Short praises PRDU work as “enormously important”

Former Labour Cabinet Minister, Clare Short, attracted the largest audience to a PRDU Open Day for some years on 23 October 2003. Having resigned from government as a result of Prime Minister Blair’s strategy on Iraq, Ms Short had much to say on the reconstruction of post-Saddam Iraq. But, as the foundation Minister at Britain’s Department for International Development (DfID), she was keen to make connections with wider issues of development and international trade.

General development issues
Ms Short began her address with a near encyclopaedic summary of contemporary development issues beginning with a rapidly increasing world population and the consequent pressures on resources. (Extracts from her speech are printed in italics).

“We’ve got far more human beings than ever before. There’s 6 billion of us, and there’s going to be 8–9 billion of us in the next 20–30 years. But when you think that in 1900 there were just over a billion people ... over 100 years, that’s a phenomenal shift. It’s the consequence of development. Nonetheless, the need to share the resources of the earth equitably and sustainably becomes a much bigger imperative.

Today, 1.2 billion people (1 in 5) are still living in abject poverty, malnourished, living on less than the equivalent of what a dollar a day would buy in the US, with lack of access to clean water. Half of humanity have no sanitation, which is both a cause of illness and humiliation.

I think this is a new era in history, where we have a problem in the political elites (and the structures of States) across the world that are serving the imperatives of a previous era.

Towards a new development model
Ms Short stressed the importance of learning from past successes and failures in post-war reconstruction and development, and of pooling this knowledge into new,
Editorial

It seems to be human nature to dwell on negatives. Our news is full of disasters, both home and abroad. Today Iraq, yesterday Afghanistan, everyday Israel and Palestine. For us in Britain it used to be everyday Northern Ireland, and as Clare Short points out (pages 1, 3 & 4) Blair and Bush, amazingly, don’t seem to have learned the crucial lessons from this.

Yet a Royal Geographical Society meeting in London (page 9) concluded that “reflection on post-war reconstruction must not become a counsel of doom ... In many instances best practice has been learned”. And though Ben Hoffman gives mediation a “fail” grade (page 11) he claims that “there is enough known now to reduce the levels of violence in the world ... the glass of effectiveness is half full”. All, I’m sure, would join with Ms Short and urge us to “keep the positive agenda alive”.

Grah M. Ward

Expansion of PRDU continues

In order to meet the many demands for research and consultancy projects that have arisen over the last few years, the PRDU submitted a development bid to The University of York to underwrite the cost of two Research Fellows and a part-time Administrator for a 4-year period. This expansion, which has now been approved, will:

• allow the PRDU to consolidate its position as a leading centre in the study of humanitarian assistance and post-war reconstruction;

• enable the Unit to capitalise on professional and intellectual opportunities;

• contribute to the research and strategic objectives of the Unit and the Department of Politics.

The two new Research Fellows have already been appointed. Richard Jones started in his new role in November 2003, whilst Margaret Chard will take up her position in April 2004. Both have extensive field-work experience and excellent research and communication skills, and will prove to be a valued asset to the Unit.

Sultan Barakat

PRDU project update

Burundi

During December 2003, Margaret Chard and Richard Jones (recently-appointed PRDU Research Fellows) undertook an evaluation for CARE Nederland of the Community Based Bujumbura Peace Programme.

Following independence from Belgium in 1962, Burundi has suffered almost continuous political unrest. The 1993 assassination of the elected Hutu President triggered the current crisis, reciprocal killings of thousands of Hutus and Tutsis, and the segregation of Bujumbura into Tutsi and Hutu areas. The fragile economy has become even weaker as agriculture has decreased significantly.

The Bujumbura Programme was set up in the belief that promoting peace and reconciliation requires a viable civil society. The objective was that within a year there will be a contribution towards the consolidation of peace and peaceful cohabitation of different ethnic groups within Bujumbura.

The 2-week evaluation assessed the efficiency, effectiveness, sustainability, relevance and impact of the project, and the views of all its stakeholders.

The project highlights that modest initiatives can significantly promote peace and development. The revival of the traditional local level arbitration forum – the Bashingantahe – was fundamental to peaceful cohabitation, and was supported by the project.

