



the **ITPCM**
International Training Programme for
Conflict Management



newsletter

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6th year, n. 2

by Andrea de Gutfry

about the ITPCM:

Director's overview

Dear friends of the ITPCM,

as holidays in Italy are coming closer, I take the opportunity, before the summer –break, to send you our new issue of the ITPCM Newsletter.

In the most recent months we started several new activities which proved to be very challenging.

We launched our new programme of short Training Courses through which we offer an opportunity to update various professional profiles allowing them to work more consistently in field operations: these courses proved, so far, to meet the interest of the different target groups.

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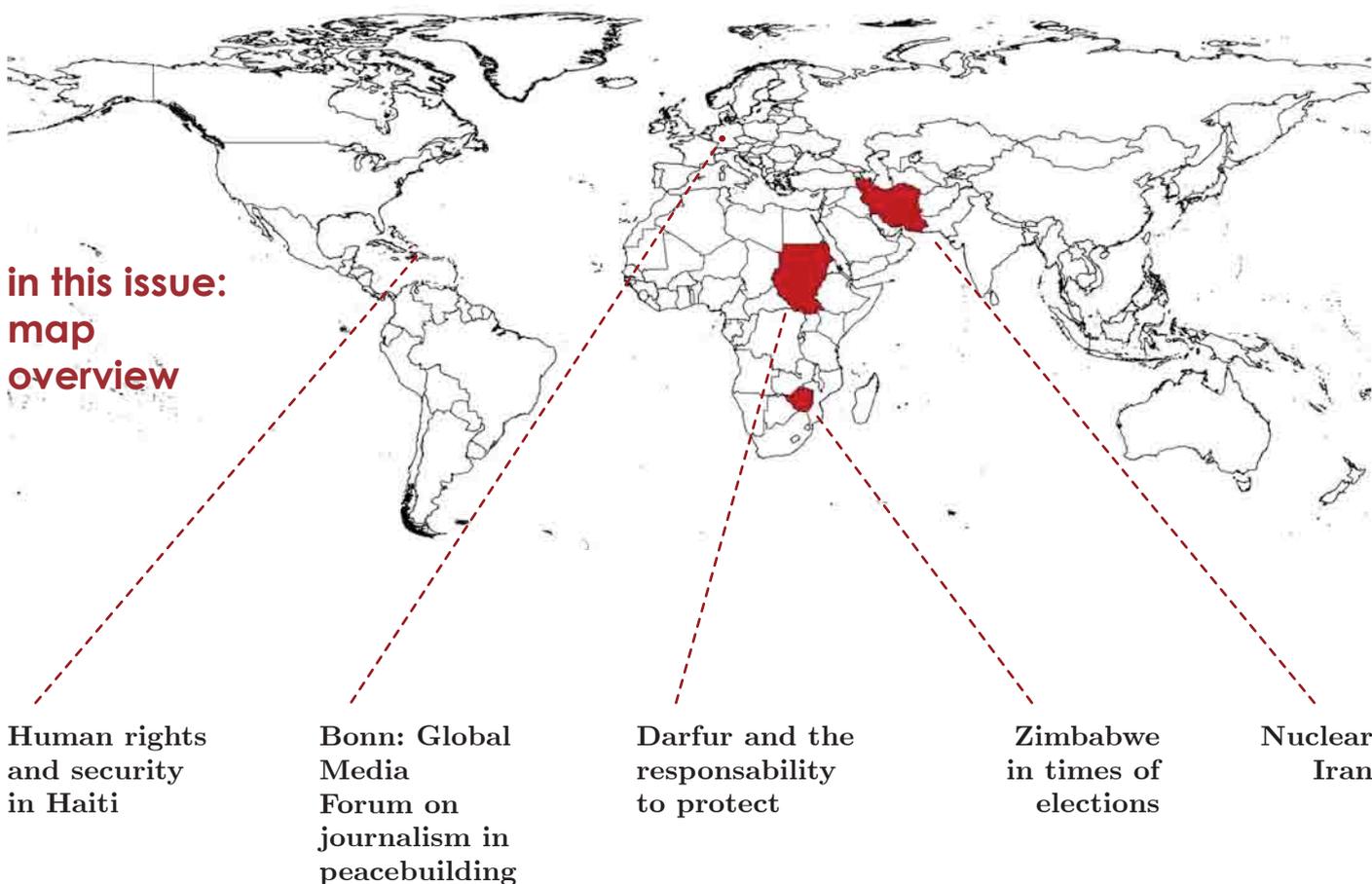
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We launched, as well, our major **Research Project** "*Multistakeholder Partnerships in Post-conflict Reconstruction. The role of the European Union*", which we are implementing, in cooperation with 11 European partners and in the framework of the VII Framework Programme of the European Community for "Research, technological development and demonstration activities". We started, in cooperation with our local partner in Guatemala, **Secretaria para la Paz**, a new and interesting project aimed at offering to the local Government new ideas about the modalities of relaunching and revitalizing the complex reconciliation processes in Guatemala. We have been, as well, actively involved in contributing to the definition of the contents of the new **EU-AU strategy** in the field of Peace and Security. We have been running several training courses aimed at different target groups. We have started working on the reorganization and reshaping of our **Master of Arts in Human Rights and Conflict Management** which will be run, as from the next edition, under my responsibility. In the months ahead of us we are planning various

new activities including the delivery of various **training courses on Human Rights** related issues, in cooperation with the **Italian Carabinieri**, for the personnel of the **Turkish Jandarma** and the expansion of our consultant services which support the decentralized cooperation activities carried out by the **Regione Toscana**. As usual we really hope that we will be able to count, in the delivery of these activities, on the cooperation of our former students and resource persons: your input and suggestions are extremely precious to us here in Pisa.

As the next issue of our newsletter is due to appear around December 10, 2008, we would warmly invite all of you to send us short contributions about the activities you are carrying out or about specific issues you are dealing with: these contribution will make this Newsletter more appealing and vivid. As you may have noticed, from our side, we are doing our best to make it more and more interesting, both from a content and an aesthetic point of view...

I wish to all of you all the best,
Andrea de GUTTRY



**MULTI-STAKEHOLDER PARTNERSHIPS IN POST-CONFLICT
RECONSTRUCTION: THE ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION**

Leading the Research within the
VII Framework Programme of the EU:

the Scuola Sant'Anna (ITPCM-CGP) as
Project Coordinator

The MultiPart project is supported by the European Commission under the Seventh Framework Programme of the European Community for research, technological development and demonstration activities - Socio-economic and Humanities research



What is MultiPart

MultiPart is a research project that aims at investigating whether, how, and under what conditions multi-stakeholder partnerships can positively impact on human security and facilitate non-violence and long-term peace, while providing a productive framework for relations between local actors and external actors, including third party mediators and international organisations.

MultiPart wants to explore opportunities to directly impact on partnerships that are evolving in post-conflict societies and, by translating its findings into policy recommendations, to contribute to enhancing the role of the EU in conflict prevention and resolution as well as in fostering the rule of law.

The project will base its empirical investigation on three case studies of core political interest to the EU today: Kosovo, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and Afghanistan.



Research Objectives

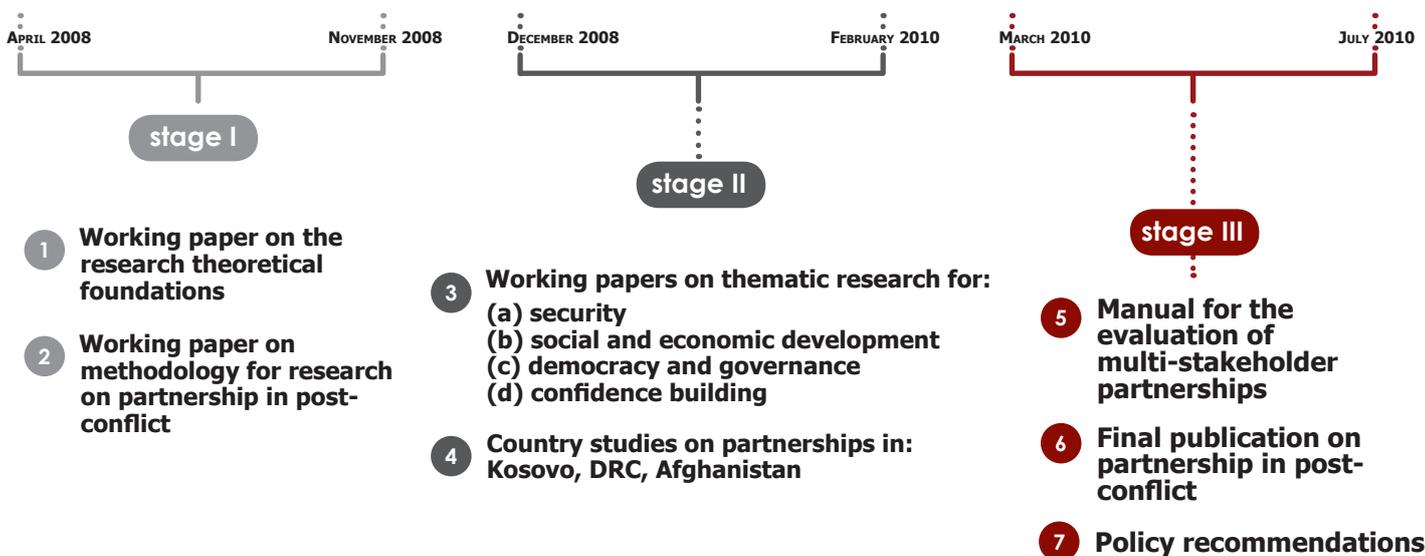
General objective

The research will investigate how, to what extent, and under what conditions multi-stakeholder partnerships can contribute, if at all, to post-conflict reconstruction policies and programs that positively impact on human security.

