possibility of establishing an ECPC within the framework of a stronger and more effective Common Foreign and Security Policy [...]the possibility of practical peace-making measures such as arbitration and confidence-building between the warring parties, humanitarian aid, reintegration (inter alia by disarming and demobilising former combatants), rehabilitation, reconstruction and monitoring and improving the human rights situation".

More recently, on 13/12/2001, the Member of the European Parliament Lagendijk was rapporteur for the resolution (A5-0394/2001) on the Commission communication on Conflict Prevention, which is a good example of a real multidimensional approach on security policies. In fact, it is based on three main levels:

1. Conflicting impact of the common policies of the EU - the need for conflict prevention assessment:

- integrating conflict indicators and the objectives of Conflict Prevention into the programming of Community external aid programmes;

- creating a legally binding framework with sanctions for companies which contribute to conflicts;

- carrying out a "Conflict Prevention Assessment" when examining major decisions concerning the common policies of the Union as well as when launching any type of programme in non-member countries;

- an appropriate structure, which should consists of a "non-military rapid reaction unit".

2. Establishing a European Civil Peace Corps

- possible ECPC's tasks would be to coordinate at a European level the training and deployment of civilian specialists to carry out practical peace-making measures such as arbitration, mediation, distribution of non-partisan information, de-traumatization, and confidence-building between the warring parties, humanitarian aid, reintegration, rehabilitation, reconstruction, education, and monitoring and improving the human rights situation, including human rights accompaniment measures [...]by making full use of the resources of civil society.

3. Enhanced relations with the United Nations and the OSCE

- Recommends strengthening the operational links between the different institutions and organs who play a role in Conflict Prevention within the EU institutional framework with the OSCE REACT (Rapid Expert Assistance and Co-operation Teams) mechanism.

II.2) An integrated policy for conflict prevention: the European Commission strategy

Within the **European Commission**, the main body involved in foreign policy is the Directorate-General for External Relations (DG E), that covers three major areas: *external economic relations*; *CFSP geographical and thematic affairs*; and the "*politico-military structure*" for the Security and *Defence Policy*. In addition, to support the Council and its subsidiary bodies in all of their work, DG E is responsible for the preparation, participation in and follow-up to the political dialogue as well as the working relationship between the European Union and international organisations in the areas falling within its sphere of competence. In particular, relations are currently being strengthened with the United Nations, the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, NATO and the Council of Europe.

The European Commission strategy, defined in April 2001 by the **Communication on Conflict Prevention**⁴ is based on four principles:

1. **an integrated approach for conflict prevention,** to make a more systematic and coordinated use of EU instruments to get at the root causes of conflict;

2. **tackling cross-cutting issues** such as trafficking in drugs, arms or human beings, trading of illicit goods, environmental degradation, etc.;

3. **ability to respond rapidly**, with all the means of the EU, to nascent conflicts. Some facts are already implementations of this principle. At Community level, the **Rapid Reaction** <u>Mechanism (RRM)</u> is now fully operational. It is being used to bring quickly a host of measures to bear on a conflict situation which would previously have been subject to more cumbersome procedures. E.g. in the <u>former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia</u>, in <u>Afghanistan</u>, in <u>Democratic Republic of Congo</u>. The Commission is now working on framework agreements with Member States to allow the deployment of civilian personnel in crisis management operations. This is intended to be compatible with the systems developed by OSCE and the UN.

4. to promote international co-operation with key partners in the field of conflict prevention; direct contacts between the Commission Services and the UN Secretariat have contributed to:

• co-operation on fact-finding missions, (eg EC participating in fact finding mission in the Great Lakes in summer 2001);

• co-ordination of diplomatic activity, including consultations between special representatives (eg EUSR and UNSR in Great Lakes);

• increased co-operation in electoral assistance and electoral observation, (eg EC coordination with UN Electoral Assistance Division for Togo and the UNDP in East Timor and Bangladesh);

• training programmes, and co-ordination in the field (eg Kosovo).

The Commission itself in its communication on conflict prevention stresses that 'NGOs are key actors in long-term conflict prevention.' The same communication continues 'The Commission will give higher priority, through the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights, to activities that contribute to the prevention of conflicts and help to deal with the consequences of conflicts.'

