

Parliamentarians for Global Action

Crafting Lasting Peace

The 19th United Nations
Annual Parliamentary Forum

October 9 - 10, 1997

United Nations,
New York

Conference Report

Supported by
Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA)
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (DANIDA), Denmark
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Netherlands
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (FINIDA), Finland
United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)
The Senate of the Philippines

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Executive Summary

With the unravelling of the power-sharing agreement in Cambodia and the strained relationship between the UN and the new Kabila regime in the Democratic Republic of Congo, there is an urgency to address and examine ways of securing a lasting peace in many volatile areas. Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA) convened its 19th Annual Forum from October 9-10, 1997, at the United Nations, to identify the key ingredients for crafting lasting peace and to guide the organization's work in the field of peace and democracy.

The Forum brought together 70 parliamentarians from 38 countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, the Middle East, and the Americas. In addition, over 40 diplomats, government and UN officials, and NGO representatives participated. Ambassador Bill Richardson, the U.S. Representative to the United Nations and former PGA member, delivered a keynote speech that called parliamentarians to action by "asserting their involvement and commitment in foreign affairs."

The two-day conference examined a number of issues ranging from accountability, peace and justice, foreign assistance on conflict prevention and management, development as a path to peace-building, the arms trade, and the role of women in the peace process. It also drew from a historical perspective provided by two former architects of the Marshall Plan which was integral for post-conflict peace-building in Europe. Through intensive discussions and debates, participants carved out an action plan to operationalize PGA as an instrument for conflict prevention-management, and resolution.

After a passionate and powerful presentation by the panel on *The Role of Women in Peace-making, Peace-keeping, and Peace-building*, forum participants unanimously adopted a Declaration that reinforced former Congresswoman, Ms. Bella Abzug's proposal to include more women in decision-making and peace-making spheres.

Two working groups convened on October 10, 1997, to strategize action for South Asia and the Great Lakes region. The intensive discussions at both of these working groups demonstrated the challenge of crafting lasting peace in the regions where wide-ranging contentious issues hamper the peace processes. However, these same frank discussions could provide steps — however small — to the eventual building of lasting peace. The working groups agreed to a follow up plan through PGA's Task Force on Peace and Democracy and to undertaking priority areas of action recommended in the Working Paper on the Great Lakes Region.

In order to distinguish those who have committed themselves to peace, democracy, and the advancement of international criminal justice, PGA awarded His Excellency Arthur N.R. Robinson, President of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, and His Excellency Jan Pronk, Minister of Development Cooperation of the Netherlands, the organization's second Annual Defender of Democracy Awards on the eve of October 9, 1997.

At the conclusion of the conference, the 70 parliamentary participants of the Annual Forum unanimously adopted an *Action Agenda* to signify their commitment to *Crafting Lasting Peace*.



Participants in the PGA Forum: Crafting Lasting Peace



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Day 1: October 9, 1997

INAUGURATION CEREMONY

WELCOME REMARKS

Mr. Moses K. Katjuongua, PGA 1997 International President, extended a warm welcome to the delegates, pointing out that this 19th Annual Forum was "a major link in our chain of a permanent commitment to make a sustained contribution to the work of the United Nations in particular, [and] the world community generally." He added that PGA had convened the 19th Annual Forum because "we [had] all hoped that the end of the cold war would produce a stable and permanent peace and prosperity after so many years of conflict, suffering and confrontation ... but that was only a hope and the road remains long and quite bumpy."

INAUGURAL SPEECH: A MESSAGE FROM THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL, H.E. MR. KOFI ANNAN

Challenges for the UN in the Post Cold-War Era

Sir Kieran Prendergast, UN Under Secretary-General for Political Affairs, opened the 19th Annual Forum of Parliamentarians for Global Action on behalf of the UN Secretary-General. In welcoming the participants to the United Nations, he took the opportunity "to applaud the commitment of Parliamentarians for Global Action in exploring ways of building sustainable peace." He noted that the world had undergone a fundamental shift during the last two decades. He cited the difficulties the UN had faced during the Cold War era in pursuing its peace and security agenda, due to the system of block politics that had existed at the time, and how this had prevented the UN from fulfilling its purpose. He underscored the importance of reforming the United Nations, the virtues and objectives of international action and the need for common approaches to common problems.

"Peace encompasses several pillars which include economic development, social justice, environmental protection, disarmament, democratization and human rights. These pillars ... form the foundations of the house of peace. No country, no government can build or sustain that house alone."

*Sir Kieran Prendergast,
UN Under Secretary-General
for Political Affairs*

Multi-tiered Peace

Sir Kieran further indicated that peace could no longer be understood merely in military terms nor as just the absence of conflict. Rather, it encompassed several pillars which included economic development, social justice, environmental protection, disarmament, democratization and human rights. "These pillars of peace are inter-related; they are mutually reinforcing; they form the foundations of the house of peace. No country, no government can build or sustain that house alone." He maintained that building peace and combating the threats to peace required the involvement of every citizen, every nation, every continent. Indeed, one of the missions of the Secretary-General had been to engage and expand a dialogue between the United Nations and the many components of civil society that made up the driving force for sustainable peace.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY H.E. MR. BILL RICHARDSON, U.S. PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UN

The Role of Parliamentarians in Foreign Policy

Ambassador Bill Richardson began by stating his opinion that "it's very important that parliamentarians continue asserting their commitment and involvement in foreign affairs." He noted that parliamentarians probably understood the UN system better than many others, "because of the striking similarity between the UN system and parliamentary ones. At its core, the United Nations is a legislative system. Like any parliament or legislature, one must build coalitions and support for their proposals."

The Agenda of the 52nd General Assembly

Ambassador Richardson then discussed the agenda of the 52nd

General Assembly of the UN which had three major foci: the expansion of the Security Council; the reform of the United Nations Secretariat; and the entire range of peace-keeping activities. Speaking on UN reform, he noted that Secretary-General Annan's primary objective was to make the UN system more efficient and functional, smaller and more agile, and with much better integration between all of the UN agencies. Ambassador Richardson stated that there was currently a reform resolution before the General Assembly that should create the appropriate mechanism to achieve this goal. The resolution was expected to pass a vote by the delegates within the next 30 days.

"It's very important that parliamentarians continue asserting their commitment and involvement in foreign affairs."
Ambassador Bill Richardson

Management of Peace and Security in the 21st Century

Ambassador Richardson stated that the entire range of peace-keeping activities, including conflict prevention, management and resolution, was under review. He indicated that, before making any determination on the action, the members of the Security Council should ask themselves the following questions: What was the purpose of intervention? Was there a political framework? What was the cost analysis? and, What were the results sought? He indi-

cated that there was a hesitancy on the part of the Security Council to commit itself to large scale operations, especially if the results were not clearly foreseeable.

Ambassador Richardson stressed that there needed to be a shift in the management of peace and security matters. The focus should be on the role of regional organizations rather than on the United Nations. He noted that of all the conflicts which the UN had attempted to mediate since 1945, approximately 65% had been in Africa. However, he observed that over the past few years in Africa, and particularly in the last several months, there had been striking evidence of a growing belief among African nations that African problems could only be resolved by African solutions. He suggested that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) could take measures similar to those of the Organization of American States (OAS) whereby the OAS stated that it and its member states would not legitimize any regime that took power in a coup d'état; in this way, it had been able to overturn the military government of Paraguay.

The Role of Human Rights in International Affairs

On the issue of human rights, Ambassador Richardson placed much significance in the appointment of the new United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary Robinson from Ireland. Her appointment would give "new stature to the post, with a new commitment for war crimes tribunals and dealing with the perpetrators of genocide." He noted that the U.S. had also strengthened its resolve on this front by appointing David Scheffer as Ambassador-at-Large for War Crimes Issues.

The Increased Role of Women as Decision-Makers and Peace-Makers

Ambassador Richardson's final point was a call for more women to become



L-R: Ms. Shazia Rafi, PGA Secretary General; H.E. Ambassador Bill Richardson, US Ambassador to the UN; Mr. Moses Katjiuongua, MP (Namibia), PGA 1997 International President; Sir Kieran Prendergast, UN Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs.

involved in the work of the UN system and foreign affairs through appropriate participation as decision-makers, special envoys, and elected officials. Noting his belief that "this is where PGA can have a constructive role," he urged the PGA delegates to "embrace this issue and further it in their own countries. Women, in general, should play a more participatory role as world decision-makers, given that they statistically represent a majority of the world's population." He then noted that PGA's network of more than 300 women legislators around the world was an extremely useful database for the international community, which could call upon PGA's network when searching for appropriate women candidates.

DISCUSSION

New Emphasis on Human Rights

In response to questions from Mr. Allan Rogers, MP (U.K.) and Sen. John Connor (Ireland) on the topic of human rights, Ambassador Richardson elaborated somewhat on his previous comments. He stated that Secretary-General Annan was dedicated to putting more human and financial resources into this body. He also felt that the expansion of the Security Council would allow for more involvement in human rights from different regions.

Increasing the Participation of Women in Peace Activities

When pressed by Sen. Margaret Reynolds (Australia) about concrete measures to increase the number of women actively participating in peace-building activities, Ambassador Richardson responded first by stating that there was a very good possibility that Secretary-General Annan would appoint a woman as Deputy Secretary-General*. Beyond that, PGA could pass a resolution during this conference (subsequently undertaken - see Annex B) to present to Secretary-General Annan, stating full support of the PGA membership in an initiative to place more women in leadership roles or as special envoys with particular agendas. He added that there was, in general, a need for better information about women who had worked in the field of international affairs and were skilled decision-makers.

* On January 12, 1998, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, did appoint a woman, Ms. Louise Frechette of Canada, as Deputy Secretary-General.

Parliamentary Assembly of the United Nations?

Dr. A. Moyeen Khan, MP (Bangladesh), raised the question of whether or not the UN might undertake a Parliamentary Assembly. Ambassador Richardson's response was positive, with the caveat that there be a particular agenda in mind when so doing. He noted that if a Parliamentary Assembly were called "with a manageable scope of work, it would be an enormous help to nationally elected leaders from countries who currently have misconceptions about the work of the UN, such as the United States."

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Ambassador Bill Richardson

The Situation in the Great Lakes Region of Africa

On the issue of the Great Lakes, Mr. Richardson responded to Mr. Manuel Pinto, MP (Uganda) and Sen. A. Raynell Andreychuk (Canada) by sharing his concerns about the news coming out of the region. On a positive note, he felt that the new leaders in the region were advancing with economic and sometimes democratic reform. However, he expressed his concern about the prevailing attitude towards human rights and the human condition "as a national rather than international affair." He gave the expulsion of the UN Human Rights Investigation Mission from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) as an example of this estrangement. According to Ambassador Richardson, this "going above" attitude basically shut out the international community and made progress on any front difficult to achieve. He summed up by saying that talks were weighted down by condescension and a lack of cultural understanding. He urged the international community, and PGA members in their respective countries, to advocate for the recruitment of more people from the developing world to deal directly with issues concerning the human condition and human rights.

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Ambassador Bill Richardson



SESSION 1: OPENING DEBATE AND ADDRESSES

Chair: Mr. Theo Meyer, MP (Switzerland), Chair, Peace and Democracy Programme
Panelist: Dr. A. Moyeen Khan, MP (Bangladesh)
Opening Address: Ambassador David Scheffer, U.S. Ambassador-at-Large for War Crimes Issues

OPENING ADDRESS: ACCOUNTABILITY, PEACE AND JUSTICE: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PERMANENT INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT

PGA's Early Commitment to the Establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC)

Ambassador David Scheffer opened his address by commenting that Parliamentarians for Global Action was the first organization to approach him in 1993 in connection with the proposal for an International Criminal Court, in the office of then Ambassador Albright in the State Department in Washington. He indicated that "it was the first approach we received from an NGO ... I will never forget the identification I place with PGA with the topic of an ICC ... you made a constructive difference at a very early stage during President Clinton's first administration."

Integrating Justice in Conflict Resolution

"In our times," the speaker noted, "crimes against humanity, war crimes and the crime of genocide have been a trade mark of the Former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Central Africa, Cambodia, Iraq and other regions of the world. The challenge of accountability is regrettably global in scope. It is often said that after the Cold War, it is difficult to identify the enemy and the conduct of foreign policy is so much more complex and confusing because the lines are so blurred between friend and foe. But war criminals and genocidaires are common threats to us all. Impunity and retribution are our enemies of the future, only through international justice can these scourges be overcome." In this regard, Ambassador Scheffer intimated that there were two opposing views: that of ending the conflict and pursuing peace, and that of justice and accountability. He, however, took a more qualified view, pointing out that, "often ending a con-

flict is indeed the immediate objective of the UN Security Council, or of regional organizations, or of mediators, who are trying to deal with an on-going armed conflict ... how do you bring it to an end?" A clear phenomenon had developed in the 1990's whereby issues of justice and accountability were penetrating into early stages of conflict resolution. He therefore argued toward the integration of peace and justice as conflicts were resolved by governments and by the United Nations, rather than for the exclusivity of those concepts.

The Viability of a Permanent ICC

Ambassador Scheffer then focused on the challenges facing accountability and justice, and more specifically on the viability of a permanent ICC, in light of the performance by the ad hoc tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. He put forward the notion that if these ad hoc tribunals failed, then so too would the ICC. He then asked what would enable a permanent ICC to be more effective. He identified several lessons that could be drawn from the experience of the two ad hoc criminal tribunals: On the matter of the need for enhanced state cooperation,

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War Crimes Issues**

these included the need for States to voluntarily repatriate indictees who were within their jurisdiction, the enacting of enabling legislation with regard to the production of evidence and the transfer of indictees; and the need for states to incarcerate indictees that had been sentenced by the tribunals. On the matter of resources, Ambassador Scheffer pointed out that paying for an international criminal court was also a huge commitment. There were costs related not only to the necessary infrastructure, such as judiciary buildings, the prisons, and the enormous number of personnel who would become engaged in the work of the ICC, but also for the process of making the system of investigation and prosecution operational. By

way of example, he referred to the cost the U.S. had borne to investigate and prosecute those responsible for the Pan Am 103 and Oklahoma City Federal building bombings, and then asked his listeners to magnify those considerations to the scale of the Rwandan genocide, where between 500,000 and 1 million people were murdered.

He noted that it was, therefore, extremely important that PGA members sponsor enabling legislation for the support of the ICC back in their respective countries, keeping in mind that many issues and problems would arise, as with anything new, that would need to be worked out during the course of implementation.

The Mandate of the ICC

With regard to the mandate of the ICC, Ambassador Scheffer indicated that the international community should be realistic about just what it could accomplish. He noted that it was clear that the ICC could not contradict, contravene, or override the mandate or work of the UN Security Council. Rather, he observed, the Security Council and the ICC could be mutually reinforcing, with the Security Council able to refer some issues to the ICC to resolve. He also highlighted the need to determine how best to enable the ICC to accomplish its mission. Ambassador Scheffer observed that "there are two camps: that of the independent prosecutor versus state consent. The first option is seen by many as investing too much power in one person; the second is burdened by political stances and maneuvering." Ambassador Scheffer put forward the pragmatic option that once an entire situation was received by the prosecutor to investigate, then the prosecutor should be independent to investigate and bring charges against individuals responsible for crimes in that situation.

Evolution of PGA's Emergency Response Mechanism: Track 1½ Diplomacy

Two PGA panelists, Mr. Theo Meyer, NR (Switzerland) and Dr. A. Moyeen Khan, MP (Bangladesh), updated the participants on PGA's Peace and Democracy Programme. Mr. Meyer explained that the current Task Force had evolved from the 1991 Conference on Debt Relief and Democratic Institutions in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire. The Task Force was mobilized to respond to crises in countries such as Togo (1991), Haiti (1993-4), Burundi (1993-), Côte d'Ivoire (1991), and Zambia (1994). Mr. Meyer went on to indicate that parliamentarians could play a better role than diplomats, especially with regard to internal conflicts, because they were generally closer to these conflicts.

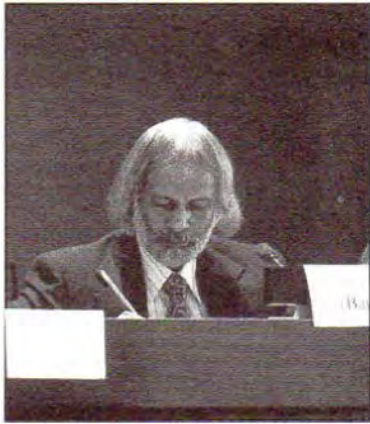


L-R: Ambassador David Scheffer, U.S. Ambassador-at-Large for War Crimes Issues; Mr. Theo Meyer, MP (Switzerland), Chair, Peace and Democracy Programme.

Parliamentarians could therefore work more easily toward building consensus between the divisions of elected representatives, and between other parliamentarians and their governments. He observed that, since 1991, the two most important lessons learned had been that only about one-tenth of regional conflicts could actually be resolved and that finding money for the conflict resolution process was an increasingly difficult issue. Given the fact that so few complex conflicts could be resolved did not mean, however, that interventions should not be attempted by the international community. Mr. Meyer pointed to South Africa under the leadership of President Nelson Mandela as a perfect example of a seemingly unresolvable situation that, with an extraordinary amount of support from the international community, had emerged as the touchstone example of what skilled leadership was able to accomplish. "It is wonderful that [peace] can happen when somebody who has suffered so long and so much can come out of prison without bitterness and hate."

Economic Aspects of Post Conflict Peace-Building

Compromise was also the key to the pacification of Europe after the Second World War, Mr. Meyer noted. Allowances were required by many of the European countries, especially between Germany and France, with Britain often acting as an arbiter. These concessions started in the economic area with the establishment of the coal and steel organization. Similarly, Mr. Meyer pointed out that Africa could not be built overnight; the first step to be taken was in the economic area, and then towards a "United States of Africa." Already an impetus had begun along these lines, the cost of which was being shared by the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, and a country from Asia. Mr. Meyer concluded his remarks by noting that parliamentarians should remain resolute in



Dr. A. Moyeen Khan, MP (Bangladesh).

their commitment toward peace and development in the war torn regions of the world.