Specific objectives

<div style="background-color: #808080; color: white; padding: 5px; border-radius: 10px; text-align: center; width: 30px; margin-bottom: 10px;">stage I</div>	<p>Elaboration of the theoretical framework of multi-stakeholder partnership, i.e. elaboration and finalization of the research questions that will guide the core research.</p>	
<div style="background-color: #808080; color: white; padding: 5px; border-radius: 10px; text-align: center; width: 30px; margin-bottom: 10px;">stage II</div>	<p>Core research, i.e. analysis (on the basis of the research questions elaborated at stage one) of multi-stakeholder partnership in four sectors: (a) security; (b) economic and social development; (c) democracy, good governance and rule of law; (d) confidence building – crossed with the analysis of multi-stakeholder partnership in three core case studies – Kosovo; Democratic Republic of Congo; Afghanistan.</p>	
<div style="background-color: #800000; color: white; padding: 5px; border-radius: 10px; text-align: center; width: 30px; margin-bottom: 10px;">stage III</div>	<p>Integration of the empirical findings, definition of policy recommendations and conclusions.</p>	

Research Outputs



Project Facts & Figures

PROJECT MANAGEMENT
 The Steering Committee, representing all the consortium partners and under the supervision of a Scientific Committee, is responsible for the management and the implementation of the the research project.

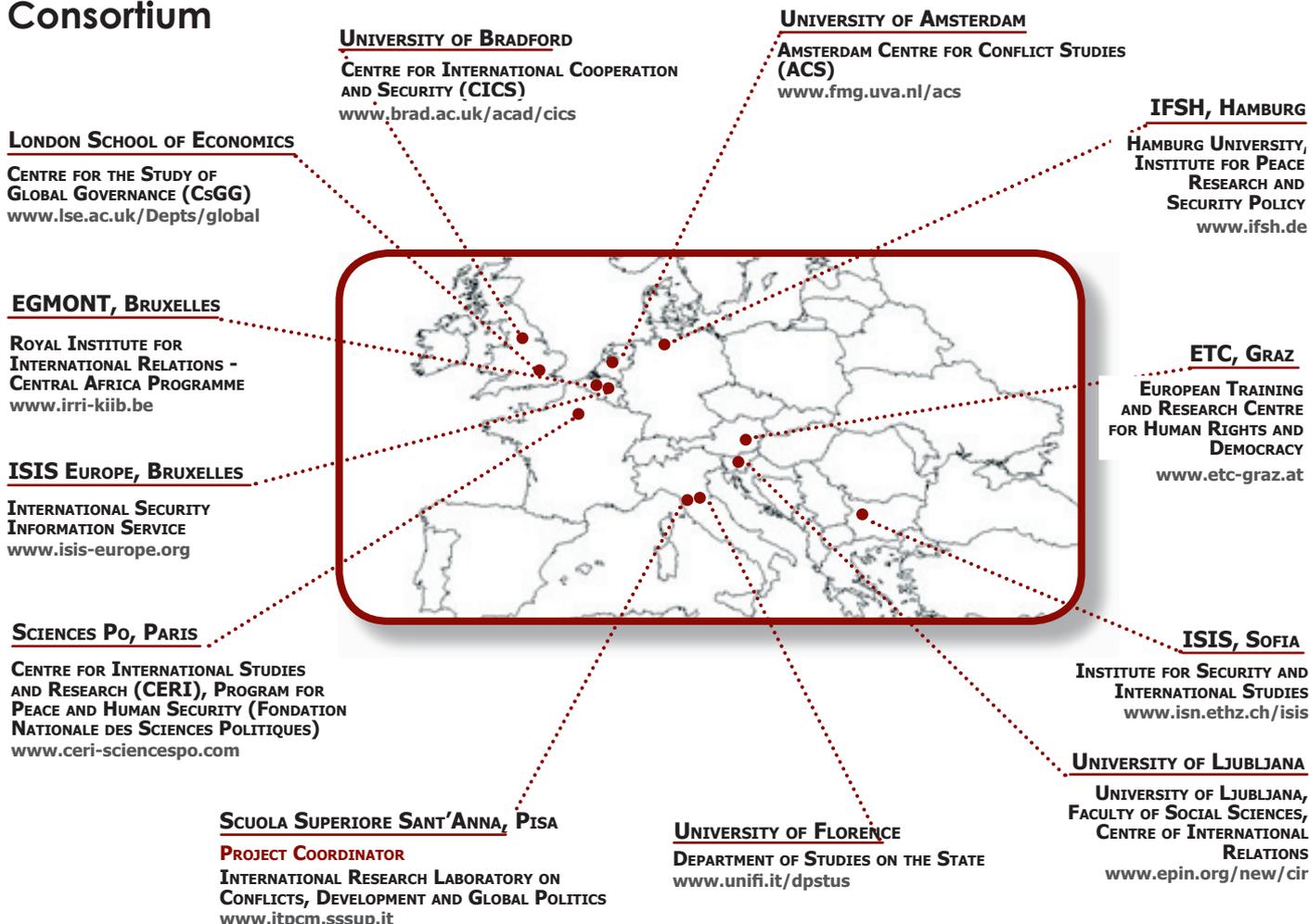
STAFF
 Over 50 researchers from various european universities and institutes take part to the project, assisted by management staff.

LOCAL PARTNERS
 The project establishes a direct collaboration with local universities and researchers. For each case study 'local bases' and reference institutions are the following:

- Kosovo: University of Pristina
- Democratic Republic of Congo: POLE institute (Goma)
- Afghanistan: Kabul University.

DURATION
 The project lasts 28 months, starting 1st April 2008.

Project Consortium



the KICK-OFF meeting: Pisa, 18-19 April 2008

On April 18 and 19, 2008 the inaugural meeting of the MultiPart Project was held at the premises of the Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna in Pisa, Italy, gathering representatives of all the 12 MultiPart partners. The two-day event aimed at the official launch of the Project and the get-together of the MultiPart researchers in the Kick-off Meeting on the one hand, and the discussion of methodological and organisational issues in the first Project Steering Committee, on the other hand.

On the occasion of the Kick-off Meeting several presentations were given by the Project coordinator, the Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna, aiming at both illustrating the research and management structure of the MultiPart project and presenting the draft proposals for early deliverables foreseen in the Project work plan. In



particular, the elaboration of the questionnaires on the dissemination of project's results (previously circulated among all partners) was presented along with the proposal for the content and format of the MultiPart Consortium Newsletter and the architecture of the Project's website.

by Barbara Nicoletti,
MultiPart Project Manager

All partners taking part in the Kick-off Meeting, Pisa, 18-19 April 2008, AP

Eurosservatori: Pisa 22 - 26 July 2008

training course for Short Term Electoral Observer

c/o Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna

About the Training

aim of the training

The course aims at training Italian civilian personnel to best perform tasks and duties as international short term mission electoral observers on behalf of the EU and the OSCE/ODIHR and under the coordination of the Italian Foreign Ministry.

participants

The course is open to no more than 30 participants. Applicants must meet the following minimum requirements:

- be Italian citizens
- have a 3 years degree in any discipline (or equivalent) or 3 years of relevant experience
- have a very good knowledge of **English**

applications

Application forms (Scheda di Iscrizione STO) along with a self-certification of knowledge for the English language must be sent to the following email address by the 10th July 2008:

eurosservatori@movimondo.org

for further details: www.eurosservatori.it

training partnership:



A common European Approach for the Training of Electoral Observers

The aim of the "Eurosservatori" project is to pool together and capitalise on the Italian experience in the area of election observation. It takes into consideration the results achieved by the EC supported programme in setting common standards for election observation. "Eurosservatori" is a pilot project for the promotion and definition of a common approach in the field of election observation; it also represents an opportunity to compare and analyse different electoral monitoring experiences, and offers a meaningful contribution towards the ongoing international debate on these issues. One of the main goals of the Project is to increase the participation of important actors, such as Universities and NGO's, in election observation issues and in support to democratisation processes.

Since 2002 training courses for Long Term Observers (LTOs), Short Term Observers (STOs) and Core Team members (CTs) as well as specialised courses on the Electronic Vote, Conflict Management, Field Observation and on the role of Media have been organised according to EU standards. From 2001 to 2005 briefing and debriefing sessions took place for the Italian members of all the EU Election Observation Missions.

The "Eurosservatori" project is co-financed by the General Directorate of Co-operation for Development of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



MASTER OF ARTS IN

Human Rights and Conflict Management

VII EDITION - A.Y. 2008-2009
PISA - ITALY



PROGRAMME DESCRIPTION

The Master is designed to provide students from different cultures and backgrounds with a deep understanding of the **linkages between human rights and conflict management theory and practice**. The curriculum, strongly field oriented, prepares participants for working with NGOs, governments, aid agencies, the UN system, regional organisations and other institutions.

WHO CAN APPLY

The Master programme is open to a maximum of 28 participants. **14 places** are meant for **non EU candidates**. Ideal applicants should be talented and motivated individuals interested in pursuing an intensive study programme. Candidates must meet the following minimum requirements:

- Have a three years (at least) university degree or equivalent, issued by a university institution or equivalent. Students expecting to graduate before December 31 2008 are also eligible.
- Understand, speak and write English at least at Level B2, as exemplified in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe).

**INFORMATION AND
APPLICATION FORMS:**

www.humanrights.sssup.it
humanrights@sssup.it

**Scuola Superiore
Sant'Anna**

Via Cardinale Maffi, 27 -
56126 Pisa ITALY
Tel. +39 050 882653/5/29
Fax +39 050 882633

under the patronage of:



United Nations
Regional Information Centre
for Western Europe

KEY FACTS

Lenght	12 months (full time)
Start Date	12 January 2009
No. max of Participants	28
Residence in Pisa (dates)	12 Jan - 31 Jul 2009
Internship (dates)	Sept - Dec 2009
Weekly Commitment	20 hours per week
Application Deadline	15 Oct 2008



PhD in Politics, Human Rights & Sustainability

The Ph.D. in Politics, human rights and sustainability is a three-year residential program with highly interdisciplinary connotation

PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT for OPEN COMPETITION: 5 places for citizens of EU members state and **3 places** for Non-EU citizens, APPLICATION DEADLINE: **1 October 2008**

INFORMATION & APPLICATIONS: www.sssup.it/politics; EMAIL: infophd@sssup.it



CORSI BREVI DI AGGIORNAMENTO

LAVORARE IN CONTESTI INTERNAZIONALI
ELEMENTI DI ANALISI E STRUMENTI OPERATIVI

PROGRAMMA 2008

L'ITPCM propone una serie di corsi brevi di alta formazione volti a fornire sia strumenti di analisi sia capacità operative a quanti, per percorsi lavorativi o curiosità intellettuale, sentano la necessità di affinare i propri strumenti analitici e pratici di comprensione/azione negli scenari internazionali.

