



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



# newsletter

in this issue:

5th year, n. 2

by Andrea de Guttry

## A Brief Introduction

Dear friends of the ITPCM,

it is for me really a great pleasure to introduce to you this new version of the ITPCM Newsletter.

We always considered the ITPCM Newsletter as a mean to keep in contact, to share experiences and updated information, to offer an opportunity to read a few articles on hot and sensitive issues related to field operations. Our desire was to create a kind of community of persons who we had the pleasure to get in contact with in various circumstances in this last decade and to keep alive this friendship which started

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## special events

### THE ARMED CONFLICT BETWEEN ERITREA AND ETHIOPIA IN INTERNATIONAL LEGAL PERSPECTIVE

Pisa, Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna  
19-20 October, 2007

In collaboration with the University of Milan and under the auspices of the Tuscan Region, the Province and the City of Pisa

The Conference is part of a research project of the University of Milan and the Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna in Pisa, financed by the Italian Ministry of University. The project studies the conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia in light of the existing law on the basis of a critical examination of the decisions of the Eritrea-Ethiopia Claims Commission and the Eritrea-Ethiopia Boundary Commission founded as part of the efforts by the United Nations to solve the conflict.

By assessing the conflict in international legal

perspective, the project will also undertake to further clarify and explain rules of international law at points where the Commissions were not asked for decisions, where issues were not within their jurisdiction, or where, for other reasons, legal questions were not decided upon or examined. The working language will be English.

More info: [www.sssup.it/ethiopia-eritrea-conference](http://www.sssup.it/ethiopia-eritrea-conference)  
Coordinator: Andrea de Guttry, [deguttry@sssup.it](mailto:deguttry@sssup.it)



### 2007 NATO-AFGHAN STUDENT FORUM: the view of young generation

Pisa, Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna  
17-23 September, 2007

Main purpose of the forum is to gather students from NATO countries, Afghanistan and Central Asia to discuss the future of Afghanistan in its regional context. Organized by the Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna under the auspices of NATO Public Diplomacy Division - Brussels. More info: Claudia Croci - Forum Coordinator, [c.croci@sssup.it](mailto:c.croci@sssup.it)

## research & publications

### Engaging Civil Society in Peacebuilding:

**Lessons Learned and Recommendations for the Work of the UN Peacebuilding Commission**  
**Research carried out on behalf of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs**



This research is meant as a concrete support for the work of the UN Peacebuilding Commission, in which Italy takes an active part. In its resolutions, the Peacebuilding Commission has expressed an explicit commitment to engage civil society in its peacebuilding efforts recognizing the indispensable role that the latter can play in laying the foundation for sustainable development and

post-conflict recovery. This commitment, however, still needs to translate into specific practices of engaging civil society in different post-conflict settings. In light of such practical imperatives, this research identified and assessed different roles that civil society can play in peacebuilding and provided a series of guidelines and recommendations on how to facilitate the engagement of civil society in peacebuilding in different post-conflict settings. It is based on a broad study of academic and policy-oriented approaches to civil society and peacebuilding and on the empirical investigation of three country case studies:

# education & training: forthcoming activities

## GHANA: Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KA IPTC) & 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, DG Sub-Saharan Africa

### Training Course for Law Enforcement Officers

**KA IPTC, Accra**

**3rd - 8th September 2007**

**More info: Afua Yakohene, email: [training@ug.edu.gh](mailto:training@ug.edu.gh)**

**For other upcoming courses or events:** organised in the framework of the ITPPGG please visit: [www.sssup.it/itppgg](http://www.sssup.it/itppgg); [www.ug.edu.gh/itppgg](http://www.ug.edu.gh/itppgg)  
More info: Pasqualetta Campus, email: [p.campus@sssup.it](mailto:p.campus@sssup.it)

## ITALY:

### DEPARTMENT OF CIVIL PROTECTION, Italian Government



Technical training and skills to enhance the personal profile of the staff of the Fire Department and of the local institutions, who work in close collaboration with the Civil Protection Department

**Roma, Montelibretti,**

**15th - 26th October 2007**

**More info: Federica Faldella, email: [f.faldella@sssup.it](mailto:f.faldella@sssup.it)**

## MASTER of ARTS in HUMAN RIGHTS and CONFLICT MANAGEMENT



COMPETITION ANNOUNCEMENT FOR 28 PLACES FOR 14 ITALIAN RESIDENTS & 14 FOREIGN RESIDENTS

A.Y. 2007/2008, VI° edition

**Pisa, Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna**

Application deadline: **15th October 2007**

more information: [www.humanrights.sssup.it](http://www.humanrights.sssup.it); email: [alenci@sssup.it](mailto:alenci@sssup.it)

## PhD PROGRAMME on POLITICS, HUMAN RIGHTS and SUSTAINABILITY



The Ph.D. in Politics, human rights and sustainability is a three-year residential program with highly interdisciplinary connotation, where students can specialize in one of the following curricula: *Identity, rights, conflicts in the political theory; Rights and capital stock in the regional development policies;*

*Institutions and mechanisms for protecting Human rights: outlines of International Law; Agrarian Law, Environmental Law and Sustainable Development of the land*

PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT FOR OPEN COMPETITION: **5 places** for citizens of EU members state and **3 places** for Non-EU citizens

**Application deadline: 2nd October 2007**

[www.sssup.it/phdapplicationonline](http://www.sssup.it/phdapplicationonline)

more information: [www.sssup.it/politics](http://www.sssup.it/politics); [infophd@sssup.it](mailto:infophd@sssup.it)

# education & training: on the 2008 agenda

## THE CIVILIAN PERSONNEL OF PEACEKEEPING & PEACEBUILDING OPERATIONS



This course is designed to train participants to work more effectively in field missions by enhancing their professional and personal capacities. Particular attention is devoted to introduce them to the specific context of peace support operations and to strengthen their ability to work in the field as human rights officers and electoral observers.