Strengths and Weaknesses of Tracks I & II Diplomacy

Dr. Khan called for a new kind of diplomacy, one that went beyond traditional concepts and utilized the experiences of

parliamentarians, making a distinction between elected officials and appointed ones. The former did not necessarily carry the added burden of diplomatic niceties and executive-branch responsibilities as did the latter; thus "the greatest advantage of a parliamentarian in such a capacity in a conflict resolving role is that they can very much act across the party lines on issue-based politics, which, I believe, can be the real clue to solving many of our conflicts in South Asia." Dr. Khan said that it was time for the true parliamentarians to step forward and accept the challenges offered by difficult situations in strife-ridden regions. They had to be accountable for their actions at all times and not just at the time of elections.

DISCUSSION

Acceptance and Support of the ICC

Elena Poptodorova, MP (Bulgaria) was concerned about the lack of movement among the international community towards the acceptance and support of the ICC. In the absence of such an international criminal mechanism, she mentioned how the 1996 PGA Workshop held in Sofia, Bulgaria, entitled "Europe: Partnership in Transition," was able to bring together parliamentarians from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia for the first time since the conflict erupted. Ambassador Scheffer commented that the exercise had an impact on the Government of Croatia, and that it would be a good idea for parliamentarians from Bosnia, Serbia, and Croatia to come together in

a similar fashion.

The ICC and Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution

In response to the question, 'What can the ICC bring to the issue of conflict resolution and prevention?' Ambassador Scheffer replied that deterrence would be the ICC's most formidable weapon and a clear objective to establish as part of its mandate. Mr. Manuel Pinto, MP (Uganda) asked if the ICC would deal retroactively with Governments who were currently committing crimes against humanity. Ambassador Scheffer replied that it would not, but added that crimes against humanity had no statute of limitations. Dep. Jean Minani (Burundi) raised concerns about the ICC's ability to be fair and to get to the root causes of atrocious war crimes. Ambassador Scheffer replied that more credit should be given to the two ad-hoc tribunals for the quality and thoroughness with which they were currently handling their respective mandates. On the issue of why these crimes occurred, Ambassador Scheffer said that it was

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Dr. A. Moyeen Khan, MP (Bangladesh)

within the mandate of the ad hoc Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda to examine what happened in Rwanda prior to April 6, 1994, but that it was practically impossible to derive one decisive viewpoint, given the complex history of the region as well as the differences in the factual accounts of the genocidal atrocities.

The General Procedures and Jurisdiction of the ICC

Sen. Samuel Madistin (Haiti) asked how the ICC would successfully combine matters of civil and common law, to which Ambassador Scheffer replied that this would not be easy. In fact, developing the general procedures for the ICC was one of the largest hurdles. On this point, he felt that it would be best to seek common ground between the two legal systems as a base. Dep. Minani then questioned how the ICC would intervene, given the overlapping jurisdictions between national and international law. Ambassador Scheffer noted that the ICC would seek complementarity when dealing with overlapping jurisdiction, deferring to the national judiciary system when and where the national system had the capacity to handle such crimes.



SESSION 2: SUPPORTING CONFLICT PREVENTION, MANAGEMENT & RESOLUTION: PERSPECTIVES & EXPERIENCES OF DONOR COUNTRIES

Chair: Mr. Karl-Göran Biörsmark MP (Sweden).

Panelists: Mr. Sten Rylander, Assistant Director General, Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA)
Ambassador Torben Brylle, Under Secretary General for Multilateral Affairs, Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (DANIDA)
Ambassador Jaap Ramaker, Permanent Representative of Netherlands to the United Nations
Ambassador Hans Jacob Biørn Lian, Permanent Representative of Norway to the United Nations

The Perspectives and Experiences of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency

Mr. Rylander began by paying tribute to PGA and all Parliamentarians world-wide who had committed themselves to supporting conflict prevention, management and resolution. "We in SIDA are very proud of providing substantial support to PGA ... you can count on continued support from us." He then described how SIDA operated in supporting conflict prevention, management and resolution. According to Mr. Rylander, Sweden's traditional involvement in providing humanitarian assistance had in recent years become more prioritized. In 1996, the total allocation of Swedish humanitarian assistance corresponded to 15% of the Swedish official development budget. "Man-made disasters, generally related to intra-state armed conflicts, are now being seen as the greatest motivation for Swedish humanitarian assistance. In 1996, over 95% of SIDA's humanitarian

assistance was allocated for support actions during conflicts or for conflict prevention and reconstruction activities in countries which had undergone such disasters."

SIDA's New Policies in Supporting Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution

Over the last few years, SIDA had developed new policies with regard to supporting conflict prevention, management and resolution, which are guided by the following themes:

- the development of a close relationship between aid and humanitarian assistance, and official Swedish foreign policy and security concerns, resulting in a close relationship between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and SIDA;
- the development of a close relationship between humanitarian assistance and longer term cooperation efforts. This had resulted in linking relief to develop-



L-R: Ms. Shazia Rafi, PGA Secretary-General; Ambassador Hans Jacob Biørn Lian, Permanent Representative of Norway to the United Nations; Mr. Sten Rylander, Assistant Director-General, Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency; Mr. Karl-Göran Biörsmark MP (Sweden); Ambassador Torben Brylle, Under Secretary-General for Multilateral Affairs, Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Ambassador Jaap Ramaker, Permanent Representative of Netherlands to the United Nations; Mr. Moses Katjuongua, MP (Namibia), PGA 1997 International President.

ment and allowing budgets for these projects to remain flexible;

- the development of a policy framework in which peace, democracy, and human rights were inextricably related, and all three were products of state/civil-society interaction. In this context, it had become apparent that special emphasis should be given to the role of women in peace-making, peace-keeping and peace-building;
- the incorporation of lessons learnt from the past; these had included the need to avoid the negative effects of aid dependencies, foreign assistance buildup, bypassing local administrative structures, ultimately avoiding the tendency to maintain the status quo in lieu of addressing the underlying causes of conflicts or emergencies; and
- the delivery of assistance through local partners and intermediaries; thus, rather than the heavy-handed impositions of conflict management advice, SIDA attempted, for example in Africa, to support the build-up of local capacity through pre-existing infrastructure/institutions.

He also noted that while conflict prevention usually implied a 'before the crisis' approach, SIDA took a 'before, during and after the crisis' approach. An example of how this approach had been applied was in the Great Lakes Region, where visits by Swedish Ambassador and former PGA member Ms. Kristina Svensson had led to establishing a permanent SIDA field office in Burundi. The message of SIDA was simply "never give up and never turn cynical during the on-going process." Mr. Rylander ended his comments by calling on parliamentarians all over the world to take a stand against the acts of violence being perpetrated against humanitarian missions.

The Perspectives and Experiences of Denmark

Ambassador Torben Brylle began his comments by quoting from the Copenhagen Declaration: "Peace is too important to be left only to Governments, therefore peace can never be viable unless it is firmly rooted among the people themselves, nor will it last unless it is integrated in the relations and structures that make a society function." Lasting peace could never be enforced by governments nor by outsiders as it was a process which had to develop from within a society.

The Relationship between Conflict and Development

With regard to the nature of conflict, he maintained that conflict was at the centre stage of development. He observed that development was usually seen as a stable path and conflict an unstable one, but it was necessary to "recognize that conflict is not simply the dark shadow of development." The objective of conflict management therefore "is to manage and reconcile frictions and clashes of interest in society rather than prevent conflict itself altogether." Consequently, he also noted that supporting conflict prevention and management required developing the local capacity and active involvement of people from all sectors of society - echoing the statement made by Mr. Rylander. He said that this was essentially an internal process where, above all, mind-sets needed to be changed. According to Ambassador Brylle: "Building the capacity to manage conflict is a lengthy process, especially in overcoming the many institutional, political and cultural barriers."

"Man-made disasters, generally related to intra-state armed conflicts, are now being seen as the greatest motivation for Swedish humanitarian assistance."

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Mr. Sten Rylander, Assistant Director General, Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency

Three Current Danish Initiatives

Ambassador Brylle then cited three initiatives that Denmark was currently involved with in the field of conflict prevention and

management. The first and second related to regional cooperation as a prime vehicle for managing and preventing conflicts, whereby in cooperation with the Southern African Development Cooperation (SADC), Denmark had embarked on a multi-faceted regional training programme. The first project was focused on a multi-faceted peace-keeping programme comprised of Danish support for a regional peace-keeping training centre at the Zimbabwe Staff College, with funding for workshops, a clearing-house of information on peace and security, and participation in the Nordic UN courses. The second initiative provided Danish support for a Defense Management programme, the purpose of which was to strengthen civil-military relations with a view to promoting democratic control within the military. This programme was first set up in South Africa but had recently expanded to include all the SADC countries.

The third initiative addressed the need for donor capacity to respond to the humanitarian dimension of peace-building through the establishment by the Danish government of an International Humanitarian

Service. This Service was comprised of expert volunteers from local authorities, universities, public administrations, and NGOs who could be deployed in a timely manner abroad to support peace-building efforts of national governments or the international community. Since the establishment of the Service in 1995, approximately 500 experts had been deployed on more than 80 different missions as skilled practitioners for electoral, human rights, and institution-building. Ambassador Brylle concluded his remarks by restating the proposition that “peace is too important to be left only to Governments”; nevertheless he underscored the major role that governments played in the process, and the responsibility for the peace-keeping initiatives that they must uphold.

The objective of conflict management therefore “is to manage and reconcile frictions and clashes of interest in society rather than prevent conflict itself altogether.”

**Ambassador Torben Brylle,
Under Secretary-General for
Multilateral Affairs, Danish
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(DANIDA)**

The Perspectives and Experiences of the Netherlands: Development & Conflict Resolution

Ambassador Jaap Ramaker focused his remarks on the role of development in conflict resolution. He indicated that “development is much more than economic growth. It implies transformation of a society; it often means a change in patterns of distribution, a change in power relations. Development means progress for society as a whole, but sometimes a step backwards for some parts of the population, which leads to conflicts of interest.” He noted that this process was exacerbated in the developing world by the pace at which economic, political and social transformation took place: “Traditional mechanisms for coping with conflicts are being eroded, and new ones are not yet in place to withstand the challenges that these conflicts present.” He observed that the increase in intrastate conflicts over the last decade could no longer be seen as peripheral occurrences, but rather had become a permanent phenomenon.

The Necessity for New Development Policies

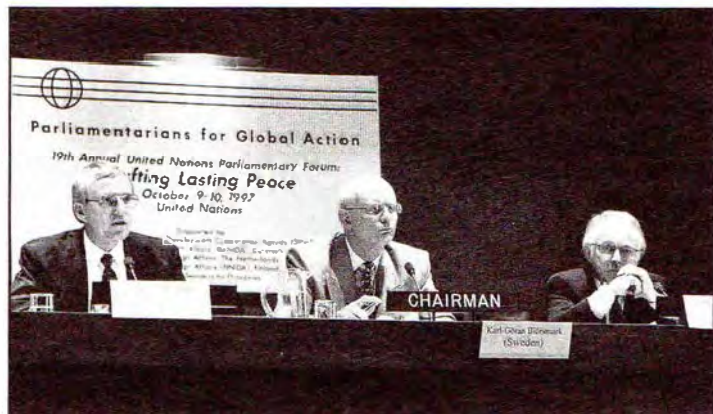
Development assistance agencies, he noted, would have to take into account that political instability, insecurity, and violent conflicts were persistent realities of the development scene which called for a change in policy. Such a new policy would recognize that the sequential order of intervention moving from emergency relief to rehabilitation to structur-

al development needed to be revisited. Therefore, he added, even in the middle of conflicts there was room for structural development activities. Consequently, in areas where there was a certain degree of security and stability (an absence of war), “people are picking up the threads of their lives again and taking up their normal social and economic activities.” He stressed that these activities needed to be supported not only for developmental or humanitarian reasons, but also from a political

point of view: “These pockets of relative security and relative economic well-being might act as an inducement to the warring parties in other parts of the country to lay down their arms.”

Several Dutch Initiatives in Support of the New Development Agenda

Ambassador Ramaker gave several examples of what the Dutch were doing to support this kind of development agenda. One took place in a mixed Macedonian-Albanian village where eco-patrols had joined hands to reduce pollution in a nearby lake. In Burundi, the Netherlands was supporting a radio programme aimed at impartially reporting the ordinary events of people’s day-to-day lives. In Rwanda, an affiliate NGO had taken Rwandan women out of the country and placed them in an environment where they were distanced from genocidal tremors and memories and even found common ground while discussing shared values and concerns as women.



L-R: Mr. Sten Rylander, Assistant Director-General, Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency; Mr. Karl-Göran Biörnsmark, MP (Sweden); Ambassador Torben Brylle, Under Secretary-General for Multilateral Affairs, Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

General Principles for mid-/post-Conflict Development Assistance

In conclusion, Ambassador Ramaker emphasized some general principles for development assistance in mid- or post-conflict situations. These included: the availability of flexible resources; allowing for a co-existence of emergency relief, rehabilitation and structural development; enabling a timely response to rapidly changing circumstances; offering room for innovative ideas; and specifying the ground rules for development assistance at the very outset so that the considerations of human rights, gender, and the overarching assumption of "do no harm" were taken into account.

Norway's Support for Peace Initiatives

Ambassador Hans Jacob Bjørn Lian's preliminary remarks focused on the theme of the conference, which he posed as a question: "How does one craft lasting peace?" He stated that the real challenge was to combine conflict prevention with post-conflict peace building. He indicated that the UN had recently set aside money for this agenda in a Trust Fund for Preventive Action, a discretionary fund at the disposal of the Secretary-General, to which Norway had contributed about US\$4 million. Ambassador Lian explained what the Norwegians had learned through the Oslo Peace Accords, a Norwegian-sponsored effort to forward the peace process in the Middle East. Among the most important factors was the willingness of the parties themselves to reach an agreement. They now refer to the success of the Oslo meetings in terms of the 'Oslo Spirit.' He observed that there was a marked difference between Oslo and Dayton; if the Dayton Accords succeeded, it would be in spite of the fact that this agreement had been imposed on the parties. Moreover, he noted that peace talks did not need to be started by politicians, but rather by those most affected by the conflict. The Oslo Peace Accords were an example of how an NGO could play a leading role in initiating a peace initiative.

DISCUSSION

Conflict Prevention and Democracy

Prof. Amin Mobarak, MP (Egypt) asked whether conflict prevention could include preventing the rise to power of a corrupt governor or government.

Ambassador Brylle responded by indicating that conflict prevention work had to adhere to freedom of choice and democratic tenets; it could not favour or disfavour a government in power because doing so would utilize non-democratic means or processes. This discussion highlighted the inherent instability accompanying a democratic system of governance. However, the consensus was that democracy, in the end, offered the best hope for long-term conflict prevention.

Supporting Militarization of Africa?

Ms. Theresa Tagoe, MP (Ghana) reaffirmed the need for improved mechanisms for conflict prevention and management. She raised her concern about the training of standing forces in Senegal and Ghana and asked whether any measures were being put in place to ensure that these forces would only be used for peace-keeping purposes and under the authorization of the UN Security Council

No Monolithic Donor Agenda

Several participants raised concerns about how leaders of developing countries often perceived the North American and European donor countries as being lumped together in policy and activity, when in fact their real frustration lay with the U.S., Britain, and France. With an all Scandinavian panel, the speakers made a point of contrasting the policies of their countries with those of the U.S., Britain and France, which was especially evident with regard to the imposition of sanctions. The panelists emphasized that while policies were not dissimilar in terms of standards for human rights, it was important to make distinctions between donor countries as well as to keep an ongoing bilateral dialogue between each donor and the recipient state.

"Peace is too important to be left only to Governments, therefore peace can never be viable unless it is firmly rooted among the people themselves, nor will it last unless it is integrated in the relations and structures that make a society function."

**Ambassador Torben Brylle,
Under Secretary-General for
Multilateral Affairs, Danish Ministry
of Foreign Affairs**

"Development is much more than economic growth. It implies transformation of a society; it often means a change in patterns of distribution, a change in power relations. Development means progress for society as a whole, but sometimes a step backwards for some parts of the population, which leads to conflicts of interest."

**Ambassador Jaap Ramaker, Permanent
Representative of Netherlands to the United Nations**



LUNCHEON DISCUSSION

Luncheon Speakers: *Ms. Jacqueline Damon, Principal Administrator, Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development, Former Representative of the World Bank in Burundi. Ambassador Legwaila J. Legwaila, Permanent Representative of Botswana to the UN; Former Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the OAU for South Africa.*

Development as a Path to Peace

Ms. Damon began her presentation by identifying certain economic criteria that were preconditions for lasting peace: higher per-capita income, the free movement of people and goods, future and increased private investment (not just development assistance), and a regional approach to the liberalization of trade (as opposed to country-specific policies). Additionally, she noted that it was often also necessary for the economic base of the region to shift from subsistence agriculture to light industry, mining, services, and agriculture based on higher value and lower volume products.

Socio-Economic Factors of the Crisis in the Great Lakes Region

More specifically with regard to the Great Lakes region, Ms. Damon described some of the socio-economic factors that had contributed to the crisis:

- Burundi, Rwanda, and parts of South West Uganda had experienced increasing population pressure on arable land associated with environmental damage;
- The Kivu region of the Democratic Republic of Congo (former Zaire) had experienced decline due to poor macro-economic policies and the collapse of law and order;
- The traditional safety valve of migration was no longer a viable option due to widespread poverty;
- Traditional economic growth centres in the former Zaire and Uganda had collapsed;
- Land had become increasingly concentrated among wealthier groups; and
- The political economy of the region had become more predatory, particularly in Burundi, Rwanda, and the former Zaire.

Additionally, she pointed out that, with the general breakdown in law and order, there had been a growing illicit trade in drugs, arms, precious metals, and relief items which were controlled by the armed groups in the region.



*Ms. Jacqueline Damon
Principal Administrator,
OECD*

Ms. Damon also pointed out that, unfortunately, a large amount of aid pro-

grammes channelled through governments had only reinforced those in power in Burundi. Indeed, during her time as the World Bank Representative there, the World Bank had conducted an analysis to ascertain how much of the Bank's assistance affected the relationships between the various groups in the country. She remarked that the fact that, "these governments were actually dominated by specific [ethnic] groups meant that development cooperation--certainly provided by the World Bank--actually aggravated the conflict situation between groups." She concluded that, "I think it would be useful in the future for development cooperation to be analyzed in terms of the political economy and who are the winners and who are the losers in the situation," while noting that such an analysis is difficult to do while in the process of providing development assistance.