Il programma dell'iniziativa si articola in 13 corsi raggruppati in 4 moduli didattici:

MODULI E CORSI	data	scadenza domanda
A LO SCENARIO INTERNAZIONALE DEL III° MILLENNIO		
1 ECONOMIE ILLECITE E PACI INSTABILI	concluso	
2 EVOLUZIONE DEL QUADRO NORMATIVO DELLE MISSIONI INTERNAZIONALI	12-13 Settembre	1 Settembre
3 DIRITTO INTERNAZIONALE UMANITARIO E NUOVE FORME DI CONFLITTO ARMATO	24-25 Ottobre	26 Settembre
B LE ATTIVITA' E GLI STRUMENTI DEL LAVORO INTERNAZIONALE		
1 LA FASE DI ANALISI	B.I IL CICLO DI VITA DEL PROGETTO E L'APPROCCIO DI QUADRO LOGICO	concluso
2 LA FASE DI PIANIFICAZIONE		concluso
3 BUDGET & RENDICONTAZIONE		concluso
4 MONITORAGGIO E VALUTAZIONE		concluso
1 CHILDREN AND ARMED CONFLICT: PROTECTION CHALLENGES	B.II DIRITTI UMANI	concluso
C IL PROFILO PERSONALE DELL'OPERATORE ALL'ESTERO		
1 CAREER COACHING: PRACTICAL KNOWLEDGE & TOOLS	11-12 Luglio	scaduta
2 MISURE DI SICUREZZA PERSONALE E GESTIONE DELLO STRESS IN AREE OSTILI	24-25-26 Luglio	scaduta
3 ELEMENTI DI MEDICINA PREVENTIVA, NORME D'IGIENE E TECNICHE DI PRIMO SOCCORSO	9-10-11 Ottobre	12 Settembre
D LE ZONE CALDE DEL MONDO: CASI STUDIO		
1 IL KOSOVO D'EUROPA: DINAMICHE, INTERVENTI, SFIDE	concluso	
2 AFRICA: LE NUOVE DINAMICHE GEOECONOMICHE	26-27 Settembre	4 Settembre

I candidati possono scegliere se seguire un percorso formativo prestabilito - che dà accesso a specifici diplomi - o personalizzato, scegliendo uno o più corsi d'interesse.

INTRODUZIONE ALL'INIZIATIVA

Il sistema delle relazioni internazionali si sta evolvendo a grande velocità, cercando di adattarsi al significativo mutamento degli equilibri economici, ancor prima che politici e militari, e all'emergere di attori statuali e non che premono per ridisegnarne gli elementi essenziali. Si tratta di un sistema ancora squilibrato in cui le vecchie regole della convivenza internazionale, evolute dopo la seconda guerra mondiale, appaiono indebolite e meno condivise, e in qualche modo incapaci di fornire strumenti efficaci alla gestione delle sfide contemporanee. D'altra parte non sono ancora emerse delle "nuove regole del gioco" e per il momento si stenta a intravedere quale direzione prenderà o in quali forme si riorganizzerà la comunità internazionale.

Complessità e cambiamento a volte repentino delle situazioni, pongono quindi delle sfide specifiche a quanti lavorano, o desiderano lavorare, in contesti internazionali. La formazione e il costante aggiornamento diventano quindi uno strumento cruciale del personale internazionale per comprendere e affrontare queste sfide.

QUOTA D'ISCRIZIONE

La quota di iscrizione al singolo corso, inclusa delle spese di registrazione, materiale didattico e pranzo nei giorni di effettivo svolgimento del corso, è di 230,00€. Per chi si iscrive contemporaneamente a 3 o più corsi sarà applicata una riduzione: a partire dal terzo corso, la quota di iscrizione sarà di 195€.

QUANDO

E IN QUALE LINGUA

I corsi, organizzati nell'arco di tempo tra aprile e ottobre 2008 e della durata di 2 o 3 giorni ciascuno, si svolgeranno principalmente il venerdì e il sabato (fatta eccezione per alcuni casi in cui la formazione si terrà anche il giovedì). Le lingue di lavoro saranno, a seconda del corso, l'italiano o l'inglese.

ULTERIORI INFORMAZIONI

Per avere maggiori informazioni sull'iniziativa (descrizione e obiettivi formativi dei singoli corsi, modalità d'iscrizione, etc.), visitare la pagina web al seguente indirizzo:

www.itpcm.sssup.it/update

Training Activities at the University of Legon, Ghana

Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (**KAIPTC**) & International Training Programme on Peacebuilding and Good Governance for African Civilian Personnel (**ITPPGG**) in collaboration with the University of Ghana

(**Leghon Center for International Affairs in Accra**) and the Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna, under the financial support of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in cooperation with UNDESA, **presents:**

TRAINING ACTIVITIES FORT THE 4TH PHASE: 2008

FOUNDATION COURSE

This is designed to provide an in depth understanding of the conceptual framework. It is also an introduction to the main tasks usually performed by civilian personnel in these missions. Participants are expected to apply only for ONE SESSION (18 February - 7 March 2008; 30 June - 18 July 2008, 2 March - 20 March 2009)

More Info about **deadlines** and **Partial Scholarships** availability please contact:

Daniele Lenci

email: d.lenci@sssup.it;

Afua Yakohene,

email: training@ug.edu.gh

International Training Programme on Peacebuilding and Good Governance for African Civilian Personnel Legon Centre for International Affairs

University of Ghana

PO BOX LG 25

Legon, Ghana

Tel: +233.21.501025 or 516151(Direct)

Fax: +233.21.501311 or 516152

Email: training@libr.ug.edu.gh

Website: www.ug.edu.gh/itppgg/index.html

SPECIALISATION COURSES

These are designed to enhance the professional capacity to perform a specific task: Election Observation Course (5-16 May 2008), Election Management Course (5-16 May 2008), Human Rights Course (8-19 September 2008), Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Course (10-21 November 2008), Negotiation Skills for African Diplomats (12-16 January 2009).



Training for the Department of Civil Protection, Italian Government, ITALY

Technical training and skills to enhance the personal profile of the internal staff of the Department of Civil Protection, Presidency of the Italian Council of Ministers, to work in international field operations

Roma - Marina di Massa, 16-27 October 2008

More info: the course is commissioned by the Department of Civil Protection, therefore it is not open for spontaneous applications



Contributions

by Lorenza Fontana*

The Media in Peacebuilding

peace journalism, strategic communication & forms of censorship

*Freelance journalist & PhD candidate,
Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna



Photo Deutsche Welle Archive

How can media be used to promote peace? What are the best practices and the main challenges for international organizations, NGOs and local networks? Where are these initiatives more urgent or effective? The Global Media Forum organized in Bonn by Deutsche Welle was an opportunity for debate among practitioners, academics and representatives of the civil society from different continents that are concretely engaged in the effort to promote peace and avoid conflict through the media.

At the beginning of June, the former German government Plenary Chamber, now transformed into a high-tech and modern design conference centre, hosted a thousand people from more than a hundred countries to discuss how mass media can contribute to end conflicts and build a peace environment in critical areas. While a huge discussion and a number

of academic studies have been developed around the media issues and its role in the promotion of violence and conflict (Rwanda and the Balkans are the most famous examples), a mirror debate on the use of tv, radio and newspapers in the peace process seems to be less appealing for scientists, journalists and media experts. In this sense, the

Deutsche Welle Global Media Forum goes upriver and acts as a unique arena in which participants can share experiences and learn from their peers. Starting from the common sense: depending on its uses, the media can have the power to make local and international public opinion aware of the developments, the causes, the dynamics of conflicts, they can act at a political level to promote good governance models, they can provide information on human rights-related issues, and, eventually, contribute to build a path to peace.

The main issues at stake

A preconception is dominating the general view of the international situation: conflicts around the world seem to be increasing. In reality, in the past 20 years, the trend is following the opposite direction and the number of wars and conflicts is rapidly decreasing. According to the vice-president for strategy of **Radio France Internationale**, Erlends Calabuig,

"part of the responsibility for that widespread misleading perception is of the media and their propensity to speak louder during conflicts".

There is a general agreement around the evidence that conflicts are part of human life, so that we can't avoid conflicts but we can prevent their escalation. Media could be a powerful tool in this sense, and the proposals to make it effective are at the core of the Forum debate.

Peace journalism and strategic communication for peace

One of the most debated proposals is the so-cal-

led **peace journalism**, a form of journalism that frames stories in a way that encourages conflict analysis and a non-violent response. One of the first inventors and promoters of this idea, Nicholas Kristof, war correspondent of the **New York Times**, once said:

"Earlier in my career I attempted to remain objective, but the stories forced me to take sides".

Although the difficulty to find a balance between the journalist profession and the personal commitment in defending human rights is evident, many practitioners are sceptical towards this solution. The polarization that emerges was one of the red lines among the discussions during the Forum. Shirin Ebadi, for example, is a supporter of peace journalism, saying that *"it doesn't compromise impartiality"*, as a Western perspective often argues.

On the other side, John Marks and Susan Collin Marks, the couple that leads **Search for Common Ground**, one of the major NGOs engaged in the creation of communication for peace, think that *"peace journalism does not work. What we want to do is real journalism"*. But in fact, the effort of this organization is more focused on **strategic communication**, than in journalism, as another important tool that applies commercial rules for the production of TV-series, advertisements, soap-operas, music videos and cartoons to products with an ethic, non-commercial goal: the promotion of peace and reconciliation. Some examples: an *"ER-style"* in which a news team covers the complex reality of today's Nigeria, dealing with hot issues such as tribal violence, domestic abuse, corruption, unemployment and AIDS; a song in Arabic/Jewish by a Palestinian and a well known Israeli singer; a reality show built around the friendship between two cowboys - one

Deutsche Welle: the international voice of Germany

www.dw-world.de

Deutsche Welle, the organizer of the Global Media Forum, is a German's international broadcasting service. DW offers globally accessible multimedia information in more than 30 languages. Its mission is to convey "German and other positions on important issues" to people abroad "as well as to provide a forum aimed at promoting understanding and dialogue between cultures and peoples." Operating for some 50 years since 2003 it has been headquartered in Bonn.



