

TEN YEARS OF PEACE-MAKING

*Parliamentarians for Global Action
and its Task Force on Peace and Democracy*

1991-2001

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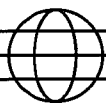
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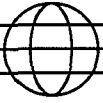
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Executive Summary

Over the past ten years, Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA), the world's only global organization of legislators from democratically elected parliaments, has been sending teams of its members out on peace-making missions to resolve parliament-based conflicts, especially in countries with emerging democracies. This effort has met with significant success.

These missions, organized by PGA's Task Force on Peace & Democracy, have been sent to Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, Haiti, Tanzania, Togo and elsewhere, in response to requests for assistance from the parliaments themselves or from Special Representatives of the United Nations Secretary-General.

The men and women taking part in these peace-making missions have found that they have some unique advantages over other peace-makers. Unlike diplomats representing nations, they are not constrained by their own governments' policies. Yet, compared with representatives of non-governmental organizations, they have more credibility and more access to people and information. And because all have dealt with disputes about power sharing and the rights of minorities in their own parliaments, they can often provide insights and suggest solutions based on their personal experience.

Praised by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan and his predecessor Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali

and hailed by leaders in several countries, the Task Force was described in 1999 by Professor Stephen Marks of Columbia University, an authority on international peace-making, as "one of the most valuable, integrated and professionally run preventive diplomacy and conflict management programs that exist in the non-governmental sector. In fact, it has in a sense defined a new stage of preventive diplomacy."

So far the Task Force's activities have been funded by grants made by donor countries in response to applications from PGA on a per crisis basis. To make the Task Force even more effective in the future, PGA is now seeking to create a permanent, revolving fund that would enable the peace-making teams to be dispatched without delay whenever a peace-threatening crisis occurs.

WE STAND UNITED

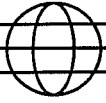
Hon. Silvia Hernández, Chair of the Human Rights Commission of the Mexican Senate, wrote this in 1992, when she was International President of Parliamentarians for Global Action:

"We believe fundamentally that the people who elect us — and who have the inalienable right to hold our actions accountable — fervently desire peace and harmony around the planet....As parliamentarians, we actively seek, in a manner freer than officials, to harmonize our national policies through a vision that transcends, yet remains compatible with, the national interests of our countries....



1994 - Sen. Silvia Hernández (Mexico).

"As politicians drawn from all philosophical persuasions we have differences among ourselves over certain partisan issues. But we stand united over a higher set of principles that reflect an emerging new philosophy relevant to the politics of the age. ... These 'principles of global politics' — democratic structures, the rule of law, collective security, regulation of armaments, sustainable development, economic equity, and human rights — inspire Parliamentarians for Global Action in its work."



About PGA

A DYNAMIC NETWORK OF INDIVIDUAL LEGISLATORS FROM ELECTED PARLIAMENTS

Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA) was established in 1978-1979 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 works on peace & democracy, international law & human rights, and population & sustainable development.

Coming from elected parliaments, PGA members bring to the table authority on behalf of their constituents and a responsibility to them as well. This gives PGA a greater authority on policy matters vis-a-vis the executive branches of government and vis-a-vis civil society. PGA's specific programs are under the political direction of parliamentarian Board Members.

PGA includes in its membership a concentration of high-level politicians, including Presidents, Prime Ministers and Cabinet Ministers, along with Chairs of Finance, Foreign Affairs, Justice, Health, and Defense Committees. Many of PGA's members leave parliament for higher government posts such as the President of Iceland, Trinidad and Tobago, Botswana, the Philippines, Côte d'Ivoire and the Prime Ministers of Canada and New Zealand. Also, as an NGO of

parliamentarians, PGA is able to create effective partnerships with civil society groups, thereby enhancing the role of parliamentarians as the intervening link between civil society and executive authority. PGA's programs on peace & democracy, international law & human rights, and population & sustainable development work in close cooperation with leading NGOs in these fields.

PGA has also had an extremely effective track record with inter-governmental agencies such as the United Nations Secretariat, UNFPA, UNDP, UNIFEM, UNESCO, UNICEF, International IDEA and the World Bank. PGA's guiding principle of bringing together the input of key players from both government and opposition and its close working relationship with members serving on relevant parliamentary committees makes it an invaluable agency for the negotiation and implementation of any successful policy.



1991 - Hon. Eveline Herfkens, MP (The Netherlands) speaks with Hon. Warren Allmand, MP (Canada).

THE FIRE BRIGADE AND THE FIRE

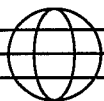
"I cannot undertake to be impartial between the fire brigade and the fire."

That comment on objectivity was penned by a young journalist (who was later to have some success as a parliamentarian) named Winston Churchill.

In the same way, although PCA members who serve on Task Force teams try to approach each situation impartially and without bias, there are certain underlying values they bring with them, values that necessarily inform and influence their actions. Among them:

- Peace is preferable to war. Conflict should be prevented, if possible, and disputes should be resolved peaceably by seeking common ground.
- Democracy is preferable to tyranny. Human rights must be defended and expanded. Governments exist to serve the needs of their citizens. And people should have a voice in choosing their leaders.
- All people are worthy of respect and should enjoy equality of opportunity, regardless of race, ethnicity, nationality or gender. (Every Task Force team includes both men and women.)

There is one other value that is so fundamental it is often taken for granted: the belief that the best way to solve disputes is not with violence but through politics — which has been defined as "the art of the possible."



The Peace-Makers

Some have called it "Track One-and-a-Half Diplomacy" — peacemaking efforts carried out neither by governments (Track I) nor by non-governmental organizations (Track II), but by global-minded parliamentarians. It has been going on now for a decade — and has shown that it can make a significant difference.

Since 1991 some of the world's most vexatious political disputes have been monitored and mediated — and, in more than a few cases, resolved — by teams of highly experienced and successful politicians who, in addition to representing their own constituencies in national legislatures, take on this added responsibility for the

sake of promoting peace and democracy everywhere.

These teams have been put together and sent into the field by Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA), the world's only organization of legislators from democratically elected parliaments, through its Task Force on Peace and Democracy. The Task Force's mandate is: to "promote and facilitate peaceful and sustainable democratic transitions worldwide, with a special focus on Africa." It grew out of the Task Force on Africa, created by PGA in 1991.