The EU Commission supports NGOs conflict prevention projects. They are funded under the European Initiative for Human Rights. But again only a very small part of the funds of the Initiative, 4 out of 200 million, are allocated to conflict prevention. (see programming guidelines for the EIDHR.). The discrepancy between words and deeds, becomes even more apparent when one compares the 4 million Euros invested into NGO conflict prevention projects to the 9 billion external relations budget. As the Commission received 1330 project applications under the general call for proposals last year but could fund only 70 projects it is not evident that this is the best option. The most simple and straightforward way could be to create a specific NGO conflict prevention budget line.

⁴ European Commission, *Communication on Conflict Prevention*, COM(2001) 211 - C5-0458/2001 - 2001/2182 (COS), 21/4/2001, Brussels.

Examples for specific conflict prevention projects included:

- support to local peace initiatives and enhancement of their capacities
- facilitating dialogue at different levels and sectors of society in conflict
- workshops on conflict management in areas of ethno-national tension
- multi-ethnic radio stations and television series to promote understanding and conflict resolution
- bringing reconciliation into schools through drama and other methods
- inter-ethnic team journalism and multi-ethnic kindergartens
- conflict impact assessments
- development of curricula and training materials for conflict management/mediation
- security sector reform
- exchanging small arms for agricultural tools.

II.3) EU guidelines and instruments for international civilian crisis management

On another level, the **European Council**, has promoted, beside the military aspects of crisis management, also civilian crisis management cooperation in 4 areas, whose implementation is largely supported by Commission work. Those **civilian aspects of crisis management** in four priority areas were defined by the Feira European Council in June 2000: police, strengthening of the rule of law, strengthening civilian administration and civil protection. Concrete targets have been defined in those areas: Member States should be able to provide, in the field of police, 5 000 officers for international missions and to deploy 1000 of them within less than 30 days, 200 experts in the field of Rule of Law, a pool of experts covering a broad spectrum of functions in civilian administration and, for civil protection, 2 or 3 assessment teams that could be dispatched within 3-7 hours as well as intervention teams of up to 2000 persons for deployment at short notice. The Ministerial Civilian Crisis Management Capability Conference held on 19 November 2002 confirmed that the concrete targets in the priority areas had been exceeded through Member States' voluntary commitments. This was a major step forward in line with the Laeken declaration on operationality enabling the EU to take on a wide range of crisis management operations.

1. Police

In relation to the police, Member States have committed themselves to the identification of 5000 policemen to be made available for civilian crisis management. The Commission's contribution will be mostly focused on local capacity-building in countries dealing with crisis or emerging from crisis. In recent years the Commission has adopted a number of *programmes* to support police training and infrastructure in various countries: Guatemala, El Salvador, South Africa and (since December 2000) Algeria. More recently, the Commission has become actively engaged in police training in FYROM.

2. Rule of Law

In relation to the rule of law, the goal has been set to identify 200 experts to be called upon to contribute to crisis management. Community co-operation instruments already provide for programmes to strengthen the administration of justice in many partner countries. In this area, as in that of civilian administration, the difficulty of building up an EU response capacity in crisis situations often relates to the *lack of readily available personnel* in the Member States. Past experience has shown, for example in the area of *human rights monitoring*, that the development of **common training modules** is one of the best means of building up capacity at EU level. The Commission has therefore launched a project for the setting up of a network of training institutions in the Member States for the development of training modules for personnel to be deployed in peace keeping missions. Such modules will be developed *together* with Member States and should be *compatible* with UN and OSCE modules, for example the new OSCE *REACT* system. This need not

necessarily imply the establishment of new structures at the level of the Union, but should be built on *strengthened co-operation* between Member States and especially through *synergies* between *existing* training programmes and institutes.

3. Civilian Administration

In relation to civilian administration, the Commission, on the basis of its experience, is identifying key areas and aspects for support to civilian administration in crisis situations. For example, the Commission has initiated reflection with the Member States on the role of customs services in crisis areas as a key contribution to the re-establishment of viable local administrations. The Commission is also examining the **twinning model** being used with the applicant countries in order to see whether lessons can be drawn in building up resources for deployment in crisis/post-crisis situations.