Photo Deutsche Welle Archive

from Texas, one from Cairo - discovering their reciprocal "humanity" and losing their fears and prejudices.

Geographical perspective: Asia and Africa and their current challenges

While in Europe and in America the media environment has improved, helped by the process of democratization and the increasing attention for human rights, in Africa and Asia the situation is still unstable, with some alarming cases. As the Kenyan journalist Rose Kimotho highlighted,

"in Africa the problem of the quality of local practitioners and the lack of good training are reflected in the low quality of the information products. On the other side, international media have often a very critical role and the power to set the agenda for the continent. They must be aware of that and try to work for a better understanding of the local reality. For example, avoiding simplification, as often occurs with African conflicts, especially when ethnicity is involved, or paying attention to local customs, such as the importance of the oral tradition and the use of vernacular languages. These dialects are much more nuanced than English and, for that reason,

it is more difficult to catch the intrinsic meaning of metaphors and tones".

In many Asian countries, the major problem is constituted by the restrictions on the media established by the government in the name of human values: using an autochthonous version called the *Asian values*, they argue that press freedom is not part of the Asian culture but is a Western value.

"This idea - explained professor Indrajit Benerjee of the School of Communication and Information, Nanyang Technological University in Singapore - has been very useful for governments to restrict the freedom of information, as in Pakistan and China. Moreover, some Asian media is fuelling the conflict, such as the Taliban media in Afghanistan which promote jihad, or the Chinese media that depict all the Tibetans as terrorists".

An open question remains around the problem of the media liberalisation and the public/private dichotomy: by multiplying the sources of information, a possible result could be the rise of the levels of conflict within a society; on the other side, a public monopoly of media generates evident problems and even worse risks.

continued



Photo Deutsche Welle Archive



Shirin Ebadi, Lawyer and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, Iran
Photo Deutsche Welle Archive

Freedom of expression

As a crucial framework of the debate on media and peacebuilding, a bigger issue has to be addressed: freedom of expression. Without this fundamental institutional premise, no successful implementation could exist. Nobel Peace Prize Laureate **Shirin Ebadi**, special guest of the Forum, confirmed her well known commitment in the fight for human rights defence and emphasized this point by defining this right as

"the most important instrument for the survival of healthy media, as well as the first step towards democracy. On the basis of human rights, the only instance which should restrict the freedom of expression are the issues that lead to the promotion of war and violence".

Another crucial problem mentioned by Ebadi is **censorship**, that could appear in different forms: from the Iranian ideological censorship (*"In Iran there are no criteria or regulations. Everything is dependent on ideology, and this generates a lot of confusion among editors and writers"*), to a "even worse" situation in other countries, where *"the government doesn't interfere directly in the publication neither arrests journalists"*, but allows a *de facto* monopoly of media with a certain ideology, and thus

other media don't have the power to compete.

"In the US only 5 corporations own the mainstream American media and the owners enjoy the same school of ideology. An independent-minded journalist doesn't have the power to survive".

A third type of (indirect) censorship is the

"digital gap between industrial and developing countries: in Angola the ratio of pc owners is 1/3000, and 15 million people in the world have not even seen a telephone".

This leaves a lot of people completely out of the information environment.

Finally, a concern of Mrs Ebadi that sounds as a meta-reflection on the organization of the Forum, a self-critique that, we hope, the DW will take into consideration for the 2009 edition (the third), already under planning:

"Are we achieving any outcome talking about this issues? How many people are we reaching? People that attend the conference are at a management level. They are not people working in the field. There is a need to discuss this issues at a high level, but also we must evaluate how we can transform our work into consequences in the media system and ask how we can expect the role of the media have a concrete impact in promoting peace".

by Mary Engelking*

Doing everything with nothing at all

A snapshot of conditions in Zimbabwe

*AFCA, USA,
Consultant



Photo www.flickr.com

Despite the headline-grabbing political and economic woes in Zimbabwe, ordinary people are working to keep the country alive. Going through the motions of daily life with quiet adaptability, the people of Zimbabwe do the best they can with the ever-changing situation and no resources.

In mid-April 2008 the American Foundation for Children with AIDS (AFCA) sent an assessment team of three to interview potential partner organizations, find logistical channels for aid delivery, and understand the needs. This is an account of the brief and limited situations encountered by the team. At the time of the visit the election commission was still withholding results, a general strike was called, and a special meeting of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) took place.

The Mood in Harare

The uniforms hung on the officers as if their weight loss were recent and temporary. Officials were polite and friendly. Smiles, jokes and kind words came from passport, customs, and traffic police. Absent

were requests for gifts and demonstrations of petty authority that are common in chaotic locations.

Harare was an enormous contrast to the bustle of Kampala, Nairobi, and Mombasa which we had just visited. The streets of Harare were mostly vacant:

few people, few cars. The mood was tense. We had planned to visit rural healthcare facilities in several regions. The uncertain election results, the call for a general strike, local news reports, and rumors of troubles in rural areas were enough to make local NGO staff unwilling to take us outside the city. We were encouraged to travel from the hotel directly to scheduled meetings, and back, by the most direct route available. There were many rumors of troubles in Harare, but the most visible sign of trouble was fear.

Oddly, though the public spaces had few people in them, the employees of most offices and businesses were in place. Waiting rooms and hallways of the clinics and hospitals we visited were filled with people, patiently waiting for their regularly scheduled appointments. The best antidote for uncertainty is doing something familiar. People were going to work and to school, making and keeping appointments, and doing so in the most unobtrusive ways possible. Even if they couldn't count on receiving their wages, people we spoke with believed it was important to keep functioning.

Two days in Bulawayo

Air Zimbabwe did not participate in the general strike of April 15th and so we flew to Bulawayo. Again we were prevented from traveling to rural



healthcare facilities, but this time first-hand accounts of trouble in rural areas stopped us. As we traveled from place to place in Bulawayo we were virtually the only car on the road; a testament to those who participated in the general strike of the day. Normally the city center hosts many informal vendors, but not today. Most ordinary shops were open. A number encouraged staff members to stay home in case of trouble. The shops were full of empty shelves and helpful sales clerks.

On the day after the strike, Bulawayo seemed much livelier than Harare. People we met in casual situations wanted to talk about the election. We heard about prayer meetings for the success of the SADC influence; about the businessmen's breakfast gathering to encourage publication of election results; about peaceful gatherings throughout the city and throughout the days to promote the breaking of the stalemate. A troubled demonstration took place on the university campus. Staff and students commented that the demonstrators were not usual campus people. Professors quickly wrote letters to verify which students were in class during the demonstration. Our hosts received steady streams of calls and text messages reporting stories of violence and the resistance to violence.

In Bulawayo the people were animated but steadfast that the rule of law would prevail in their favor.

The Conditions

Zimbabwe has well educated citizens and the remnants of decent physical infrastructure. Students, taxi drivers, sales clerks, medical professionals and



others were articulate, informed, engaged, and vocal about their political and economic situation. Newspapers were available with photos and stories of rural beatings and political coercions. People said they want their problems resolved. They overwhelmingly rejected violent actions and supported peaceful measures.

The government distrusts NGOs, believing them to be generally subversive, and actively discourages them. Churches are a different matter. Churches, individually and in networks, are providing many social services and much political critique. Their umbrella seemed to protect people and allow action without rubbing the powerful in the wrong way.

Much has been publicized about hyperinflation and the economy. Businesses and individuals with foreign currency resources are limited to accessing about \$16 USD per day. The street value of hard currency is so muddled that there is a 25% difference between the exchange rate in Harare and the rate in Bulawayo. Prices are adjusted daily according to the retailers' perception of the inflation rate. Wages are not adjusted.

The difference between the price and the value of goods and services appears to cause as much market dysfunction as the policies of the central bank. Despite the hyperinflation of the currency, retailers and individuals were at a loss to plan budgets or discuss orders and future purchases in any terms other than current Zimbabwe dollars. As if this nightmare was temporary. The inability to find a stable reference system feeds hyperinflation and market malfunction.

Food is the only relief supply that we were told could not be imported. All other items that meet government regulations of health and safety appear to be allowed for import. Air shipments, particularly to Bulawayo, seemed to clear customs in reasonable time without unreasonable bribery.

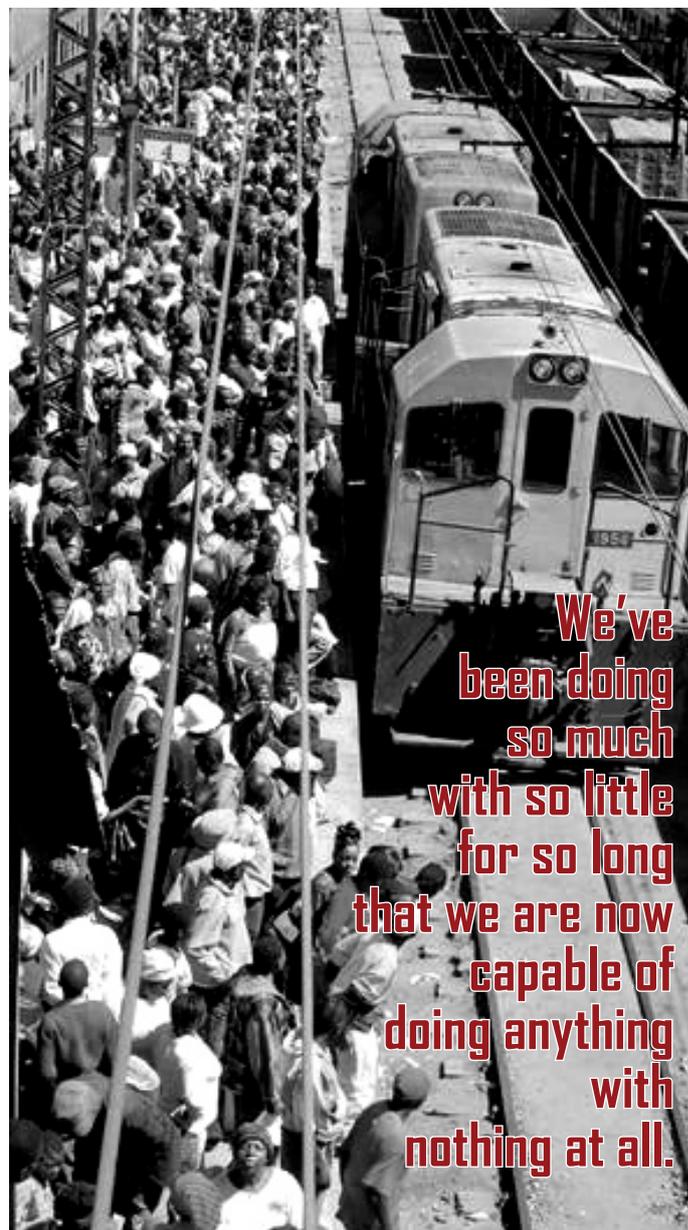
The biggest gap in the health care sector is human. Nurses, midwives, and doctors have emigrated in droves to countries with higher wages. One-third the general population is estimated to be working abroad. The next most important gap is the lack of basic medical commodities such as IV tubes, needles, syringes, sutures, sterile bandages, and essential drugs. One busy city clinic showed us how they re-sterilize and reuse disposable rubber gloves. In-country pharmaceutical manufacturing has come to a standstill because companies have no hard currency to purchase raw materials.