**Dates: 7-19 July 2008**, application will be open soon

More info: [www.itpcm.sssup.it](http://www.itpcm.sssup.it); Pasqualetta Campus, email: [p.campus@sssup.it](mailto:p.campus@sssup.it)

## WORKING IN DIFFICULT COUNTRIES: knowledge and practical tools for operators abroad



This course is mainly designed for all those professionals who regardless of their mandate operate in hostile environments: technicians, journalists, first aid staff, NGO personnel, volunteers. Aim of the course is to provide them with the basic training, legal framework, and preventive measures in order to be able to face and to respond to possible threats to their safety.

**Dates: 10-19 July 2008**, application will be open soon

More information: [www.itpcm.sssup.it](http://www.itpcm.sssup.it); Federica Faldella, email: [f.faldella@sssup.it](mailto:f.faldella@sssup.it)

## IRAQ ELECTION OFFICERS TRAINING COURSE



Set of courses, tailored on the Iraqi context and in preparation of the election at governorate level, will be organised starting from next October-November 2007.

during a training course or serving in a mission.

You will find an updated new design of the Newsletter, thanks to the precious work carried out by Michele Gonnelli our art designer: we hope you will appreciate it and that you will continue to read it. But, more importantly, we really hope that you will continue to send us your contributions, comments, information and short articles to be published on the Newsletter: this is the only way to keep the Newsletter a lively and interesting document for all of us.

I take this opportunity, as well, to update you about various activities which are taking place here at the Scuola Sant'Anna and which might be of your interest:

- in these days we are delivering our traditional Summer Courses which, taking into consideration the number of applicants, continue to be very popular;

- in the meanwhile part of our staff in Jordan delivering several training courses for Iraqi officers involved in the running of the next elections at the Governorate level;

- we are finalising our future activities which will include, in the coming months,

- the delivery of a Training Course on International Crisis Management Operations for the benefit of the Italian Civil Protection Department;

- the delivery of several courses here in Tuscany on Project design and management;

- the delivery of various training courses in the framework of our project in Ghana aimed at training African civilian wishing to serve in international field operations;

- the delivery of a Training Course with the Kofi Annan International Peace-keeping training centre in Accra for law Enforcement officers;

- we are working actively in various network in which we have been involved (NEEDS, EC project for Training on Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management, Consolidating the Profession: Human Rights Field Officers;

- as already anticipated in the previous issue of this newsletter, we are reinforcing our research activities focusing our attention on recent legal developments in peace support mission and on the difficult and controversial issue of involving local partners in peace-building activities;

- on October 20 and 21 we will host here in Pisa at the premises of the Scuola an International Conference on "The Armed Conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia in International Legal Perspective" (for additional info please visit our website).

- on November 20 and 21 we will present, in Monrovia (Liberia) to the African Ministers for Decentralization the outcome of our research on Decentralized Cooperation for Decentralization.

To carry out all these activities we have increased our staff both in Pisa and in the field: by now we have more than 15 officers working with us in different capacities. To all of them I would like to express, once more, my deep gratitude for the precious work they are carrying out and for the commitment they proved so far.

I wish to all of you wonderful and relaxing summer holidays and, as always, I hope to receive soon your comments on this brand new version of our Newsletter as well as your contributions for the next issue of the Newsletter which is expected to be published next November.

**Andrea de Guttry**

by Mary Engelking

# Tajikistan – A Forgotten Country?



At a round-table discussion held at Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna on 24 January 2006, Paolo Lembo, Director of UNDP in Iraq made reference to, "a forgotten civil war in a forgotten country". Mr Lembo, former United Nations Resident Coordinator and Humanitarian Coordinator in Tajikistan, has long been an advocate for "under-reported" Tajikistan.

Tajikistan is one of the Central Asian republics which were formerly part of the Soviet Union. It is a small, mountainous country located on the ancient Silk Road and bordered by Afghanistan, China, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan. The boarder with China is disputed. Its highest peak, Qullai Ismaili Somoni (formerly named Peak Kommunizma) is a soaring 7,495 meters tall. 93% of the country is mountainous, and the towering Pamir Mountain Range divides the country between north and south.

In an attempt to evenly distribute power, wealth, and resources in Central Asia, the Soviets re-drew the region's country boarders. They appended portions of historical Uzbek and Kyrgyz territories to a portion of the historic Tajik lands. Uzbeks and Kyrgyz are ethnically related to the Turkish peoples, while the Tajiks are ethnically related to the Persian peoples.

With a quiet and gentle voice, Mukim tells his story of living through the civil war in Tajikistan. As he speaks, his eyes reflect a history of hardship and survival mixed with an unexpected grace. His story begins in southern Tajikistan, in a village to which the Soviets had forcibly relocated a variety of different ethnic groups. Years later, after the country declared independence, political and ethnic tensions erupted into a violent civil war. Because the village was so very diverse, the mixture of people in his hometown

was viewed as a dangerous threat. "I had been traveling for a few days and on my return, I saw my neighbors and friends fleeing the village. Our homes had been torched and were burning to the ground. People perished in the fires, especially the elderly who were unable to escape. Our entire community was destroyed." Amid the chaos and carnage, Mukim was able to find his father and other family members. They were all safe, but his family had lost everything in the

"In chaos, there is profit. In extreme chaos, there is extreme profit"

deadly blaze.

Tajikistan gained independence from the Soviet Union in 1991 and almost immediately fell into civil war. The civil war lasted from 1992 – 1997 and took place primarily in the south. More than 50,000 people were killed in the civil war, more than 25,000 homes were destroyed, and 1.2 million became refugees

The majority of Tajikistan's modern infrastructure was built during the Soviet period. Hydroelectric stations,



roads, railroads, airports, gas lines, power grids, schools, hospitals, and urban housing were all subsidized by the Soviet system. The capital city of Dushanbe was only a small village until the arrival of the Soviets 80 years ago. For the first 10 years of independence, there was virtually no infrastructure investment, and much infrastructure was damaged or destroyed during the civil war.