Responding to urgent requests from individual parliaments or from Special Representatives of the United Nations Secretary-General, the Task Force's teams have carried out successful missions in many countries all over the world, including: Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, Haiti, Tanzania, and Togo. A few years ago, Jan Pronk, then The Netherlands' Minister for Development Cooperation, hailed these parliamentarian peace-makers who "work for change in seemingly hopeless and stagnated conflicts around the globe." Minister Pronk noted that PGA counts among its members parliamentarians from "many developing countries who share their common commitment to democratic



PGA's 18th Annual United Nations Forum: The Special Parliamentary Session on Africa, December 3-4, 1996. L-R: Mr. Murlu Deora, MP (India); Hon. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, United Nations Secretary General; Mr. Moses Katjiuongua, MP (Namibia); and Mr. Edward Omotoso (UNDP).

principles, and thus PGA's principled stance that democracy must be the foundation and prerequisite for sustainable development."

"But democracy, good governance and respect for the rule of law must never be taken for granted," wrote United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan in a message to a PGA workshop in 1998. "They are," he continued, "all part of a process that must be nurtured, inspired and encouraged....It is largely through people like you — parliamentarians elected by the people, the link between electorates and governments — that the process will flourish, and the values of democracy, good governance, and respect for the rule of law will be consolidated."

From the start of the program, the men and women taking part in the peace-making missions discovered that they had some unique advantages. For one thing, they say, unlike the 'striped-pants' diplomatic representatives of national capitals, they were not constrained by having to defend their governments' policies. Yet they found they had more credibility, and more access to people and information, than other NGOs.

Many of these parliamentary peace-makers, especially those coming from countries within the same region, have found that their work was made easier, and their words carried added weight, because their reputations within the

region had preceded them. And because all of them have had to deal with parliament-level disputes about power-sharing and protecting the rights of minorities in their own parliaments, they have found they could often provide insights and suggest solutions based on their own personal experience.

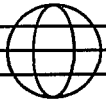
Gilbert Martin, a consultant who has worked with the PGA peace-makers, says they are able to do "the sort of quiet, backdoor things that get results, the things that make compromises possible." And Senator Raynell Andreychuk, a Canadian parliamentarian who has taken part in several peace missions, says the PGA approach helps "create a culture of how parliamentarians can work together and be accountable." And that, she adds, is "a valuable, valuable thing."

According to an evaluation of the Task Force conducted by Professor Stephen Marks of Columbia University: "PGA has [built] up the potential for one of the most valuable, integrated and professionally run preventive diplomacy and conflict management programs that exists in the non-governmental sector. In fact, it has in a sense defined a new stage of preventive diplomacy.... [It] allows elected persons with political experience, prestige, access to information and resources, and the backing of an international network to intervene both to protect individuals

directly linked to parliamentary institutions and to promote broader goals of democracy and prevention of deadly conflicts."



1998 - Hon. Kofi Annan, United Nations Secretary General, and PGA's Executive Committee.



Togo: The First Mission

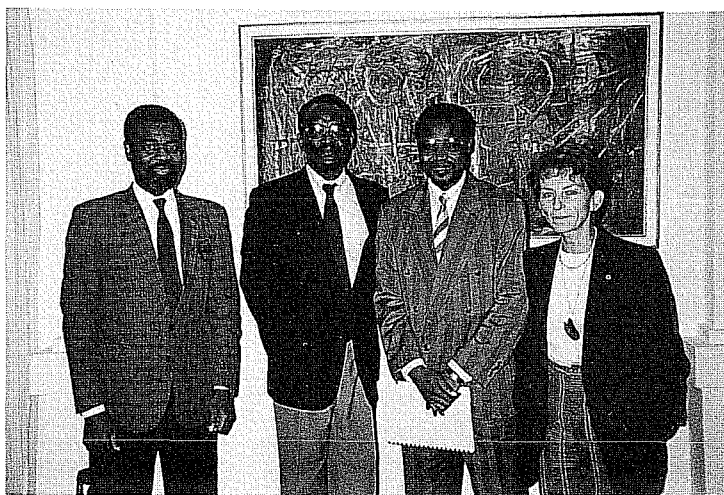
In December 1991, Parliamentarians for Global Action sent a team into the West African nation of Togo to help shore up its fledgling democracy, struggling to emerge after 24 years of military rule, during a time of extraordinary crisis. Sections of the Togolese army had stormed the residence of Prime Minister Joseph Koffigoh, a human rights activist who had been elected to head a transitional government, and killed 17 people. The rebellious troops demanded that Koffigoh step down and that the country's transitional legislature be dissolved. A member of that legislature, Hyacinthe Amakoé Ajavon had taken part in Global Action's annual Parliamentary

Forum at the United Nations two months before. He approached PGA and urged it to issue a "Parliamentary Appeal for a Return to the Democratization Process in Togo." Within a week the appeal had been endorsed by more than 200 parliamentarians from 17 countries.

A week later, three parliamentarians — Bertin Borna of neighboring Benin, Emma Bonino of Italy, and Bara Diouf of Senegal — were dispatched to Lomé, along with PGA staff member Maxime Faille, for intensive discussions with leaders of the government, the legislature, and representatives of political parties and unions. They also made clear that the situation in Togo

was being monitored by the international community, which would not look kindly on the squelching of the Parliament. They were able to take part in the transitional legislature's first meeting since the coup (its Speaker came out of hiding for the occasion) and heard the legislators say that the meeting was possible only because of their presence.

At the meeting, Maître Borna told the legislators: "You are not alone. The parliamentarians of the world are with you...today, tomorrow, and throughout the crisis." He continued: "Failure in Togo would not only be a failure for Africa but



1991 - L-R: Mr. Hyacinthe Amakoe Ajavon, MP (Togo); Mr. Bertin Borna, MP (Benin); Mr. Aboudou Cheaka, Togo Foreign Minister; and Ms. Emma Bonino, MP (Italy).

for the world, as the world — and democracy — are without borders."

The Togo mission was the first test for the African Task Force on Democracy, which grew out of a proposal made at the *Roundtable on African Debt Relief, Recovery and Democracy*, held in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, in July 1991. Bringing together parliamentarians from ten countries in Africa and nine donor countries, the Task Force set as its goals: to support democratic processes under way, to promote good governance, to establish an emergency response mechanism for monitoring threats to democracy, and to provide ad-hoc assistance on democratic processes upon request.

Shortly after the Task Force team's visit, Prime Minister Koffigoh presented a new government, which included three members of the party that had been in power before the democratization process had begun, and began work to pre-

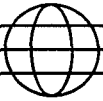


1991 - L-R: Togo Prime Minister Hon. Josef Koffigoh (left) reads PGA's "Parliamentary Appeal for a Return to the Democratic Process in Togo" while Ms. Emma Bonino, MP (Italy) looks on.

pare for national elections. Those elections were held the following summer, with a delegation of three PGA members invited in to observe them as part of the team headed by former US President Jimmy Carter.



1991 - L-R: Dep. Bara Diouf (Senegal) and Ms. Emma Bonino, MP (Italy).