4. Civil Protection

In relation to civil protection, a new **Community Co-ordination Mechanism** has been recently adopted by the Council. The Community Mechanism provides for co-ordination of national civil protection bodies, early warning and information exchange, co-operation for the training of civil protection personnel and the establishment of databases.

Some past experiences of institutional civilian intervention in conflict areas could represent a good basis to further implementation of conflict transformation strategies.

One of them to be considered in this respect is the **European Community Monitoring Mission** (**EUMM**) in Former Yugoslavia⁵. The primary objective of the EUMM was to contribute by its activities (information gathering and analysis), in line with directions from the Secretary General/High Representative and the Council, to the effective formulation of the European Union policy towards the Western Balkans.

During the recent Balkan Wars this structure has shown the following strengths:

- to be preventive unarmed, which permitted easy confidence building and logistic organisational work; multi-professional teams;

- a good tactical organisation (e.g. each team with an autonomous satellite communication station);

- an attitude of collaborating with locals, International Organisations and NGOs.

Among the main weaknesses, it should be reminded the following ones:

- the 6-months-rotation of EU presidency meant rotation of ECMM leadership;

- the rotation of single members decided by the member's country and not by the coordinating authority;

- the acute conflicts between its proper mission and the fact of depending on UNPROFOR's armed protection.

PARAGRAPH III

Prevention and civilian management of conflicts in the documents of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)

The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) is the largest regional security organization in the world with 55 participating States from Europe, Central Asia and North

⁵ See "The ECMM in former Yugoslavia", by Lt-Col.Rémi Landry, ACCORD occasional paper, n.5/99

America. It is active in early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation.

The OSCE approach to security is comprehensive and co-operative: comprehensive in dealing with a wide range of security-related issues including arms control, preventive diplomacy, confidenceand security-building measures, human rights, democratization, election monitoring and economic and environmental security; co-operative in the sense that all OSCE participating States have equal status, and decisions are based on consensus.

The Organization employs about 4,000 staff in 19 missions and field activities located in Southeastern Europe, the Caucasus, Eastern Europe and Central Asia. They are sent 'on the ground' to facilitate political processes, prevent or settle conflicts, and promote civil society and the rule of law, but paid directly by the sending States.

For the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes OSCE has launched in its documents several instruments:

The Helsinki Final Act laid out the fundamental principles that guide the relations between participating States (the "Decalogue"), introduced military confidence-building measures, stated the resolve of the participating States to pursue the examination and elaboration of a generally acceptable method for the peaceful settlement of disputes and provided the basis for co-operation in the fields of economics, science and technology, environment, and humanitarian issues, which were subjects of other expert meetings held between 1978 and 1991.

The Valletta Mechanism, set in 1991,outlines provisions for an OSCE Dispute Settlement Mechanism, aimed at facilitating the peaceful settlement of disputes between participating States. The Mechanism consists of one or more persons, selected from a register of qualified candidates, who will seek contact with the parties to the dispute, separately or jointly. They may offer general or specific comment or advice, not binding on the parties.

Another interesting and recent development in this field is the **OSCE body called " REACT "** (Rapid Expert Assistance and Co-operation Teams). REACT was established during the 1999 OSCE Summit in Istanbul, asking OSCE participating States to form a pool of skilled resources available for rapid deployment to upcoming and future civilian missions, thus similar to the Civilian Peace Corps' concept.

OSCE participating States are then establishing, quite slowly, a pool of skilled resources available for rapid deployment to upcoming and future missions.

Individuals who wish to be considered for Rapid Expert Assistance and Co-operation Teams (REACT) must be available for deployment within two, four or eight weeks upon receipt of selection notification. Candidates must meet the OSCE general minimum requirements for Mission members and also meet the minimum requirements for the specific field(s) of expertise.

These fields are a very wide range: from Human Rights to Communication, from Media Development to Electoral Observation, from Political Affairs to Rule of Law and Democratisation.

To facilitate this and other functions, an Operation Centre has bee set up within the Conflict Prevention Centre with a small core staff, having expertise relevant for all kinds of OSCE operations, which can be expanded rapidly when required.

As the situation is today, OSCE bodies still counts on a tight budget (compared to their functions) and staff in OSCE labelled mission is paid and chosen directly by member States, and are thus more faithful to their national interests than to the OSCE mission.