Since independence, a few people have become very rich while the vast majority of the country has sunk into extreme poverty. Many Tajiks are concerned about the level of corruption in their country, and it is a point of open conversation and concern. They readily note the relationship between attaining political positions and ability to build large new homes. It is impossible to drive through Dushanbe without being repeatedly stopped by traffic police who demand bribes for letting you continue.

There has been no rush to increase the level of development after the end of the civil war. According to the World Bank 64% of the population lives below the poverty line of \$2.15 per day, and according to the UN 7.4% live below the \$1 line. Tajikistan is classified as a landlocked developing country in the low income group. 30% of the economically active population is unemployed. Of a total population of 6.8 million, more than 1 million people are migrant workers abroad, mainly in Russia. HIV/AIDS is growing rapidly with the high percentage of migrant workers. Only 57% of the population has access to piped water. In Dushanbe muddy brown water regularly flows from the tap. "Coffee with milk" as it is called by the locals. In 1994, 22% of the population was undernourished. In 2002 that number had risen to 61%. Relationships among the Central Asian countries have been deteriorating in recent years. A revival of ethnic pride and identity has

been driving discriminatory wedges between the north and south of the country and between Tajikistan and its neighbors. During the civil war the Russian elite fled the country. Russian language is now uncommon and many children under 15 do not speak the language. The Tajik language is closely related to Persian and Dari. The language emphasis shift is influencing a shift in relations toward Afghanistan and Iran and away from the CIS. Tajikistan is a major drug transit conduit from the production regions of Afghanistan and into Russia and Europe.

There is a high incidence of natural disaster in Tajikistan. Over 5000 tremors and quakes each year cause damage and destruction to around 7000 homes. In rural areas houses are made mainly by hand with clay bricks and dirt floors. These structures are highly susceptible to earthquake damage. Landslides and flooding are other common disasters. It is not uncommon to find villages destroyed by earthquake one year and again by flood the next.

There was a sharp increase in international relief and development investment in Tajikistan from 1999 - 2007. Sadly, the short attention span of the world and the political insignificance of this country are causing declining funding and closure of INGOs and project activity targeted at the country.

The government demonstrates little concern or effort to curb corruption and foster growth and development.

## republic of tajikistan



**Location:** Central Asia

**Territory:** 143,100 sq km, mountainous 93%

**Borders:** 3,789 km (Afghanistan-1,344 km, China - 414 km, Kyrgyzstan - 870 km, Uzbekistan - 1,161 km)

**Population:** 6.591 ml

**Country locates** on an great ancient silk route from China to the Mediterranean

**Pamir Mountains** – among the world's highest mountains/ 7495m and has the longest glacier in the world outside of the Polar region.

# iranian nuclear crisis

by Alberto Turlon



## Introduction

In the Middle East political scenario, Iran plays a key role, first because its position between Iraq and Afghanistan, where the "war on terrorism" continues to develop, and also because it is at the centre of one of the largest oil reserves in the world, encompassing both the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf. Iran has the world's second largest reserves of conventional crude oil estimated at 133 gigabarrels.

In January 2006, Iran began a phase of nuclear research, including the decision to master the technology to enrich uranium, a development which poses the following questions. How has the international community reacted? Which are the reasons of the Iranian initiative? Has a diplomatic solution the grounds to be pursued?

## IAEA and UN commitments toward iranian nuclear programme

Iran ratified the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, otherwise known as NPT in 1970, and possesses several nuclear sites. After the Islamic Revolution, it has always continued its research. In 2003, the problem of Iranian nuclear activities started to raise. IAEA began investigations in response to the insistent allegations that Iran intended to develop nuclear weapons<sup>1</sup> and stated that Iran had failed since 1979 to report both the purchase of nuclear material and the subsequent processing and use of this material<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, Iran and the so called EU-3, France, Germany and the United Kingdom, acting on behalf of the European Union, ran several negotiations, which gave rise in 2003 and 2004 to two agreements, which included a provisional halt to Iran's uranium enrichment programme.

NPT does not prohibit the development of nuclear programmes for civilian and peaceful

purposes, but the decision to keep secret all the activities from 1979 to 2003 raised the suspicions of the international community. In 2005, the new President Ahmadi-Nejad announced that Iran had already succeeded in enriching uranium and that it would not halt its programme any more<sup>3</sup>.

Finally, the IAEA Board of Governors decided to refer the case to the UN Security Council, which voted two Resolutions under art. 41 of the UN Charter, Res. 1737 and 1747, that placed a ban on the transfer of all nuclear-related technology and materials, and froze the assets of key individuals and corporations related to the enrichment programme.

The latter resolution, approved on March 24th 2007, states that all States have to control and restrain inside their territory individuals involved directly or supporting the iranian nuclear programme, both civil or weapons activities, prohibits the procurement of arms, military carriages, aircrafts, warships or missiles and requires that any financial relationship be ceased.

## USA interests

The U.S. cannot allow Iran access to nuclear weapons. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is one of the elements which has led to the "war on terrorism" and Iran is considered a threat to international security<sup>4</sup>. Beyond issues of security, the USA would intervene to create a new international order and to revise their energy policies for the next decades, when the availability of crude oil will be insufficient to meet increasing international demand.

The control of the Persian Gulf, especially the Straits of Hormuz, will be of great strategic importance in order to ensure free movement of more than 40% of the world's oil supply. The Iranian government is also changing its economic policy by creating a new oil trade system, the Iran Oil Bourse, based on currencies other than US dollar, principally the Euro<sup>5</sup>.

1 August 14, 2002: Alireza Jafarzadeh, a well known iranian dissident publicly declared the existence of two secret nuclear sites.