The greatest surprise came in meetings with bilateral and multilateral donor organizations. We approached these groups to see what local grants they had available. They were not in a position to give grants, but consistently asked if their projects could receive aid from our NGO.

Zimbabwe from above

On the plane to Johannesburg my colleague sat next to a 71-year-old, life-long resident of Zimbabwe. It was her final flight out. Conditions had become too difficult and she was immigrating to Australia to start a new life with her children.

While the narcissists fight, the ordinary Zimbabweans are doing everything with nothing at all.



**We've
been doing
so much
with so little
for so long
that we are now
capable of
doing anything
with
nothing at all.**

Zimbabwe BBC Country Profile

overview

Zimbabwe is home to the Victoria Falls, one of the natural wonders of the world, the stone enclosures of Great Zimbabwe - remnants of a past empire - and to herds of elephant and other game roaming vast stretches of wilderness.

For years it was a major tobacco producer and a potential bread basket for surrounding countries. But the forced seizure of almost all white-owned commercial farms, with the stated aim of benefiting landless black Zimbabweans, led to sharp falls in production and precipitated the collapse of the agriculture-based economy. The country has endured rampant inflation and critical food and fuel shortages. Many Zimbabweans survive on grain handouts. Others have voted with their feet; hundreds of thousands of Zimbabweans, including much-needed professionals, have emigrated.

Aid agencies and critics partly blame food shortages on the land reform programme. The government blames a long-running drought, and Mr Mugabe has accused Britain and its allies of sabotaging the economy in revenge for the redistribution programme. The government's urban slum demolition drive in 2005 drew more international condemnation. The president said it was an effort to boost law and order and development; critics accused him of destroying slums housing opposition supporters. Either way, the razing of "illegal structures" left some 700,000 people without jobs or homes, according to UN estimates.

The former Rhodesia has a history of conflict, with white settlers dispossessing the resident population, guerrilla armies forcing the white government to submit to elections, and the post-independence leadership committing atrocities in southern areas where it lacked the support of the Matabele people. Zimbabwe has had a rocky relationship with the Commonwealth - it was suspended after President Mugabe's controversial re-election in 2002 and later announced that it was pulling out for good.



Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe, photo www.flickr.com

Zimbabwe BBC Country Profile

Leaders

Robert Mugabe played a key role in ending white rule in Rhodesia and he and his Zanu-PF party have dominated Zimbabwe's politics since independence in 1980.

The main challenge to the octogenarian leader's authority has come from the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). The MDC says its members have been killed, tortured and harassed by Zanu-PF supporters. The president has accused the party of being a tool of Western powers.

Mr Mugabe was declared the winner of the 2002 presidential elections, considered seriously flawed by the opposition and foreign observers. He received a boost in 2005 when Zanu-PF won more than two-thirds of the votes in parliamentary elections, said by the MDC to be fraudulent.

The size of the win enabled the president to change the constitution, paving the way for the creation of an upper house of parliament, the Senate. Ideologically, Mr Mugabe belongs to the African liberationist tradition of the 1960s - strong and ruthless leadership, anti-Western, suspicious of capitalism and deeply intolerant of dissent and opposition.

His economic policies are widely seen as being geared to short-term political expediency and the maintenance of power for himself. Mr Mugabe has defended his land reform programme, saying the issue is the "core social question of our time".

Mr Mugabe was defeated in the first round of presidential elections held in March 2008. At the same time, his ruling Zanu-PF party lost its majority in parliament for the first time since independence 28 years previously. It won 97 out of 210 seats. The Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), led by Morgan Tsvangirai, won 99 seats. Election results were announced more than a month after the vote. The Electoral Commission then announced a presidential run-off election due to be held on 27 June. Morgan Tsvangirai on 22 June announced that he was pulling out of the run-off on the grounds that a free and fair vote was not possible because of the violent attacks on his supporters.

Facts

FULL NAME: REPUBLIC OF ZIMBABWE

POPULATION: 13.3 MILLION (UN, 2007)

CAPITAL: HARARE

AREA: 390,759 SQ KM (150,873 SQ MILES)

MAJOR LANGUAGE: ENGLISH (OFFICIAL), SHONA, SINDEBELE

MAJOR RELIGIONS: CHRISTIANITY, INDIGENOUS BELIEFS

LIFE EXPECTANCY: 44 YEARS (MEN), 43 YEARS (WOMEN) (UN)

MONETARY UNIT: 1 ZIMBABWE DOLLAR = 100 CENTS

MAIN EXPORTS: TOBACCO, COTTON, AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS, GOLD, MINERALS

GNI PER CAPITA: US \$340 (WORLD BANK, 2006)

by Giovanni Stanghellini*

Haiti, a long way to go

*PhD candidate,
Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna

Haiti promised much as the world's first black-led republic and the first Caribbean state to achieve independence. But decades of poverty, environmental degradation, violence, instability and dictatorship have left it as the poorest nation in the Americas. A bloody rebellion, and pressure from the US and France, forced Mr Aristide out of the country in 2004.

Since then, an elected leadership has taken over from an interim government and a UN stabilisation force has been deployed. But Haiti is still plagued by violent confrontations between rival gangs and political groups and the UN has described the human rights situation as "catastrophic".

Beautiful trees and florid vegetation animate Haiti. However life is hard, society is dismantled, destroyed, weak, population hopeless, poverty ordinary and extreme at the same time. Nobody, indeed, is excluded, no one discriminated, neither senators nor magistrates can rely on high salaries (between 200 and 500\$ for judges), high standard of life or quality of work place. The Central Bank and the Presidential palace are the only two institutions with buildings and furniture appropriate for the tasks they should perform. The Senate is close to one of the poorest area of the capital, in a malodorous street and without organization among the offices inside.

If equality is the goal, Haiti is a good example both in terms of actual situation and in terms of perspectives people have for the future. However I would not recommend the kind of equality we face in Haiti. Long term reasoning and forward-looking projects are extremely rare, unless we talk about personal interests. The same ministries, senators and high public officials are in power for more than a decade. The idea of renewing politics after the end of the dictatorship has not been successful. Vetting mechanisms have been stopped and political participation is very low, problems of alphabetization are difficult to eradicate, level of corruption extremely high. As an example, the actual President Renè Preval was Prime Minister when Aristide came to power and when finally was dismissed in 2004 after the third relevant period of civil war; the distance between what population really asks for (agriculture reform,

continued



The statue of the Unknown Maroon outside the Presidential Palace in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, photo: John Garrigus



Clay cookies to eat, photo: Toiouvran, www.flickr.com (product to fight the famine)

lower prices for goods, power stability and development of sense of security) and what the government actually provides could not be bigger. The enthusiasm that led Aristide to power in the early nineties has changed in scepticism and disillusion.

Haiti is a paradoxical State. The first that obtained independence in 1804 among all the colonies, fought against France and helped other countries in the same process. Free from France influence, it has been under control of the USA for a while but, despite its link with powerful countries, despite its historical background, its homogenous population and the close experience of the Dominican Republic, Haiti has very limited chance to improve its condition, at least in the short term. Surprisingly, the fact that non effective change happened at political level has not led to period of peace and stability; on the contrary, the government, at least recently, has been unable and unwilling to eradicate national gangs and guarantee reforms in the rule of law sector. Corruption and personal interests have very often become a priority. Recently Haiti received the worst score of all 163 countries in the "Corruption Perception Index"; 60% of police is perceived as corrupt.

As far as rule of law is concerned, the percentage of criminality is still very high; after 2004 and the renewed presence of the international force of MINUSTAH, domestic violence has been reduced, while reforms in the police and law enforcement officials sector, in the judiciary sector and in the law review sector has always been stopped or postponed. The development of a rule of law culture is the main goal that all international actors should have in Haiti, because the sense of legality spread among the population is very low, the real knowledge of the main legal texts is largely insufficient and the basic standard of human rights protection usually violated. The State is completely absent, most of those that have worked on the field also in some other countries expressed their idea of dealing not with a failed State, just because the State has never been effectively present.

International Organizations work actively in order to solve some of these strategic issues, foster a sense of justice inside the society, provide the country a modern and up-to-date legislation inside a well-organized administration. This large and ambitious project is developed and made concrete by the specialization that each Organization can guarantee. Striking a balance between the short term impact of an action and the long term approach that should be maintained is extremely difficult. Paradoxically,



Jean Dominique, independent journalist and founder of *Haiti Radio Inter*, returning to Port-au-Prince after his second exile in the USA (1994)

**“ You are not French.
You are not British.
You are not American.
You are Haitian! ”**

Jean Dominique addressing the haitians from his radio

working in post conflict countries could result to be surprisingly easy due to the fact that a lot of things have to be performed. However, priority and hierarchy in assessing and addressing the real needs are required steps for an effective and productive action.