Burundi: Back from the Brink

In October 1993 the recently elected President of Burundi (the first member of the majority Hutu ethnic group to hold such high office in the country) was assassinated during an aborted coup led by some army officers from the minority (but politically powerful) Tutsi tribe. Although the coup attempt failed, it touched off bloody violence, including the massacre of some 50,000 Tutsis. In neighboring Rwanda, which has a similar ethnic makeup, the two ethnic groups were later to escalate the violence until it became a full-fledged civil war and genocide, forcing hundreds of thousands of people to flee for their lives. Many fled south across the border to Burundi, which only exacerbated problems there.

After the coup, PGA sent two delegations to Burundi to open up a dialogue between the political parties. But it was not until February 1994 that agreement was reached on a new President for Burundi, and when he was killed in a plane crash over Rwanda in April, that precipitated yet another crisis. That August a PGA

emergency mission of eight parliamentarians led by Moses K. Katjuongua, MP, of Namibia, who was also the PGA Executive Committee member responsible for Africa, visited Burundi as part of a worldwide effort to prevent further massacres in the region. The mission met with all of the country's political leaders, the chiefs of the army and the police, and leaders of civil society. It also met with the full Parliament in plenary session.

"Our purpose in going

"We will not go away until you [Burundians] tell us how you intend to solve this problem as Burundians. I come from Namibia; it is a stable democracy and has many resources. But the world will not invest in Namibia because they think 'Africa.' And when they think Africa, they think Rwanda, Burundi, Liberia, etc. So we will keep coming back to help you."

Moses Katjuongua, MP, leader of several PGA Task Force missions to Burundi.



1995 - Meeting with representatives of the FRODEBU (at left) and the UPRONA (at right). Parties helped to resolve the crisis over selection of the Speaker of the National Assembly. Mr. Theo Meyer, NR (Switzerland) and Mr. Moses Katjuongua, MP (Namibia) mediated with the assistance of PGA Section Director, Ms. Shazia Rafi and Mr. Gilbert Martin, Consultant/translator.

was three-fold," Mr. Katjuongua told a press conference in the presidential residence at the end of the mission. "First, to convey the concern of the global community over the situation in Burundi, which is on a knife-edge. Second, to convince all Burundians, especially the extremists, that the world is a transparent place today, that we are all watching closely and will form our own judgments of actions and behavior there. Third, to show our support for the young and rather fragile Parliament of Burundi, and for our colleagues in the one democratic institution remaining intact."

"I think we achieved all three goals," he added, "but we must not underestimate the depth of the crisis there. Anything could happen. We will continue to do what we can."

The UN Secretary-General's Representative in Burundi, Ahmedou Ould Abdallah, told the visiting parliamentarians: "I commend PGA for undertaking this mission. You have shown solidarity with your parliamentary colleagues in Burundi at a critical moment and you have, by your very presence here, helped with the democratic process."

As it turned out, though, that mission to Burundi was only the beginning of a process that would extend for several years. During 1995 six more Task Force missions would be sent to Burundi, including one in January that succeeded in breaking a crucial stalemate caused by the election of Dr. Jean Minani as Speaker of the National Assembly. Members of the opposition party, UPRONA, refused to take their seats, charging that Dr. Minani had incited Hutus to attack Tutsis after the failed 1993 coup. The majority party, FRODEBU, contested the charge and insisted that its members had the right (and the votes) to elect anyone they chose.

"As a founding member of PGA, I have taken great pride...in watching the organization perform such good work in Burundi. As Chairman of the African subcommittee in the US Senate, I have been following developments there with close interest and anxiety...I think you did an excellent job, and I am sure it will help in the democratic process of Africa."

Senator Paul Simon.

With significant help from Ambassador Ould Abdallah, the PGA team managed to get the leaders of the two parties talking to each other for the first time in more than a month. After six intensive hours of negotiating, the team members were able to broker the terms of a compromise,

paving the way for election of a new Speaker — PGA member Leonce Ngendakumana — on the last day of the team's stay in Burundi. Mr. Ngendakumana was being installed as the team departed. Many observers credited this compromise with helping Burundi avoid the sort of genocidal bloodbath that happened next-door in Rwanda.

Later that month, leaders of the two parties attended PGA's UN Parliamentary Forum. In February, Mr. Katjuongua took part in a London meeting of organizations active in Burundi. In March, at a PGA meeting in Copenhagen on the role of parliamentarians in providing early warning of imminent crises, the leaders of the two major parties offered first-hand reports on the sit-



1995 - Women's Parliamentary Caucus in Bujumbura meets with PGA members Ms. Hawa Yakuba, MP (Ghana); Dep. Victorine Dakouo (Mali); Ms. Kristina Svensson, MP (Sweden); and Ms. Ingrid Naslund, MP (Sweden).



1995 - Burundi strategy session in Washington D.C. L-R: Dep. Nephtali Ndikumana (Burundi); Mr. Lansana Kouyate, UN Assistant Secretary General; and Sen. Samuel Madistin (Haiti).

uation in Burundi and of the role played by the PGA Task Force. And in April, Mr. Katjuongua led another mission to Burundi, this time stressing the importance of women in politics and peace-making. It also laid the foundation for a series of 'Parliamentary Weeks' as part of Burundi's National Debate aimed at reconciling different interests within the nation.

In May, at the invitation of the Speaker, another PGA mission went to Burundi to help in the formation of parliamentary committees and to discuss how the Parliament might be strengthened as an institution. The following month, PGA's Executive Committee met with UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and supported his recommendation that a regional conference be held to seek long-term solutions to crises affecting Africa's Great Lakes region. In cooperation with the Council on Foreign Relations' Center for Preventive Action, PGA also organized a meeting on the role of NGOs in preventive action in Burundi and Rwanda. Other meetings and workshops, bringing examples of simultaneous economic and political transi-

tions from countries as far away as Albania and Malaysia, were sponsored by PGA in conjunction with the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). And in November UNDP co-sponsored another PGA mission to Burundi to consult with parliamentarians there, particularly the members of the newly formed PGA National Group (one-third of the National Assembly), during a time that was described as "extremely difficult."