Economic development which allows those affected by violence to earn a living is necessary for maintaining any peace. The project was involved in training members of mixed ethnic associations in agricultural techniques, and small-scale micro enterprises.

Uganda

Sultan Barakat and Richard Jones, together with Dr William Lume (Director of the Centre for Inter-African Relations) are currently undertaking a mapping exercise and programme development for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution (CPMR) programmes in Uganda. The 9 week research has the objective of defining an EU programme component in support of CPMR, under the 9th European Development Fund human rights programme. It will also make recommendations with regard to the contribution of related EC projects in support of conflict resolution activities in Karamoja and Acholi.

Turkey

Ipaslan Özerdem has initiated a one-year research project, funded by the British Academy, which studies the relationship between the Turkish state and civil society in the aftermath of the catastrophic Marmara earthquake in 1999.

Recent studies have noted the powerful effects of this earthquake on civil society’s relationship with the state, but there is no comprehensive study on medium- to long-term developments within civil society during and following reconstruction.

Of particular interest is the role of civil society organisations in disaster management, and how this process has been affected by the earthquake. Collection of data will be through non-standardised semi-structured interviews in the case study area. The research will be conducted in two phases and completed by October 2004.

Muslim World

On behalf of The British Council (Counterpoint), Sultan Barakat is researching attitudes towards the British Council in the Muslim World, assisted by Maria Holt. The project will last for six months and involves research in five Muslim countries including Jordan, Syria and Pakistan.
more sustainable strategies for recovery. A key theme which she developed was the need to move away from the ‘charity box’ approach to development and humanitarianism and the need to move these issues into the mainstream of Western politics. Interestingly she stated that “It is in the selfish self-interest of the richest countries to get more equity into the way in which we manage the world, in order that we all have a stable and secure future.” Continued, uneven development on such a scale would be perilous for the privileged one-fifth of the world’s population.

(If’s vital) to think intellectually and clearly about failed states, conflicts, post-conflict, to pool the knowledge the world has, the lessons of where we’ve failed or where we’ve made advances, and to have more and more people in the international system, not just on emergency response mode, but beginning to think ‘how do you rebuild societies and make sure they don’t fall back?’. The learning about how you prevent that – and how you help people build the institutions that will enable them to develop their economy and provide a better life for their people, and not slip back into conflict – is crucial. And I think there is experience in the international system but it’s weak, and the reflecting on it and the learning from it, and clarifying and enhancing the capacity of international institutions is a very urgent task. And clearly that’s the task to which this Unit (the PRDU) is devoted, and that I think is enormously important.

I think the way in which development, global equity and sustainability are seen as charity box type issues is a major problem for the era. Because, even if we don’t care about justice and equity, but just want to make the world safe and sustainable, we have to look at the world through an equity development perspective or we’re going to be in more and more difficulty.

And it was one of my endless frustrations and battles that people want to say, “mainstream politics is Ministry of Defence, Foreign Office, Tax, Transport” and then “here’s a bit of residual money to go round being nice to the poor”. And I do think that a lot of the rhetoric of the development NGO’s plays that game.

Europe’s got difficulties finding the places to invest the pension funds to get the rates of return that people of my generation, who could live to be 100, expect. And there’s Africa, 20 miles from Europe, crying out for capital to invest in sanitation or water supplies. So there’s all this need, but also there’s a massive capacity to invest in the conditions that would enable people to improve their own lives very rapidly. And this isn’t just an issue of morality, it’s also an issue of the future safety and sustainability of the world for everybody.

We’ve had the experience in East Asia of the fastest reduction of poverty, for the largest number of people, in history. Evidence from all over the world shows that investment in education – and it must start with universal primary education, not just partial education of an elite – is the single most powerful intervention any country can make in its development.

The world before 9/11
Before the 9/11 atrocities there were, according to Ms Short, positive signs that all countries of the world were beginning to act to bridge the gap between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have nots’.