PARAGRAPH IV

Civil conflict management in United Nations strategies: The White Helmets project

Outside Europe, the most similar concept to the Civil Peace Corps project is the **UN White Helmets.** This concept has been spread at diplomatic level by the Government of Argentina in the early 1990's and launched in 1993 as a global initiative for the creation of national volunteer groups. These groups should stay available for UN activities especially in the gradual transition from crisis relief to rehabilitation, reconstruction and development. The concept was endorsed by the UN General Assembly in 1995⁶ and quoted several times both in Boutrous Ghali's and Kofi Annan's documents. The next General Assembly will discuss about this issue as the "White Helmets" are on the provisional agenda of the 58th session⁷.

The idea of white helmets and, in general, of civilian intervention in international crisis management has the beginning in the document presented by the Secretary General Boutrous Ghali in 1992 and called "An Agenda for Peace"⁸. In this document the Secretary General, called to prepare an "analysis and recommendations on ways of strengthening and making more efficient within the interventions and provisions of the Charter the capacity of the United Nations for preventive diplomacy, for peacemaking and for peace-keeping", designs a complex new framework for UN crisis management in which, for the first time, civilian contribution plays an important role. We can see it in PARAGRAPH III "Preventive Diplomacy", at the paragraph "Preventive deployment", point 29: "[...] Humanitarian assistance, impartially provided, could be of critical importance; assistance in maintaining security, whether through military, police or civilian personnel, could save lives and develop conditions of safety in which negotiations can be held; [...] such operations may also on occasion require the participation of non-governmental organizations." In his line for the future of United Nation security system there is place for civilian personnel not only in humanitarian intervention but also in "maintaining security". This will be one of most advanced point in the security doctrine for long time ahead.

This willing is confirmed by the General Assembly in a resolution two years later: "the General Assembly [...] Notes the growing weight of the civilian component in peace-keeping operations, requests, in this respect, the Secretary General to develop a proposal for regularly updated data banks recording the type and availability of resources that Member States could provide, at the request of the United Nations, for civilian duties, and encourages the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to include civilian personnel, such as police, in the current stand-by arrangement and planning"⁹. Even if civilian personnel is employed for different duties than the military it is important the follow the increasing involvement of this component in the perspective of the "white helmets" concept. And it is the Secretary General its-self to remember this aspect again in 1995, by submitting a new high-relevant document called "Supplement to An Agenda for Peace"¹⁰: "Non-governmental organizations also play an important role in all United Nations activities discussed in present paper. To date, 1,003 non-governmental organizations have been granted consultative

⁶ Risoluzione dell'Assemblea Generale ONU,A/RES/50/19, del 22/12/95.

 $^{^{7}}$ A/58/50 "Preliminary list of items to be included in the provisional agenda of the fifty-eighth regular session of the General Assembly", 12/02/2003, par.41(d).

⁸ A/47/277 "An Agenda for Peace - Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping", 17/06/1992, par. 29.

⁹ A/RES/49/37 "Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects", 9/12/1994, par. 31.

¹⁰ A/50/60 "Supplement to An Agenda for Peace: position paper of the Secretary-General on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations", 3/01/1995, par. 89.

status with the United Nations [...] The changed nature on United Nations operations in the field has brought non-governmental organizations into a closer relationship with the United Nations, especially in the provision of humanitarian relief in conflict situation and in post-conflict peacebuilding".

In this context, takes place the initiative of the Secretary-General Boutrous Ghali about the "White Helmets"¹¹. It is necessary to underline that the previous experience of white helmets realised by the Government of Argentina was born only two years before and was in its nature limited to humanitarian relief in natural catastrophes and help to development.¹² We can note that in this document, even if it is confirmed the general definition and terms of employment, the Secretary-General includes "*post-conflict confidence building, conflict prevention/resolution, assistance to human rights monitoring and electoral processes*" among the "areas of possible utilization" of white helmets. In this moment the idea of White Helmet is still far from the one of Civil Peace Corps (that was born only in the 1998) above all for the element of professionalism. In the UN-SG report white helmets are considered "volunteers", despite the great attention paid to the training and the professional skills requested. In this sense we must note that the fact itself to think to a new subject, distinct and separated (but related to) from the already existing UNV is significant.