The fact that "these governments were actually dominated by specific [ethnic] groups meant that development cooperation--certainly provided by the World Bank--actually aggravated the conflict situation between groups."

Ms. Jacqueline Damon Principal Administrator, OECD



Ambassador Legwaila J. Legwaila, Permanent Representative of Botswana to the UN

Recommendations for the Great Lakes Region

Ms. Damon then outlined specific steps that could be taken to promote regional economic consensus, including:

- Analyzing the winners of the current war, including the effects of predatory economics and economic opportunism, vis-a-vis those that stood to gain from a move to peace;
- Identifying a package of incentives and possible sanctions that would make the pursuit of the current war economy increasingly costly and the move towards peace more attractive;
- Establishing a regional group (formal or informal) that might examine the conditions for the proposed regional economic and investment zones, including trade liberalization;
- Undertaking a strategic analysis of the wider region (from South Africa to Ethiopia) looking at security issues and strategies for developing growth centres in the GLR that could contribute to regional stabilization. Other regional examples to follow might be the southern link through SADC or the east-Africa link through the East-African Co operation;
- Establishing a forum for dialogue with representatives from the business sector and multinational enterprises currently active in the region; and
- Promoting a two-pronged strategy of functional economic cooperation at (i) the supra-national level through cooperative economic development backed by regional security and legal guarantees sufficient to attract the needed private sector investment, and (ii) the sub-state level through regionally-based NGOs and private business networks that could provide the basis for access to concessional funding.

“Despite the venomous hatreds that had been engendered and nurtured by apartheid, despite the violence most of which had been deliberately contrived to abort the birth of a new South Africa, despite the schisms that had truncated black South Africa into independent tribal homelands under apartheid, the people of South Africa were able to seek and find one another across their racial divide and negotiate a dispensation acceptable to all.”

**Ambassador Legwaila J. Legwaila,
Permanent Representative of
Botswana to the UN**

Could the Marshall Plan be Applied to Today's Conflicts?

During the course of her presentation, Ms. Damon emphasized that regional initiatives were going to be increasingly important in the future for economic growth and stability. She also responded to a question raised in the background paper of the Forum, and reiterated by one of the participants, concerning what lessons might be applied to today's intra-state conflicts and the rebuilding of regions such as the former Yugoslavia and the Great Lakes Region in light of the success of the Marshall Plan in Europe after WWII. Ms. Damon indicated that when looking at the Marshall Plan for European Recovery, two factors had been present that were currently not present in the Great Lakes Region or the former Yugoslavia. These were: first, the importance of the Supra-State, not the Nation State; and second, that the security of Europe was at that time guaranteed by external forces. Nothing similar had been offered in the Great Lakes Region, although the UN and NATO had maintained security forces in the former Yugoslavia.

Do the Multilateral Financial Institutions Understand the Conflict Situation?

In response to a question from one of the delegates regarding whether or not the World Bank was in touch with the realities of the everyday life of ordinary people in these regions, Ms. Damon conceded that the Bank's programmes did not address or encompass all the aspects of what was referred to at present as “complex emergencies” and that, for lasting peace to occur, solutions had to come from the local people and the local government. She called for parliamentarians, Ministers of Development, and Heads of Aid Agencies to help the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD progressively close the gap between “best practices” and “actual practices” by commenting on and critiquing the work of the OECD.

The OAU Experience in South Africa

Ambassador Legwaila commented on the success of the South Africa case, and the hope that it had generated for similar democratic and developmental reforms in the region. He stated, much as Ms. Damon had suggested, it was a success due to the fact that it was a local, internal process,

though he reminded the participants that it had also been incredibly violent, bloody, and brutal. Indeed, "what apartheid and racism had wrought in South Africa for the three and half centuries of white domination could not be undone with the waving of the magic wand." Ambassador Legwaila stressed that a whole generation of South African black youth grew up in a culture of violence without ever knowing peace and respect for the sanctity of life. Yet remarkably, he observed, the South African people had been in the fire and they had emerged. The process of reform was carried out despite the barriers erected and the purposeful acts of violence which were intended to halt, retard, or alter the process of change.

Ambassador Legwaila credited the leadership of President Nelson Mandela as the single most signifi-

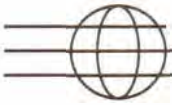
cant factor in bringing about the sweeping reforms. "Despite the venomous hatreds that had been engendered and nurtured by apartheid, despite the violence most of which had been deliberately contrived to abort the birth of a new South Africa, despite the schisms that had truncated black South Africa into independent tribal homelands under apartheid, the people of South Africa were able to seek and find one another across their racial divide and negotiate a dispensation acceptable to all." The success of South Africa, much like that of Namibia, also rested in the leaders who did not include the involvement of external chairman. The South African and Namibian leaders had chaired their own meetings, organized their own agenda and drafted the constitutions themselves. The South African Constitution was now the envy of many nations worldwide.



L-R: Mr. Manuel Pinto, MP (Uganda); H.E. Ambassador Hans Jacob Biøren Lian, Permanent Representative of Norway to the UN



L-R: Dep. Gary Guiteau (Haiti); Senator John Connor (Ireland); Dep. Houda Kanoun (Tunisia); Dep. Loraine Beson (Haiti)



SESSION 3: OFFICIAL MULTILATERAL AND GOVERNMENTAL INITIATIVES

Chair: Mr. Allan Rogers, MP (United Kingdom)

Panelists:

The Impact of Armed Conflicts on Children

Ambassador Olara A. Otunnu, Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Children & Armed Conflict; President, International Peace Academy.

The Aftermath of World War II: Peace & Reconstruction

Mr. Lincoln Gordon, Guest Scholar, The Brookings Institution

Mr. Robert Bowie, Former Eisenhower Administration Senior Staff Official; Former Harvard Professor.

African Crisis Response Initiative by the US Government

Ambassador Marshall McCallie, former U.S. Ambassador to Namibia

Post-Conflict Peace-Building in El Salvador

Ms. Teresa Whitfield, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs, United Nations

The Impact of Armed Conflicts on Children

Ambassador Otunnu began his presentation by providing a short synopsis of how his post of Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict had evolved. He indicated that this appointment was a clear recognition by the United Nations of the global magnitude of the problem of children in armed conflict, and the need to develop system-wide responses to address it. The role of the Special Representative was non-political and impartial, with the humanitarian objective of ensuring the safety, security and well-being of children affected by armed conflicts across the world. He explained that, in outline, the objectives of his work would include: taking concrete action in specific conflict situations to promote measures for the protection of children during periods of active conflict and for their healing in conflict's aftermath; engaging in advocacy on behalf of children amongst the relevant UN agencies, governments, parties to conflict, and other organizations who could take concrete steps to alleviate their plight; and mobilizing public awareness of the situation of children in armed conflict.

Scope of the Mandate of the UNSG Special Representative for Children and Armed Conflict

Ambassador Otunnu indicated that the Special Representative's emphasis would be on taking initia-

tives that could have a demonstrable effect on improving the situation of children in armed conflict. Included among the specific issues which he expected to address were: the impact of land mines on children; child soldiers; sexual exploitation of children during war; the standards upheld by UN Peace-keepers vis-a-vis children; and the inclusion of the welfare of children in the agenda for a permanent International Criminal Court.

Children Deserve Special Protection

In conclusion, Ambassador Otunnu gave some specific reasons why children deserved special attention in conflict situations, and why they deserved

designated initiatives taken on their behalf. First, it was children who often suffered the most in war; while all civilians suffered and deserved protection, children were often the ones least responsible for the conflict, but the most vulnerable to it - both in terms of suffering and manipulation. Second, children were voiceless victims; while adults who suffered from the depredations of conflict created a voice through societal institutions, civic organizations, NGOs, and the media, children had no such resources and no such recourse. Finally, "children are quite literally, our future; therefore, developing efforts to protect them during war and rehabilitate them after is one of the best ways to ensure a society's return to normalcy."

"Children are quite literally, our future; therefore, developing efforts to protect them during war and rehabilitate them after is one of the best ways to ensure a society's return to normalcy."

Ambassador Olara A. Otunnu, Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Children & Armed Conflict



L-R: Mr. Lincoln Gordon, Ambassador Olara A. Otunnu, and Mr. Allan Rogers, MP (United Kingdom).

The Aftermath of World War II: Peace & Reconstruction

The next two speakers, both former Eisenhower Administration officials, focused their comments on how Western Europe had developed into a zone of lasting peace after World War II. Mr. Bowie outlined the sequence of events relating to German economic recovery and Mr. Gordon concentrated on how the victors of World War II had used the Marshall Plan as a vehicle to achieve their objectives.

DISCUSSION

The Ever-Increasing Plight of Children

Mr. Jeston Dickson Mulando, MP (Zambia) asked what role the UN could play to eliminate landmines in the Southern African Region. Ambassador Otunnu explained that this discussion had been on-going since the time of the Oslo Accords. The important next step was to sign the Oslo Accords into multilateral agreement. In response to Sen. Connor (Ireland)'s concern that the plight of children seemed to increase every year, Ambassador Otunnu observed that the increase in intra-state conflicts contributed to armed confrontation without regard to human rights and other principles. This was perpetrated by organized and unorganized militia groups who, not respecting any boundaries, would burn homes, pillage personal property, commit mass murders and rape, and use child soldiers. These were sad realities and expectations for children growing-up in conflict-ridden regions, he noted.

Children as Instruments of War

Hon. Betty Okwir, MP (Uganda), Deputy Speaker of the Uganda Parliament, expressed concern for exiled children, and for the rights and safety of NGOs who were working on behalf of children. Mr. Farah Maalin Mohamed, MP (Kenya) remarked: "conflict is often created by the elites, but sustained by the illiterate and rural populations. When children are used as instruments of war, we run the risk of losing an entire generation. It is up to parliamentarians and the international community to prevent this very real possibility from becoming an inevitable reality."

"Conflict is often created by the elites, but sustained by the illiterate and rural populations. When children are used as instruments of war, we run the risk of losing an entire generation. It is up to Parliamentarians and the international community to prevent this very real possibility from becoming an inevitable reality."

**Mr. Farah Maalin Mohamed,
MP (Kenya)**

Three Phases of Post WWII German Recovery

Mr. Bowie divided the history of German recovery after World War II into three phases. The first phase was at the Potsdam Conference in July 1945, where the three victorious powers (UK, USA, and USSR) imposed a series of harsh measures on Germany in order to keep the country disarmed, weak and under strict control. By 1947/48, it was clear that the measures enacted under the Potsdam programme were not fulfilling their purpose; not only was the Soviet Union not cooperating as expected, but Western

Europe was stagnating rather than reviving and was in dire economic distress. Indeed, "Europe could not prosper without a thriving German economy," noted Mr. Bowie. The second phase of German recovery took place through the U.S. proposal for the Marshall Plan for the purpose of fostering economic revitalization across Western Europe. He stated that, at the same time, concern over the Soviet threat was increasing with strong Communist parties in Italy and France. These concerns

came to light with the Soviet takeover of Czechoslovakia in 1948, and the Berlin blockade. The U.S. responded to these acts by the Soviets with measures articulated in the Truman Doctrine. These measures not only included the Berlin Airlift, but provided the initial steps toward creating the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The combination of these actions "reassured the Europeans that the U.S. was committed to remain in Europe and it strengthened their resolve to work together for recovery and security."

The third phase addressed concerns about stability and peace within Europe. Mr. Bowie traced the history of the European Coal and Steel Community, established in 1952 when six nations pooled their coal and steel resources to create unified products and labour markets, to the creation of the European Economic Community and Common Market in 1958. Despite its ups and downs, the Community was still going on (the European Union) and might well establish a common currency in several years. Thus, this third phase proposed an entirely different approach to dealing with the potential threat from a strong Germany. It resolved the issue through 'reconciliation' instead of external controls, by making Germany a prime mover in a community instead of a rival. Of course, there were new external threats, such as the Soviet Union and the beginning of the Korean War, which should be noted as important factors in how the third phase developed.

In concluding, Mr. Bowie indicated that he would not attempt to draw any lessons learned from the rehabilitation and recovery of post-World War II Germany for their application under other circumstances. Instead he wanted to provide an inspiring story of post-conflict reconstruction because "history illuminates how important it is, as in [these] cases of past hostility, to find or seek" (i) the bonds of common interests among past or potential enemies, (ii) the value of reconciliation over efforts to control or dominate, and (iii) the critical importance of the quality of leaders involved in the process; leaders who set very high standards for integrity, wisdom, and courage.

"History illuminates how important it is, as in [these] cases of past hostility, to find or seek" (i) the bonds of common interests among past or potential enemies, (ii) the value of reconciliation over efforts to control or dominate, and (iii) the critical importance of the quality of leaders involved in the process; leaders who set very high standards for integrity, wisdom, and courage.

**Mr. Robert Bowie, Former
Eisenhower Administration Senior
Staff Official**

economic tensions and conflicts. Fourth, leadership of the stronger and wealthier nations needed to be complemented by participation by all nations.

According to Mr. Gordon, the peace of 1919 imposed on Germany was vindictive and punitive. Avoiding the economic errors of the Great Depression era was easier after great advancements were made in economics due chiefly to the work of John Maynard Keynes, upon which the mandates for multilateral institutions like the IMF, World Bank, and World Trade Organization were based. Keynesian economics stated that, at least in theory, international trade and investment did not need to be a zero-sum game, but rather presented an opportunity to provide economic gains to all parties. Admittedly, there was much argument (even combat) over how those gains should be divided, but this was the same discussion that created a space for successful negotiations.

Turning Point in Europe

In the first international meeting after the initial implementation of the Marshall Plan, held in October 1949 by the Marshall Plan European Organization (OEEC), a West German minister participated on fully equal terms with everyone else. Mr. Gordon found this to be an "unforgettable experience" that symbolized the new policy, particularly since not everyone in the U.S. and France approved. Therefore, the "brilliant success" of the Marshall Plan was evident in the fact that "war between France and Germany is now literally unthinkable. Surely there ought to be lessons to be drawn from that experience for all of us."

Guiding Principles on Global Economic Collaboration

Mr. Gordon focused his comments on four guiding principles that had shaped the goals and methods of the World Powers, particularly with respect to economic reforms and multilateral treaties, since the end of World War I. First, he asserted that it was important to learn from the mistakes of 1919 and avoid their repetition. Second, it was also important to learn from the mistakes of 1923-1933 (the Great Depression) and avoid their recurrence. The third lesson was to create institutional arrangements that might identify positive-sum outcomes to political and

First-Third Worlds Relations in Economic Spheres

With regard to relations between what came to be known as the First and Third Worlds, the speed of decolonization was not foreseen in the immediate postwar period and the process involved acute political tensions and much military conflict. But there were a number of efforts to initiate positive-sum institutional arrangements in this area. The World Bank's initial task was mainly reconstruction from wartime destruction, but its title, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and its charter also envisaged a role in 'development.' Mr. Gordon cited other examples where regional cooperation,

often spear-headed by a former colonial power, had led to an attempt to generate positive outcomes with respect to political and economic growth and stability. They included the British-led Colombo plan for South and Southeast Asia; the French-supported CFA zone in Francophone Africa; the Organization of American States; the Organization for African Unity; and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Mr. Gordon concluded that there were, unfortunately, few prospects of achieving similar results in some of the troubled areas of today's world. He pondered whether it was necessary to have total military defeat first before the kind of transformation brought by the Marshall Plan could take place.

DISCUSSION

International Political Climate in Today's World

Dep. Houda Kanoun (Tunisia) stated that PGA members dealt with development for the developing world. She pondered whether a Marshall Plan for the developing world was really practical, given that it was not necessarily in the economic interest of the First World.

Sen. Samuel Madistin (Haiti) questioned whether or not a 'strong-state' path to development could be taken, as was the case with Germany, when today the decline of the Third World states could be seen. Several PGA participants from countries such as Canada, Jamaica, and New Zealand followed up on Sen. Madistin's points with their own views regarding the difference between international rebuilding today and international rebuilding 40-50 years ago. Today, they observed, international rebuilding appeared to depend more on the rebuilding of

regions than of states.

Mr. Bowie responded to some of these questions by stating that all countries, regardless of their regional propensities, had a right to self-determination. He emphasized again that the quality, strength, and visionary ability of their leaders were the instrument by which progress either took place or became mired. By way of example, he compared the position of Israel in the Middle East Peace Process under the former leadership of then Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin with that of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

"War between France and Germany is now literally unthinkable. Surely there ought to be lessons to be drawn from that experience for all of us."

**Mr. Lincoln Gordon, Guest Scholar,
The Brookings Institution**

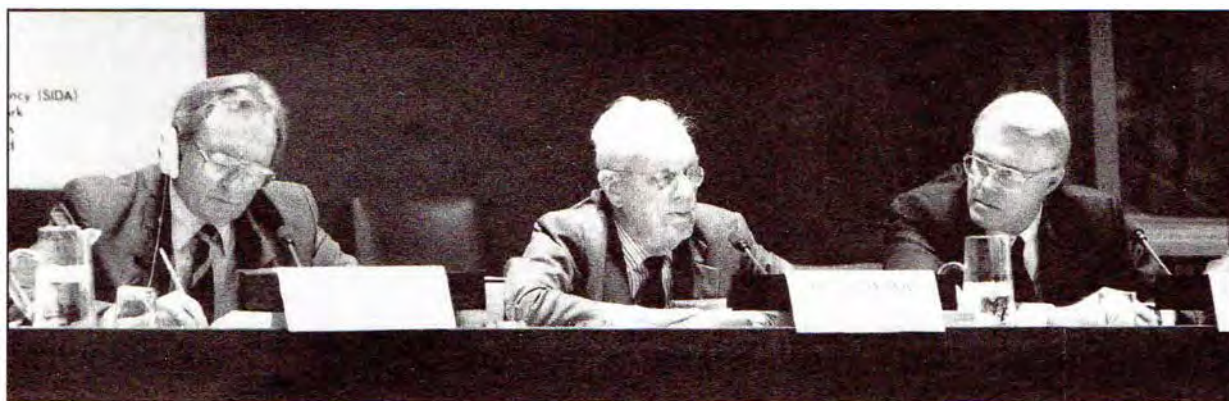
On the economic front, Mr. Gordon conceded that there were negative turns to the 'globalization' of the world's economies but he expressed his belief that increased investment and increased trade with the Third World would lead to an overall positive impact.