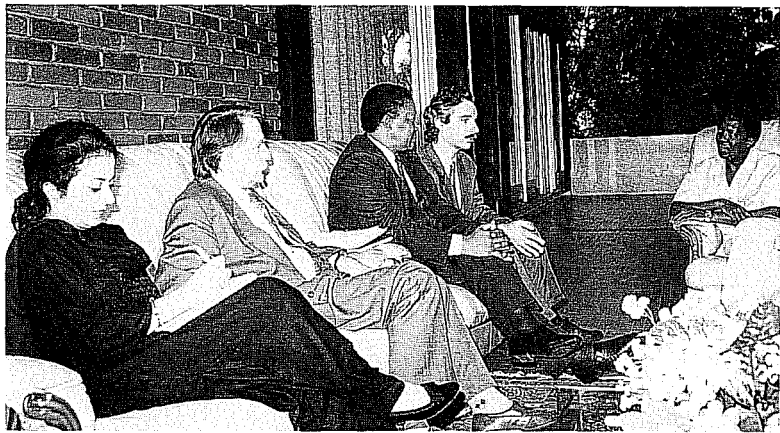
The following March, the Burundian PGA National Group organized a workshop on *Consolidating Peace and Democracy*, attended by PGA members from as far away as Haiti and Malaysia. But more problems lay ahead. In July, President Sylvestre Ntibantunganya was ousted in a coup d'état staged by Major Pierre Buyoya, who also "dissolved" the Parliament. Within days, PGA — insisting that the democratically elected legislators remained the legitimate representatives of the Burundian people — had collected the signatures of more than 120 parliamentarians from 16



1996 - PGA press conference at the United Nations following the coup d'état against democratically elected President Sylvestre Ntibantunganya. L-R: Hon. Anatole Kanyenkiko, Former Prime Minister (UPRONA); Dep. Adrien Sibomana, Former Prime Minister under Buyoya's last Presidency (UPRONA); Dr. Jean Minani, President of FRODEBU; and Hon. Jean Marie Ngendahayo, Former Foreign Minister (FRODEBU).

countries condemning the coup.

In August as the situation continued to unravel, some members of the UN Security Council recognized that the Council had to take some action. At the request of the Permanent Representatives of Chile and Botswana, PGA arranged a meeting between the Council and a multi-party delegation of Burundian parliamentarians. The meeting was held under the so-called 'Arria's Formula,' which enables the Council to be addressed by non-members.



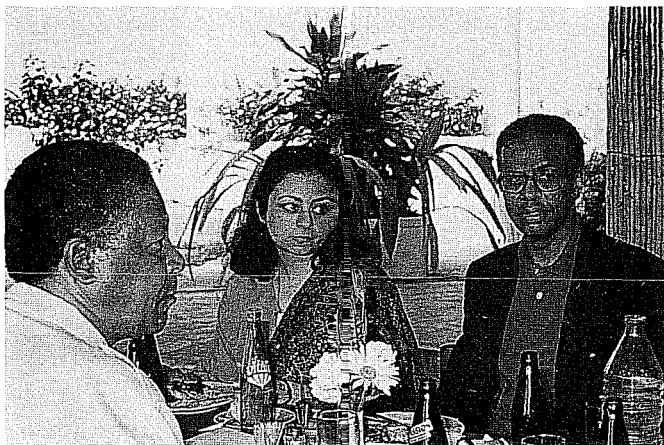
1994 Delegation to Burundi L-R: Ms. Shazia Rafi; Mr. Theo Meyer, NR (Switzerland); Mr. Moses Katjuongua, MP (Namibia); Mr. Gilbert Martin; and Acting President of Burundi, H.E. Mr. Sylvestre Ntibantunganya.

Five days after that meeting was held, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1072, calling for a return to constitutional order and legality in Burundi, restoration of the National Assembly, and a lifting of the ban on all political parties. While some of these calls have yet to be answered, General Buyoya did leave parliament intact, withdraw false charges against the Speaker, and eventually signed a transitional government agreement in 1998. The agreement extended the term of the National Assembly and added some 40 members appointed by the government.

Looking back on the tumultuous recent past, Adrien Sibomana, former Prime Minister of Burundi and a member of its National Assembly,

says that PGA "played a very great role to strengthen the spirit of democracy" in his country. Its Task Force missions, he said, "did a lot of work to stabilize parliament, and we benefited very importantly."

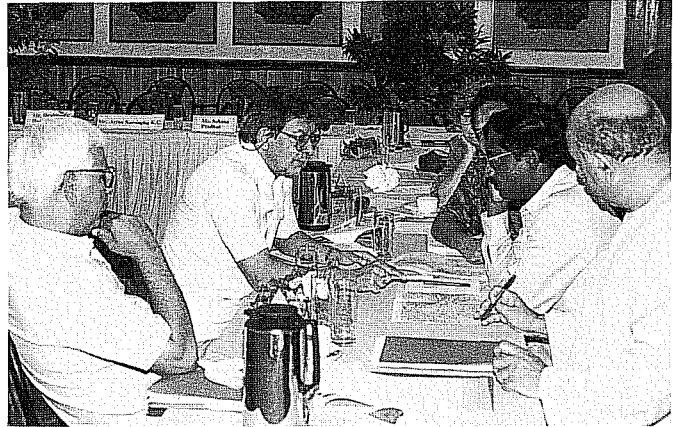
However, because the elected mandate of parliament ran out and the other members of Burundi's current National Assembly were appointed, they are not eligible for full membership in PGA. "We understand that, but we regret it," Mr. Sibomana said. "PGA is a very important network for the world, with much experience in developing countries and emerging democracies. It has really helped us contain many crisis." He paused and then added: "I love this organization."



1994 - L-R: Mr. Moses Katjuongua, MP (Namibia); Ms. Shazia Rafi; and Mr. A. Ould Abdallah, Special Representative of the Secretary General to Burundi.

SIMULATION VS. REAL LIFE IN SOUTH ASIA

Sometimes unexpected — and unexpectedly gratifying — work can be accomplished even during a 'workshop.' For example, PGA sponsored a workshop in the Maldives in 1995 to provide some capacity-building in dispute resolution for parliamentarians from the South Asia region. Featured was an Ivy League professor who led the workshop participants through a conflict-resolution simulation involving, as some remember it, the pricing of an opera.



Some of the participants, however, found it hard to concentrate on this theoretical exercise, in part because they had something else on their minds: an ongoing real-

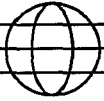
1995 – Working group on sharing water resources checks a map of the region. L-R: Mr. Som Pal, MP (India); Mr. Pashupatai S. Rana, MP (Nepal); Mr. Jhala Nath Khamal, MP (Pakistan); and Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan, MP (Bangladesh).

life dispute that their governments were having about the damming of rivers and diversion of water that flowed across national borders. During the workshop, delegates from India, Bangladesh and Nepal began talking with one another about this dispute and how it might be resolved. They soon found themselves so deeply engrossed in their discussion that they felt they had to continue it. They retired to a quiet corner and kept talking until they had worked out the framework of a deal that they could take home to their respective capitals.

That framework, it turned out, became the basis for agreements that the three national governments entered into soon afterward to lay the problem to rest. It was those discussions at the PGA workshop, says Pashupati Shamsheer Rana, MP, of Nepal, that "certainly helped create the atmosphere of cooperation" that produced results.