Years 2000s are characterised by the necessity of a comprehensive review of the whole system of peace-keeping, review already started in the last 1990s. On 7th March 2000 the Secretary-General Kofi Annan, convened a high-level panel, hereinafter called the Brahimi Commission, to investigate all the aspects of UN peace and security system and to produce recommendations to the Secretariat. After that the SG appointed the Deputy Secretary-General to follow up the implementation of the recommendations. As a result of that, we have a huge number of documents, year by year, following the Brahimi report, such as the implementation plan and the annual reports on the implementation. In this documents, that form a literature too large to be analysed in the frame of this article, we can find several points related to civilians' role in crisis management.

Civilian specialists are requested in form of contingent ready-to-intervene, that is something really similar to "white helmets" concept – if taken out of volunteer dimension. Training for civilian personnel is foreseen, gender policies are presented. Integration between military, civilian police and civilian personnel role is reached almost in a complete way into a frame of major complexity. The limit of these strategies is to consider civilian contribution in integration with military and not also, on the occasion, in alternative.

Examples of collaboration between EU and UN

The **United Nations** is a key partner also for European policies in conflict prevention and the EU has now a new framework, agreed by GAC in June 2001, for EU-UN enhanced co-operation on conflict prevention and crisis management where specific themes and areas of co-operation have been identified. On this basis, a process of high-level meetings between the EU and UN has been initiated both at the level of the Commission and the Council Secretariat. Direct contacts between the Commission Services and the UN Secretariat have contributed to:

- co-operation on fact-finding missions, (eg EC participating in fact finding mission for DDR in the Great Lakes in summer 2001);
- co-ordination of diplomatic activity, including consultations between special representatives (eg EUSR and UNSR in Great Lakes);

¹¹ A/50/203/Add.1 "Participation of volunteers, "White Helmets", in activities of the United Nations in the field of humanitarian relief, rehabilitation and technical cooperation for development", 27/06/1995, par. 23.

¹² Only later "Cascos Blancos" participated in two electoral observing missions in Latin America.

- increased co-operation in electoral assistance and electoral observation, (eg EC coordination with UN Electoral Assistance Division for Togo and the UNDP in East Timor and Bangladesh);
- training programmes, and co-ordination in the field (eg Kosovo).

The European Commission has also contributed in 2001 to the **UN Trust Fund for Preventive Action**, at the UN Secretary General's disposal for various kind of conflict prevention initiatives. The Commission has given financial support to the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights in the UN for a project to develop, within the framework of the implementation of the report of the Panel on UN Peace Operations, transitional rules and guidelines for criminal procedures for post-conflict and post-crisis countries.

PARAGRAPH V

Conflict prevention and management into the papers of G8 Summits

The aspect of prevention and management of violent conflicts is present in a large part of writings related to the G8 summits of Heads of States and Foreign Ministers. Since the meeting in Köln in 1999, G8 members have paid raising attention to this issue until the doctrine of struggle against terrorism came in after 11th of September 2001. Even if struggle against terrorism and elimination of weapons of mass destruction hade been indicated as priorities since the final declaration of G8 Summit in Köln (10 June 1999) in those agreements there were increasing space for conflict prevention strategies and democratisation processes.

The strong determination and commitment to guarantee international peace and security brought the eight Countries at meeting of FM in Berlin in December 1999 to sort out a declaration in which they decided to implement civilian rapid reaction capabilities.

The Okinawa Summit in July 2000 hosted the meeting of Foreign Ministers who adopted the Miyazaki Initiatives for Conflict Prevention, one of the most advanced declarations in this field, followed by a significant document launched by the FM Meeting in Rome, before the Genoa Summit in 2001 ("Progress on the Miyazaki Initiatives" and "G8 Roma Initiatives on Conflict Prevention").

After all that, it surprises that in Kananaskis Summit in 2002 only a short document on post-conflict strategies as been approved while the larger conflict prevention and management politics have not been considered.

Before going throw the documents we want to premise that civil intervention in violent conflicts has never been mentioned in the sense of unarmed contingents and that the only non-military option considered as a real mean of direct intervention in management of international or ethnic violent conflicts is the civilian police. Civil society's role is taken into consideration in many declarations as a relevant aspect of confidence building in pre-conflict or post-conflict situations, having strong capacities, at the time, as prevention or reconciliation determining factor.