2 Report on the implementation of the NPT Safeguards agreement in the Islamic Republic of Iran, 10th november 2003.

3 April 11th 2006; Mashhad, Iran.

4 Open democracy, Iran and the U.S.: back from the brink. Ehtestami A., 2007.

5 Asia times, A frenzied persian new year, 2006.

## The European countries, Russia and China

The European countries are the most favourable to a diplomatic solution. The common interests of the EU and Iran are based on economic and trade exchanges. Iran is a huge supplier of oil to Europe and needs economic help and assistance in several sectors, mainly technological and industrial. Iran wishes to become a full member of WTO and that requires the support of the EU. The European Union is at the same time

a regional Power, unless the fact that most of these states are far from having strong relations with Iran, and to be part of the Middle East stabilization process. Internally, Iran is facing a high rate of unemployment and needs foreign investments to innovate its infrastructure and exploit its natural resources more efficiently. In the future, the use of nuclear energy could become an important substitutive element allowing Iran to deliver more oil

"Iran has the world's second largest reserves of conventional crude oil estimated at 133 gigabarrels"



"The control of the Persian Gulf, especially the Straits of Hormuz, will be of great strategic importance in order to assure free movement of more than 40% of the world's oil supply"

Iran largest's supplier of goods, providing about 37% of its total imports. This means that Europe can play a crucial role and even can impose a trade-off between the nuclear weapons programme and expanded trade relations.

Russia and China are also important economic partners and have interests in technical and military cooperation. From a political point of view, Iran is a powerful neighbour for Russia, because both countries share the control of the Caspian Sea, a future gateway for the movement of oil and goods between East and West. Russia is also interested in containing the USA and NATO influence in the region, while China is increasing its energy requirements and investments in Iranian natural resources, and secondly because it is a major supplier of arms and missiles. Russia, China and Iran have co-ordinated the development of Iran's long-range ballistic missiles. It can be assumed that China and Russia, although both having voted for the Resolution 1747, would hesitate to implement the sanctions rigorously, because they are the most direct suppliers of relevant technology and arms to Iran.

### Iranian point of view

Iranian priorities in foreign relations are to improve relations with neighbouring countries to become

resources abroad.

### Conclusion. Is there a way to sort the crisis out?

Though the recent announcement that Iran had put into production another 3,000 nuclear centrifuges<sup>6</sup>, a diplomatic solution could be possible, if it would assure that Iran will not produce a nuclear bomb in exchange for the EU investments and support to the Iranian bid to enter WTO. Iran would benefit by the European assistance and transform its economic system, while Europe, which would compete with Russia and China in buying the Iranian oil, is strongly interested in maintaining a privileged dialogue channel with Iran.

Being the NPT no longer capable to control the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the creation of a new agreement for the use of atomic energy and of new standards, which should take into account the technological updating, would be necessary, but what if Iran would create its own nuclear arsenal in 5-7 years, as predicted by USA administration analyst?

<sup>6</sup> April 9th 2007, President Armadi-nejad.



by Gaia Gigante

# EAST TIMOR GOES TO RUN-OFF

## FACT SHEET on TIMOR-LESTE

**Official name:** Republica Democratica Timor-Leste (RDTL)

**Capital:** Dili

**Population:** 924,642. Total population under the age of 15 years old is 44%.

**Religion:** 90% Catholic. Small number of Muslims and Protestants

### Official

**Languages:** Tetum and Portuguese. Bahasa and English are additional working languages within the civil service. The Timorese speak about 30 languages or dialects. According to a 2001 Household Survey, 82% of the population spoke Tetum, while 43% could speak Bahasa Indonesian. Only 5% spoke Portuguese, while 2% spoke English.

**Currency:** US Dollar

**Main export:** Coffee and offshore oil and gas in the Timor Sea

**Literacy rate:** More than half of the population is illiterate (49% male and 64% female)

**Income poverty:** Timor-Leste is the poorest nation in Asia. Approximately, 41% of the population lives in income poverty – living on less than \$0.55 per person per day.

The second youngest republic in the world went for polling on a misty morning, but beneath the apparent calm the atmosphere was quite tense. The electoral campaign for the 2007 presidential elections just ended a few days ago, carrying along some lively polemics among the 8 candidates, some sporadic riots, especially in the capital Dili, and quite a lot of perplexity among the international personnel in the field, whose role,

according to the UNMIT mandate, should be to provide for assistance and logistic support to the entire process. As UNV Electoral District Advisors we were meant to support the local East Timorese electoral bodies, such as STAE (Technical Secretariat for Electoral Administration) and CNE (National Electoral Commission), but soon we realized that given the lack of local human resources our work would be to implement rather than to support. As for anything concerning logistics, as well as voter education and polling staff training, the local personnel seemed very unprepared, and quite unfamiliar with the election procedures.

These are the second elections in the country ever, institutions are not well established yet, and the ongoing internal fights amongst different political parties keep bringing instability to a nation which looks still too young to manage a complex event such as this. Among the international experts the opinion that East Timor was not ready yet is quite widespread, and some says the decision to hold these elections is mostly due to UN pressure, rather than to a clear national political will.

General confusion at the high levels did obviously affect the lower levels too, and it affected our work as well. We are based in the Ermera district, a rural hilly area south west of Dili, with an international civilian presence of 11 UNVs, several UN Policemen, 2 EU observers and quite a few Australian and New Zealander soldiers from the multinational peacekeeping force. Local Timorese staff deeply lacks academic background and previous experience, the condition of roads is extremely poor, and language barriers do create big communication problems: Portuguese is still the official national language, but almost nobody understands it, and the population speaks partly Tetum and partly Bahasa Indonesia. As for language related obstacles training of polling staff proved to be the hardest part: the training process is a cascade one, with the internationals training STAE representatives who later on are supposed to train polling staff, all through interpreters who speaks quite a

As a result of this massive effort the final voter turnout proved to be quite satisfactory, as it reached 85%, even if none of the 8 running candidates achieved the 50%+1...



Photo courtesy of Fernando Partida

poor English: so, lost in translation seems to be the rule.