1995 - AT LEFT: Parliamentarians practice negotiating techniques. L-R: Ms. Fatimath Sheerin, MP (Maldives); Sen. Aitaz Ashan (Pakistan); Mr. A. Thangathurai, MP (Sri Lanka); Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan, MP (Bangladesh); and Mr. Abdul Suttar, Former Foreign Secretary of Pakistan. AT RIGHT: Mr. Murlid Deora, MP (India) introduces workshop participants to the President of the Republic of the Maldives, H.E. Mr. Maumoon Abdul Gayoom (at left).

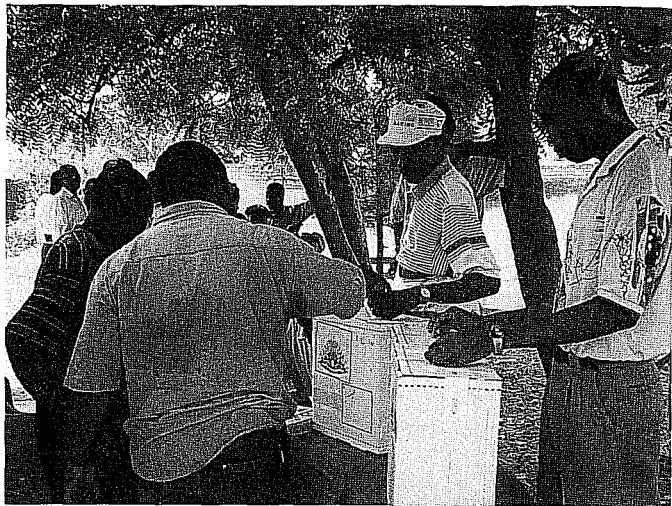


Haiti: Restoring Democracy

Haiti, 1991. Here is how the situation was described by Dr. Dante Caputo, a PGA member, former Foreign Minister of Argentina, and later Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General:

"A coup d'etat occurs and the legitimate President, Mr. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, elected with a 67 percent majority in the election verified as free and fair by the United Nations nine months earlier, is overthrown. Mr. Aristide is almost assassinated. A military regime takes over. People are killed, others intimidated and terrorized. The legitimate parliament is ordered, at gunpoint, to pass new laws. Parliamentarians flee for their lives into exile, including a number of my colleagues, members of Global Action."

Over the next year and a half, despite condemnations and sanctions imposed by the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS), the military government in Haiti under General Raoul Cédras resisted all efforts to restore democracy, although it had pledged to do so. In response, in the fall of 1993, PGA's Executive Committee organized an international effort to help turn the



1995 – PGA's observer mission looks on as Haitians vote for a new Parliament.

situation around.

"I'm glad PGA exists... Its work for democracy and parliamentarians in Haiti is more than fine words. The outrage in Haiti has to stop. We are not out of Haiti through lack of love for our country. We shall return and rebuild democracy there the moment President Aristide is back and not a second later.

Deputy Joseph Fignole Jean-Louis, upon his arrival in Montreal after escaping from Haiti's military rule

PGA circulated a petition condemning the military junta's "violation of the UN-brokered accords and the terror which has been wreaked on the Haitian people," and calling on Haiti's military leaders to abide by an agreement to allow Aristide's return. Within three weeks the petition had gathered signatures from some 150 parliamentarians in more than 30 countries around the world. Resolutions supporting the same principles were passed in several

parliaments, including the Senate of the Dominican Republic, the British Parliament and the European Parliament. PGA also worked to make sure that the news media were aware of what was happening in Haiti and reporting it to the world.

By late October, when it became clear that President Aristide would not be able to return, PGA prepared to send a delegation to Port-au-Prince to shield President Aristide and Haitian lawmakers returning from exile, but that mission had to be postponed when President Aristide decided not to return due to safety concerns. In January 1994, PGA co-organized a conference in Miami, highlighted by the presence of its six parliamentary members from Haiti, which focused on restoring the democratic process in their country.

The situation went from bad to worse, though, with the installation of the Jonassaint government in May 1994, a regime described by the UN Secretary-General's report as highly repressive and the "most authoritarian" of all Haitian governments since the 1991 coup. Its objective, the report said, was "to destroy the pro-democracy movement." In July the Jonassaint government ordered the UN/OAS Civilian Mission to Haiti to suspend its activities and gave its members 48 hours to leave the country.

In the face of such repression, PGA worked, with the help of the French and Canadian embassies, to arrange for the escape of three pro-democracy MPs — Samuel Milord, Gary Guiteau and Joseph Fignole Jean-Louis — into exile in the United States and Canada. They got out on the last flight before a total ban on flights

A CLIMATE FREE FROM FEAR

In November 1994, Haiti's exiled President Jean-Bertrand Aristide wrote this in a letter to Parliamentarians for Global Action:

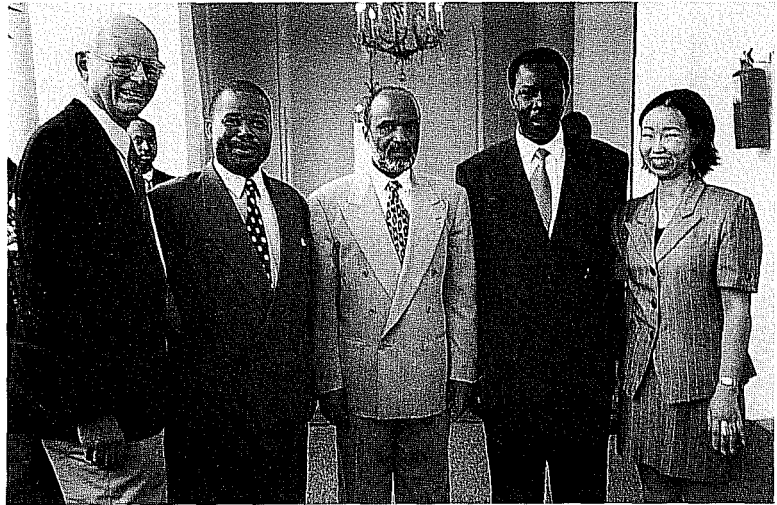
"Thank you for your...support and solidarity...for the Haitian People's continuing struggle to restore democracy, peace and justice to Haiti. Your vigilant work to support the creation of a climate free from fear in Haiti, in which elected officials can carry out their duties and all Haitians can enjoy their rights, is vital to Haiti's future....We stand by your aspirations for global democracy, and deeply appreciate your active solidarity with us at this challenging moment."



1995 – A section of the election ballot for the Haitian Senate including PGA members Mr. Joseph Jocelin Turneb Delpe and Mr. Joseph Wesner Emmanuel.

sealed the country off from the outside world.