The Millennium Assembly of the United Nations General Assembly, attended by more Prime Ministers and Heads of State than have ever previously attended a UN meeting, committed to development goals. All countries in the world (agreed to) work together to halve poverty by 2015, to have every child in primary education, to massively reduce infant and maternal mortality, and so on. Those commitments coming through the UN were then endorsed and made the guiding principles of the work of the World Bank and the IMF, which was a big shift from the old neo liberal ideas.

In World Trade discussions we even had more and more of an understanding that the world trade rules are very ferociously biased against the developing countries. I don’t know if you know this, but it encapsulates it: every European cow gets a subsidy of 2.2 euros a day; and half of humanity, or at least 2.8 billion people, are living on less than 2 dollars a day (which is comparable).

But then we have surpluses, so what do we do? We subsidise the export of meat and powdered milk into countries that have dairy industries, and sell them at below cost price and undercut local production. And what we also do, because we’ve got these surpluses, is put up tariff barriers to products coming from developing countries into our markets. 80% of Africa’s exports are unprocessed commodities. So the tea and minerals come out unprocessed, the coffee comes out green, and then the roasting and the packaging takes place in Europe.

We agreed at Doha the agenda for a trade round which, if delivered, would really make global trade rules fairer. There was a new determination in the international system to work globally for the reduction of poverty, to make a more safe and sustainable world. And then along comes September 11th 2001, when the twin towers were blown up in the USA and 3,000 people, originating from countries all over the world of course, lost their lives in that disaster.

The world after 9/11
The second half of Ms Short’s address focused on the international situation post-9/11. She stated that “the response to 9/11 is even more disastrous” than 9/11 itself, and that the war on terror “is acting as a recruiting sergeant for Al-Qaeda and organisations linked to it”.

We are in danger of throwing away that progressive (pre-9/11) agenda, which is both a good agenda and is essential to the future
safety of the world. I’m not saying that there shouldn’t be international co-operation to deal with Bin Laden’s organisation. Indeed, a special committee was set up in the Security Council to ask every country in the world to look at its arrangements for control on money laundering, for sharing information, to act together to prevent Al-Qaeda spreading and creating bitterness and division and killing innocent civilians.

Whatever the rights and wrongs of the Afghan campaign, there was broad international agreement that action should be taken, and quite a strong determination to support the people of Afghanistan in rebuilding their country. That I think has now been let down, and the development of Afghanistan beyond Kabul held back. So here’s a failure in terms of the post-conflict rebuilding, and we need to get back to Afghanistan and make sure that things do go forward better.

And then Iraq. We know that extreme elements in the Bush administration had been calling for military action against Iraq, right through Clinton’s administration. We know there was absolutely no connection between September 11th and Iraq, although many of the people of the USA believed that Al-Qaeda was organised from Iraq. We’ve had a war that divided the international community, and truncated the UN Inspectors’ process of inspection. Many Iraqis have lost their lives. There has been a lot of destruction in that society, and then an almost criminal failure to prepare for the inevitable military victory and the reconstruction of Iraq, and to ensure that Iraqis were supported to lead the reconstruction of Iraq, and to ensure for the inevitable military victory and that Iraqis were supported to lead the reconstruction of the country and to ensure that Iraqis were supported to lead the development of their own country.

The money that the UK is committing (to Iraq) is taken from other parts of its development budget whereas, of course, all the military spending in Iraq comes as extra money from the Treasury. Similarly, Japan is making a big commitment, taken from the Japanese aid budget which would otherwise be spent in Asia, where two thirds of the poor of the world live.

Future prospects
I think progress is possible, but I think we’re going backwards, said Ms Short, citing crucial lessons from Northern Ireland over the last 40 years as lessons which Prime Minister Blair and President Bush have, tragically, not learned from. Despite her pessimism, she urges all like-minded people to keep the positive agenda alive, and sees the PRDU as an important part of this mission.

So we are in a very difficult, troubling and dangerous time for the world in my view. We are living at a time when we could have a massive advance for humanity. We have the knowledge, we have the needs, we have the communications, we have the capital. And now we’ve got this distraction from the sustainable and justice agenda, a notion of a war on terror that is led only by the concept of military aggression.