African Crisis Response Initiative

Ambassador Marshall McCallie, a senior official in charge of the African Crisis Response Initiative, indicated that this U.S. Initiative focused specifically on peace-keeping training and the creation of a safe environment for humanitarian assistance in crisis situations. Its goal was to enhance the capacity of African partners to respond to these crises in a timely and effective manner through the use of a rapidly-deployable, inter-operable peacekeeping unit comprised of soldiers from countries on the continent.

The Evolution of the Initiative

The African Crisis Response Initiative was first proposed in September of 1996 in response to a very



L-R: Mr. Allan Rogers, MP (United Kingdom); Mr. Robert Bowie, former Eisenhower staff officer; Ambassador Marshall McCallie, US African Crisis Response Initiative, former U.S. Ambassador to Namibia.

real fear that there might be a re-eruption of ethnic violence in the Great Lakes Region comparable to the tragedy witnessed in Rwanda in 1994. Discussions were held with U.S. partners in European and African capitals, as well as with officials at the UN and the OAU. The advice was not to create a force, but to build an inter-operable capacity. He explained that this was a mechanism that could be deployed by international organizations already in existence, such as the UN, OAU, or even African sub-regional organizations now beginning to take form.

Learning from Past and Current Peace-keeping Training Initiatives

Lessons were garnered from relationships that had existed in peace-keeping training programmes between African states and non-African states for a number of years. For example, France had worked extensively with its West African partners and, in 1994, had put forward a proposal to create a rapid reaction capacity. Britain, in partnership with Zimbabwe and Ghana, had proposed to establish Centres of Excellence for Peace-keeping Training. The Nordic States had been exploring ways to enhance conflict resolution in the South Africa region, and the Danes, in cooperation with the Government of Zimbabwe, had placed a peacekeeping officer at the Zimbabwean Staff College (as reported by Ambassador Brylle earlier in the day).

With all of these examples, African and European leaders had suggested that the U.S. narrow the gaps between the initiatives of Britain, France, and the U.S. so that there would be no perception of competition in the peace-keeping arena. As a result, the three had agreed to streamline their independent initiatives into one objective: training. All would promote peace-keeping training based upon long-term capacity enhancement, legitimacy, and transparency. The real objectives of the U.S. Initiative were to effect training, to provide standard communications equipment, and to cooperatively generate greater confidence and cooperation in peace-keeping training with African partners. The training emphasized the development of basic soldier skills, working with refugees, and operating effectively with humanitarian organizations and human rights observers.

Ambassador McCallie concluded by saying that the Initiative did not attempt to address the full range of problems under African conflict management, but was an important step toward creating stability and sustaining an environment of safety and security. He indicated that it would ultimately be up to Africans

themselves to determine the role of the OAU in peacekeeping operations and to either accept or reject the concept of a trained capacity for peacekeeping, such as the Initiative proposes. Both of these sensitive issues called specifically for African leadership.

Post-Conflict Peace Building in El Salvador

Ms. Whitfield began by noting that post-conflict peace-building had to be tailored to the specifics of a situation and region in every case, and the international community had to be ready to go in for the long haul. She stated that "true peace-building and true conflict management require institutional reform and institutional development." For example, she observed that, in El Salvador, the Peace Accords contained detailed sections for a new police force, complete with new training, a new organizational name, and entirely new buildings from which to operate. Unfortunately, the Accords did not address the need for a new justice system. The police could only do so much without the support of an operable and legitimate Department of Justice.

Root Causes of the Conflict

Ms. Whitfield stated that, in working toward peace in El Salvador, the UN followed the principle that if peace was to last there was a need to address the root causes of the conflict. Consequently, the four objectives of the peacemaking phase were: 1). to end the armed conflict by political means; 2). to promote the democratization of the country; 3). to guarantee unrestricted protection for human rights; and 4). to reunify Salvadoran society. The series of agreements which brought the El Salvadoran conflict to an end contained detailed provisions for, inter alia, ending the armed conflict, disarmament and demobilization, the establishment of a national army, the disappearance of security forces, and a system of credits to set up small businesses.

Costs for Creating Lasting Peace Not Adequately Calculated

While noting that the process of implementation of these agreements was largely successful, Ms. Whitfield pointed out a number



Ms. Teresa Whitfield, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs, United Nations

of difficulties. She identified the main one as the fact that the enormous cost of the process had not been properly considered at the beginning. This resulted in the implementation of the agreements running into a number of delays while the necessary funding was sought. She asserted that this was one of the lessons that had been learned from the El Salvadoran process, which was why the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund had been directly involved in the peace-making negotiations in Guatemala.

Institutional Reform During the Peace Process

She also stated that, among the other difficulties, institutional reform--especially with regard to the creation of a new army and a police force--proved to be challenging. The necessary reforms had been very difficult to put into place, not only because of the meteoric rise in violent crime which the fledgling police/security force had difficulties dealing with, but also because the reforms required for the administration of justice had also lagged behind. However, she argued that despite these setbacks, which the international community was attempting to address through its post conflict building operation, El Salvador continued to be one of the more successful attempts of the international community to craft sustainable peace.

DISCUSSION

Skepticism over the African Crisis Response Initiative

Several participants took issue with the African Crisis Response Initiative. Mr. Theo Meyer, NR, (Switzerland) felt that the Initiative, if not properly managed and controlled, would ultimately support African military dictatorships rather than supporting genuine African leadership. Mr. Jeston Mulando MP, (Zambia) expressed concern over American intervention because it could contribute to the conflict due to a lack of understanding or sensitivity to cultural aspects. Mr. Alban Bagbin, MP (Ghana) questioned the real commitment of the U.S. behind the Initiative. If the Initiative was intended to effect peace-keeping in the region, it was not in line with what Africans wanted. The true desires of Africans were to effect peace-building, not peace-keeping or peace-making. Mr. Manuel Pinto, MP (Uganda), further noted that

the issue of peace-building had to identify the root causes of conflict. He cited over-population as the primary cause of conflict in places like Burundi and Tanzania. If the root causes were not identified and treated, then peace-keeping was merely a stop-gap measure.

Ambassador McCallie's Response

Ambassador McCallie responded to these concerns by indicating that the Initiative was designed to support the OAU's efforts to design a similar crisis management initiative. He reiterated that it was not intended to create a standing African army or be a strong-handed solution to African crises. He would rather see the Initiative supporting quiet diplomacy, such as Nelson Mandela's interventions in former Zaire between then President Mobutu Sese Seko and

then AFDL leader Mr. Laurent Kabila, or Mwalimu Julius Nyerere's on-going efforts to resolve disputes between warring factions in Burundi. He defended the necessity for training by giving the reasons why some of the best peace-keepers were those who had been formally trained as soldiers. They must know how to use weapons for self-defense, night goggles for surveillance, and a host of survival skills like water purification and establishing temporary shelters. He ended his comments by stating, "the crises [in Africa] keep coming. So what are we doing? Is the U.S. giving up? No, we are engaged."

"The main [difficulty] is the fact that the enormous cost of the process had not been properly considered at the beginning ... this was one of the lessons that had been learned from the El Salvadoran process, which was why the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund had been directly involved in the peace-making negotiations in Guatemala.

Ms. Teresa Whitfield, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs, United Nations

Negotiations, Not Imposition

Ms. Whitfield fielded a question from Ms. Christine Hellen Amongin Aporu, MP (Uganda) on how top-level negotiations were actually handled by the UN. Ms. Whitfield answered that the most important obligation for any negotiator to remember was that their task was negotiation and not imposition. She stressed that negotiators must investigate the root causes for the conflict and not simply the immediate political realities or manifestations of the day. The fact that preventive diplomacy was an extremely difficult task was, however, no justification for not continuing this important work. Ms. Whitfield stated her belief that, in the end, the UN should put more energy into preventive diplomacy and not just peace-building.



SECOND ANNUAL DEFENDER OF DEMOCRACY AWARDS CEREMONY

Honorees:

His Excellency Mr. Arthur N.R. Robinson, President, Republic of Trinidad & Tobago
His Excellency Mr. Jan P. Pronk, Minister for Development Cooperation, the Netherlands
Honorary Patron: Mrs. Nane Annan

On October 9, 1997, Parliamentarians for Global Action held its Second Annual Defender of Democracy Awards Ceremony to honor H.E. President Arthur N. R. Robinson, Trinidad & Tobago, and H.E. Mr. Jan P. Pronk, Minister of Development Cooperation, the Netherlands, for

their outstanding work in the pro-motion and defense of democracy worldwide. President Robinson had worked extensively with PGA to advance the mechanisms of international criminal justice and had spearheaded the movement for the establishment of a permanent International Criminal Court. Minister Pronk was recognized for his leadership in defending democracy and modern development thinking and action, having launched important international conflict prevention and humanitarian initiatives.

The Honorary Patron, Mrs. Nane Annan, opened the awards ceremony by paying tribute to the evening's honorees, "[The] work and commitment [of President Robinson and Minister Pronk] exemplifies] their devotion to the promotion and strengthening of democracy and the rule of law." She also lauded the efforts of Parliamentarians for Global Action and its support of democratic governance. Mrs. Annan concluded her opening address by expressing her confidence that PGA's meeting would "succeed in strengthening the solidarity and cooperation of all parliamentarians in the promotion of the principles and purposes of the United Nations."

Mr. Moses Katjiuongua, MP (Namibia), PGA International President, delivered a message on behalf of the organization. He commended the efforts of the honorees, stating that, "in a world where apathy and indifference are all too common, President Robinson and Minister

"PGA turned out to be the perfect instrument, in the changing global scenario, for promoting objectives such as the International Criminal Court, in collaboration with numerous other organizations and individuals. My membership could not have come at a more opportune time."

His Excellency Mr. Arthur N.R. Robinson, President, Republic of Trinidad & Tobago

perfect instrument, in the changing global scenario, for promoting objectives such as the International Criminal Court, in collaboration with numerous other organizations and individuals."

Dr. A. Moyeen Khan, MP (Bangladesh), introduced



L-R: Mr. Arthur N. R. Robinson, Ms. Shazia Rati, PGA Secretary-General, Mr. Moses Katjiuongua, PGA 1997 International President.



L-R: Dr. A. Moyeen Khan, MP (Bangladesh); Ms. Shazia Rafi, PGA Secretary-General; and H.E. Mr. Jaap Ramaker.

H.E. Mr. Jaap Ramaker, Permanent Representative of the Netherlands to the United Nations, who accepted the award on Minister's Pronk's behalf. In his message, Dr. Khan praised Minister Pronk for being "one of the very few in the Western world ... [who] in his capacity as Minister for Development Cooperation, tries to make sure that his country honours the commitment of .7% of the contribution to the third world countries ... he has been a supporter of this principle and tries to practice it."

PGA's meeting would "succeed in strengthening the solidarity and cooperation of all parliamentarians in the promotion of the principles and purposes of the United Nations."

Mrs. Nane Annan, Honorary Patron

H.E. Mr. Jaap Ramaker, Permanent Representative of the Netherlands to the United Nations, accepted the award on behalf of Minister Pronk, who was unable to accept the award in person due to prior commitments. Ambassador Ramaker read to the audience a very passionate speech prepared by Minister Pronk: "A broader concept of security is gaining ground (in the post Cold-War era); however, the lessons we have learned from the



Mrs. Nane Annan, Honorary Patron

Rwanda genocide in 1994 and from the ensuing refugee crisis in former Eastern Zaire last year is that humanitarian action cannot substitute for political action." He warned that as long as political mediation, military and security operations, emergency relief, and development assistance operated as largely independent policy instruments, the international response to large scale violence would be incoherent and ineffective.

Minister Pronk also commented on PGA's work in the field of multi-track diplomacy: "[PGA] has been an important player. Being a network of individual legislators, it focuses and tries to capitalize on that asset that distinguishes the organization from other players in the field: its members' political backgrounds." He further noted that PGA stood out as an organization as it counted among its members parliamentarians from "many developing countries who share their common commitment to democratic principles, and thus PGA's principled stance that democracy must be the foundation and prerequisite for sustainable development."

In his concluding remarks, Minister Pronk commended PGA's global membership of legislators who "work for change in seemingly hopeless and stagnated conflicts around the globe ... [where], crossing borders into territories they do not politically represent, they profess they feel that their responsibility should not be interpreted narrowly."

President Robinson and Minister Pronk join Hon. Leonce Ngendakumana, MP (Burundi), President, National Assembly, and Ambassador Kristina Svensson (Sweden), Ambassador to Zambia and Malawi, as recipients of the Defender of Democracy Award.

PGA stands out as an organization as it counts among its members parliamentarians from "many developing countries who share their common commitment to democratic principles, and thus PGA's principled stance that democracy must be the foundation and prerequisite for sustainable development."

His Excellency Mr. Jan P. Pronk



L-R: Ms. Shazia Rafi, PGA Secretary-General; Mr. Moses K. Katjuongua, PGA 1997 International President; Mrs. Nane Annan, Honorary Patron; Mr. David Robinson; Ms. Ann Margaret Robinson; His Excellency Mr. Arthur N.R. Robinson; Mrs. Patricia Robinson.



Above left, L-R: Sen. Anthony Johnson (Jamaica); Ms. Margaret Alva, MP (India). **Above right**, L-R: Ms. Ayaka Suzuki, PGA Senior Programme Officer; Ms. Theresa Ameley Tagoe, MP (Ghana); Ms. Farida Ali (UNICEF). **At left**, L-R: Mr. Aftab Shahban Mirani, MP (Pakistan); Mrs. Arnaz Marker; His Excellency Mr. Arthur N.R. Robinson; Mrs. Patricia Robinson.



Day 2: October 10, 1997

The second day began with Ms. Elena Poptodorova, MP (Bulgaria), Chair of Session 4, announcing the news that the Nobel Peace Prize had been co-awarded to the International Campaign to Ban the Landmines, and to Ms. Jodi Williams, its International Coordinator. Mr. Bjørnar Olsen, MP (Norway) added to the announcement at a later point to reiterate the message he had received from the Norwegian Nobel Committee, and remarked that it was a “good step forward in the Ottawa Process and I hope we get a world-wide agreement on this in Ottawa in December.” The news was encouraging and timely as it facilitated the start to the Forum's second day, beginning with the session on how the international trade in arms continued to fuel both inter-and intracountry conflicts.

SESSION 4: THE ARMS TRADE: FUELING THE CONFLICT

Chair: Ms. Elena Poptodorova, MP (Bulgaria)

Speaker: Mr. Joost Hiltermann, Executive Director, Arms Project, Human Rights Watch

Small & Light Weapons Trade

Mr. Hiltermann's presentation focused on the trade in small arms and light weapons, which had only recently started to attract the attention of governments, as well as providing a preview of a United Nations report on small arms and how these weapons increased the lethality and duration of conflicts. He indicated that, since 1993, the Human Rights Watch Arms Project had been investigating the human rights impact of the trade in small arms, light weapons, and ammunition. Among its findings was that weapons not only became available from internal circulation (weapons used in one conflict ending up in another) but were also supplied by external actors. These actors included, most significantly, the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. The responsibility of the permanent five as well as other major powers was twofold: supplying weapons and ammunition directly, or permitting the transshipment of such weapons and ammunition through their national territory. Consequently, many of these governments were often guilty of acts of commission (direct supply or use of their territory), acts of omission (knowingly failing to inhibit the trade) or neglect (for example, failure to act decisively against corruption and illegal activities by private actors).

These governments, regional powers and international institutions, “who should be part of the solution, are in fact, to some extent, part of the problem.”

**Mr. Joost Hiltermann,
Executive Director, Arms Project,
Human Rights Watch**

Complicit Partners of War?

Mr. Hiltermann then went on to explain how these governments, regional powers and international institutions, “who should be part of the solution, are in fact, to some extent, part of the problem.” Reiterating his assertion about the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, he indicated that these powers were allowed to act as ‘neo-colonial’ powers by the UN, such as: France in parts of Africa, the United States in Latin America, China and other states supplying weapons to abusive parties in Africa and, in certain cases, simultaneously supplying weapons to both sides of the same conflict.

The Role of the UN

With regard to the UN, Mr. Hiltermann identified two issues:

- That the final report (October 1996) of the UN International Commission of Inquiry in Rwanda (UNICOI) to investigate violations of the 1994 interna-

tional arms embargo on Rwanda had not been released, and the one year mandate of the Commission had not been extended. Moreover, he indicated that one of the principal conclusions drawn by the Commission was that without effective implementation and enforcement, an international arms embargo was not very meaningful.

- In the report by the UN Secretary-General on



L-R: Ms. Ayaka Suzuki, PGA Senior Programme Officer; Mr. Moses Katjuongua, MP (Namibia), PGA International President; Ms. Elena Poptodorova, MP (Bulgaria); Mr. Joost Hiltermann, Human Rights Watch; and Hon. Ernesto Maceda (Philippines), President of the Senate.

small arms and light weapons, many useful recommendations were made. However the report blamed violations of international humanitarian law on 'irregular forces' rather than 'disciplined regular armed forces,' thus shifting the blame for the abuses from state actors to guerrilla movements and non-state actors. However, Human Rights Watch had found that, in many conflicts, highly disciplined military forces regularly violated international humanitarian law. This had been clearly documented in, among other countries, Lebanon, Sudan and Angola. The distinction applied by the report seemed to create an unnecessary bias on the part of the UN in favor of the 'recognized government' military forces.

- Extension of the (voluntary) UN register on conventional weapons to include small arms, light weapons and ammunition;
- Comprehensive and absolute ban on antipersonnel land mines;
- Post conflict destruction or conversion of weapons used in that conflict, e.g. a buy-back programme which would facilitate the dismantling of weapons of destruction into productive, peaceful, and useful pieces of machinery;
- Pressure for an international convention, and resolution on the illegal arms trade; and
- A need for stricter domestic laws in countries to control both the possession of and trade in arms; where these laws already existed, they must be enforced and not used as political propaganda.