Another aspect that we want to underline is the unceasing reference to United Nations (Charte, Structures, Bodies, Politics, Documents), above all the Peacekeeping programme leaded by DPKO (Department of Peacekeeping Operations). In all the documents G8 countries stress the central role of United Nations, the importance to guarantee the respect of UNSCRs and, finally, the importance of the role of the UN Secretary General in increasing peacekeeping efforts and capabilities.

Hereby a chronological presentation of topic declarations starting from year 1999:

10 June 1999 - Conclusions of the meeting of the G8 Foreign Ministers, Gürznich

In the paragraph 4 "Conflict prevention": "Central to our vision for improved conflict prevention and management is a reformed, effective and efficient United Nations. Full respect for the provisions of the UN Charter and the principles and norms of international law is fundamental. Strengthening democracy, human rights and the rule of law is also of crucial importance". After this declaration, not showing means and instruments for such a commitment, they launch the next meeting in Berlin on the 16th of December dedicated to conflict prevention and conflict resolution. Others paragraphs are dedicated to non-proliferation and disarmament. In the paragraph 6 "Regional issues" approaching situation in Kosovo they declare: "The civil presence in Kosovo will have a crucial and urgent role to create security, democracy and economic reconstruction for all the peoples of an autonomous Kosovo and more widely in the region, consistent with the proposed Stability Pact for all South Eastern Europe" without explaining what they mean for "civil presence", in any case it doesn't mean a peacebulding civilian corps.

20 June 1999 – G8 Communiqué Köln Final

After the IX paragraph "Promoting Non-proliferation, Arms Control and Disarmament" is the paragraph X "Tackling Global Challenges" to take into consideration some aspects of conflict prevention that could involve civilian strategy. In order to improve ability to prevent crisis, G8 governments say that it is necessary to enhance the capacity of early warning, to ensure that their economic policies are coordinated with conflict prevention policies, to recognize the role of UN, to monitor military expenditures, to support efforts of regional organizations, to promote a free press, but again the role of civil society is not taken into account.

16-17 December 1999 – Conclusions of the G8 Foreign Ministers' Meeting - Berlin

In the final part of the declaration, after mentioned all the tasks for the future, the Eights say: "We also decided to support the effort by the UN and regional organizations, in particular OSCE, to build civilian rapid reaction capabilities including training and deploying civilian police." This idea of civilian police will constitute the main engagement in the field of non-military response to international crisis. In this document we can find non-governmental organizations mentioned among actors of international community whose ability in CP could be strengthen by G8 policies.

13 July 2000 - G8 Miyazaki Initiatives for Conflict Prevention

As we told before, this document is really important in contemporary literature. Not only because it represents the willing of the eight more industrialised countries to harmonise their efforts in different areas of the world into a global conceptual framework in order to make their actions more effective, but also because it goes much more than in the past through the instruments that are considered to be used in the future. Although the G8 declarations are always oriented to the prudence and characterised by a realistic approach, we can find in this document some positive points. In the PARAGRAPH I "Efforts for conflict prevention – a basic conceptual framework" is acquired that NGOs are fundamental actors in CP strategies at the same level than States: "we have to nurture a "Culture of Prevention" throughout the global community by encouraging international and regional organizations, states, NGOs and other actors to view their activities and policies from the vantage of conflict prevention, and to commit themselves to work towards this goal." The complexity of actors is accompanied by a diversity of levels (local, national, internationals), times (pre-conflict, post-conflict, escalations...) and dimensions (social, economical, political) so that they propose a "Comprehensive Approach", described in the first paragraph of the first PARAGRAPH. In the second paragraph we can find the declaration of

importance given to UN Secretary General and UN peacekeeping operations and the intention to reinforce "*the capacity of the UN in the area of CIVPOL*". Again in the PARAGRAPH II "The G8 initiatives for conflict prevention", paragraph 2 "Conflict and Development" we find a reference to civil society that gives a more extensive interpretation of its role in international crisis: "*The G8 also recognizes that* [...] *civil society's participation can contribute to mitigating tensions.*" Paragraph 5 is all dedicated to "International Civilian Police" defined "critical element in conflict prevention" and viewed "usually as a component of peacekeeping operations". From this point of view it is important to note that until this moment Civilian Police in G8's document is strictly related and integrated into military peacekeeping operations.