And this country (the UK) above all countries knows that that won’t work. Remember Northern Ireland, when in the 1960’s the Catholic nationalists started to march for civil rights, asking for equality in employment and in the allocation of housing and so on. They were put down very viciously by their own local police, and Britain eventually sent in British troops to stop that. And in a year or so, you had a terrorist movement and a resistance that went on for 30 years and caused enormous loss of life. In response to that, Britain went for internment, locking up anyone they thought might remotely be sympathetic to this uprising, and it spread the membership. Of course, anyone whose brother or sister or cousin was locked up, tended to feel more sympathetic about joining up with the resistance. Britain learned the hard way that the way to deal with a terrorist uprising is not only to have a security system trying to catch and prevent, but also a commitment to justice. So you deal with the causes of the bitterness and the discrimination and the unfairness and you have just systems of law enforcement, not what’s going on in Guantanamo Bay. And then, over time, as people see that there can be justice and there can be opportunities for development, they turn away from feeling that violence is the best way of protesting.

Justice requires a settlement of the Palestinian and Israeli conflict, the biggest cause of outrage and disgust in the Middle East, across the Muslim world and indeed across the whole of Europe. We thought we had agreement negotiated by the UN, the European Union, Russia and the US to this ‘road map’ that would guarantee the establishment of a Palestinian State with full statehood, alongside Israel by 2005, and that is draining away now and collapsing.

I say all of this not to end on a pessimistic, negative note so that everyone feels demoralised and gives up, but for us to face objectively the seriousness of the situation that we’re in. I think units like the PRDU, and the learning and values that you nurture, are an important part of keeping the positive agenda alive. We’ve got to make sure that we get back to the agenda of backing development and the ending of conflicts and helping people build new states. Because I think lots of the talk about conflict in developing countries misunderstands that it’s often taking place where there really aren’t the institutions of a proper state functioning – it’s often a semi-criminalised kind of violence. The sort of conflict there was in Sierra Leone or there is in Northern Uganda, or the nature of the civil war in Mozambique – now very happily over, and Mozambique moving forward significantly – isn’t a political civil war, it’s often about diamonds or other rich resources. We need to understand this so that, if we need to strengthen the capacity of the UN to end conflicts rather than just be peace keepers, we can then try to help people create the institutions of a modern, competent state. That includes armed forces; police; a finance ministry with proper systems so there won’t be corruption in the public finances; an education ministry that’s capable of training teachers, producing books, preparing schools and sustaining an education system; and so on and so forth. Supporting people in building effective, modern, post-conflict states is the instrument of real quality development and greater justice across the world.

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To see how studying at the PRDU can provide an excellent stepping stone in your career, read the articles on pages 10, 11 and 12.
Saifullah ABID
Afghanistan
(OSI/FCO/Altajir Scholar)
Background in economics and humanitarian aid

Having obtained an MSc in economics, I started my career with Afghan NGOs, as an accountant and then a Finance officer. After the Transitional government was formed, I joined the Afghan Assistance Coordination Authority (AACA) as a Coordinator, monitoring bilateral, multilateral, and non-governmental agencies’ funds for aid and development projects. I worked closely with the Ministry of Finance on the 2003–2004 development budget for Afghanistan.

Marco BRIL
Netherlands
Background in the military police and humanitarian aid

In 2001, I gave up being a military police officer in the Netherlands and went to Kosovo as a logistics manager for a German NGO – Arbeiter Samariter Bund. As part of ASB’s programme for reconstructing war-damaged houses, I dealt directly with the European Agency for Reconstruction, UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), local government and other NGOs. I realised that I needed more theoretical knowledge to help me understand their approach.

Fay BALLARD
Northern Ireland
Background in psychology and trauma management

While studying psychology at university, I became interested in how violent conflict affects the individual and what repercussions this has at a community level. In my final year, I conducted research within the emerging field of post-traumatic growth. Since graduating, I have spent two years in Latin America & Southern Africa, funding this through working in human resources in the UK. I have also trained as a community mediator and worked on a voluntary basis mediating community disputes.

Amanda BURNS
United Kingdom
Background in voluntary work

While studying Modern History and Languages at Oxford, I developed a particular interest in violent conflict and its impact on vulnerable communities. After graduating in 2002, I volunteered with the British Red Cross, within the Refugee and International Tracing Service. My main task was to assist refugees and asylum seekers in tracing lost relatives. Many had been separated from close family members after fleeing conflict-affected countries such as Afghanistan, Congo, Iraq and Somalia.