A deep reform of the legislation in force is one of the main goal (the criminal and procedure code are almost unchanged from the early 1800s) that should be achieved. As far as child protection, trafficking of human beings, sell of organs, child prostitution and cross border criminality are concerned the legislative vacuum is impressive. Despite the ratification that Haiti made of almost all the main International Treaties dealing with the subject, we have scarcely found reference to comprehensive legislation criminalizing trafficking of persons, reduction in condition similar to slavery, forced labour and domestic exploitation. Among the population there is a precise knowledge of how spread is the problem. Young girls forced to work as housekeepers in other families, often sexually exploited and unable to attend school regularly; children of 10 years used in sex industry or engaged as workers for agriculture both inside the country and abroad. Extremely frequent

is also the condition of those, boys and girls, that are recruited by traffickers and pushed to leave the country with the promise of high salary and good life conditions and that, on the contrary, become victims of the trafficking system and are trafficked around the world as slaves.

Poverty, lack of economic activities, high level of unemployment are the basis for such terrible crimes. Legislation is, when provided, unattended or ignored; law enforcement officials are, when

As part of an overall strategy, awareness raising campaigns, training sessions for immigration officials, lawyers and magistrates, investigation courses for policemen have been developed in parallel with many other activities. Among these, periodical meetings with the inter-ministerial group for reviewing the concerned laws (in trafficking, migration and social protection policy); advocacy sessions in order to make the population and national authorities familiar with the terms of the new legislation and with the danger and the diffusion of the trafficking and child-exploitation issues, lobbying activities for senators and ministries as well as close contacts with local NGOs for monitoring current situation, were some of the main actions implemented for reaching the goal (reducing the impact of trafficking activity, provide Haiti of a modern legislation in line with the international ratified Treaty and ensuring child from being victims).

All that is just part of a wider plan in which criminal code reform, assistance to magistrates, reform of tribunal registrars code, support for security sector and development of investigation techniques are the main activities.

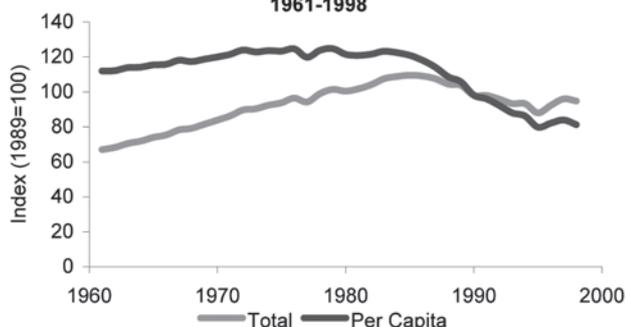
The mandate for MINUSTAH (with almost 9000 among troops, police force and international civilian personnel), covers all these fields; rule of law is the main objective as well as maintaining a situation of effective stability in the country.

Despite concrete and evident results, the poverty, high price of some commodities (rice especially) could lead to protests, dangerous for the country. The economy, still blocked and unable to meet the needs of the population, has made Haiti a country largely dependent on importations and foreign goods. Domestic production has been destroyed in the '80s during the period of the first wave of aggressive globalization; insecurity has kept the investors far from the country and has left the national economy in a stalemate. Stability, security, vetting mechanisms in order to have trustful politicians, child protection and the revitalization of the economy are the main issues that the international community is facing in Haiti. USA, Canada and France work separately, investing in the country with very different strategy. While France is extremely active in fostering and maintaining some influence at cultural level, the USA is strongly involved in engineering projects, in building infrastructures and, more generally, in short-term impact projects. Despite the significant amount of money the US spends, the Canadian administration is also extremely active and appreciated for the consistency of their projects and reliability of their engagement.

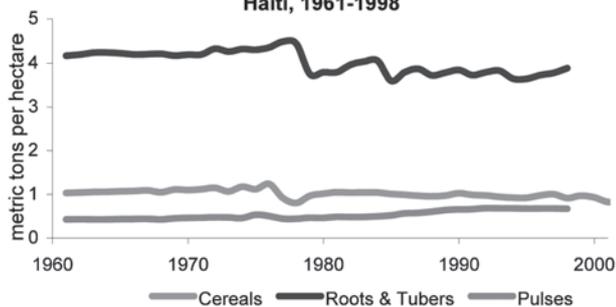
EarthTrends
Country Profiles



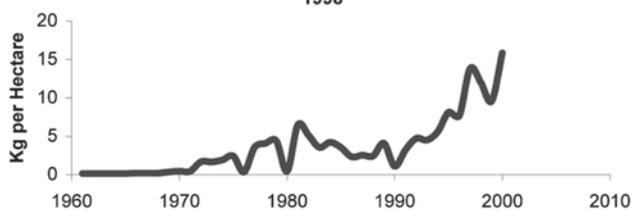
Index of Total and Per Capita Food Production, Haiti, 1961-1998



Yields of Cereals, Roots and Tubers, and Pulses, Haiti, 1961-1998



Fertilizer Consumption per Hectare of Cropland, Haiti, 1961-1998



not corrupted, left without sufficient and adequate equipments and powers (police has not arrest authority except in cases of flagrante); magistrate and lawyers, when diligent and committed, lack resources and competences (poor case management, no logistic support and lack of judicial independence).

by Alberto Turlon*

*International Relations Expert,
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Debating Nuclear Iran

The debate over Iran's nuclear program failed to fade. Since 2005, Iran's Nuclear Program has become the subject of contention with the West because of suspicions regarding Iran's military intentions. This has led the UN Security Council to impose sanctions against Iran on select companies linked to this program, thus furthering its economic isolation on the international scene.

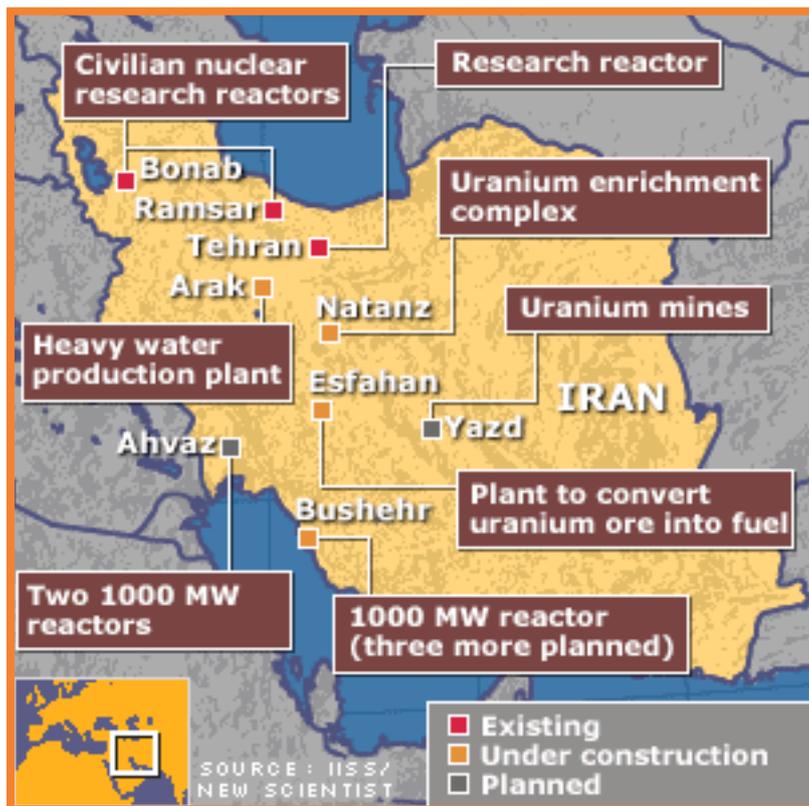
Iran says its nuclear ambitions are peaceful.

In 2006 the government announced that it had succeeded in enriching uranium. President Ahmadinejad said Iran has an "inalienable right" to produce nuclear fuel.



The European Union and the United States are asking Iran to suspend the Nuclear Enrichment Programme. After one year the Security Council voted unanimously severe economic sanctions, the international diplomacy is trying to let the door open in the case

Tehran wish to co-operate with the West. The U.S. do not speak directly with Iran. The European Foreign Policy High Representative, Mr. Javier Solana, travelled to Tehran in order to present a revised version of the agreement already proposed in 2003 by France, the



United Kingdom and Germany: freezing the nuclear activities in exchange of economic and trade cooperation with the European Union. The U.S. declared that Tehran rejected the proposal even before Mr. Solana finished to explain to the Iranian diplomats the European offer¹. For the Western Powers an immediate Uranium Enrichment suspension is a prerequisite before any kind of negotiation. But this is too much for Iran and the Ayatollah Government stated that they will never accept such a pre-condition, even if they are still considering the economic incentives as very challenging. The fast growing price of the barrel is a daily concern among the Governments and the Iranian establishment knows that. The diplomatic impasse would not be solved before the U.S. will turn over their executive after the 2008 Presidential Elections. The option of war is still on the table but President Bush is leaving, the American domestic economic situation is weak and the candidates's teams are preparing two possible scenarios for the best way-out or a go-in-depth strategies in Iraq and Afghanistan.

If Iran accomplishes its Nuclear Programme, there will be two major consequences. The first one will

¹ West keen to keep Iran channel open, Jon Leyne, BBC.

be a strengthened energetic and trade alliance among Iran, Russia and China. The second will be a threat to Israel security. Iran will be more powerful in controlling the pipelines routes from Central Asia and Caspian Sea to the West and has the second biggest exploited oil reserve in the world. China is looking at the oil reserves with great interest and it is available to sell to Iran weapons, technology and goods. Russia is also a potential weapons and technology supplier. If the alliance between Beijing, Moscow and Tehran will be consolidated, China and Russia will have more control over the reserves and the pipelines. China and Russia are the leaders of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, SCO, which is primarily a regional security body, although related to the energetic issue. Iran has the observer status but could decide in any time to become a member and join the alliance. The Central Asia states already did it. Iran will play a big role in determining the oil price, in controlling the Ormuz Straits and in influencing the Middle East political situation but the U.S.A. want to prevent that.

If Iran develops nuclear technology, Israel security will be threatened and Tel Aviv has prepared secret plans for preventive attacks against Iranian military equipments. At the same time Israel is engaged in negotiations with Syria by talking about delivering back the Golan Heights in exchange of a durable peace. It will be a decisive step toward the isolation of Tehran regime.