13 July 2000 - Conclusions of the G8 Foreign Ministers' Meeting - Miyazaki

The conclusions incorporate all the points stressed in the Miyazaki Initiative. We can note the relevance given to CP in putting it as first paragraph of the document, followed by a paragraph about Disarmament and only as third paragraph the one dedicated to the Terrorism. Following paragraph are: War criminals, UN reforms, UN peacekeeping, Democracy, Crime, Environment. Before the paragraphs the preamble proposes again the role of civil society: "[...]This requires intensified cooperation between sovereign states, international and regional organizations and civil society."

18-19 July 2001 – Conclusions of the G8 Foreign Ministers' Meeting – Rome Attachment 1 "Progress on the Miyazaki Initiatives"

This document welcomes some achieved tasks of the Miyazaki Initiatives. The most important advancement is represented by the new collocation of civilian police out of military frame in the peacekeeping operations. It is worth to report all the paragraph: "We note that the achievement of the UN and its member states to date in implementing the Brahimi recommendations on Civilian Policing, and encourage them to maintain their commitment to implementation. Now that Comprehensive Review of DPKO has been issued, it is essential to pursue further implementation of the Brahimi agenda. In addition to what has been achieved so far – such as beginning a reorientation of the way the UN approaches civilian policing, with the CivPol unit being taken out of military command – further effort is needed on several key issues, such as improving the UN's early warning capabilities. We will also need to give careful consideration to the financial consequences of improvements to the UN's peacekeeping mechanisms."

18-19 July 2001 – Conclusions of the G8 Foreign Ministers' Meeting – Rome Attachment 2 "G8 Roma Initiatives on Conflict Prevention"

This attached document is constituted by two paragraphs: "Strengthening the role of women in conflict prevention" and "Corporate citizenship and conflict prevention".

Some important points are presented in the first paragraph regarding role of women at all levels in CP or reconciliation processes, but we must say that those important issues should regard the whole civil society, in this sense, women play the fundamental role of being considered "other" than military, since from the literature. It is significant that the more comprehensive document, where much more than in the past, activities of civilian are taken widely into account, is a document about women. Another think that makes this document relevant is the fact that all declarations are based on a large number of previous documents by UNGA, UN DPKO, UN Secretariat, OECD/DAC. Let's take some of the points: "Our comprehensive approach to conflict prevention is incomplete if we neglet to include women. Women bring alternative perspectives to conflict prevention at the grass-roots and community levels."; the G8 "Emphasizes the importance of the systematic involvement of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, as well

as women's full and equal participation in all phases of conflict prevention, resolution, and peacebuilding."; "Encourages the participation of all actors of civil society, including women's organizations, in conflict prevention and conflict resolution as well as encourages and supports the sharing of experiences and best practices."; "Supports the provision of appropriate gendersensitive training for participants in peace-related operations, including military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel.".

The second paragraph focuses on the role of private companies and their economic contribution from the point of view of CP. This one is a key aspect of the problem but it exiles from the lines of this paper.

28 June 2002 – Conclusions of the G8 Foreign Ministers' Meeting, Kananaskis – Attachment "G8 Conflict prevention - Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration"

As we told before, it is surprising that after the years 1999-2000-2001 – but it is not surprising if we consider that Roma Meeting was held before 11th of September – the meeting in 2002 only produces a document about disarmament and we cannot find an update on the Miyazaki Initiative in general. Anyway this documents brings some positive hints. In the paragraph 2 "Conditions for successful DDR" the G8, referring again the Brahimi report, say: "*NGOs can play a valuable role in DDR as part of post-conflict peace-building*". Again in the conclusions: "*The G8 [...] supports capacity building within both international institutions and non-governmental organizations [...]*". Regarding lessons learned and best practices: "*Taking account of the broad spectrum of political, economic, social, media, public service, civil society, military and other issues*".

PARAGRAPH VI

Conclusions: towards an extension of conflict transformation actors

Conflict prevention and transformation have been addressed by a more and more large number of international organisations during past decade. This multiplication of involved actors is continuing on at least two sides.

On one side, international bodies with a mission normally "external" to conflict related questions have installed specific bodies to deal with these issues.