Hamayoon FERHUT
Afghanistan
(OSI/FCO/Altajir Scholar)
Background in humanitarian programme and project management

Since 1994, I have worked with different NGOs and UN agencies in Afghanistan and, following ‘September the 11th’, with United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan as a National Program Officer, mainly on coordination of humanitarian assistance. I also worked on programming & project management – supporting and funding rehabilitation, livelihood, human rights, education, media, capacity building and health projects for NGOs through Afghanistan Emergency Trust Funds (AETF).

Mark BRAILSFORD
United Kingdom
Background in humanitarian assistance

After graduating in Agriculture in 1986, I was posted to Sri Lanka through the VSO (Voluntary Service Overseas). I subsequently joined the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) for which I have worked for the past 11 years. For the majority of that time, I was involved in protection activities in Sri Lanka, first with regard to the government-JVP conflict and later with the government-LTTE conflict. For the last year, I was a Head of Office for ICRC in Afghanistan.

Felipe CAMARGO MEJIA
Colombia
Background in law and humanitarian aid

In 1990 I migrated to Australia and obtained a Graduate Diploma in Natural Resource Management at the Australian National University. Parallel to this, I worked for CARE Australia in Somalia, Kenya, Cambodia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina & India. Since 1994, I have been working for UNHCR, mainly in refugee repatriation in Mozambique, Myanmar, Guatemala and Afghanistan. During 2002–3, I was seconded to the Ministry of Rural Rehabilitation and Development of Afghanistan.

Neill CARVIE
United Kingdom
Background in humanitarian assistance and construction

I have been engaged in development and relief work for 11 years, initially with VSO in Kenya. Since 1998, I have been employed with Christian Aid as their Emergency Response Manager. I have been involved with reconstruction programmes in the Former Yugoslavia, emergency assistance during conflicts in Sierra Leone and Burundi, and responses to natural disasters in Mozambique and Congo. In 2002, I studied for a Diploma in International Relations at Birbeck College, University of London.
MA in Post-war Recovery Studies …

Veronica GRAZIOLI
Italy
Background in political science and voluntary work

In 2003 I graduated in Political Sciences at the Catholic University in Milan. I also undertook several Institute of International Political Studies courses on monitoring & problem solving, poverty & plans for development, involuntary migrations and human rights. In 1998 I volunteered with an NGO in Mato Grosso, Brazil, where I worked with a Chavantes tribe. Two years later I took part in humanitarian aid missions in Sarajevo and I started to deepen my interest in war-torn countries.

Gareth HUGHES
United Kingdom
Background in politics

I graduated in 2003 from The University of York with a BA Hons in Politics. Before joining the PRDU, I worked on a number of projects dealing with conflict situations, culminating in my final year dissertation entitled “The Murder of Yugoslavia: Ethics, Nationalism and Conflict”. This focused on the myriad of factors which served to generate the Yugoslav crisis. I am interested in aspects of conflict and the problems and possibilities of peace and reconciliation in post-conflict scenarios.

Katie JEFFERSON
United Kingdom
Background in politics

While studying for a Politics degree at the University of Durham, I spent a year in Sweden at Uppsala University’s Department of Peace and Conflict Studies. This confirmed my interest in the intrinsically linked fields of conflict resolution and post-war recovery, which had initially begun when I researched the conflict in Northern Ireland during work experience at the BBC. During my degree I focused on international relations and wrote my dissertation on the intra-state conflict in Colombia.

Anthony MAKANA
Sudan
Background in business administration and humanitarian work

In 1994 an NGO sponsored me to undertake a 3-year degree in Business Administration and Management at Daystar University in Kenya. During my student days, and later my professional life, I represented my church, country and NGO in international fora including conferences and meetings in Ivory Coast, Egypt, Uganda, Kenya, Zambia, Tanzania, Ethiopia, DR Congo, Holland and Switzerland. At the time of joining the PRDU I was the head of our Uganda branch.