Creating the Necessary Political Will for Curtailing the Arms Trade

In order to help create the necessary political will for curtailing the international trade in arms, Mr. Hiltermann identified three key elements that were required: developing concrete, discrete, and durable solutions; building support for these solutions; and embarrassing governments who did not act on these solutions or who did not follow-through on what they have promised to do. He then proposed the following recommendations, some of which had been previously made by the UN Panel on small arms, UNICOI and other international actors:

- Active implementation and enforcement of the arms embargoes;
- Support for the Code of Conduct on arms exports - at the level of individual governments and of the UN and European Union;

"As parliamentarians, you are legislators ... We must have such laws and you can make them."

Mr. Joost Hiltermann, Executive Director, Arms Project, Human Rights Watch

Mr. Hiltermann ended his presentation by urging parliamentarians to take action in their own countries and act as persistent watchdogs, monitoring what their government was doing in this respect. Only they had the authority and power to introduce, pass, and

enforce laws that could stop the arms trade and diminish this destructive component of conflict. "As parliamentarians," Mr. Hiltermann concluded, "you are legislators ... We must have such laws and you can make them."

DISCUSSION

Need for an Effective Strategy on Curbing Small Arms Trade

Mr. Warren Allmand (Canada) and Mr. Mian Abdul

Waheed, MP (Pakistan) raised questions about the efficacy of the Human Rights Watch's policy in dealing with aspects of the arms trade in isolation. They contended that a comprehensive approach was required to address the manufacture, sale and trade of weapons and how these issues affected international security. Mr. Hiltermann agreed that solutions could not be taken in isolation; however, he pointed out that a comprehensive approach was easier with certain weapon systems, such as landmines (which kill indiscriminately for many decades) and chemical weapons (recognized as being particularly abhorrent) than with others. With small arms, a different strategy needed to be developed, since a comprehensive ban would not render useful results because these weapons were recognized neither as killing indiscriminately nor as being particularly abhorrent.

Incentives and Disincentives for Arms Trade Reduction

On a related matter, Mr. Aftab Shahban Mirani, MP (Pakistan), raised the question: "How do you get the developed countries to give up the production, sale and trade of arms?" In his reply,

"How do you get the developed countries to give up the production, sale and trade of arms?"

**Mr. Aftab Shahban Mirani,
MP (Pakistan)**

Mr. Hiltermann turned to the need to educate governments and their constituencies on the facts about destructive arms. By way of example, he explained that one of the main killers of U.S. soldiers in Vietnam was U.S. land mines. Prof. Amin Mobarak, MP (Egypt) suggested sanctions should be applied against States (U.K., France and Germany during the Second World War) who had planted mines in the Middle East; alternatively, they should be expected to remove them. Mr. Hiltermann pointed out that Egypt was a major manufacture of weapons flowing into conflicts in Africa and the Great Lakes Region. He then indicated that for a sanctions regime to be applicable there first needed to be legal mechanism/arms embargo set in motion by the international community to indicate that violations had occurred.

Use of the Media to Embarrass Governments

Mr. Farrah Maalim Mohamed, MP (Kenya) suggested that organizations like Human Rights Watch should use the media as a publicity tool to embarrass governments about the children and adults being maimed as a result of the use of weapons systems. If the written media was not willing to carry the message, perhaps the television media could carry paid commercials on the subject.

Job Creation Aspect of Weapons Industry

Mr. Ross Robertson, MP (New Zealand), questioned Mr. Hiltermann about the negative impact that curtailing arms trade would have on jobs in many countries. Mr. Hiltermann did not disagree, but pointed out that curtailing the drug trade would have the same impact.



L-R: 1st row: Mr. Theo Meyer, MP (Switzerland); Mr. Ross Robertson, MP (New Zealand). 2nd Row: Mr. Aftab Shahban Mirani, MP (Pakistan); Ms. Dianne Yates, MP (New Zealand); Mr. Jeston D. Mulando, MP (Zambia). 3rd row: Mr. Manuel Pinto, MP (Uganda); Ms. Lena Klevenäs, MP (Sweden)



SESSION 5: THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN PEACE-MAKING, PEACE-KEEPING AND PEACE-BUILDING

Chair: Senator Margaret Reynolds (Australia)

Speakers: Ms. Bella Abzug, President, Women's Environment & Development Organization

Message from Ms. Charity Kaluki Ngilu, MP (Kenya) presented by Mr. Farah Maalim Mohamed, MP (Kenya)

Ms. Margaret Alva, MP (India)

Senator A. Raynell Andreychuk (Canada)

Concept of Security Beyond Military Means

Ms. Abzug opened her presentation by indicating that the concept of national security through military means was outmoded and absurd. She then stated: "We live in a world where the imperatives of human security are changing fast. Human security requires shifting the focus from territorial security to people's security; from security through arms and wars to peaceful development . . . I have to say that most of these wars are run by men and we [women] have had very little to say about it because women have not been permitted to craft policy. And I think that one of the theses of my speech is that unless and until we actually begin to involve women seriously in decision-making and as peace makers, there will be no change. That is something that parliamentarians can, in particular, play an important role in, it seems to me, in making certain that women are elected to places of power, both in their legislatures and in their parliaments as well as international bodies like the United Nations."

Why Women should Share Decision-Making Responsibilities

Ms. Abzug then elaborated why women should share the right and responsibility of decision-making on matters of utmost importance in their own countries and internationally: First, because women were not wedded to the policies of the past since they did not craft them; second, because when looking at politics and the solution of problems in all cultures, women had overwhelmingly sought to

solve them peaceably; and, third, women cared about the environment and typically did more of the cleaning up and throwing out of durable goods, as well as the preparation for meals and transportation of potable drinking water. Moreover, women were organized consumers who boycotted products that were produced through the exploitation of women and children, and they were organized community members who desired to gain access to and control over new forms of credit and the ownership of land. Women affirmed human rights and child rights, including sexual and reproductive rights, and they took action to prevent violence of all forms.

"Most of these wars are run by men and we [women] have had very little to say about it because women have not been permitted to craft policy ... Unless and until we actually begin to involve women seriously in decision-making and as peace makers, there will be no change ... Parliamentarians can play an important role, it seems to me, in making certain that women are elected to places of power, both in their legislatures and in their parliaments as well as international bodies like the United Nations."

**Ms. Bella Abzug, President,
Women's Environment &
Development Organization**

Various Initiatives of NGOs

She then described several initiatives that had been put together by non-governmental organizations which promoted the role of women in peace-making, peace-keeping and peace building. These included: monitoring the implementation of the UN Beijing Platform for Action by the Women's Environment and Development Organization on whether governments have kept their promise to develop national action plans to implement Beijing; a movement to raise US\$21.7 billion to ensure that 100 million of the poorest women and their families gained access to credit for self-employment by the year 2000; and a Women's Peace Petition circulated around the globe calling for a 5% commitment in military funds

to be used in programmes in health, education and employment. The petition was to be presented to the

UN General Assembly on October 24 by a member state.

Lip-synching Commitment and No Implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action

In her references to specific sections of the Beijing Platform for Action, which called for women to have equal access to and full participation in national power structures and leadership roles, Ms. Abzug urged each of the participants to find out what their respective governments were doing in this area. She noted the fact that only 7 of the 189 Ambassadors to the UN were women, and commented that this was "a disdainful reminder that while the rhetoric is all there, the implementation is copiously absent." She concluded by assuring delegates that she did not believe that women were superior to men; rather, women had had much less opportunity to be corrupted by power. She therefore believed that it was time for an essential change, an infusion into the policymakers and the policies of people who had not been caught up in special or vested interests, and who came from all the major areas of concern, as women did. Women must insist that, as half of the human race, they shared with men the policy-making and the leadership.

A Message from Ms. Charity Kaluki Ngilu, MP (Kenya)

Mr. Farah Maalim Mohamed, MP (Kenya), presented the message from Ms. Ngilu, MP (Kenya)*.

Why Women Want Positive Change

Ms. Ngilu's message was marked by the theme that the majority of women wanted progressive change

because they constituted the core of the oppressed and exploited masses of the world. She noted: "It is the women who carry water and firewood on their backs for miles to feed their families, whether in Ethiopia, Kenya, China, or India. They saw poverty when mothers lined up on the highways of many third world countries, trying to sell vegetables with

children on their backs, and getting so little that they could never escape from the vicious cycle of poverty." Furthermore, she asserted that over 50% of the world's population were women, and most lived in abject poverty, consuming themselves with the daily tasks and basic needs of life. When civil war disrupted family life, it was from woman that most survival techniques came, and yet this responsibility

that women had for human survival was not reflected in the moral responsibility that most societies had toward women.

Women Must be Granted Full Rights

According to Ms. Ngilu, women must fight for justice and fairness to gain full rights as citizens so that they could prosper economically and socially in societies where equity was ingrained in the public psyche as a principle worth living for. In her campaign speech, Ms. Ngilu wrote that "Economic growth without equity is meaningless." She further pressed that women had to fight knowing full well that there was nothing wrong with their pursuit and called for women to be granted their full

status as citizens in every country: "[Women will not enjoy their full status as citizens unless] the right to inherit and dispose of property among married women is recognized in law as a right of citizens regardless of sex in different countries. They will only do so when, in their working place, they enjoy



L-R: Ms. Bella Abzug, President, Women's Environment and Development Organization and Senator Margaret Reynolds (Australia)

"[Women will not enjoy their full status as citizens unless the right to inherit and dispose of property among women is recognized in law as a right of citizens regardless of sex in different countries.]"

**Ms. Charity Kaluki Ngilu,
MP (Kenya)**

*Ms. Ngilu was unable to attend the conference due to her candidacy for the Presidency of Kenya.

the protection of the law and are not subjected to humiliation or harassment of any kind because of their sex."

Women's Rights are Human Rights

Like Ms. Ngilu, Ms. Margaret Alva, MP (India) explored the paradoxical reality that women bore the brunt of development through their daily tasks of gathering, transporting, and preparing fuel, food, and water, and caring for families but remained outside the scope of development assistance. In essence, she noted, there was no space for women's work in systems of national economic accountability. She contended that there could be no sustainable development when fifty percent of the population was not included as part of the decision-making process.

Indian Parliament's Contribution to Advance the Status of Women

She reported on the work within the Indian Parliament to advance the stature and work of women in public service. The National Perspective Plan had, in the late 1980's, made a recommendation to reserve 33% of the seats for women in all elected bodies in India (from Panchayats to Parliament) to help bridge the gap between men and women and also bridge the gap between different classes of women themselves. Enabling constitutional amendments that reserved 33% of seats for women at local legislatures were passed only in 1992, after

The first step in the social revolution was taking place with women being elected to political office. Along with this had come a change in development priorities, such that attention was now being paid to the quality of drinking water, sanitation, and education for children.

Ms. Margaret Alva, MP (India)

much opposition. Nevertheless, by 1997, one million women had been elected to local bodies of government and 75,000 held official posts as mayors and representatives in district councils. The first step in the social revolution was taking place with women being elected to political office. Along with this had come a change in development priorities, such that attention was now being paid to the quality of drinking water, sanitation, and education for children.

South Asian Regional Developments on Status of Women

Regionally, through the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), the focus on women had heightened, resulting in the passage of legislation protecting the girl child, as well as a Protocol on the Prevention of Trafficking in Women and Children in the SAARC region. Ms. Alva concluded her remarks by indicating that despite these reforms, there remained an increasing need for women to become more visibly involved in decision making both nationally and internationally.

Women's Participation in the Peace Process

Senator A. Raynell Andreychuk (Canada) began her remarks by indicating that if one were to be serious about peace-keeping and peace-building, these issues could not be relegated to discussions only in international fora; rather there must be a basis for peace at the national level. She stated: "Peace can no longer be considered in isolation, since it encompasses every aspect of security and stability. Moreover, it is no longer possible to consider it as a international policy versus a national policy since the interdependence of these factors has been long established." Sen. Andreychuk argued that, "50% of society cannot be excluded if we are going to have proper good governance and democracy. It cannot only be for the people. It must be with women."

How to Get Women in Power

She also pointed out that, in Canada, there was a realization that the country would not make inroads to good governance until at least 1/3 of all parliamentarians were women. Any lower numbers of elected women indicated that they were there as "tokens" or served in a symbolic capacity only, she observed. Since the party



L-R: Senator Margaret Reynolds (Australia); Ms. Margaret Alva, MP (India); Senator A. Raynell Andreychuk, Canada



Ms. Bella Abzug, President, Women's Environment and Development Organization (at left) in discussion with Ms. Dianne Yates, MP (New Zealand).

political system was often part of the problem in promoting women, she proposed as an alternative that women themselves develop a ladder of success, starting off with community-based groups. This would lead into work with NGOs, then on to civic/local politics and finally into national and international governmental bodies. She further pointed out that better governance was only possible through power sharing and changing the mentality of men because the support for women's rights was essential for the survival of men. She concluded by quoting the words of a colleague: "Men will not just have to 'make room' for women, but step down and step aside."

DISCUSSION

Disagreements Over Good Offices of the "First Ladies"

Sen. Ernesto Maceda (Philippines), President of the Senate, suggested the office of the "First Lady" be utilized to advance women's concerns; women could gain a voice by being highly visible and outspoken spouses of elected men officials. Ms. Abzug, with the emphatic support of the other panelists, countered that women must gain political power in their own right. She allowed for overlap between these two positions, however, and cited Eleanor Roosevelt and Hillary Clinton as examples of two First Ladies who

had created their own agenda while effectively maintaining the post of First Lady.

Linkage Between Development and Peace

Dep. Houda Kanoun (Tunisia) reiterated the point that "there is no peace without development and no development without peace." She further indicated that once women were emancipated, society flourished with regard to child care, education and health care. However, she posed a provocative question to the audience: "Do women who are elected to political office behave like women or like men?" She suggested that, in the post-Beijing period, a set of guidelines be developed as to what was expected of women in positions of authority.

Challenges for Women

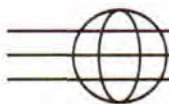
Ms. Betty Okwir, MP (Uganda), indicated her concern as to whether the present leaders and politicians were gender sensitive enough to implement the internationally agreed upon plans of action, unless organized strike action was taken by women. She took the opportunity, however, to congratulate President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda for including in the constitution that 1/3 of the seats for parliament were to be held by women. Sen. Claudia Blum de Barbery

(Colombia) then raised the issue that it was women who sometimes marginalized themselves and placed themselves in a position of inferiority. Ms. Abzug responded by indicating that attitudes about women in the workplace took a long time to change. It was only by change and acceptance of these new roles for women in society that women would ultimately promote themselves. Toward this end, women had to be supported from both within and outside of women's groups and NGOs. This raised the issue of solidarity; that is, improv-

ing the status of all women, everywhere, required a commitment from the same. Ms. Abzug believed that women must create for themselves a comfort zone and know their own boundaries when trying to promote women's issues and improve women's lives. The Chair of the session suggested that, in future meetings, more time be set aside to discuss the topic of the role of women.

"Peace can no longer be considered in isolation, since it encompasses every aspect of security and stability. Moreover, it is no longer possible to consider it as a international policy versus a national policy since the interdependence of these factors has been long established."

**Senator A. Raynell Andreychuk,
Canada**



SPECIAL VIDEO PRESENTATION : "CHAIN OF HOPE," A UNICEF DOCUMENTARY

Introduction: Ms. Elizabeth Gibbons, Senior Policy Officer, Office of Emergency Programmes, UNICEF

Discussant: Hon. Betty Okwir, MP, Deputy Speaker (Uganda)

UNICEF's Anti-War Agenda

Ms. Gibbons spoke to the participants prior to the presentation of the video "Chain of Hope." She noted that 191 countries had signed the 1991 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and further urged the participants to support the new UNICEF Anti-War Agenda in their respective countries. The Anti-War Agenda had several prominent objectives and UNICEF was committed to mobilizing whatever resources were necessary to pursue them. The Agenda included:

- Investing more resources into preventing hostilities through mediation and conflict resolution;
- Monitoring the situation and needs of girls and women, especially to ensure their security in the face of the terrible threat of sexual violence and rape;
- Raising the minimum age of recruitment into the military to 18 years. Under the Convention on the Rights of the Child, it was 15 years. The change could be achieved through the adoption of an Optional Protocol to the Convention;
- Banning landmines;
- Supporting the UN efforts to create a permanent International Criminal Court;
- Pursuing the idea of "zones of peace" during open conflicts, which were inclusive of children, and enforced through tenets of international law;
- Conducting a child-impact assessment where and when economic sanctions were imposed to determine if the long-term benefits of pressure on errant regimes outweigh the immediate cost to children;
- Providing for emergency relief and rehabilitation to rebuild a society's capacity and promote development. An important part of rehabilitation must be to address the psychological damage that children suffer;
- Educating for peace, through the design and implementation of school-based curricula; and

- Supporting the efforts of the newly designated Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict.

What are Parliamentarians doing to Ensure the Rights of Children?

Ms. Betty Okwir began by thanking the UN Secretary General for appointing Ambassador Olara Otunnu, Former Ugandan Foreign Minister, as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict. She took the opportunity to extend an invitation to Ambassador Otunnu to visit Uganda, and suggested that he also visit other areas of conflict so as to see first hand the effect of armed conflict on children. She then raised a few open questions: What were we doing as parliamentarians to ensure and protect the rights of children? What measures should be taken to provide for their rehabilitation, training and education? What steps could be taken to prepare these children as the future leaders of the country? She suggested that specific recommendations and action plans be developed in these areas. Ms. Okwir's discussion of key points was followed by the presentation of the UNICEF video, "Chain of Hope."



Hon. Betty Okwir, MP (Uganda), Deputy Speaker.

A follow-up documentary to "Chain of Tears", a film about the effects of war on children in Africa, "Chain of Hope" tells the story of these children many years later. The movie is told from the perspective of the children themselves, who do not hide the horrors of their childhood yet show that human values can survive despite war. "Chain of Hope" contains an interview of Graça Machel, former Minister of Education in Mozambique, and Expert of the UN

Secretary-General on the impact of armed conflict on children.