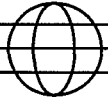
When President Aristide was finally allowed to return (after US President Bill Clinton threatened to invade Haiti if its military leaders did not step down), PGA sent a delegation to Port-au-Prince to demonstrate international support for democracy in Haiti. The delegation — which included the three deputies who had gone into exile — was given the honor of addressing the newly restored Haitian Parliament and was warmly received by President Aristide. He told the delegation he was aware of the work PGA had done to help restore democracy and expressed his thanks for those efforts (see box, page 15).



1996 – L-R: Mr. Karl Göran-Biörsmark, MP (Sweden); Sen. Samuel Madistin (Haiti); President Rene Preval, President of Haiti; Dep. Ibrahima Fall (Senegal); and Ms. Ayaka Suzuki, PGA Senior Program Officer.



1996 - Sen. Samuel Madistin (Haiti) speaking at the press conference with Dep. Ibrahima Fall (Senegal) and Mr. Karl Göran-Biörsmark, MP (Sweden).



Côte d'Ivoire: Ballots and Roadblocks

Côte d'Ivoire has long been regarded as one of Africa's success stories, the economic powerhouse of its region, providing employment opportunities for hundreds of thousands of people from neighboring countries. Early in 2000, however, there were ominous rumblings that the country faced a crisis linked to economic problems and deteriorating conditions in such neighbors as Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea.

Later in the year there was a threat of political instability as well, as the election of President Laurent Gbagbo was challenged by Allasane Ouattara, head of the Rassemblement des Républicains (RDR) party. Ouattara, who had been barred from the ballot because both of his parents had not been born in the country (as required of candidates by the election code), called on his supporters to take their battle to the streets. Their street protest ended after bloody clashes with the police, but tension remained high as the country prepared for another round of elections in the municipalities and RDR was threatening a boycott.

In this setting, PGA's Executive Board decided to send a 'preventive action' mission to Côte d'Ivoire to assess the situation. Among the mission's objectives: "to understand the concerns, fears and hopes of the people of Côte d'Ivoire" and to "promote reconciliation and democracy" in the coun-

try. The mission team, headed by Theresa Ameley Tagoe of Ghana, included five other members of PGA's Task Force, among them Emma Bonino of Italy (who had co-founded the Task Force in 1991 with Laurent Gbagbo). It also worked closely with PGA member Mollé Mollé, the Vice President of Côte d'Ivoire's National Assembly, and two ambassadors to the country, Peter van Leeuwen of The Netherlands and Donald McMaster of Canada.

The delegation met and discussed the issues with a broad cross-section of Ivorian society and heard, among other things, a number of complaints about the electoral process. It scrutinized the electoral code and expressed concern about



Parliamentary Preventive Action Mission to Cote d'Ivoire, February 24 - March 1, 2001. L-R: Dep. Yves Rocheleou (Canada); Ms. Theresa Tagoe, MP (Ghana); H.E. Laurent Gbagbo, President of Côte d'Ivoire; and Dep. Palé Dimaté (Côte d'Ivoire).

one provision that allowed officials to reject a political party's entire list of candidates if even one candidate failed to meet the requirements. The PGA team used the example of Ghana and Senegal where peaceful transitions between government and opposition were taking place using a long-term approach.

After discussing the issue with President Gbagbo and the National Electoral Committee, the delegation received assurances that parties would have three days in which to replace any unacceptable candidate and would not have to replace the whole list if one candidate was unacceptable. The government also endorsed the delegation's call for the international community to send observers to monitor the upcoming elections. On the basis of these improvements, the PGA team was able to persuade the RDR to take part in the election.

The PGA mission also called on the Ivorian government to take concrete measures to address alleged abuses by the police and military, including using roadblocks to subject people to shakedowns. And it voiced particular concern about the status of women and children in the country in the light of persistent reports of rape.

Shortly after the mission came to an end, the government reported it had dismantled most of the roadblocks set up by security forces in an



March 15, 2001 Arria's Formula Briefing on the missions L-R: Amb. Curtis A. Ward, Deputy Permanent Representative (Jamaica); Ms. Lisa von Trapp, PGA Program Officer; Dep. Moustapha Ka, Deputy Speaker (Senegal); Amb. Patricia Durrant (Jamaica); Ms. Shazia Rafi, PGA Secretary General; and Mr. Gilbert Martin, PGA Consultant.

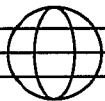
effort to bring racketeering under control. The elections were held without incident and resulted in a victory for the RDR party. As a result, the party's leaders agreed to continue working 'within the system' and try for the presidency again at the next election, scheduled for 2005.

Among its final recommendations, the PGA team urged the government to work toward creating the conditions needed to make that election truly democratic. It called upon the international community to follow and encourage a workable National Forum for Reconciliation in Côte d'Ivoire, and pledged the support of the PGA Task Force toward that goal.

As Ambassador van Leeuwen says, what has happened in Côte d'Ivoire shows that "You can't hide bad governance, or violations of human rights, any more." In addition, Ambassador McMaster was "convinced that the PGA team, was very useful in conveying to the Ivorians that the international community is not totally giving up on them...The contacts established and the role played by the PGA during these two missions have been very useful. The more links of this kind the better."



Parliamentary Preventive Action Mission to Cote d'Ivoire, February 24 - March 1, 2001. L-R: Ms. Lisa von Trapp, PGA Program Officer; Dep. Palé Dimaté (Cote d'Ivoire); Mr. Bert Koenders, MP (The Netherlands); Hon. Theresa Tagoe, MP (Ghana); Dep. Mamadou Koulibaly, National Assembly President (Cote d'Ivoire); Hon. Emma Bonino, MEP (Italy); Dep. Apkale Jacob Gneba (Cote d'Ivoire); Dep. Marthé Amon, First Vice-President of the National Assembly (Cote d'Ivoire); Dep. Moustapha Ka, (Senegal); Dep. Mollé Mollé, Vice President, Assemblée Nationale (Cote d'Ivoire); and Mr. Gilbert Martin, PGA Consultant.



Lusaka: Putting a Peace Process Back on Track

When a ceasefire agreement was signed in Lusaka, Zambia, in July 1999, after years of bloody fighting in Central Africa had killed tens of thousands and forced one million people from their homes, it was hailed as a step toward ending what some had called “Africa’s first world war.” But within a few months, the agreement was undermined by repeated and flagrant violations. Its timetable for implementation was largely ignored and the institutions needed to enforce

it were starved for funds. In many ways, the war was still going on as if nothing had changed.