Akemi MARUMO
Japan
Background in public administration

I have spent over 30 years as a civil servant in Yokohama, having mainly been involved in social welfare services, special education programmes for disabled children, and the establishment of Yokohama City’s Centre for Industry and Technology. During the last six years, I worked to develop local businesses and economics through promoting the establishment of foreign business operations in Yokohama, including the British Industry Centre in Japan.

Junko MASUDA
Japan
Background in regional studies and migration

Following a childhood in DR Congo, I majored in French language and regional studies at Sophia University, Japan. After graduating in 1994, I joined Japan International Cooperation Agency, a governmental organisation in charge of bilateral technical cooperation for developing countries. I was responsible for the desk of North and West Africa in Tokyo for five years, and worked in Morocco for three years. In 2002 I took charge of post-conflict assistance for Afghanistan.

Helen MURRAY
United Kingdom
Background in humanitarian aid

Since 1998 I have worked with youth and women’s organisations in Palestine, in Palestinian refugee camps in south Lebanon and with related NGOs in the UK. I have experienced the progressive work of many Palestinian NGOs, as well as current obstacles to development. I was a student at Birzeit University, West Bank, in 1999 and graduated in History from the University of Edinburgh. Most recently I have been working as a communications officer for Save the Children’s emergency response in Iraq.

Sarah McLAUGHLIN
USA
Background in political science and community projects

Whilst at University in Philadelphia, I became active in community and social injustice issues. I then spent a year with the Jesuit Volunteer Corps in Louisiana. My first exposure to conflict came when I moved to London Derry, Northern Ireland (in 2000) on a two-year placement at a local community relations organisation. As Assistant Projects Officer, I designed and implemented single-identity and cross-community projects, working with schoolchildren on identity through education.

PANGO MASHIMANGO
Congo (DRC)
Background in humanitarian work

As a United Nations staff member for the last nine years I have been privileged to work in some of the major complex emergencies of the decade. I started by working for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees during the Rwandese refugee emergency in eastern Congo (Zaire) and subsequently went on to work enthusiastically in other areas including Somalia and Taliban Afghanistan. I have come to PRDU to gain an understanding of the debates surrounding humanitarian work.
Indika PERERA
Sri Lanka
(ACE Scholar)
Background in law

I am the programme director of a Sri Lankan NGO called ‘impact’ (initiative for political and conflict transformation), whose objective is to contribute to achieving sustainable peace in Sri Lanka through a process of political and conflict transformation. In pursuing this objective, ‘impact’ acts as a catalyst in ‘citizen diplomacy’ – informal, unofficial, non-governmental diplomacy (Track II work) – an indispensable preparation and adjunct to formal, official conflict resolution work.

Habib Ur RAHMAN
Afghanistan
(OSI/FCO/Altajir Scholar)
Background in journalism and government

Having completed a Masters in journalism I returned to Afghanistan in 2002. I was seconded as an Assistant to the Minister of Rural Rehabilitation and Development, Mohammad Haneef Atmar (a PRDU graduate). Our main areas of concern were the poor people of rural areas who were totally isolated due to an improper transport system. We wanted to make people realise that the government was concerned about the provision of safe drinking water, basic health and education.

Karen ROGERS
United Kingdom
Background in politics and volunteer work

I graduated from York in 2001 with a degree in Politics, Philosophy and Economics. Since then I have spent six months working as a volunteer with communities in South Africa and Romania, and witnessed the continuing effects of conflict a number of years after the cessation of high-level violence. This experience has fuelled an interest in the recovery of countries in a post-conflict situation and, in particular, how this is affected by the treatment of perceived war criminals.

Amson SIMBOLON
Indonesia
Background in humanitarian aid

My humanitarian employment began in North Maluku Province, one of Indonesia’s conflict areas, with UN OCHA Indonesia as Interpreter, Liaison and Information Officer. Since July 2002, I worked for UNICEF under Emergency Unit as Program Assistant of Education in the same Province. The responsibility was to assist Education Consultants in monitoring and supporting implementation of UNICEF-assisted peace education activities, as well as to assist in translation and reporting.