Moreover we had to face serious communication problems in order to reach the most remote communities in the days before elections: no landline phones, no mobiles in most cases, where they are available there is no signal, no radio coverage, neither TV nor newspapers, and the constant problem of roads, worsened by the pouring rain. People deployed in the field had to confront themselves with sudden landslides, inaccessible paths, slippery dangerous ways, bridges who suddenly crashed down. It is emblematic the imagine of some UNV crossing a river on foot, carrying the electoral material on their heads within plastic boxes, as the car could not make it through, in order to allow people to vote anyway.

As a result of this massive effort the final voter turnout proved to be quite satisfactory, as it reached 85%, even if none of the 8 running candidates achieved the 50%+1 quorum necessary to become the next president. When José Ramos Horta, 1996 Nobel Peace Prize Laureate and current Prime Minister of East Timor, presented his candidature many took it as a won bet, thank to his charisma and its great popularity. But it wasn't so, and the forthcoming run-off will see him running against Francisco Guterres Lu-olo, leader of Fretelin, the major political party of the country, born in the 70s as a resistance movement against the Portuguese and the Indonesian occupation. But even if Fretelin is still number one it is losing support, as many of its promises have not been kept: unemployment rate in the country it is close to 50%, 60% of kids below the age of 5 suffers of malnutrition, and most of the country's infrastructure has been destroyed in 1999 by Indonesian troops, who razed to the ground entire towns and left behind about 300.000 refugees, out of which several thousands still survive in the IDP camps scattered throughout the country.

All that said UN personnel, and UNV in our specific case, do face a pretty hard task themselves, and the problem is not only to assure fair and successful elections: elections are supposed to be just a tool in order to create more confidence and trust, they should not be the goal itself. The goal, from our perspective, should be to work hard on capacity building, in order to give Timorese people the necessary skills, knowledge and instruments to manage the country themselves once the UN will leave handing all responsibilities over. There is a lot still to be done, and for the small dwarf squeezed in between the Australian and Indonesian giants it is a long way to go.



Photo Courtesy of Fernando Partida

## A brief history of Timor-Leste (formerly known as East Timor) starting from the...

### Portuguese rule

- The Portuguese reached the coast of Timor, near the coast of Oecussi, around 1515.
- In the 1700s a Portuguese Governor was posted in Dili and it was at this time that the commercial exploitation of resources began, such as sandalwood, coffee, sugar cane and cotton.
- In 1900, a series of Timorese rebellions against the Portuguese occupation began
- With the start of World War II, the Australians and Dutch, aware of Timor's importance as a buffer zone, landed in Dili despite Portuguese protests.
- In 1942, Japan invaded Timor and remained in the territory until September 1945: by the end of the war, Timor-Leste was destroyed.
- In the 1960s, the Portuguese tried to help recover Timor-Leste but development was slow.
- On 14 December 1960, the United Nations declared Timor-Leste a non-self governing territory under Portuguese administration.

### Indonesian invasion

- In 1974, the transition to democracy in Portugal had an impact on all its colonies and for the first time, the East Timorese were given freedom to form their own political parties.
- On 28 November 1975, Fretilin declared Timor-Leste as the Republica Democrática de Timor Leste (RDTL).
- However, ten days later, on 7 December 1975, Indonesian troops launched a full-scale invasion on the RDTL. About 60,000 people were killed.
- The following year, Indonesia captured and imprisoned Timor's resistance leader, Xanana Gusmao.
- After years of international pressure and concern, Indonesia finally agreed to allow the people Timor-Leste to choose their own destiny. In May 1999, an agreement between Portugal and Indonesia was signed to hold a referendum or Popular Consultation, which gives the Timorese the chance to vote for or against independence from Indonesia. The agreement was reached under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan.

### Independence

- On 30 August 1999, the 78% of this tiny territory's population voted overwhelmingly for independence.
- Within days of the result of the vote being released, pro-integration militia groups went on a violent rampage, killing more than a thousand people and demolishing most of the country's infrastructure.
- A multinational force – INTERFET – moved into Timor-Leste to restore order.
- On 25 October 1999, the UN Security Council established the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) to administer the country before handing over to an elected Timorese government.
- 30 August 2001, Timor-Leste held its first election. Political representatives were elected to convene the Constituent Assembly and draw up the country's Constitution.
- 14 April 2002 marked the first presidential election with former resistance fighter, Xanana Gusmao winning the majority of the votes.
- On 20 May 2002, Timor-Leste celebrated its independence following hundreds of years of struggle.

by Dario D'Urso

# power mediation: the lesson learned from Bosnia and Herzegovina

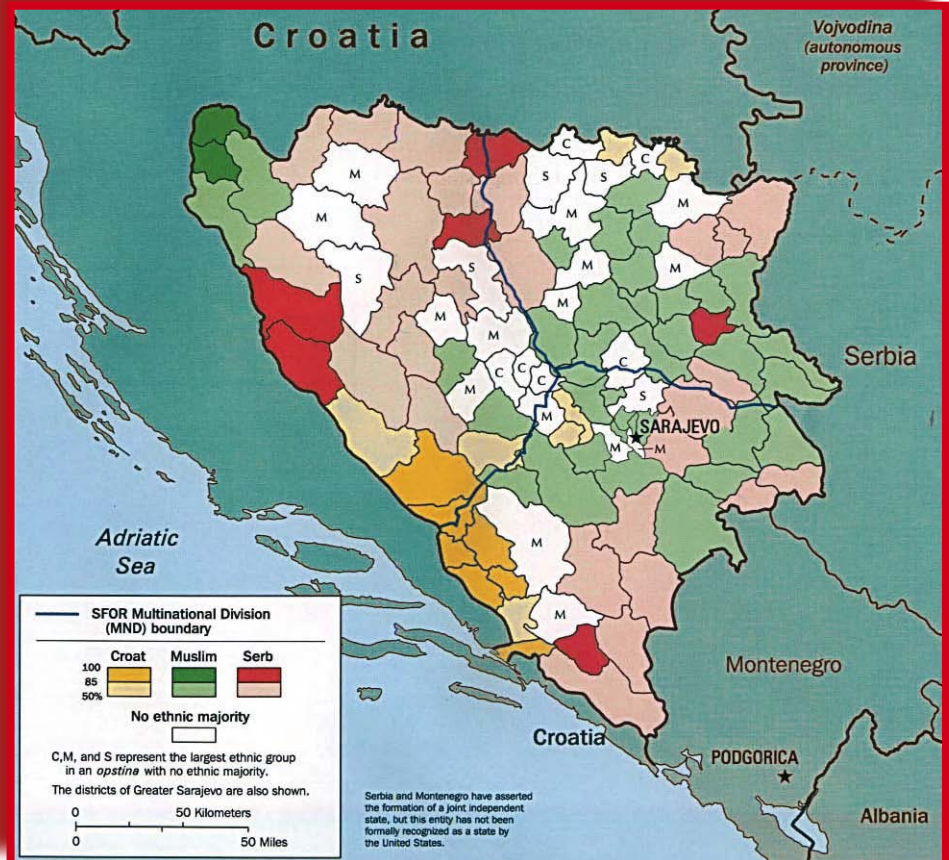
Conflict management, in all its aspects, plays a fundamental role in the attempts of turning war-torn countries into viable and functioning communities. The way how a peace process is conducted and finalised, through a treaty or an agreement, often shapes not only the country (or countries) where the conflict erupted, but also the relationships between the former warring parties and their coexistence.