LUNCHEON DISCUSSION POST-CONFLICT REHABILITATION AND NATION-BUILDING

Speakers: *Ambassador Muhamed Sacirbey, Permanent Representative of Bosnia & Herzegovina to the United Nations*
Ambassador. Aldo Ajello, EU Envoy to the Great Lakes Region; Former UN Secretary-General's Representative in Mozambique

Request for PGA's Assistance in Bosnia-Herzegovina

Ambassador Muhamed Sacirbey began his presentation by inviting PGA to Bosnia-Herzegovina for their next meeting. He emphasized that this was "not just an invitation of formality," but that Bosnians "can learn quite a bit from (PGA) ... and (that PGA's) involvement in Bosnia will be rewarding" to both. He continued, "I've been associated with PGA for about five years. Your Secretary-General, Ms. Shazia Rafi, was most kind to get involved with the issue of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the very early stages in her dealings with parliamentarians on a global basis as well as with the U.S. Congress. PGA played a very positive role in the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Selective Application of International Principles

He then noted that one of the major reasons why the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina had dragged on for so long was because there had been selective application of the tenets that were at the basis of the United Nations: principles of democracy, human rights and international law. This selective application had taken place because the 'powers that be' associated Bosnia-Herzegovina with the "Balkans rather than with Europe." He asserted that the negative connotations of the Balkans should be avoided in the future by identifying the area as South Eastern Europe. Ambassador Sacirbey then pointed out that "because of the failure in the first place to apply these principles consistently, we ended up with something that in its very nature is not only a compromise between 'different parties' but really a compromise between democracy and non-democracy, a compromise between justice and injustice, and that is the Dayton Peace Agreement." He

went on to acknowledge that, as a dynamic process that put an end to the war, the Dayton Peace Accords had served the most notable purpose, which was to stop the killing and to stop the disintegration and suffering in the country. However this did not mean that the document was of a quality that allowed it to be static, he commented. Nevertheless, because it was a delicate compromise, it could not be revised simply by picking it up and saying "let's change a few words."

"Marginally Democratic Election"

Since the Dayton Peace Accords, Bosnia had already held two elections at both the local and national level. These were "marginally democratic and successful," but the uneven application of key principles throughout the country meant that, in certain areas, there was really no free media and very little freedom for political action. Moreover, refugees had little opportunity to participate in the political process of the country.

"Because of the failure in the first place to apply these principles consistently, we ended up with something that in its very nature is not only a compromise between 'different parties' but really a compromise between democracy and non-democracy, a compromise between justice and injustice and that is the Dayton Peace Agreement."

**Ambassador Muhamed Sacirbey,
Permanent Representative of Bosnia
& Herzegovina to the UN**

International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia

With reference to the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (ICTY), he indicated that it had had marginal benefits

and some negative impacts. On the positive side, the ICTY was clearly instrumental in establishing the tribunal for Rwanda and subsequent talks for a permanent International Criminal Court. On the negative side, despite all the institutional set up, only very few individuals had been prosecuted. Finally, on the issue of security, he strongly advocated the integration of Bosnia into NATO as something that would be essential to its security if, in fact, NATO was to be the relevant security organ of Europe.



*Ambassador Muhamed Sacirbey,
Permanent Representative of
Bosnia & Herzegovina to the UN*

Ambassador Sacirbey concluded his remarks by reiterating his invitation for PGA to hold their next meeting in Bosnia as part of the process of returning that country to normalcy and reintegrating it into the international community.

DISCUSSION

New Structures of Government in Bosnia-Herzegovina

Mr. Kimmo Kiljunen, MP (Finland) questioned the operation of the parliament in Bosnia-Herzegovina and its role vis-a-vis the legislative bodies in Srpska and in the federation. Ambassador Sacirbey responded that the new structures of the government under Dayton were very decentralized, with many local councils and legislative bodies, and two parliaments: one for Srpska and one for the federation.

Dealing with War Crimes

Sen. A. Raynell Andreychuk (Canada) raised a question regarding the role of parliamentarians in facilitating the work of the ICTFY or ICTR, as suspects had surfaced in all corners of the world. Ambassador Sacirbey supported the idea of passing national legislation in countries around the world that would enable and obligate a country to extradite war criminals back to their home country or to the appropriate Tribunal to stand trial. Mr. Farah Maalim Mohamed, MP (Kenya), then inquired about the use of mass rape during the war. Ambassador Sacirbey responded that rape should be viewed from a women's perspective. According to him, women who suffered through rape did not need to be seen as victims, but "in the same light as a soldier who has suffered terrible consequences because of the war." Ambassador Sacirbey added that these women played a vital role in the survival of the country.

The UN in Mozambique: A Success Story

Ambassador Ajello presented the case of UN peace-keeping in Mozambique and described it as one of

the UN's most successful stories. During a visit to the country recently, he had found political stability, economic development, and financial stability. He attributed the success of Mozambique to three factors: "First, the strong will for peace of the parties. Both sides, the Government and RENAMO, were fed up after sixteen years of war ... This element, unfortunately, has not been present in other missions; to build a will for peace is something long, painful and difficult ... (Second,) the international community was unified in its intent for peace in Mozambique, whereas in the cases of failure the international community was divided. The unity was the result of very hard work on my side. I had weekly meetings with all the representatives of the international community, [and made] them part of the decision-making process ... the unity of intent of the international community could be achieved in this case because Mozambique is poor ... there is no gold, no diamonds and no oil. This meant that neither the government or RENAMO could play a country against another country, a group of countries against another or against the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. Third, there was a large degree of flexibility in how peace making principles and conflict management techniques were applied, along with a keen sense of critical timing."

The Clash of Cultures: Peace-keeping vs. Development

He noted that one of the objectives of the Mission was to demobilize 80,000 soldiers. Ambassador Ajello said that he had undertaken the "development approach" which was to provide soldiers with the tools and raw materials so that they could "build beautiful cabanas like those of the local peasants so that they could be comfortable," said Ambassador Ajello, paraphrasing a development expert. He now views this as a "big mistake" as this "highly educational approach was not appreciated by soldiers." He then described that when the soldiers arrived in the assembly areas, they were very disappointed that nobody was ready to receive them and concluded that the UN was not serious and not reliable. In Ambassador Ajello's words, the UN "lost credibility and all the riots and mutinies we had subsequently were the result of this decision."

The Clash of Cultures: Peace-keeping vs. Humanitarianism

Reflecting the difficult task of balancing the various aspects of running a multi-dimensional peace-keeping operation, he also described similar problems with humanitarian organizations working in Mozambique. Noting that the World Food

Programme (WFP) was supposed to provide food for soldiers in the assembly areas, he recalled a “distinguished nutritionist” calculating how many calories a soldier should receive, based on “charts made for refugees.” Ambassador Ajello “had to spend many hours making him understand that a soldier who has an AK-47 in his hands, and knows how to use it, needs, by definition, many more calories than someone who does not have an AK-47. It was obvious for me - but not to him - that the only way to keep the peace process on track was to put as much food as possible in the stomach of those soldiers in order to prevent any trouble.”

Priorities in the Peace Process

Ambassador Ajello elaborated on the theme of the clash of cultures between peace-keeping and development/humanitarianism by noting that the question of “priority groups” differed greatly between the two. He observed that “Priority number one, for humanitarian and development experts, are the most vulnerable groups. For me,” he asserted, “the first priority was the group which could make a mess of the peace process. That group consisted of soldiers, especially officers and NCOs (non-commissioned officers). In giving priority to them, it is true that I helped the people who needed less. That may have been unfair, but it was the only way to proceed.” He concluded that if the soldiers’ interests had not been protected, they could have destroyed the peace process.

Resources for Peace

Additionally, Ambassador Ajello noted that multi-dimensional peace-keeping--and ultimately, a democratization process--like the one in Mozambique had to receive substantial and sufficient economic resources, or it was doomed not to get off the ground or ultimately to fizzle out. In Mozambique's case, although there was funding allocated for the operation, additional resources were required during the course of the operation for the process of demobilization and reintegration, and later the holding of elections.

Ambassador Ajello had analyzed that RENAMO wanted to “keep the discussion on the implementation of the peace agreement open but, at the same time, to keep troops in the bush because they were their bargaining power.” In order to overcome this

problem, Ambassador Ajello told RENAMO's leader, Mr. Dhlakama, that he might have need for bargaining power to protect his vital interests but that if he did so, it would stall the peace process. He recalled putting forward the question: “Which vital interests do you need to protect in order to allow the demobilization of your troops ... I will see if I can help you.” In reply, Mr. Dhlakama had said that he needed to transform a military organization into a political party, but could not do it without adequate financial resources.

“For me, the first priority was the group which could make a mess of the peace process. That group consisted of soldiers, especially officers and NCO (non-commissioned officers). In giving priority to them, it is true that I helped the people who needed less. That may have been unfair, but it was the only way to proceed.”

Ambassador Aldo Ajello, EU Envoy to the Great Lakes Region

Establishment of the Trust Fund for RENAMO

Ambassador Ajello stated that this conversation led to the establishment of a Trust Fund for RENAMO - “a new instrument for the transformation of a military organization to a political party.” Raising money for the Trust Fund proved to be extremely difficult. He observed: “The entire donor community was ready to fund all kinds of humanitarian or development projects. But it was not ready to invest one penny for making peace.” In the final analysis, the

Trust Fund for RENAMO “turned out to be an essential ingredient for the success of the UN Mission in Mozambique. Ambassador Ajello raised US\$17.5 million for the Trust Fund.

Reintegration Support Scheme: Creating a Safety Net

He then noted the implication of the demobilization of 80,000 soldiers in an impoverished country with “no money, no jobs, and easy access to AK-47s.” In order to prevent the soldiers from destroying the peace process, he established another Trust Fund (Reintegration Support Scheme) to pay two years’ salary to every demobilized soldier. According to Ambassador Ajello, this Scheme yielded two important results: 1). No soldiers were in the streets with no job and no money during the election campaign, and 2). Prevention of the repetition of the Angola Scenario (where peace agreements had collapsed numerous times with the resumption of fighting).

Democratization Process

On the process of democratization, Ambassador Ajello underlined the importance of linking the democratization process to local culture and tradition. He asserted that the application of democratic principles should not be structured or rigidly pro-

grammed, although certain values had to prevail--the population and parties to the conflict had to prescribe to basic moral values like legitimacy. He had discovered that the principle of election was found within the local culture where the chief of the village had his authority based on two pillars: 1). Legitimacy, through the dynastic right to be a chief; and 2). Legitimation, i.e. the fact "that he has been selected by his own people as the right person to be the chief." Ambassador Ajello noted that, in explaining the purpose of elections in Mozambique, the UN had linked the concept of election with the concept of legitimization and found that people easily understood it - resulting in a very high voter turn-out of 90%.

Opposition as an Alien Concept

Yet, he observed, the concept of a permanent democratic opposition had not been well received in Mozambique where it was culturally unacceptable to challenge the chief, since it put the survival of the community in jeopardy. Nevertheless, Mr. Dhlakama did eventually accept the notion that being the chief of the opposition was a valuable and honorable option. Mr. Ajello further stated that, with respect to a multi-party system in an emerging democracy, the best results were achieved when political parties received some kind of external financial support so that they became more resilient and perennial. If parties came and went with every election, or parties

simply rode a popular or political power wave, then the multiparty aspect of democracy remained constantly unstable.

DISCUSSION

Cue Point for Peace

In response to a question from Sen. Jairo Clopatofsky (Colombia) concerning the cue point for achieving peace in Mozambique, Amb. Ajello first noted that "there is no magic recipe for peace" and indicated that the basic ingredient was that the people and the parties to the conflict should want peace. It was also important to send the right person, as mediator or Special Representative, to build confidence and trust between the parties, to create the base, to defuse fear, to see what were the vital interests of the two parties and to address these interests without allowing those that were conflicting to block everything. He also stressed the important--albeit difficult--task of demobilization.

Applying Mozambique Formula to Burundi?

In response to Dep. Adrien Sibomana's (Burundi) inquiry into how the lessons learned from Mozambique could be applied to Burundi, Ambassador Ajello replied that, as the European Union's Special Envoy to the Great Lakes Region, he unfortunately did not have any official mandate to promote peace. He asserted that such was a mandate of the United Nations. If he had a UN mandate, he said, he would have a different approach. However, in his opinion, he felt that the "first thing to do is to reassure [the minority group which is holding 100% of the power] by means of Constitutional guarantees rather than by recourse to full control of power which is a permanent source of instability." (See Session 6, Working Group Session on the Great Lakes Region for Amb. Ajello's elaboration on his analysis on the situation.)



2nd from R: Mr. Aldo Ajello, EU Envoy to the Great Lakes Region, at Session 6: The Great Lakes Region. Others from L: Mr. Abdou Charfo Alginy, MP (Niger); Ms. Theresa Ameley Tagoe, MP (Ghana); Mr. Jeston Dickson Mulando, MP (Zambia); Mr. Moses Katjiuongua, MP (Namibia), PGA International President



SESSION 6: WORKING GROUP STRATEGY SESSION ON ON-GOING PGA PROJECTS

Group I: The Great Lakes Region

Chair: Mr. Manuel Pinto, MP (Uganda)

Moderator: Prof. Andrea Bartoli, Chair, International Conflict Resolution Program, School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University; Vice-President, St. Edigio Community.

The session was opened by the Chairman, Mr. Pinto, who began by drawing the attention of the participants to his paper on the distribution of population, land, gross national product, and education levels in the countries in the Great Lakes Region. He emphasized the need for greater integration in the area and regional cooperation

"Peace ... must be maintained, must be political, must be kept open even in the worst of crisis, must be timely, and must be applied when the situation is 'ripe.'"

Professor Andrea Bartoli, Associate Director, Centre for Advanced Studies in America, Columbia University

He described it as a religious community dedicated to fostering better conditions for the poor. It also maintained an open dialogue between Christians and Muslims. St. Edigio had "Hope for Peace Principles" which stated that peace ... had to be maintained, had to be political, had to be kept open even in the worst of crisis, had to be timely, and had to be applied when the situation was "ripe." With regard to the situation in Burundi, he emphasized

St. Edigio Community's Peace-Making Efforts

Professor Bartoli took a few minutes to explain the work and underlying principles of the St. Edigio Community, its role in the Mozambican peace process, and later in other parts of Africa and Europe.

the need for a gradual approach and for a structured framework to the settlement.

The Chairman drew the attention of the delegates to the "Draft Priority Areas for Action for the Great Lakes Region" that had been prepared by the PGA Secretariat, highlighting certain areas including political leadership, peace committees, resources, and regional economic cooperation.



L-R: Ambassador Olara Otunnu, President, International Peace Academy; Mr. Moses Katjuongua, MP (Namibia), PGA International President; Dep. Jean Minani, MD (Burundi); Prof. Andrea Bartoli, Associate Director, Centre for Advanced Studies in America; Mr. Manuel Pinto (MP, Uganda).

Lessons from Switzerland

Mr. Theo Meyer, NR (Switzerland) drew lessons from Switzerland, especially with regard to the protection of minorities and the necessity for these protections to be incorporated into the constitution. He proposed a three-pronged plan of action: (i) a cease-fire, (ii) a campaign for reconciliation, and (iii) a revised constitution in Burundi based on democratic principles, but not necessarily the principle of "one man, one vote."

Good Governance as a Necessary Factor for Peace

Prof. Amin Mobarak, MP (Egypt) indicated that good governance and a stable political system

were among the necessary factors for maintaining peace in a region. It was therefore necessary for donor countries to be encouraged to provide resources toward this end. He concluded that "it is only after this objective is attained that, secondarily, we can speak of common markets and regional economies."

Regional Cooperation & Integration as Key to Peace

Hon. Philip Marmo, MP, Deputy Speaker, (Tanzania) indicated that the future lay in regional cooperation and integration and the use of SADC. He explained how Tanzania had set aside large tracks of land for Burundian refugees since 1963, and had even naturalized many of them as citizens, but after thirty years these refugees wanted to go back. The problem as he saw it lay with leaders with no vision. He specifically cited Pierre Buyoya, Burundi's de facto President, as a leader not willing to talk peace, and suspicious of well-intentioned leaders such as Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. Dep. Ibrahima Fall (Senegal) felt that the whole of the Great Lakes region was destabilized. There was a need for a single political will. He suggested that a conference on the region be convened, and that peace committees be set up to heighten political awareness.

Ambassador Ajello's Perspectives on the Region

Ambassador Aldo Ajello (EU Special Representative to Great Lakes Region) commented on several different issues affecting the region. First, with regard to Rwanda, he noted that it had not as yet closed its bleeding wound, that of the genocide. There was no judicial solution to this problem, and to put all of the war criminals on trial would take 500 years. It was, therefore, necessary to end the culture of impunity with forgiveness. The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda had to make some important distinctions between the leaders and followers of genocidal acts. It was the leaders who should be punished. On the matter of returning refugees, if you were ex-FAR or Interhamwe, you had only one possibility if you returned or were returned to Rwanda - go to jail, which was just like a death sentence. The international community had to find other options if it desired to put an end to the refugee crisis.

Second, on the matter of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ambassador Ajello pointed out that President Laurent Kabila could not organize elections immediately since it was not feasible. Even a two year frame-



L-R: Dep. Adrien Sibomana (Burundi) and Ms. Jacqueline Damon, Principal Administrator, OECD.

work would be difficult. The international community had to refrain from giving him set prescriptions for the democratization process in Congo such as a multiparty democracy with free and fair elections based on one man, one vote. Rather, he asserted, we should insist on more basic principles, like the right of people to choose and change leaders, the separation of powers and strength of a checks and balances system of government, and an absolute insistence that the UN Inquiry into human rights violations went forward and faced the facts. Only these principles would lend much needed credibility to reforms in that country.

Third, on the matter of Burundi, Buyoya had to give the negotiations sponsored by Julius Nyerere and supported by the international community a chance. The current animosity between Burundi and Tanzania was not good. Buyoya should realize that Nyerere was there to stay; he had the full backing of everyone - the EU, UN, USA, OAU, and most African states. For Ajello, the bottom line with respect to Burundi was to restart the negotiations. They should resume by returning to the Constitution to look for administrative provisions that could be used as a basis for new possibilities for peace. In any country where peace had been established through a constitutional system, there existed some basis for governance and justice.

Disagreement over Mwalimu Nyerere as Mediator

Mr. Farah Maalim Mohamed, MP (Kenya) disagreed with Ambassador Ajello's view that the Burundian negotiations had to go forward with Mwalimu Nyerere as the mediator. He spoke of the dangers of depending exclusively on an individual personality

for the destiny of a country/region, as evident from Ghana's Founding President, Kwame N. Nkrumah, and Kenya's Founding President, Jomo Kenyatta. Instead, he asserted, negotiations should go forward based on the people's desires and the expectations of the countries in the region. They could not be based upon a sole personality such as Nyerere. If the parties in Burundi were uncomfortable with Nyerere as a mediator, the international community should designate an alternative; after all, in Bosnia there had been a series of mediators.