SITARA
Afghanistan
(OSI/FCO/Altajir Scholar)
Background in political science and development projects

I started working for United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) as an assistant programme officer in 1997. Since then my work responsibilities have increased to the level of programme officer, and then Assistant Country Director. In 2002, as the situation in Afghanistan changed, our programmes and projects re-directed their focus to working in partnership with the government. I was part of a joint exercise undertaking the preliminary needs assessment for Afghanistan.

Monique VAN HOOF
Netherlands
Background in education, demobilization and re-integration

During my study year in York at the PRDU I would like to learn more about what impact massive aid has on war-torn societies, and what ways there are to manage aid more effectively. While working in conflict and post-conflict countries for the past 15 years, I have seen that a lot of money designated for recovery is not well spent.

Matthew WHATLEY
United Kingdom
Background in the military, and humanitarian aid

I spent the past 11 years operating in war zones and countries recovering from war. 3 years with TV news and documentary teams in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo showed me the connection between the policies of the International Community and the helpless & suffering. Being head of the Serb Civil Registration Operation in Kosovo (UNMIK) drew upon all my experience. This allowed me to accept other challenges as an advisor to the Governments of Sierra Leone and Palestine during elections.

Abdul Hai SOFIZADA
Afghanistan
(OSI/FCO/Altajir Scholar)
Background in humanitarian aid and legal protection

Until 2002 I lived in exile in Pakistan where I did my schooling, eventually joining the office of the UNHCR. I then moved back to Afghanistan and found myself involved in one of the largest refugee repatriation operations in UNHCR’s recent history. I came to learn about some of the dilemmas, constraints, needs and dynamics of a country, both during the conflict and in a post-war recovery phase. At the PRDU I hope to achieve a balance between practical experience and academic knowledge.
Setting the scene
The armed conflict between the Government of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), which has been mainly fought in the north and eastern districts of the country for over 20 years, has had devastating socio-economic and physical impacts. 65,000 people have died, and more than 800,000 have been displaced.

Sri Lanka has always been a multi-ethnic island, though it is debated whether it was the Sinhalese or the Tamil people, its two main ethnic groups, who first started to inhabit the island two thousand years ago. The Sinhalese and the Tamils, with concentrations in the South and the North of the country, form 74% and 18% respectively of the 18 million population, while other main ethnic groups are Muslims and Dutch Burghers.

There were a number of attempts to bring a peaceful resolution to the conflict in 1985, 1989–1990 and 1994–1995, all of which failed due to the withdrawal of the LTTE. The ongoing Norwegian-brokered peace process, since early 2002, has also been facing a number of challenges. In November 2003, the President dismissed three key cabinet ministers – interior, defence and media – and suspended the parliament, accusing the Prime Minister of making too many concessions to the LTTE.

Field study itinerary
The two-week field study, part of the MA Course in Post-war Recovery Studies, took place in December 2003 and was supervised by the Course Director, Dr Alpaslan Özerdem. During the visit, which was hosted by FORUT – a Norwegian-based non-governmental organisation – the 25 MA students were divided into three separate groups and had a number of community meetings with both returnees and those displaced people who still live in ‘temporary’ settlements in the Puttalam and Vavuniya districts.

For a better understanding of issues and challenges in the field, the group had a day and half orientation workshop in the capital city, Colombo, before departing to the districts in the north. Each day of the field study visit began with a briefing session on the projects to be visited that day, and ended with group debriefing sessions to discuss issues raised and decide on a group research strategy for the following day’s visits.

The three groups were encouraged to use different Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques each day. Therefore, the field study visit was not only an excellent opportunity to learn from first-hand experiences of displaced people and those practitioners involved in displacement related programmes, but also for testing and learning from the experience of using different data-gathering techniques.

Observations by the MA group
The following extracts are from observations by some members of the MA group.

Despite a host of problems which IDPs face in certain locations (for example in areas of Puttalam) faced in terms of local integration, the majority of those we visited had managed to integrate well with the host community. This was particularly visible in Vavuniya, especially in the relocation and resettlement areas. Though it was not always easy to see and judge the level of existing tensions between IDPs and host communities, one could observe a degree of positive interaction between the two groups. This even occurred in areas where the two groups came from different ethnic/religious backgrounds, and even considering that some of the local communities have hosted IDPs for more than a decade. One reason for the level of tolerance and co-existence could be the benefits that IDPs bring – contribution to the labour force, and economic incentives from the government and the international community targeting both the IDPs and their host communities.