Contemporary conflict management offers a wide series of tools, from theoretical models to concretely implemented patterns that may involve many actors other than the parties in the conflict. Moreover, there is no one fixed solution to a determined conflict, but a combined use of different tools, applied at the same or in different times can help war-torn societies not only to stop hostilities, but to lay the foundations for more democratic and viable states.

Needless to say, theories of conflict management have to face the reality on the ground, which means that a series of different stakeholders, other than the parties in the conflict, can influence the outcome of a conflict management process according to their interests, positive or negative as they might be.

In the history of recent conflicts, the intervention of a powerful third party in negotiations has heavily contributed, by proposing incentives or threatening punishments – the famous carrots and sticks – to define the final shape of the peace agreement eventually adopted by the warring parties.

The Dayton Peace Agreements (DPA) are considered by many scholars as a typical example of power mediation conducted by the United States (US) which, due to their political and military leverage, facilitated and forced at the same time the parties involved in the Bosnian conflict (Bosnia, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) to halt the hostilities and redesign the institutional structure



of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Bosna i Hercegovina-BiH).

Twelve years after, almost everybody agrees on the fact that Dayton, even if stopped the bloodshed in Bosnia, failed to provide a sustainable peace environment to the country, crystallizing ethnic divisions and avoiding any bottom-up approach aimed at healing the wounds that the war caused to the three parties involved, Bosniaks, Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs. This process, known as *conflict transformation*,

aims at the recover of war-affected communities by coping with destructive protracted conflicts beyond the cessation of violence and the achievement of a compromise settlement, acting on a long-term goal of transforming the structures and the relationship that gave rise to a conflict situation.

The way how the DPA were mediated, negotiated and finalised greatly hampered any chances for conflict transformation at the societal level. Although being a typical Track II and III activity, transforming a conflict through a series of approaches – such as truth and reconciliation commissions – often requires a political trigger, in order to have a comprehensive

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and not elitarian approach. Not only was such a trigger absolutely excluded from any decision adopted in Dayton, but in this case almost no ground for ethnic reconciliation was provided and, therefore, sustainability of the peace process. This appears to be true not only if Dayton is analysed as an outcome – especially its institutional features – but also as a process.

The US aim as power mediator was – in the words of Richard Holbrooke, the architect of Dayton – more to “lock everyone up until they reach an agreement”, rather than build a certain degree of confidence among the parties. A serious mistake committed in Dayton was to engage almost exclusively only the political tutors of two of the three sides involved in the war, namely president Milosevic of Serbia for the Bosnian Serbs and President Tudjman of Croatia for the Bosnian Croats, leaving the parties themselves out of any serious negotiating effort

Doubtlessly, only by using the political leverage that each president had on his own recalcitrant national group in Bosnia an agreement could have sealed; but this created a gap between those who decided the shape of peace in Bosnia and those who had to implement it. In fact the sense of ownership that Bosnian Serbs and Croats had of Dayton was extremely limited, and although rarely breaching its clauses, its implementation was practically stuck, requiring extra powers for the highest civilian international authority in BiH, the High Representative, and turning Bosnia definitely into an international community's protectorate.

Moreover, the institutional outcome of Dayton, its Annex IV which is in fact Bosnia's constitution, provided for a legitimisation of the ethnic segregation of the country by creating a cumbersome and dysfunctional three-layered system of governance – state, entities and cantons – in which political rights are almost entirely granted on the basis of ethnic

belonging rather than on any civic value. Dayton institutionalised a process started by the war, with a mix of ethno-federalism and difficultly reachable consociational clauses that deepened the ethnic fractures by exalting the identification of every citizen with a national group.

All this led to a very difficult environment for a conflict transformation approaches to take place, given also the poorly developed state of the civil society as a result of both the communist legacy and the war.

The few attempts proposed by some regional non-governmental organisations, involving

for instance ex combatants from opposite sides sharing together their views on the war and the future of their country, have not triggered any deeper and large-scale ‘digestion’ of the conflict, leaving each side with its own version of the facts and with their preference to mutual segregation, rather than integration. Similarly, an attempt to establish a truth and reconciliation commission through a legislative act is stuck in the Bosnian parliament since a couple of years.



Bosnian parliament since a couple of years.