Photo www.flickr.com

Iran continues to feel surrounded by hostile Powers and now the popular consent about Nuclear development is very high. Even President Ahmadinejad's opponents agree in keeping free the possibility of developing nuclear technology. When Iran started to develop the Nuclear Development Programme under the Shah, Henry Kissinger himself explained that Iran had to develop nuclear energy in order to preserve their reserves². Tehran could have access to the black market of nuclear technology and raw uranium. Enriched Uranium may be transferred through Caucasus or Central Asia to Iran. There is an illegal market of atomic material based mainly in Russia. The Russian Security Programme is engaged in a strong fight against this traffic, but the barriers could be eluded. The international security has become the main deal of the game and the European bargain does not preserve Iran from future crisis against the U.S. or Israel. Iran is afraid about a Western attack and the establishment wants to be free of developing a nuclear bomb in the future as deterrent against possible threats of war or foreign influence.

From the internal point of view, the Iranian political class joins the opinion that Iran should achieve a strong energetic independence and nuclear is essential. No Iranian leader could give up the international pressure without being considered traitor. Although there is a lot of discontent within the people about the Government policies, the political parties commonly criticize the Bush administration. Washington tried several times to constitute a coalition of oppositors to the ayatollah regimes, like the Afghani and Iraqi coalitions, but was not successful. Recently the White House held a conference of Iranian dissidents, but even the son of the Shah did not attend the event³.

The New Yorker published a report written by the analyst Seymour Hersh on June 29th 2008. The Pulitzer laureate has affirmed that there is a large escalation of cover operations against Iran. Democrats and republicans agree on that. The goals are to destabilize the internal regime and to gather information about nuclear activities. Since last year cross-border operation have been conducting from southern Iraq. Most analysts said that an attack will not go beyond the nuclear plants. The diplomatic channels are open and the oil problem, the European fears and the Western plans in Iraq and Afghanistan need to be arranged before any future step. The new

U.S. President will face the crisis, but the problem is what the European allies really want for the future. What about for example the Iranian oil and the Middle East setting developments.

Iran BBC Country Profile

Overview

Iran has been led by a conservative elite since 1979, but appeared to be entering another era of political and social transformation with the victory of the liberals in parliamentary elections in 2000.

But the reformists, kept on the political defensive by powerful conservatives in the government and judiciary, failed to make good on their promises.

Former President Mohammad Khatami's support for greater social and political freedoms made him popular with the young - an important factor as around half of the population is under 25.

But his liberal ideas put him at odds with the supreme leader, Ayatollah Khamenei, and hardliners reluctant to lose sight of established Islamic traditions.

The elections of June 2005 dealt a blow to the reformists when Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, Tehran's ultra-conservative mayor, became president.

Persia, as it was, had been one of the greatest empires of the ancient world, and has long maintained a distinct cultural identity within the Islamic world by retaining its own language and adhering to the Shia interpretation of Islam.

Facts

FULL NAME: ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN
 POPULATION: 71.2 MILLION (UN, 2007)
 CAPITAL: TEHRAN
 AREA: 1.65 MILLION SQ KM (636,313 SQ MILES)
 MAJOR LANGUAGE: PERSIAN
 MAJOR RELIGION: ISLAM
 LIFE EXPECTANCY: 69 YEARS (MEN), 73 YEARS (WOMEN) (UN)
 MONETARY UNIT: 10 IRANIAN RIALS = 1 TOMAN
 MAIN EXPORTS: PETROLEUM, CARPETS, AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS
 GNI PER CAPITA: US \$2,770 (WORLD BANK, 2006)

2 Chomsky N., Targeting Iran, Bersamian D., 2007.

3 Abrahamian E., Targeting Iran, Bersamian D., 2007.

by Benjamin Kwasi Agordzo*

Responsability to protect in Darfur?

Human Rights in times of Olympic Games

*PhD candidate,
Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna

The concept of “Responsibility to Protect” (R2P) is relatively new in International Relations. For many scholars, however, the R2P is nothing but another name for Humanitarian Intervention (HI) which had been opposed by some members of the UN for various reasons. This essay seeks to briefly explain the antecedents to the introduction of the R2P; discuss the rationale behind its introduction; find out whether the R2P has made any difference in Darfur; and finally make suggestions as to how the R2P could be made more effective.

Brief Antecedent to the Introduction of R2P

Prior to the formation of the UN, wars had been fought between and among states. Undoubtedly, the major aim for the formation of the UN is the maintenance of world peace and the prevention of war. Consequently, traditional UN peacekeeping was designed to monitor and reinforce the ceasefires agreed between the warring countries. The reality since the end of the cold war has been the proliferation of armed conflicts within states centering on demands of greater socio-political rights which were hitherto suppressed during the cold war.¹

The result of such civil wars has been the increased vulnerability of civilians including their deliberate targeting. Another feature of the civil wars has been the deliberate use of systematic rape as a weapon of war. Often, efforts to suppress the armed groups have led to continued displacement of the civil population leading to excessive and unwarranted suffering of the civilian population. The genocide in Rwanda, the Kosovo massacre, the Somalia stalemate and the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 are all typical examples of civilian suffering resulting from modern trend of conflicts. In the circumstances, the the UN was challenged to find tactics and strategies for military intervention which must transform the old concept of peacekeeping

operations into a dynamic one capable of protecting civilians trapped in conflicts and this strategy was the Humanitarian Intervention (HI) Policy.² However, the concept of HI has become a thorny one partly due the UN’s own principle of non interference in the affairs of sovereign states;³ and partly due to the fact that HI has also often ended up displacing the civilian population and worsening their plight. But following various appeals by various individuals including the then Secretary-General Kofi Annan in 1999⁴ and other organisations the International Commission on Intervention and state Sovereignty (ICISS) came out with the concept of R2P.

The Responsibility to Protect

Consequent upon the opposition to HI, millions of civilian population around the world remained at the mercy of civil wars, state repression, insurgencies and state collapse.⁵ It was in the midst of this stalemate that the ICISS came out with the R2P. According to ICISS, the debate about intervention for human protection should focus not on “the right to intervene” but on “the responsibility to protect.”⁶ This way, the focus of the debate shifts to the need to save communities caught up in crossfire from

1 . International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. *The Responsibility to Protect*. Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, December 2001. p. 4

2 . Ibid. pp.5 & 6

3 . See Article 2.7 of the UN Charter

4 . Address to the 54th session of the UN General Assembly in September, 1999.

5 . International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. *The Responsibility to Protect*. Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, December 2001). p. 11.

6 . Ibid. p. 17.

mass killing, systematic rape and starvation. The R2P acknowledges that the primary responsibility to protect such communities rests with the state concerned; but if the state is unable or unwilling to fulfill its responsibility of protecting the vulnerable communities; or where the state is itself a perpetrator, then it is the responsibility of the international community to act. In such instances, the international community should not just "react", but also "prevent" and "rebuild".

The R2P and the Darfur Reality

In 2003, war broke up between the Government of Sudan (GoS) on one hand; and the Sudanese Liberation Army (SLM) and Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) on the other. It is estimated that about 200,000 people died in the war whilst 2.5 million became Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) not to talk about over 250,000 refugees to Chad especially. Following this, the UN in accordance with the R2P ideals, authorized operations to "protect civilians under imminent threat" under Chapter VII of the UN Charter in Sudan with the view to protecting civilians in addition to directives to facilitate their safe return.⁷ One other feature of the R2P is the increasing UN authorization to individual states and regional organizations to protect civilians and IDPs. It is in pursuit of this policy that the AU has been in Darfur since 2004. Earlier, such mandates had been to ensure "secure and stable environment" to protect the UN missions; or establish "humanitarian areas" or "safe areas".⁸ The R2P concept involving the protection of civilians meant that a new standard was set by the UN in peacekeeping.

Despite the laudable change in language in respect of UN mandates in accordance with the R2P, the situation in Darfur has continued to defy solution. One major reason for this state of affairs is the mandate and Rules of Engagement (ROE) which though allows the troops to take certain actions, yet does not require them to do so. For instance the forces in Darfur had the responsibility to protect civilians "without prejudice to the responsibilities of the government of Sudan to do same "within its capabilities" in the "area of deployment" of AMIS. Such conditional language only created confusion on the minds of the troops. This is because depending on the training and doctrine that each contingent received; and the policies of the Troop Contributing

Countries (TCCs), such caveats could be interpreted differently.⁹ Perhaps this explains why the Senegalese and Rwandese Forces were more robust in engaging armed groups in Darfur than most of the other troops.



Refugees in Menawashi, Darfur. Approximately 7,000 came to Menawashi in just a few days. Photo: Brian Steidle

The mandate for AMIS was clarified in 2006 to enable the forces to take all necessary steps "to ensure a more forceful protection of the civilian population" with no reference to Government of Sudan;¹⁰ and "to use all necessary means" to "protect



The government of Sudan bulldozed the Al Geer camp for displaced persons after chasing the people out in the middle of the night. Photo: Brian Steidle

7 . Victoria K. Halt and Tobias C. Berkman (2006): *The Impossible mandate? Military Preparedness, The Responsibility to Protect and Modern Peace Operations*. Washington: The Henry L. Stimson Center. P.22.

8 . Ibid. 187.

9 . Ibid.

10 . AU Peace and Security Council Communiqué of the 46th Ordinary Session, March 10, 2006.

civilians under threat of physical violence, prevent attacks and threats against civilians” and also protect humanitarian workers.¹¹ In spite of this, attacks against civilians continued because AMIS lacked capacity in terms of logistics and leadership; resulting in atrocities against civilians continuing with impunity. Darfur is indeed a test case of R2P. It is important to note that Security Council Resolution 1706 was the first to cite and apply the R2P concept to a specific situation like Darfur whilst Resolution 1769 reinforced the importance of protecting civilians and humanitarian workers.