To help deal with this deteriorating situation, PGA gathered about fifty members of its Task Force in Lusaka in March 2000 to muster support for the peace process among the region’s parliamentarians. On short notice, it brought together representatives of countries directly or indirectly involved in the conflict, including many who had never met before. At a workshop on



AT LEFT: 2000 - Reporting to the United Nation's Security Council on PGA's work in Lusaka. L-R: Hon. Kenneth Dzirasah, MP, Deputy Speaker (Ghana); Mr. Michel Guimond, MP (Canada); Ms. Shazia Rafi, PGA Secretary General; Dep. Ibrahima Fall (Senegal); and Mr. Richard Têtu, Director, Western and Central African Division, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (Canada). AT RIGHT: PGA's workshop in Lusaka, Zambia, March 20-22, 2000. L-R: Mr. David Pratt, MP (Canada); Prof. Andrea Bartoli, Director ICRP, Columbia University; and Ms. Peggy Mason, Canadian Council for International Development.

Parliamentary Track Diplomacy: Peace Building in Central Africa, co-sponsored with the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, these Task Force members sought to transcend their national viewpoints to find a regional resolution within the agreement's framework. They heard not only from each other but also from representatives of the Organization of African Unity, the Lusaka Agreement's Joint Military Commission, and the UN Mission to the Democratic Republic of Congo.

After a sometimes heated debate — and aided in particular by the efforts of MPs Bert Koenders of The Netherlands and Kenneth Dzirasah of Ghana — the participants succeeded in giving unanimous approval to a declaration and plan of action. Those documents outlined specific steps that legislators could take in their own capitals to make sure that the Lusaka accords would be implemented and honored.

According to Prof. Andrea Bartoli, Columbia University, who was on the scene, the workshop was “extraordinarily successful” and its outcome “very significant,” especially since it had been

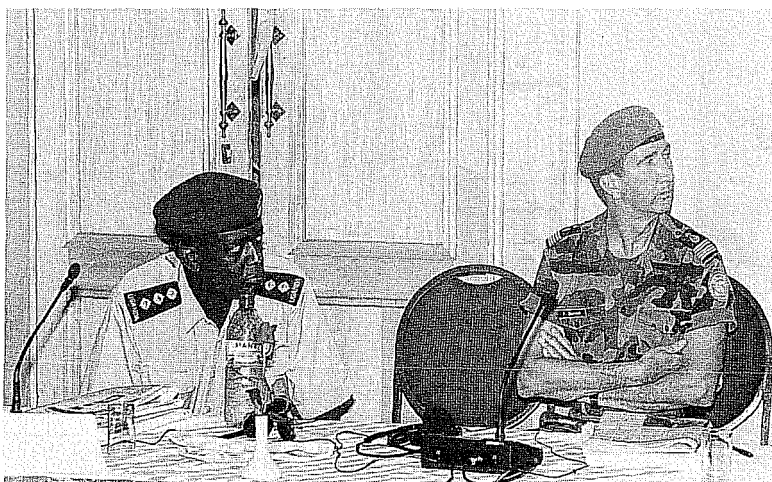


PGA's workshop in Lusaka, Zambia, March 20-22, 2000. L-R: Mr. Richard Têtu, Director, Western and Central African Division, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (Canada); Hon. Irene Chisala, MP (Zambia); Hon. Kenneth Dzirasah, MP, Deputy Speaker (Ghana); and Hon. Jeston Mulando, MP, Deputy Minister, Central Province (Zambia).

achieved with “very little investment by the international community.” The workshop not only strengthened and nourished political will for a peaceful solution in the region, he added. It also helped “get the UN system involved.”

Two weeks after the forum, Ibrahima Fall and Kenneth Dzirasah, then Chair and Vice Chair of the PGA Task Force, presented the results of the workshop to the UN Security Council, meeting under the 'Arria's Formula' that allows the Council to be addressed by non-members. Shortly after that, the Council approved sending peacekeeping forces into the area, and the Lusaka peace process was back on track.

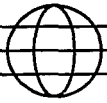
While the PGA workshop cannot take all the credit for this, its contributions were clearly a step in the right direction and were welcomed by Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations.



PGA's workshop in Lusaka, Zambia, March 20-22, 2000. L-R: Brig. Gen. Kezembe, Vice Chair of the Joint Military Commission; and Col. P. Duhar, UN Mission to the DRC (MONUC).



PGA's workshop in Lusaka, Zambia, March 20-22, 2000. Group photo.

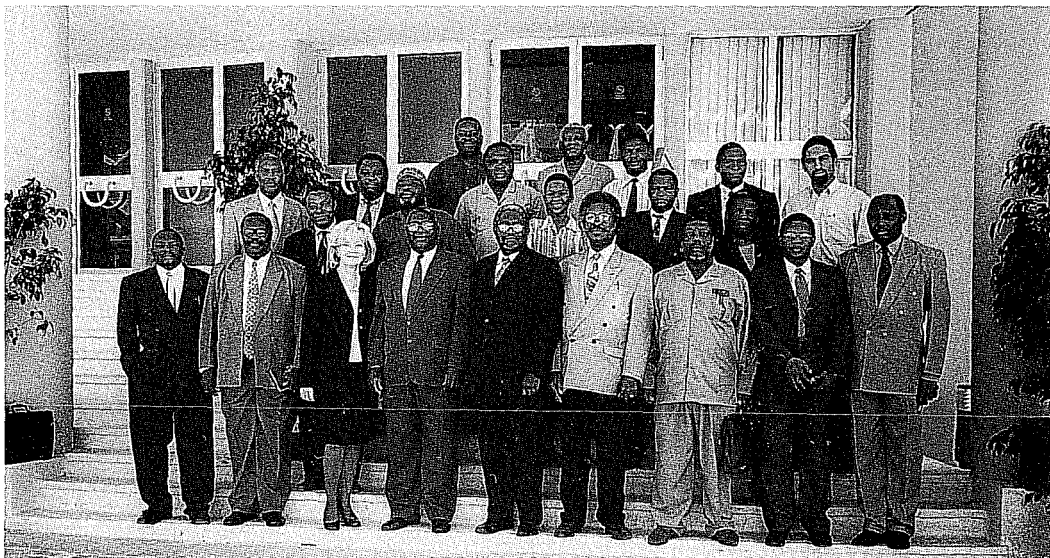


Tanzania: Strengthening the Process

Tanzania is another country in Africa known for its stability and its global leadership under President Julius Nyerere. That stability and international credibility were threatened in the spring of 2001 by a political crisis stemming from accusations that the opposition Civic United Front (CUF) party had been mistreated in recent elections, particularly on the island of Zanzibar. Some members of CUF boycotted the election. Others, who had campaigned and been elected, refused to take their seats in the Parliament and were disqualified. As a result, the Tanzanian

Parliament had empty opposition seats and lacked an official opposition.