Power mediation is not a flawed tool per se, and without any reasonable doubt the circumstances of 1995 did not allow a more profound and structured approach to peace-making. But resolving a multidimensional conflict that tore apart the social fabric of a country with an instrument focusing almost exclusively on short-term goals and quick-fix solutions is a political and strategic misperception. The lesson learned from Bosnia is that a serious conflict management effort, one that allows sustainability and societal recovery, should be an integrated one, combining political settlement with instruments designed to cope with *real* conflict transformation.

by Maria Donatelli

Argentina

Longitude

65° 07'

27" Lat. Sur 30° 19' 4"



Photo Courtesy of Maria Donatelli: typical regional housing

## Los Leones

*In memory of Laura, Miriam and her baby*

There is a place in the hearth of Argentina called Cruz del Eje, it is a small city and in one of its square there is a train which does not move from that place since almost 30 years. This train has caused the raise and then the fall of Cruz del Eje and the countryside around it.

During the presidency of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Cruz del Eje was characterised by a big economical development thanks to the decision to extend the railroad up to the city connecting it with both Cordoba and Buenos Aires. The main function of the train was the transport of coal and the local people saw in this business a great chance to improve their life. The area surrounding Cruz del Eje was rich in wood which could be used to produce the coal and as a consequence the people began to move to these area in order to cut the trees and sell them to the coal producers.

In this way the people began to build small houses where they were living with the family and they were carrying on their business. The houses were really far away from each other due to the fact that in this way the people did not have to share the trees to cut and could earn more.

The demand of coal increased more and more and from Cruz del Eje the coal or the wood to make it were going by train to Cordoba and Buenos Aires and as a consequence the forest was

devastated.

In the 70s the railroad passing from Cruz del Eje was closed and the city had a strong economical setback which is still nowadays visible. The end of the railroad era had a strong impact also on the life of the people that were living of the production of coal. In addition to the closing down of the railroad the people who were living in the countryside cutting wood, suffered also the consequences of the indiscriminate destruction of the forest which had turned the area into a kind of desert.

Suddenly the people of the countryside found themselves left with nothing and many of them, the ones who had the economic resources to do so, went back to the city while the others stayed on and created small villages of few houses like Los Leones, Las Ollas or Santo Domingo.

Nowadays these people live of almost nothing they have houses built with few bricks and wood, without doors and windows and the children have few opportunities to study after the primary school.

The only economic resource they have is the seasonal jobs the men get to collect olives or grape leaving the family alone for a long time. The situation is even more aggravated by the distance between the houses that if once was necessary to

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earn more nowadays generate a condition of isolation which have numerous consequences as sexual relations within relatives and mentally diseases.

The Foundation Maria de la Esperanza headed by a strong nun known by everybody as Hermana Theresa is the only organization operating in the area. Once a month the people working in the Foundation and the Hermana herself go to the area to distribute food, clothes, shoes and everything could be necessary to these people. The Foundation works mainly with children and it is trying to give the opportunity to those of the countryside to have a better future. In this sense it is building a special professional school for them which will allow the children to keep studying after the primary school, without any expenses from the part of their families, and to acquire some professional skills to improve their living conditions.

Another important service provided by the Foundation in all the villages of the countryside is the medical service as once a month the so-called "Doctors of hope", a volunteer body of doctors, go with a medical truck donated to the Foundation to provide medical assistance to all the people living in the area.

The reality described is completely unknown to many Argentineans and it is totally disregarded by the government both at local and at national level. In this context it is obvious that for one organization alone, especially if its work is based on donations, it is really difficult to give to these people the help needed to come out from a condition that the technological progress and the indiscriminate aggression of the man against the nature has caused.



by Fabrizia Falcione

**West  
Jerusalem:  
June 2007,  
street sign,  
40th  
anniversary  
celebrations  
of the 6-  
days war**



Photo courtesy of Fabrizia Falcione

## Snapshots from the Occupied Palestinian Territory

The last two months of May and June 2007 have been characterized, in the oPt, by a number of military operations carried out by the Israeli forces both in the West Bank and in Gaza Strip.

At the beginning of June, the city of Nablus, in the middle area of the West Bank, has been theatre of a major search and arrest campaign which resulted, as the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) reported in its bulletin (<http://www.ochaopt.org/documents/Weekly%20Briefing%20Notes%20No.%20210.pdf>), in damages to 86 houses, 69 shops, one mosque, one church, one soap factory (soap production is characteristic of Nablus), the electricity grid and other infrastructures in the Old City. During that same search and arrest campaign one young Palestinian man in his twenties was killed and two injured. This is nothing but one of the numerous military operations conducted in the last period.

The situation in Gaza Strip is way worst and civilians, including the most vulnerable such as women and children, are suffering a steep decline in security conditions affecting their daily lives.

In the West Bank, a complex system of checkpoints, gates within the constructed Wall, roads for Israelis only or for Palestinians only, and permits to access Jerusalem and to move among Palestinian cities and land, strangles the right to movement of millions of people and, together with it, prevents the possibility for them to enjoy any basic human right.

Meanwhile, the Palestinian social structure is weakened by continuing strikes of public services employees, in response to the continuation of non-regular payment of the salaries. Strikes involve the health sector, social services, education sector and local municipalities, with a severe impact on the civilian population for the provision of essential services.

And this month of June 2007, the main streets of West Jerusalem are illuminated by huge blue and white and blue and yellow signs showing off the number "40": 40 years since 1967 war and its ensuing consequences.

# letters, emails and feedback to the itpcm

Hi Prof

I am a Kenyan who attended your Training in Ghana. I am really touched by your interest in our progress. Honestly you are a great teacher. In Kenya we have a lot of respect for teachers whom we call "mwaliimu" in our national language KISWAHILI.

So mwaliimu, I have not been in any mission work but as a probation officer I have been involved in Criminal Justice work in conflictual and volatile areas in my country where I have been utilising the skills which I gained in Ghana. My Director has also involved me in country wide training of other officers in conflict management and negotiations especially for officers working conflict prone areas.

Once again thank you for your kind follow up.  
long live  
Jane Nyaguthii



Dear Professor de Guttry,

I'm writing to you from Ivory Coast. I arrived here two weeks ago to serve as UNV within the UNOCI mission.

I will work as Child Protection Officer and now that I am fulfilling "my dream" I can not forget to thank who made it possible.