Dep. Sibomana's Perspectives on the Burundi Conflict

Dep. Adrien Sibomana (Burundi), former Prime Minister under Pierre Buyoya's first Presidency, indicated that the situation in Burundi was very complex, and passions were running high. There was a need to avoid unnecessary propaganda. He suggested that PGA send a delegation of its Task Force to Burundi to help the Burundian Parliament resume its activity. Despite the pronouncements of assistance from neighbouring countries, he thought it strange that there had been no diplomatic representation of Kenya, Uganda, or Tanzania in Burundi. "How can they help?" he questioned. He ended his remarks by denouncing the trade embargo by the East African countries against Burundi as a violation of international law since it had not been decreed by the UN Security Council.

The bottom line [in Burundi] was to restart the negotiations. They should resume by returning to the Constitution to look for administrative provisions that could be used as a basis for new possibilities for peace. In any country where peace had been established through a constitutional system, there existed some basis for governance and justice.

Ambassador. Aldo Ajello, EU Envoy to the Great Lakes Region

As a point of clarification, Hon. Marmo (Tanzania) indicated that the reason for the non-representation of Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda in Bujumbura was because of the non-recognition of the present leadership in Burundi.

Two Primary Sources of Conflict in Africa

Mr. Jeston Mulando, MP, (Zambia), suggested that the two primary sources of conflict in Africa today were: (i) continuing tribal/ethnic differences over politics and economics; and (ii) the non-acceptance of election results by the political parties. Moreover, he indicated that if Burundians would not accept Mwalimu Nyerere as a mediator, then a Peace Commission/ Committee could be established for the region through PGA, consisting of members of parliaments from the region that would look at how best to strengthen democratic organs in Burundi. He also recommended that PGA pursue initiatives in Congo-Brazzaville, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Angola. He suggested that Zambia could be used as a venue for the pursuit of such initiatives.

He suggested that Zambia could be used as a venue for the pursuit of such initiatives.

Dep. Minani's Perspectives on Burundi Conflict

Dep. Jean Minani (Burundi) described himself as an exile from his own country for political reasons. He said that Burundi had a system based on exclusion through apartheid which had persisted from inde-



L-R: Dep. Abdou Charfo Alginy, MP (Niger); Prof. Amin Mobarak, MP (Egypt); Sen A. Raynell Andreychuk (Canada); Ms. Sirpa Pietikäinen, MP (Finland).

pendence to the present day. It was a system that was comparable to apartheid in South Africa. (He provided figures which depicted the proportion of Hutus and Tutsis in various government positions.) The problem was not so much de facto President Buyoya but rather a refusal to change, according to Dep. Minani. The vast majority of the Burundian population was not living from the land, as portrayed by Buyoya's government, but rather in camps and centres, for fear of returning to their homes.

On the matter of the negotiations, he indicated that when Mwalimu Nyerere had first come to Burundi, it had been as a friend of UPRONA and he had been hailed as a hero, but after the recent meeting in Arusha this position had changed. When partners in a mediation process refused to cooperate, then it was often necessary to bring pressure to bear upon the recalcitrant party. In Haiti, the strengthening of economic sanctions had been used as a means of exerting pressure. Other measures could include the refusal of visas, diplomatic isolation and an arms embargo.

People-oriented Approach in Conflict Resolution

Ms. Sirpa Pietikäinen, MP (Finland) raised some general issues about the work of conflict resolution and conflict prevention. If it was true that, in general, most people were peace-loving and peace-seeking, then the future agenda for PGA should be people-oriented and rely on the use of development resources.

Regional Implication of the Intra-State Conflict

Sen. Andreychuk (Canada) indicated that the Great Lakes Region was unique, but not exclusive, since whenever there was a conflict in one country, there was a dramatic effect on its neighbours. She asserted that there was a need to underscore democracy, good governance, and ensure a place for minorities. No group today could play the "might is right" role. There was also a need for judicial independence, sound economic strategies, family planning, and land distribution. The international community had to act in a coordinated way, and speak with a united voice. Additionally she pointed out that while genocide was an international matter, issues concerning governance and democracy were internal to the country and the will of the people.

Building on the Past PGA Experience

Mr. Moses Katjuongua, MP (Namibia), proposed that the specifics concerning the PGA's Great Lakes Region agenda be referred to the International Council meeting that was to be

held the next day. He stressed the need for PGA to work in a concerted manner with the other key actors in the process to avoid any competition. He noted that lessons should be drawn from PGA's experience in the past (PGA had sent 8 missions between August 1994 and March 1996) in order not to come up against a dead end.

Concluding the Strategy Session

Professor Bartoli concluded the session by affirming the continuing commitment of the St. Egidio Community to work for peace in the region. Dialogue required courage, he noted: "Burundians require this reservoir of courage and PGA is a great resource for this courage." Mr. Pinto agreed that time was running short. He urged the delegates to remain broad-minded but to be specific in focus if PGA was to take action. During the closing session of the Conference, he reported that the Working Session on the Great Lakes Region had been a lively one on a very serious topic. The session had not found the "solution" to the problem, he remarked. However, it had agreed on a number of concerted efforts PGA could undertake that were outlined in the "Priority Areas of Action". The Peace Committee, in particular, would be formed with International and African Parliamentarians, with representatives from eastern and southern Africa.

The Session participants were hopeful in that opportunities for forward movement were identified within the context of the ongoing efforts to rehabilitate and build a consensus for peace. PGA could not act alone in these matters and had to fully support the work of the ICTR in Rwanda; the UN, UNHCHR and UNHCR in DRC, and the international negotiations moderated by Mwalimu Julius Nyerere in Burundi.



The Great Lakes Session



Group II: South Asia

Chair: Mr. Ross Robertson, MP (New Zealand)

Moderator: Mr. David Phillips, Executive Director, International Conflict Resolution Program, School of International & Public Affairs, Columbia University; Member, UN Committee for PGA.

Opening remarks were made by Mr. Ross Robertson, MP (New Zealand), Chair of the Session, who welcomed the participants. Mr. David Phillips, the Moderator, then described two somewhat extreme models of conflict resolution: those that encompassed the judgment of King Solomon, i.e. principles of separatism, versus those that practiced the principles of inclusion. He indicated that, while in some extreme cases the Solomonic view might be preferable, conflict resolution generally encompassed principles of inclusion. He drew distinctions between conflict management (preventing the spill-over effects of a conflict) and conflict resolution (intervention by a third party to mediate/resolve the conflict).

With regard to the involvement of third parties, he distinguished three different tracks: Track 1: Official government actors; Track 1½: Role of parliamentarians; and, Track 2: Non-state actors/NGOs. In trying to develop confidence building measures for South Asia, he indicated that the following issues should be kept in mind:

- What type of management structures was to be set up;
- What support would be provided for these structures; and

- How a budget would be identified.

Identification of Bilateral Issues for Further Discussion

Mr. Aftab Shahban Mirani, MP (Pakistan), Former Minister of Defense, was the first speaker in the general discussion. He identified several bilateral issues that required further discussion. These included:

- Kashmir - both India and Pakistan continued to have very divergent and set views on the issue no matter how many rounds of talks took place. "We spoke when I was Defense Minister, we are still talking but no results";
- The Simla Agreement - while this agreement had been signed 25 years ago, no further changes had taken place since then; Simla had just only established the status-quo;
- Border violations - especially with regard to infiltration from Afghanistan into Pakistan.

Offer of New Zealand as Venue for Negotiation

Ms. Dianne Yates, MP (New Zealand) indicated that New Zealand was part of the Asia Pacific Region and was interested in taking a more active role with regard to contentious issues in the region. She went on to elaborate on New Zealand's role as "the



L-R: Dr. A Moyeen Khan, MP (Bangladesh); Mr. K. G. Maheshwarappa, MP (India); Mr. Pramod Mahajan, MP (India); Ms. Margaret Alva, MP (India); Mr. M. A. Baby, MP (India)

Switzerland of the region". She indicated that facilities in New Zealand could be used for conferences or as mediation forums.

Individual, Not a Package Negotiation

Mr. Mian Abdul Waheed, MP and Chairman, Foreign Affairs Committee, (Pakistan) indicated that a resolution on the individual contentious issues would be required as the package deal option

was not acceptable. He acknowledged that the relationship between Pakistan and India was of global complexity. With regard to specific issues he noted:

- while it was true that less money should be spent on defense by both India and Pakistan, there was a particular need for Indian troop reduction on the borders and investigations into instances where Indian troops had violated human rights and committed gang rapes;
- if it was understood that the Simla Agreement was a non-aggression pact, he wanted to know why India had violated it in 1983 by occupying the Siachin Glacier; and
- with regard to Kashmir, he referred to India's age-old assurance/commitment to hold a plebiscite in the region, and asked when this was to take place.

Long-term Structures for Peace versus Points of Bilateral Disagreement

Ms. Margaret Alva, MP (India), Former Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs, objected to the above points. She pointed out that this continued reference to Kashmir was rendering the session impractical. She asked that any further remarks on that issue be curtailed, otherwise the Indian Delegation would walk out. The Chairman (Mr. Robertson) pointed out that this was not the forum for dealing with individual issues; rather, it was necessary to look at what structures could be put in place to address these contentious issues in the future. Mr. Pramod Mahajan, MP (India), Former Defense Minister, agreed with the suggestion of the Chairman. He further acknowledged that both India and Pakistan had made mistakes, but that there was a need to move forward. He identified three basic problems:



L-R: Mr. Mian Abdul Waheed, MP (Pakistan); Sen. Rahim Datuk Baba (Malaysia); and Mr. David Phillips, Executive Director, International Conflict Resolution Program, Columbia University.

- The historical problem - a need to look back to understand the problems, identify the issues and then only look forward thereafter. "The process needs to focus on the early problems first and leave difficult ones such as Kashmir for later," he said;
- A crisis of confidence - given the lack of a free flow of information between India and Pakistan; and
- The urge for peace - a need for bilateral and multilateral discussions.

Lessons from Northern Ireland and Scandinavia

Sen. John Connor (Ireland) asked whether lessons could be drawn from the Irish situation for application to the question of Kashmir. The situation in Ireland had persisted for centuries before the British had allowed any semblance of self-autonomy for the Irish, even though the problem of Northern Ireland still continued. By contrast, the question of Kashmir was less than half a century old.

Similarly, Mr. Karl-Göran Biörsmark, MP (Sweden), indicated that for several centuries, Norway, Sweden and Denmark had been at war with each other, and the relative state of peace that prevailed over the region was a recent phenomenon, and one that had taken a long time to develop. Mr. Biörsmark stressed that peace had to be a common goal of all parties involved if stability and prosperity were to be achieved by a region.

Pro-active Measures for Peace

Dr. K.K. Bhargava, Co-convenor, Coalition for Action on South Asian Cooperation (CASAC) and Former Secretary-General, SAARC, presented the outline of his paper that was circulated during the session. He



From front L (around table): Mr. Allan Rogers, MP (United Kingdom); Ms. Farida Ali, UNICEF; Dr. K.K. Bhargava, Convenor, CASAC; Mr. Karl-Göran Biörsmark, MP (Sweden); Mr. Mian Abdul Waheed, MP (Pakistan); Mr. David Phillips, Executive Director, International Conflict Resolution Program.; Mr. Ross Robertson, MP (New Zealand); Dr. A. Moyeen Khan, MP (Bangladesh); Mr. K.G. Maheshwarappa, MP (India); Mr. Pramod Mahajan, MP (India); Ms. Margaret Alva, MP (India); Mr. M.A. Baby, MP (India); Mr. Aftab Shahban Mirani, MP (Pakistan); an observer

focused on the need for optimism, the enactment of proactive measures, and suggested that lessons could be drawn from the operation of the South Asian Free Trade Association. Dr. Bhargava noted the complexity of South Asia, with the co-existence of conflict and cooperation. In his outline, he also looked at the conditions for peace and the need for a pragmatic approach. Dr. Bhargava encouraged confidence-building measures in the region as well as conceiving a workable peace process, initiating the process of purposeful political consultations, and advancing functional and economic cooperation.

In terms of crafting peace, Dr. Bhargava called for the active involvement of parliamentarians, the encouragement of Track I, Track II and Track III diplomacy, and participation of all members of civil society, including the media, women's groups, youth, and labour. In his final conclusion, Dr. Bhargava wrote that the "establishment of perpetual peace will take time and needs special efforts as it demands strong political will on the part of governments and leaders, both for economic integration and sound management and resolution of conflicts."

Utilizing Track II Diplomacy in the Region

Dr. A Moyeen Khan, MP (Bangladesh), focused on the role that Track II diplomacy had played in the region. He cited some of the positive developments including the water rights treaty. He also referred to the PGA session that had taken place in the Maldives

and suggested that such initiatives be followed up.

Potential Role for the U.K.

Mr. Allan Rogers, MP (United Kingdom), mentioned the visit of Queen Elizabeth II to India and Pakistan and emphasized that Britain could play a role in the region. He also stressed the need for putting in place a structure before any discussion on substantive issues could take place. On a related matter, he acknowledged that, as Treasurer of PGA, money would have to be raised to implement the operation of any such structure and he suggested to the delegates that they consider this matter when making their contributions.

Session Summary

Mr. Phillips summed up the session by offering three dimensions of working together. These were (i) Principles: a need to take small steps, a policy of gradualism, and the importance of identifying opportunities; (ii) Thematic: preventive action and strategies for defense conversion; and, (iii) Practicalities: provide a framework and a task force for working on outstanding issues in the region

Mr. Phillips offered to put together a memorandum of understanding setting forth the principles that had been agreed to during the session. Ms. Margaret Alva, MP (India), objected that nothing tangible by way of issues had been agreed to. The Secretary-General of PGA clarified by indicating that essentially the purpose of the session had been to put forward the motion that a Task Force be set up to look at conflict issues in South Asia, rather than making any special recommendations for the establishment of a South Asian Parliament, peace commissions and the like.

The Chairman put forward the motion that a Task Force of parliamentarians from Asia/Pacific be set up to work on conflict issues in South Asia, and that Mr. Phillips would prepare an outline on the matter and report back to PGA. The motion was accepted.



DEBATE ON THE ACTION AGENDA FOR CRAFTING LASTING PEACE

Chair: Sen. Ernesto Maceda, President of the Senate

Two new resolutions (See Annex) were read by Sen. Maceda. After several amendments were proposed and accepted, they were passed by the general assembly of PGA participants. The first one was a general resolution for Crafting Lasting Peace and the other a resolution supporting the increased involvement of women in international peace-building and public service. Refer to the actual texts for specific measures and more information.

CLOSING CEREMONY

Chair: Moses Katjuongua, MP (Namibia)

PGA International President, Mr. Katjuongua, declared the 19th Annual PGA Forum a satisfying success, and closed the Conference with an assurance from the participants that they would continue working on the complexities of the issues covered during the last two days upon their return to their respective countries.



L-R: Mr. Moses Katjuongua, MP (Namibia), PGA 1997 International President; Mr. Ross Robertson, MP (New Zealand); Senator Ernesto Macedo (Philippines); Senator Margaret Reynolds (Australia); Mr. Manuel Pinto, MP (Uganda).

About Parliamentarians for Global Action

Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA) was established in 1979 by concerned parliamentarians from around the world to take joint action on global problems which could not be solved by any one government or parliament. While its initial focus was on disarmament issues, Global Action today has expanded its list of global issues such as democracy, sustainable development, empowerment of women, economic reform, international law, peace-keeping and nuclear disarmament.

PGA is an association of individual parliamentarians that is action-oriented. PGA has specific programmes under the political direction of parliamentary Board members. Each programme has specified policy goals reviewed and approved on a regular basis by the Board. It is not a talk shop and much more than a forum for passing resolutions. This structure allows Global Action to effectively push policies at the national, regional, and international levels.

With a membership of only elected officials, PGA members bring authority on behalf of their constituents and responsibility to their constituents. Working individually, its members can follow and push a policy issue on a long-term basis. With other parliamentary bodies, the Speaker/Whip who rotates attendance of particular meetings, so the same person cannot pursue a policy or legislative issue beyond one or two meetings.

The Topics of the Past Annual Fora:

- 1996: Parliamentary Conclave for Nuclear Disarmament
Special Parliamentary Forum on Africa
- 1995: Reviving the Global Economy
- 1994: Some More Equal than Others?: Disarmament and
Development in the post Cold-War Perspective
- 1993: UN Peace-keeping
- 1992: Global Dialogue on the New World Order
- 1991: Defining the New Sovereignty
- 1990: Nuclear Test Ban and Non-Proliferation

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Dr. Kimmo Kiljunen, MP, Finland
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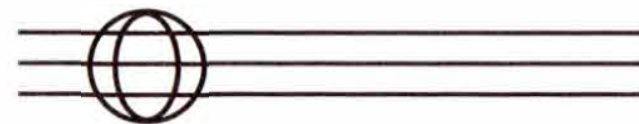
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Sen. Vicki Bourne, Australia
John Connor, MP, Ireland
Hon. José de Venecia, Jr., MP, Philippines
Dep. Ibrahima Fall, Senegal
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Sen. Gabriel Valdés, Chile
Suzette Verhoeven, MP, Belgium
Gert Weisskirchen, MP, Germany
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PARLIAMENTARIANS FOR GLOBAL ACTION
ACTION MONDIALE DES PARLEMENTAIRES
ACCION MONDIAL DE PARLIAMENTARIOS

19th Annual United Nations Parliamentary Forum Crafting Lasting Peace

October 9 - 10, 1997
United Nations Headquarters
New York

Supported by:
Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
(SIDA)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs (DANIDA), Denmark
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Netherlands
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (FINIDA), Finland
United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)
The Senate of the Philippines



PGA 19th Annual United Nations Parliamentary Forum

Crafting Lasting Peace: Agenda

Day I: October 9, 1997 (Conf. Room #3)

9:15 a.m. - 10:00 a.m. Inauguration Ceremony

Welcome Remarks

Mr. Moses K. Katjuongua, * MP (Namibia)
PGA 1997 International President

Inauguration Speech

Sir Kieran Prendergast, * Under-Secretary-General,
United Nations

Keynote Speech

Ambassador Bill Richardson, * Permanent Representative
of the United States to the United Nations

10:10 a.m. - 11:15 a.m. Session I: Opening Debate

Opening Address:

Accountability, Peace & Justice: The Establishment
of an International Criminal Court

Ambassador David Scheffer *

U.S. Ambassador at Large for War Crimes Issues

Evolution of PGA's Emergency Response

Mechanism: Track 1½ Diplomacy

Mr. Theo Meyer, * NR (Switzerland)

Chair, Peace & Democracy Programme; Chair, Session I

Strengths and Weaknesses of Tracks I & II

Diplomacy

Dr. A. Moyeen Khan, * MP (Bangladesh)

Chair, Economic Revitalization Programme

Discussion

Coffee Break (11:15 a.m. - 11:30 a.m.)