On the other side, several national institutions in Europe recognise NGOs' contributions and experiences for their peace and conflict policies.

In the first class, we should at least consider the Development Assistance Committee in the Organisation For Economic Co-Operation And Development.

The Organisation For Economic Co-Operation And Development (OECD) groups 30 member countries sharing a commitment to democratic government and the market economy. With active relationships with some 70 other countries, NGOs and civil society, it has a global reach. Best known for its publications and its statistics, its work covers economic and social issues from macroeconomics, to trade, education, development and science and innovation.

Within its structure there is the Development Assistance Committee (DAC), that encourages and harmonises OECD aid to developing countries. It monitors aid budgets, how they are spent and whether they conform to the agreed priority of economic growth that embraces the full population and is sustainable in terms of the environment and population growth. The DAC produces regular statements on its peer examinations of member countries' aid records and it compiles all its findings

on levels, donors, recipients and effectiveness of aid in an annual report of the DAC chair on issues, trends and statistics in assistance to developing countries. The DAC also works with the donor community to generate guidelines for effective aid and for addressing new challenges.

In this framework, the DAC Network on Conflict, Peace and Development Co-operation is the only international forum where conflict and peacebuilding experts from bilateral and multilateral development co-operation agencies meet to define common approaches in support of peace. Its last guidance document is "Helping Prevent Violent Conflict", approved at the DAC High Level Meeting (April 2001) as a supplement to the 1997 DAC Guidelines on Conflict, Peace and Development Cooperation. In its provisions is affirmed that promoting peacebuilding and conflict prevention require that donor agencies work with other relevant branches of their governments and other actors in the international community. More, there are suggestions to improve a "culture of prevention" and an in-depth analysis such as peace and conflict impact assessments and scenario building, so that donors can work better together to achieve sustainable peace.

Quoted relevant policy areas involve trade, finance and investment, foreign affairs, defence, and development co-operation. Responding to this imperative, development agencies are accepting the risks of moving more deeply into this sensitive political terrain.

In the document, suggestions for Donors include " Support women's organisations during conflicts to enable them to become involved in mediation, negotiations and attempts to institutionalise the peace process"¹³ and " A key element to consider in reconciliation is the emotional nature of the dynamic between victims and perpetrators of past human rights violations"¹⁴.

Paragraph 129 and following oes are very interesting in stressing the civil society's role: " A central component of conflict prevention and peacebuilding through development co-operation should be strengthening civil society's role in these areas. Donors need to develop effective partnerships with a wide range of CSOs, keeping in mind the strength of diverse societies that can be undermined by polarisation."

On the other hand, several national experiences witness advanced strategies to develop a comprehensive approach for civilian intervention.

In Germany a national forum of Civil Peace Services (*ZFD*), formed by NGOs, has been officially recognised by the Federal State. It's a structure of professionals in nonviolent conflict management, whose yearly training sessions and missions are financed by the Ministry of Cooperation and agreed with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs¹⁵.

In Sweden, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs has produced an action plan for conflict prevention¹⁶ and the army has even experimented a joint exercise on the field with development NGOs.¹⁷

In Denmark and Austria the Ministries of Foreign Affairs are giving space in their own staff training to prominent NGOs, with expertise in mediation and non armed civilian intervention¹⁸.

At the same time, in Italy the law foresees the establishment of a national body to promote popular nonviolent defence, even if its implementation is still post-poned.

¹³ Organisation For Economic Co-Operation And Development, "Helping Prevent Violent Conflicts: guidelines for external partners", DCD/DAC (2001)/FINAL, 19/4/2001, paragraph 103.

¹⁴ Ibidem, paragraph 113.

¹⁵ T.Debiel/M.Fischer/V.Matthies/N.Ropers, *Effective Conflict Prevention*, Policy Paper n. 12 of Stiftung Entwicklung und Frieden.

¹⁶ Preventing Violent Conflict, Summary of DS 1999:24, November 1999.

¹⁷ D. Quirico, Commandos della pace-la svolta di "Viking 99", La Stampa, 15/12/99.

¹⁸ It is the European Centre for Common Ground.

All this demonstrates that nonviolent conflict prevention and transformation is an expanding notion.

Its implementation in concrete policies will depend a lot on public opinion's pressure and on civil society and international organisations preparation.

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