The Master in Human Rights at the Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna provided me with a very high quality and specialised training, as I can realise working here day by day; I became aware in particular of how precious all your accurate international law lectures were (it's my edge over!).

I could even realise the importance of some role-playings or other exercises which looked so "strange" back then (e.g. lists of things to do before departure: it's exactly what happened to me when they called just three days before departure!!), not to mention the two-days training with Folgore (I will be deployed in North region, considered as a hazardous duty station).

It is just a first step, I am aware of that, but as I am already 36 years old, it's a great satisfaction to be here. I could not even imagine one year ago to be allowed to do exactly the job I wished.

I sincerely thank you from Ivory Coast and I invite you, if you ever will come to visit the region, to come round for a chat!!

With highest esteem  
Patrizia Trono

Hello there,

I have special feeling for Pisa because of Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna. I have participated in International Conflict Management Training in 2002 that is one of the popular courses across various UN missions and a source of friendship for many of our colleagues who were the art of that training. Although Pisa itself is a popular place but many of them who know it because of your training programs.

I am happy to send you the news regarding the visit of Pisa' Mayer to my area of responsibility. I think his visits to one of a successful returns location in Kosovo will have more positive impacts and will encourage other IDPs to return to their place of origin. I just wanted to share it with you.

The Mayor of Pisa, Italy visited Klinë/Klina Municipality: An Italian delegation from Pisa Municipality, led by its mayor, who is also the member of the European Commission for External Relations, explored an opportunity to further enhance between the two municipalities. On this note, the Italian delegation committed to support Klinë/Klina Municipality with the Municipal Urban Detail Plan. He also emphasized that independence of Kosovo shall lead its people towards European reintegration and stabilization of the Balkan region. The delegation had the opportunity to meet with heads of parliamentary groups, Board of Directors, Kosovo Serb urban returnees, family members of missing persons and a local religious leader. Late this afternoon, the Italian delegation accompanied by the Chief Executive Officer and Municipal Returns Officer will pay a visit to Deçan/Deçane Monastery. The Main Health Family Centre in Klinë/Klina has previously benefited from Pisa Municipality, with the donation of paediatric equipment and CT scanner, as well as health capacity building trainings in Italy.

Please also convey my best regards to Professor Andrea de Guttry and for his excellent leadership for making the school a popular place across the world for its well known training and contribution to various UN missions.

Have a good day.  
Mohammad Hayat

Liberia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Somalia. These case studies were selected on the basis of their differences so that the roles of civil society in peacebuilding could be studied in three very different conflict settings. The research shows that civil society is key to creating public dialogue and cooperation aimed at defining and pursuing the goals of peace and sustainable development. More specifically, civil society can contribute to the work of the UN Peacebuilding Commission by collecting and sharing indispensable local knowledge and by insuring the engagement of civic actors that operate on different levels from transnational and (sub)regional to national and community levels. In addition, the research presented specific guidelines on how to identify relevant civil society actors and to build effective and sustainable relationships between them and the UN Peacebuilding Commission.

**Kateryna Pishchikova**

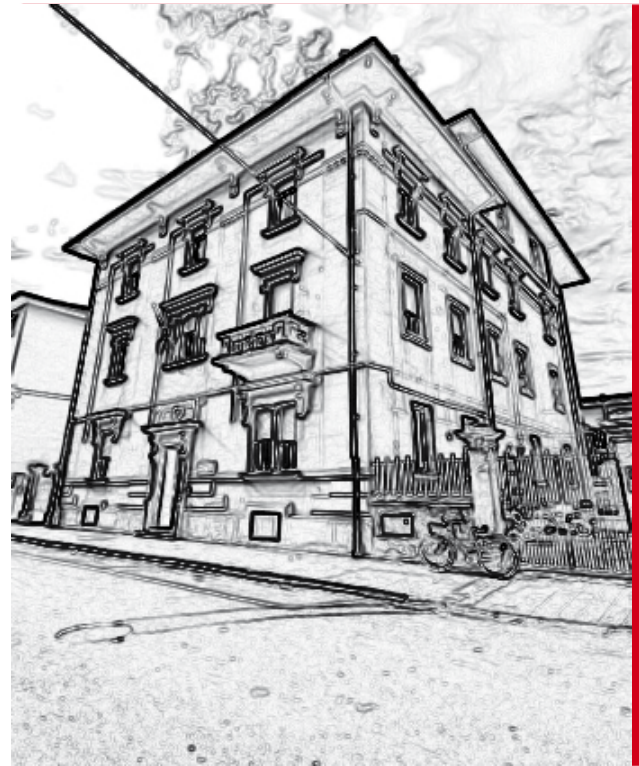
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## iccds International Centre for Conflict and Development Studies

Core mission of this recently created Centre is to conduct research activities, seminars, workshops and meetings, preferably, but not exclusively, focusing on conflicts prevention and management, post-war reconstruction, and international peace support missions. The Centre will focus also on regional integration processes as instruments to create security communities, ensuring stability to wide areas, thus preventing the emergence of conflicts and facilitating the peaceful resolution of disputes. Within this framework special attention will be given to the concept of civilian power, developed within the European studies, focusing on the characteristic of a structural foreign policy, both with regards to conflict prevention and post-conflict reconstruction (political, institutional and cultural framework). Moreover, the Centre aims at wide spreading research activities on the development of rural areas closely linked to the environmental protection.

Our main research fields include: civil society and peace-building operations, DDR, SSR, Human Security, regional peace-keeping, the Ethiopia-Eritrea war, protecting vulnerable groups, human rights, the use of force in international relations.

Moreover we aim at fostering our active collaboration regime with international and national bodies, directly involved in the field of conflict prevention and management, as well as in the implementation of developing policies: the UN and related Agencies, the European Union, OECD, OSCE, African Union, Sistema de Integracion Centroamericana (SICA), ECOWAS, Italian Foreign Ministry, Tuscany Region and all the actors of the decentralized cooperation.



the itpcm & iccds base in Pisa, archive photo

## itpcm

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