11:30 a.m. - 12:45 p.m. Session II

Supporting Conflict Prevention, Management &
Resolution

Chair: Mr. Karl-Göran Biörnsmark, * MP (Sweden)

Perspectives and Experiences of Donor Countries

Mr. Sten Rylander, * Assistant Director General,
Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency

Ambassador Torben Brylle, * Under-Secretary for
Multilateral Affairs, Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Ambassador Jaap Ramaker, * Permanent Mission of
Netherlands to the United Nations

Oslo Peace Accords

Ambassador Hans Jakeen Biørn Lian, * Permanent
Representative of Norway to the United Nations

Discussion

1:00 p.m. - 3:00 p.m. Luncheon Discussion

Venue: United Nations Delegates Dining Room

Development as a Path to Lasting Peace

Ms. Jacqueline Damon, * Principal Administrator, OECD
Former Representative, The World Bank-Burundi;

The OAU Experience in South Africa

Mr. Legwaila J. Legwaila, * Ambassador of Botswana to the UN;
Former Special Representative of
the Secretary-General of the OAU for South Africa

3:15 p.m. - 5:45 p.m. Session III

Official Multilateral and Governmental Initiatives

Chair: Mr. Allan Rogers, * MP (United Kingdom)

The Impact of Armed Conflicts on Children

Mr. Olara Otamu, * President,
International Peace Academy; Special Representative of the UN
Secretary-General for Children & Armed Conflict

The Aftermath of World War II: Peace & Reconstruction

Mr. Lincoln Gordon, * Guest Scholar, The Brookings Institution

Mr. Robert Bowie, * Former Eisenhower Administration
Senior Staff Official; Former Harvard Professor

African Crisis Response Initiative by the U.S. Government

Ambassador Marshall McCallie *

Post-Conflict Peace-Building in El Salvador

Ms. Teresa Whitfield, * Special Assistant to the Assistant
Secretary-General for Political Affairs, United Nations

Discussion

7:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.

Defender of Democracy Awards Ceremony

Venue: United Nations Delegates Dining Room

(by invitation)

Day II: October 10, 1997 (Conference Room #8)

9:30 a.m. - 10:45 a.m. Session IV

Arms Trade: Fueling the Conflict

Chair: Ms. Elena Poptodorova, MP (Bulgaria)

Speaker:

Mr. Joost Hillermann, * Executive Director
Arms Project, Human Rights Watch

10:45 a.m. - 12:15 p.m. Session V

The Role of Women in Peace-making, Peace-keeping,
and Peace-building

Chair: Sen. Margaret Reynolds, * (Australia)

Speakers:

Ms. Bella Abzug, * President,
Women's Environment & Development Organization

Ms. Charity Kaluki Ngilu, * MP (Kenya)
Chair, Empowerment of Women; Presidential Candidate

Sen. A. Raynell Audreychuck, * (Canada)

Ms. Margaret Alva, * MP (India)

12:15 p.m. - 12:45 p.m.

Special Video Presentation by UNICEF

Chain of Hope

Introduction: Ms. Elizabeth Gibbons, * UNICEF

Discussant:

Ms. Betty Okwir, * MP, Deputy Speaker (Uganda)

1:00 p.m. - 3:00 p.m. Luncheon Discussion

Venue: United Nations Delegates Dining Room

Post-Conflict Rehabilitation and Nation-Building

Bosnia and Herzegovina

Ambassador Muhamed Sacirbey *
Permanent Representative of Bosnia & Herzegovina to the
United Nations

Mozambique and the Democratic Republic of Congo

Mr. Aldo Ajello, * EU Envoy to the Great Lakes Region
Former UN Secretary-General's Representative in
Mozambique

3:15 - 5:00 p.m. Session VI

Working Group Strategy Sessions on On-going
PGA Projects

Group I: The Great Lakes Region (Room #8)

Chair: Mr. Manuel Pinto, * MP (Uganda)

Moderator: Prof. Andrea Bartoli, * Associate Director,
Ctr. for Advanced Studies in America,
Columbia University;
Vice-President, St. Edigio Community

Group II: South Asia (Room E)

Chair: Mr. Ross Robertson, * MP (New Zealand)

Moderator: Mr. David Phillips, * Executive Director,
International Conflict Resolution Program,
School of International and Public Affairs,
Columbia University

5:15 - 6:15 p.m. Debate on the Action Agenda for
Crafting Lasting Peace

Chair: Sen. Ernesto Maceda, * President, Senate
(Philippines); International Council Chair

6:15 p.m. - 6:30 p.m. Closing Ceremony

Chair: Mr. Moses Katjuongua, * MP (Namibia)
International President





Crafting Lasting Peace: Action Agenda for Parliamentarians

We, the seventy parliamentary participants of PGA's 19th Annual Forum gathered at the United Nations on October 9 - 10, 1997, drawn from 38 countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, the Middle East, and the Americas,

Firmly Believe that parliamentarians play a critical role in preventing, resolving, and managing conflicts at community, national, regional, and international levels,

Understand that such involvement can take place in various phases of conflict dynamics inter alia de-escalating tension, properly allocating national resources, legislating non-discriminatory policies,

Observe with great alarm that so many countries around the globe are embroiled in conflict situations claiming the lives of innocent people and stagnating the development prospects of the country as well as the region,

Are Concerned that the hard-won peace in many transitional countries remains extremely fragile,

Note that the political will to effectively assist conflict prevention, management, and resolution is uneven and susceptible to national security priorities,

Express Our Dismay that the approach of the international community is often reactive rather than pro-active,

Strongly Affirm that democracy is the best long-term mechanism for conflict prevention and management while its structure may vary from country to country,

Assert that differences of interests must be debated and mediated on the floors of parliaments and not in the streets or battlefields,

Appeal to the International Community to contribute for the capacity building of developing and transitional countries, particularly in post-conflict situations,

Underscore the need for:

- ◆ Good governance and democracy,
- ◆ Support for the legitimate instruments of power in countries,
- ◆ Support for independent judiciaries and other forms of checks and balances on political power
- ◆ Sound economic strategy for all,

Emphasize that the rights of the minority must be secured and protected while respecting the will of the majority,

1. *Decided to form a Task Force of parliamentarians from Asia/Pacific to work on peace and conflict management in South Asia;*
2. *Will Undertake activities outlined in the "Priority Areas for Action in the Great Lakes Region" in search of peace, stability, and development in the region; and*
3. *Commit ourselves to work in collaboration with our governments, inter-governmental organizations, and civil society groups in crafting lasting peace.*

Adopted unanimously by the participants of the 19th Annual Forum on October 10, 1997.

Working Session on the Great Lakes Region: Priority Areas for Action

The dimensions and implications of the conflict in the Great Lakes Region of Africa have changed dramatically since the fall of 1996; the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (AFDL) led by Laurent Kabila swept through the vast territory of Zaire and toppled the three-decade long dictatorship of Mobutu Sese Seko in May 1997. This process destroyed the refugee camps which had harbored Rwandan *genocidaires* and Burundian Hutu extremists in eastern Zaire, now renamed the Democratic Republic of Congo.

While the international media presently focuses on the stand-off between the United Nations and the new Kabila regime over the U.N. investigation team whose mandate is to investigate the alleged massacres and human rights violations in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, the conflict remains protracted in Burundi, and the level of violence and insecurity has risen in Rwanda. The larger sub-region of the Great Lakes include Sudan, Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya, and Zambia with their own trouble spots and instability factors. However, through the Sub-Regional OAU Summit process, the sub-region has shown that it can act decisively on a united front. Such commitment by the highest levels of the region's governments holds opportunities and hope for achieving a sustainable peace in the region, however, such a window of opportunity is extremely small.

Political Leadership

Political leaders whose influence extends beyond their national borders should pool their influence for peaceful purposes. They should engender responsible leadership and encourage political moderation.

- ♦ PGA should work with parliaments in the region to establish Peace Committees which would investigate and mediate community-wide problems. These PGA Peace Committees should interact with each other to exchange their experiences and strategies. PGA Caucuses on Burundi in both Tanzanian and Ugandan Parliaments have begun to form the basis of two such Peace Committees.
- ♦ Donor countries should assist in capacity-building of these Parliamentary Peace Committees so that they can function properly.

Traditional Mechanisms of Conflict Mitigation and Resolution

The International Community and political elites have the tendency to rely on theories of conflict resolutions which may or may not yield meaningful positive effects when applied to actual conflict situations. It is important to recognize that Africa has a long history and there are traditional mechanisms through which conflicts have been mitigated or mediated. These mechanisms have been eroding due to a number of factors including colonialism, but efforts should be made to revive or preserve these traditional mechanisms.

- ♦ Inter-governmental organizations, government agencies, and international non-governmental organizations should recognize and work with these traditional mechanisms for conflict mitigation and resolution.

Regional Economic Cooperation

Regional economic cooperation is a key ingredient for fostering and sustaining peace in the region. In addition to the economic and developmental benefits (which include decreased commodity trade problems and food shortages), regional economic cooperation can also help reduce political tensions and conflicts. The recent development which revived the East African Economic Community with the April 30, 1997 Summit between Presidents Yoweri Museveni, Daniel arap Moi, and Bejamin Mkapa, is an encouraging step forward.

- ♦ Provide a mechanism through which countries such as Burundi and Rwanda can work with the East African Economic Community.
- ♦ Strengthen the Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries (CEPGL) as well as its relationship to both the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the East African Economic Community.
- ♦ Promote enhanced cooperation between the East African Economic Community and the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

Election Systems

It is clear that the simple majoritarian democratic system is not suitable for countries in the Great Lakes Region. However, the refutation of a majoritar-

ian model is not synonymous with the rejection of democracy. Other models of democratic governance which can better address the needs of all citizens – majority and minority groups – should be explored.

- ◆ PGA should convene a regional conference to examine various models of democracy and election systems.
- ◆ Following a regional conference on election systems, each country should examine its own circumstances to choose an appropriate electoral mechanism.

Arms Control

In the background of the protracted conflict in all of the countries in the region is the proliferation of small and light conventional arms. The Cold-War struggles over spheres of influence in Africa, battled in countries such as Angola, Somalia, and Zaire, and the break-up of the Soviet Union, are contributory factors in the region's deadly stockpiling of these weapons.

- ◆ Weapons-producing countries should refrain from exporting arms to the countries in the Great Lakes region. (The August 5, 1991 Belgian law could be used as a model)
- ◆ A "Buy Back" program should be developed and administered multilaterally in order to take these stockpiles of weapons out of the black markets.
- ◆ Regional countries should refuse to be conduits of the weapons trade as Tanzania did with arms shipments from China to Burundi in 1995.
- ◆ Any future peace agreements should incorporate a comprehensive demobilization and disarmament component which will be monitored by the United Nations or another multilateral agency.
- ◆ The capacity of the UN to monitor and regulate disarmament and arms trade should be increased.

Re-Organization of the Armed Forces and Police Forces

To achieve a sustainable peace, it is imperative that the entire population of a country feels protected by their national army and police forces. In addition, these forces should be under civilian control.

- ◆ The government must ensure that the armed and police forces are integrated and that various ethnic groups are properly represented in military leadership positions.
- ◆ Reforms of armed forces should include a program for re-integrating former soldiers into civil society.
- ◆ Countries with relevant experiences should cooperate in re-organizing armed and police forces by rendering their own experiences.
- ◆ Donor countries should provide financial and technical assistance in order to professionalize national armed and police forces.

Strengthening and Reforming Judiciary Systems

For the peace to be sustainable, national judiciary structures must be strengthened and reformed to serve the needs of the population and to end the culture\cycle of impunity. In a politically volatile environment such as Burundi or Rwanda, the national trials of those accused of the genocide

and/or massacres are plagued by political manipulation, inadequate resources, and an unacceptable level of abuse.

- ◆ In the short-run, provide legal experts (magistrates, judges and defense lawyers) so that trials at the national level can be conducted more fairly. The UN Human Rights Centre's program in Burundi was particularly effective but has reportedly run out of funds to continue its activities.
- ◆ In the long-run, fundamental reforms need to be undertaken so that the judiciary system can function without political biases and be accepted as such by the citizens. The government must actively try to train under-represented ethnic groups to be represented in the legal system.

Creation of Common Economic Interests

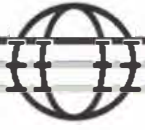
Forward-looking strategy is needed in order to move beyond the seemingly endless quest to redress the past "wrongs." For national reconciliation to take place, there needs to be concerted effort by government agencies to create common economic interests or converge various interests among different groups so that different segments of the population can live together and work alongside one another peacefully.

- ◆ The government should develop a policy to encourage joint business ventures between various ethnic groupings by providing economic benefits.
- ◆ The parliament should play a leading role in establishing a National Economic Committee comprising business and local leaders to ensure that economic imbalances will not be exacerbated. As nations move toward privatization, it is important that new private enterprises not expand ethnic imbalances of poverty and resources.

Beyond the Nation-State

The protracted conflict in Burundi has significantly decreased the window of opportunity for national reconciliation through conventional power-sharing. It may be necessary to consider and explore innovative frameworks of possible solutions. The Dayton Agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina envisaged a confederation where 2 entities (The Bosnian Muslims & Croats on one hand, and the Bosnian Serbs on the other) would have close relationships with Croatia and Serbia, respectively.

- ◆ Would a Confederation arrangement be desirable or applicable in the Great Lakes context?
- ◆ What is the implication of the Comprehensive Plan being developed between Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda which will introduce a common passport and economic/political integration to the rest of the Great Lakes region?



List of Participants

Honoree

*H.E. Mr. A.N.R. Robinson, President, The Republic of Trinidad & Tobago;
Former PGA Executive Committee Member*

Honorary Patron

Mrs. Nane Annan

Parliamentary Participants

Africa

*Mr. Moses Katjuongua, MP (Namibia), PGA International President
Ms. Dominica Abu, MP (Uganda)
Mr. Abdou Charfo Alginy, MP (Niger)
Ms. Christine Hellen Amongin Aporu, MP (Uganda)
Ms. Phoebe Asiyu, MP (Kenya)
Mr. Alban Bagbin, MP (Ghana)
Mr. Domingos Laurenco, MP (Guinea-Bissau)
Dep. Ibrahima Fall (Senegal)
Ms. Naila Jiddawi, MP (Tanzania)
Dep. Houda Kanoun (Tunisia)
Mr. Vain Mamela, MP (Botswana)
Hon. Philip Marmo, MP (Tanzania), Deputy Speaker
Dep. Jean Minani, MD (Burundi)
Prof. Amin Mobarak, MP (Egypt)
Mr. Jeston Dickson Mulando, MP (Zambia)
Mr. Farah Maalim Mohamed, MP (Kenya)
Hon. Betty Okwir, MP (Uganda), Deputy Speaker
Mr. Manuel Pinto, MP (Uganda)
Dep. Adrien Sibomana (Burundi)
Mr. Mario Soares, MP (Guinea-Bissau)
Ms. Theresa Ameley Tagoe, MP (Ghana)*

Asia & the Pacific

*Mr. Md. Abul Hasnat Abdullah, MP (Bangladesh)
Ms. Margaret Alva, MP (India)
Sen. Rahim Datuk Baba (Malaysia)
Mr. M.A. Baby, MP (India)
Mr. Arnulfo Fuentesbella, MP (Philippines)
Dr. A. Moyeen Khan, MP (Bangladesh)
Hon. Ernesto Maceda (Philippines), President of the Senate
Mr. Pramod Mahajan, MP (India)
Mr. K.G. Maheshwarappa, MP (India)
Mr. Aftab Shahban Mirani, MP (Pakistan)
Sen. Margaret Reynolds (Australia)
Mr. Ross Robertson, MP (New Zealand)
Mr. Md. Abdus Shahid, MP (Bangladesh)
Mr. Mian Abdul Waheed, MP (Pakistan)
Ms. Dianne Yates, MP (New Zealand)
Mr. A.R. Zamharir, MP (Indonesia)*

The Americas

*Sen. A. Raynell Andreychuk (Canada)
Sen. Claudia Blum de Barbery (Colombia)
Sen. Rodolfo Becerril (Mexico)
Dep. Lorraine Beson (Haiti)
Sen. Jairo Clopatofsky Ghisays (Colombia)
Dep. Gary Guiteau (Haiti)
Dip. Juan Horacio Gonzalez Gaviola (Argentina)
Sen. Gabriel Muyuy Jacanamejoy (Colombia)*

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(Cont'd)
Sen. Anthony Johnson (Jamaica)
Rep. Maria Espinosa de Lopez (Colombia)
Sen. Samuel Madistin (Haiti)
Sen. Elie Plancher (Haiti)
Dep. Fritz Robert Saint-Paul (Haiti)
Sen. Emmanuel Wesner (Haiti)

Europe
Ms. Charlotte Antonsen, MP (Denmark)
Ms. Anne Bastrup, MP (Denmark)
Mr. Karl-Göran Biörsmark, MP (Sweden)
Sen. John Connor (Ireland)
Mr. Dag Jostein Fjærvoll, MP (Norway)
Ms. Jonna Gronver, MP (Denmark)
Mr. Kimmo Kiljunen, MP (Finland)
Ms. Lena Klevenäs, MP (Sweden)
Ms. Randi Iversen, MP (Denmark)
Mr. Bara Radu Liviu, MP (Romania)
Mr. Theo Meyer, NR (Switzerland)
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