In June the PGA Task Force decided to send an exploratory mission to Tanzania to support the stability and smooth functioning of the parliamentary process and to determine whether PGA could have a role in mediation efforts. The mission also sought to explore whether the Tanzanian parliamentarians were ready to proceed with a proposed project dealing with democratic oversight of security issues — a matter of concern in many African countries and elsewhere



PGA Exploratory Parliamentary Mission to Tanzania from June 20-24, 2001. Group photo.

in the world.

The PGA team, which consisted of Kenneth Dzirasah, Second Deputy Speaker of Ghana's Parliament, and Senator Raynell Andreychuk of Canada, spent four days in Tanzania. They held meetings in Dodoma, hosted by William Shija, MP (Tanzania), with Members of Parliament and members of the diplomatic corps, and with leaders of the opposition party in Dar es Salaam. They were able to reassure them that the international community was not looking to dictate any predetermined agenda for Tanzania, but rather to see whether a regional forum might be convened at which different countries could come together and share their experiences. And they convinced the opposition that its future lay not in boycotting the country's political process but in rebuilding its strength so it could take part in it.

A turning point came when Kenneth Dzirasah, of Ghana, was able to show the CUF

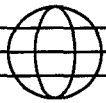
leaders the futility of boycotts by citing the experience of his own country, where an opposition party also had to be persuaded to 'play the game.' Over the course of two elections, he told them, it was able to win control of the government.

At the conclusion of its mission, the team made several recommendations. Among them:

- that any attempt at parliamentary capacity building must be regional (or sub-regional), not national, and must emphasize the potential of representatives from different parliaments meeting and sharing information; and
- that, based on the enthusiasm of Tanzanian parliamentarians, PGA would propose that Tanzania host such a meeting to continue PGA's long-standing relationship with Tanzania and the dialogue on good governance.



PGA Exploratory Parliamentary Mission to Tanzania from June 20-24, 2001. L-R: Amb. Sten Rylander, Swedish Ambassador to Tanzania; Sen. Raynell Andreychuk (Canada); CUF Member, (Tanzania); Hon. Kenneth Dzirasah, MP (Ghana) Second Deputy Speaker; Mr. John Cheyo, Leader of the United Democratic Party (Tanzania); Mr. Wayne Hammond, Canadian High Commissioner and Mr. Ibrahim Lipumba, President of the Civic United Front.



The Aegean: Clearing the Waters

Since the days of antiquity, the waters of the Aegean Sea have washed the shores of many Greek Islands and the coast of Turkey as well. In recent years, though, those waters have become seriously polluted by oil spills, by effluent from as far away as the Danube River, and by agricultural runoff not only from its own shores but from the other seas that surround Turkey. (Much of that pollution comes from countries that are former members of the Soviet Union.) It has hurt fishing in the Aegean and threatens the future of tourism along its shoreline in both Turkey and Greece.

What is more, although there is no current scarcity of freshwater there, more than 30 percent of the land in the region is classified as mov-

ing toward desertification.

In response to this problem, PGA, with the help of the United States Department of State and PGA Advisor David Phillips, organized a roundtable discussion in Stockholm for members of the Parliaments of Greece and Turkey to hold a dialogue on water management issues affecting the Aegean, aimed at seeking areas of agreement for bilateral cooperation. Such a meeting had never been held before.

The roundtable, held in November 2001, faced a number of obstacles, not the least of which was the long-standing animosity between the two countries, fueled by their dispute over Cyprus. Another obstacle was political: Greece, as a member of the European Union (EU), must

adhere to 20 different EU environmental regulations. Turkey, which is seeking to join the EU, has sought to establish norms on water management issues to meet various EU policy requirements.

At the conclusion of the discussion, the two delegations signed a declaration committing themselves to work toward bilateral cooperation on a number of issues: economic, cultural, educational and environmental. They also agreed that another meeting should be

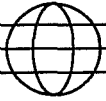


Roundtable Discussion with Parliamentarians from Greece and Turkey, November 14, 2001. L-R: Mr. Abdullatif Sener, MP (Turkey); Mr. Ahat Andican, MP (Turkey); Mr. Karl-Göran Biörsmark, MP (Sweden); Ms. Edit Herczog, MP (Hungary); Mr. Lars Hjerten, MP (Sweden); Ms. Elisavet Papademetriou, MP (Greece); Mr. Evripidis Stylianidis, MP (Greece); and Mr. Klas Sandstrom, PGA Environment Expert.

held, in January 2002, to do more work on developing strategies for cooperation on environmental issues. In addition, they discussed a series of meetings to be undertaken by a Parliamentary Task Force in Istanbul and Brussels. The Task Force, they agreed, would work with mayors and commissioners from both countries to develop projects for joint EU structural funding and to

assist the Turkish civil service, through its MPs, in requesting funding for environmentally-sound public-works projects.

The parliamentarians resolved to continue their talks on common areas of concern and commended PGA for having facilitated these discussions.



What Comes Next

We have learned from PGA's peace-making efforts over the past decade that parliamentarians can make a unique and important contribution to the resolution of international conflicts. But we have also learned that threats to peace and stability can emerge suddenly, turn ugly very quickly, and get out of hand in the blink of an eye. If any time is wasted in responding to such threats, it is truly time lost. It can never be recovered — and its cost is incalculable.

But we also know from experience that the costs of peace-making efforts are insignificant when compared with the benefits.

From the start, PGA's peace-making Task Force has been funded by grants provided by the governments of donor countries including Canada, Denmark, The Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Those grants have been made, on a case-by-case basis, in response to proposals from PGA. But, as welcome as those grants have been, and as generous and responsive as the donors have been, the process of drafting grant applications and then

"As the intervening link between government and the people, legislators are key to the peace-building process. Parliamentarians can often provide a unique perspective to conflict situations...I believe that this Inter-Congolese dialogue must be small enough to be thoroughly engaging to the participants and large enough to be generously inclusive. And I hope that PGA can assist in the facilitation of this dialogue."

Inaugural Address of H.E. Ketumile Masire, Facilitator for the Inter-Congolese National Dialogue, to PGA's Lusaka Workshop - March 2000.

waiting for them to be reviewed and approved can sometimes cause regrettable, even tragic, delays.

There is, fortunately, a way that this problem can be circumvented. A major objective of PGA for the future is the creation of a permanent, revolving fund that would make it possible for our Task Force teams — when duly requested by parliaments or by Special Representatives of the UN Secretary-General — to be dispatched without delay whenever a peace-threatening crisis occurs. Such a 'rapid response' capability would, we feel sure, make our peace-making efforts even more effective than they have been.

In peace-making as in so many other things, time is of the essence. And the time for us to make this 'rapid response' a reality, we believe, is now.

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