It is important to note that the UN has never waged war against any state; but has always supported actions of regional groups or coalition of willing states to intervene to restore order. The reality in Darfur, however, is that with the US engaged in Iraq after Afghanistan; coupled with opposition from China, Russia and the Arab League; the US which has the capacity to mobilize the coalition of willing states is hesitant. Consequently, there is no other state ready to mobilize forces to stand behind the R2P ideals in the Sudan. Though a hybrid UN and AU Force (UNAMID) have deployed in Darfur since January 2008, their number is insignificant and they lack basic equipment to effectively carry out their mandate. Consequently, their presence has not made any meaningful difference in Darfur as attacks on civilians continue. The UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon bemoaned this situation when he mentioned that the hybrid force lacks “critical aviation capabilities.”¹² He therefore called on member states to deliver vital aid to the peacekeepers¹³. The precarious situation of UNAMID has emboldened Sudan to impose restrictions on the activities of UN peacekeepers¹⁴ whilst continuing to commit atrocities against innocent civilians.

Suggestions for achieving the goals of R2P in Darfur.

Darfur Peacekeeping should not only be about

11 UN security Council Resolution 1706 of August 31, 2006.

12 . Stephanie Rossi: “Joint AU/UN Force Begins Deployment in Darfur with Insufficient Resources.” UNA-USA. See also www.unausa.org

13 . Secretary General’s Report to the Security Council on January 3, 2008.

14 . For instance Sudan has refused to accept the very few non-African units from Thailand, Nepal, and Nordic countries despite the fact that 95% of the ground troops and 75% of the of the proposed force are from Africa. She has also curbed UN night flights and demanded to get advance notice of UN movements. There is some break-through in this as Bangladesh Police have been deployed in Darfur.

number of troops. It must involve clear but flexible concept of operation, authority and willingness to act, coupled with well coordinated strong leadership ready to apply discretion positively to achieve



This is the beginning of the burning of the village of Um Zeifa after the Janjaweed looted and attacked. Photo: Brian Steidle

the goals of R2P. Mandates must not appear to be solving problems but must address the problems of the suffering civilians. In situations where force is



Fifteen animals were stolen from the Janjaweed, so in return, the Janjaweed burned 15 villages. This is one of those villages. Photo: Brian Steidle

to be applied, there must be clear criteria in respect of when and how to use force. To make the use of force effective in Darfur, there must be in existence a ready UN capacity for enforcement and reinforcement purposes. This is the only way baseline capacity and adequate tools of engagement can become meaningful.

The rhetoric as to whether there is “genocide” in

Darfur must give way to concrete political will translated into action in terms of building the required capacity of the Hybrid Force, equipping and deploying them. Talks must be translated into concrete action with collective backing for UNAMID in the training and existence of a strong UN Rapid Reaction Military and Police Formed Unit to carry the mandate forward. It is taking too long a time to assemble the hybrid force, equip and deploy them. As of now, only 9,000 out of 26,000 proposed peacekeepers are deployed. There are approximately 1562 police officers serving with UNAMID out of the 6372 stipulated by UN Security Council Resolution 1769; and even though Senegal has pledged more troops to Darfur, it cannot deploy in the next six months until armoured personnel carriers are secured for them.¹⁵ Such delays in deployment put so much pressure on the few peacekeepers already deployed; and must be addressed urgently.

It is also important to appreciate the fact that Sudan shares border with 9 other African countries and that continued violence in Sudan poses a great danger to all the nine countries. Already, armed groups in Northern Uganda, Eritrea, and Central Africa Republic among others are using Sudan as safe haven. The increasing armed conflict in Chad can simply be traced to the conflict in the Sudan. Thus, just as the conflict in Liberia tore the West African Region apart, so will the conflict in Darfur tear the 9 surrounding countries apart unless the international community took concrete action to forestall the situation. It is for this reason that the France-led European Union Force in Chad must cooperate and coordinate their efforts to stem the tide of violence in the region.

There is the need for a major power to commit itself directly to resolving the Darfur crisis similar to what the United Kingdom did in Sierra Leone to end the crisis. Admittedly, commitments of the US in Iraq and Afghanistan, coupled with the bitter lesson in

Somalia are all making the US cautious. Thus, only diplomatic pressure is being put on the Sudanese government to restrain its armed forces and the Janjaweed militia. Five years into the Darfur crisis, there is the need for the international community to go beyond diplomacy and institute concrete action of giving massive support to UNAMID to achieve its mandate.

Again, there must be a shift of focus from intensive efforts aimed at solving the underlying political problems which led to the civil war in 2003. Whilst not completely dismissing efforts aimed at dealing with the causes of the civil war, it is important to note that such efforts have produced fragile agreements that have often turned to fuel the war thereby worsening the situation of the civilian population. Such diplomatic pressures where they become necessary should also be directed at the rebel groups. But the Hybrid Force must not be oblivious of acting according to the principles of R2P which is to react, prevent and to rebuild. Priority should therefore be given to saving the suffering masses in Sudan.

There is also the need for major powers to realize that Darfur cannot be said to be an African problem in a globalised world where such conflicts could be breeding ground for terrorists. And for China which buys 60% of Sudan's oil,¹⁶ it is high time she realized that its continued trading relations with Sudan depends on the existence of peace in that country. China must therefore cooperate with other major powers to bring about peace in Darfur. For instance, so far as China continues to supply arms to Sudan; so far as Ahmad Harun and Ali Kushayb who have been indicted by ICC continue to serve as Minister of Humanitarian Affairs and Advisor to the President respectively,¹⁷ achieving peace will continue to be a tall order. The implication of the appointment of Ali Kushayb is that many of the Janjaweed militias – who were responsible for mass murder, summary execution, and mass rape of civilians in Darfur - are most likely being integrated into the regular forces whilst others are being recruited. This does not au-



Photo www.flickr.com

15 . See story filed by BBC African Editor, Mary Harper: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/fr/-/2/hi/africa/7248543> dated 16/02/2008.

16 . See story from BBC News: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/fr/-/2/hi/africa/7257489.stm> dated 25/02/2008

17 . Ibid



gur well for the fragile peace and for the suffering masses of Darfur. It is wondered how the UN could work with Harun who had been indicted by the International Criminal Court at the IDP Camps and in communities where he is said to have perpetrated crimes against humanity.

Perhaps a boycott of the 2008 Beijing Summer Olympics might bring some pressure on China to leverage its close ties with the Sudan. Another way of bringing pressure on Beijing in this respect is for Darfur-related protests at Chinese Embassies and the use of banners and armbands among both ath-

letes and spectators. The "Genocide Olympics" Campaign against Beijing must be intensified in all peace loving countries with demonstrations at all Chinese Embassies world-wide.

Since the 2008 Beijing Olympics is dear to China as a mark of historic international re-emergence as a major power, the "Genocide Olympics" Campaign pressure should relentlessly be brought to bear on China to reconsider its support for Sudan both diplomatically and in the supply of arms and other forms of military equipment. Without Chinese support, Khartoum is likely to make concessions and negotiate seriously with Darfur rebels.

Since the success of UNAMID is contingent upon cooperation from Sudan, the UN Security Council and the international Community must not hesitate to enact and enforce punitive measures against Sudan for any obstruction to the implementation of resolution 1769; and major powers must not hesitate to ensure that this happens. This is the only way Sudan can be made to respect the authority of the UN; and also erase the notion that the West does not care about Africa. The growing fear is that the Chinese-backed Sudanese government could frustrate UNAMID into humiliation as happened in Rwanda and Bosnia thereby damaging the reputation of the UN.

But more importantly, the strength of UNAMID depends on contributions of troops, police, funding, and equipment from member states. Such promises must be fulfilled as early as possible to enable food, water, housing etc to be provided for UNAMID to be able to withstand the harsh weather conditions of Darfur. Such provisions would go a long way to motivate the peacekeepers to put in their best.

Finally, it is important to appreciate the fact that the presence of UNAMID per se will not automatically solve the Darfur problem. Whether peace will be achieved depends on the will of the people of Darfur, the Government of Sudan and the various armed groups agree on a workable political solution and put the interest of Darfur and Sudan above individual interests. What UNAMID can do is to facilitate the process in a fair but firm manner according to its mandate.

Conclusion

For five years the people of Darfur have waited and watched with amazement the rather slow manner with which the world has responded to their plight of mass rape, and crimes against humanity committed with impunity against them. They have noted



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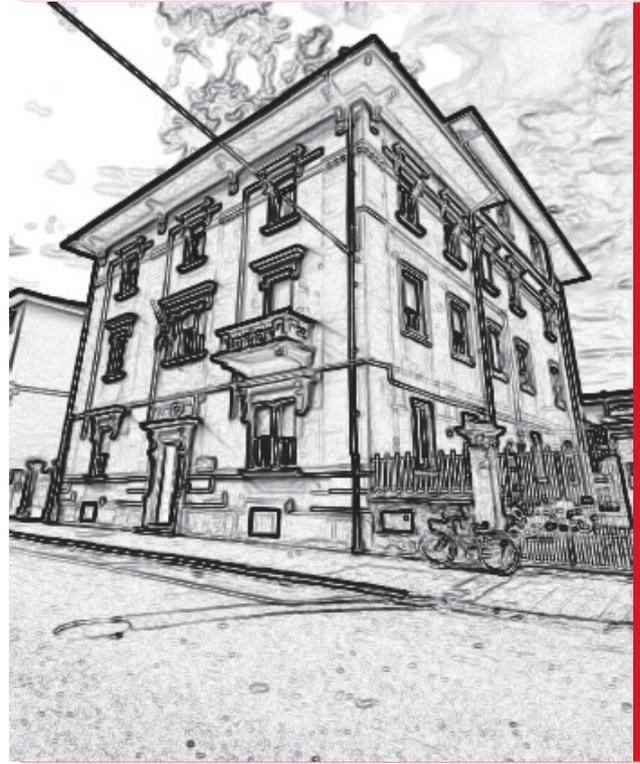
that AMIS presence only provided a pretext for the Government of Sudan to perpetuate its violence against them in a more tactful way, whilst controlling the movement of the AMIS forces. Consequently, the people of Darfur have very high expectations from UNAMID and will not comprehend why their presence cannot make a difference. Therefore UNAMID must gradually and tactfully assert itself from the control of Government of Sudan (GoS) and work according to the Chapter VII mandate of the UN Charter. But whether they can succeed in this respect depends on the support of major powers of the world including China, to rally behind UNAMID in times of difficulties. The people of Darfur and the world at large are watching UNAMID with great expectations; and they must not fail.

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Happy Summer 2008 to all of YOU

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the itpcm & iccds base in Pisa, archive photo

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