Abdul Hai Sofizada

The field visit was a good opportunity for me to observe an IDP situation with the eyes of a student/researcher rather than with those of a practitioner or member of a given organisation, as I have done in the past. My main observation refers to the terrible situation of IDPs in the Welfare Centres in Vavuniya. Although one cannot underestimate the difficulties faced by the agencies involved, it was extremely disappointing to notice the lack of political will by the Government and the LTTE in finding alternative solutions for the IDPs in the Welfare Centres. I expected more from agencies such as UNHCR, ICRC and the NGOs in regards to this issue.

Felipe Camargo

The most exciting thing for me during the trip was that I learned a lot. I was exposed to humanitarian workers and practitioners working in a complex war situation, like the one we have back home in Sudan. The visit gave me the opportunity to see humanitarian work from a different perspective. Learning teamwork techniques in the classrooms in York is one thing; practicing it in the field is quite another. Without this Sri Lanka experience I wouldn’t have pieced the two together. I learned that if we don’t listen to the voices of the people we intend to serve, we will end up “scratching where it is not itching”. In other words, we will run projects that do not address their basics needs. Humanitarian work is not just about getting big money, but also about having empathy towards the people you serve.

Anthony Makana

Having spent about 12 years working in development and humanitarian activities in Sri Lanka, I thought I knew the Sri Lankan context quite well. However, the PRDU field study...
Post-war Reconstruction: Forever Re-inventing the Wheel?

This was the title of a dinner-discussion event, held in July 2003, which was convened jointly by the Royal Geographical Society with the Institute of British Geographers (RGS-IBG), and Dr Sultan Barakat, PRDU Director. The event was chaired by Nicholas Witchell, the BBC’s Royal and Diplomatic Correspondent, who has reported from numerous wars and is a Fellow of the RGS-IBG.

Many of the issues currently placed high on the governmental agendas have important geographical dimensions, and Geographers, with their knowledge of both social and environmental processes, are well placed to contribute to solutions. These issues include social exclusion, urban regeneration, sustainable development, cultural diversity, energy and water resources, and environmental degradation.

The Royal Geographical Society (with IBG) contributes insight through its Environment and Society Forum, to key social, economic and environmental challenges facing Britain and the world. It does this by bringing together the business, research, non-governmental and policy-making communities within a neutral and respected setting.

Dinner discussions provide focused, high level debate for decision-makers, and a mechanism to engage and inform those tasked with policy formulation and implementation.

Fifty-eight guests participated in this particular meeting which focused on the medium-term issue of reconstructing livelihoods, environments, social capital and infrastructure. Four speakers shared their personal perspectives on, amongst other subjects, how local solutions might contribute to these issues.

Lessons from Rwanda and Somalia
Scott Weber, Senior Programme Officer, War-Torn Societies Project International, Geneva.

Lessons from Bosnia
Gerald Knaus, President of the Executive Board, European Stability Initiative, Berlin.

Lessons from Afghanistan
Dr Astri Suhrke, Senior Researcher, Christian Michelsen Institute, Bergen.

Looking Forwards to Iraq
HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal, Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

Perhaps the greatest lesson from successful post-war reconstruction is the importance of a clear vision for post-war recovery, a vision for a participatory process that includes local people. Unfortunately, the experience of the last decade suggests that little thought is given to the future regional/international role for many countries emerging from conflict. Too often, the international community’s starting point appears to be one of opportunistic self-interest – related to concerns over Western security, terrorism, access to oil/natural resources, control of narcotics etc. – rather than being predicated on any coherent vision for reintegrating the affected countries into the world community of nations. Related to this is the premature withdrawal of international interest and assistance from post-war societies. There are no quick fixes. Post-war recovery is a long and arduous process; by contrast, the attention span of the international community is notoriously short.

The overall impression of the meeting was that reflection on post-war reconstruction must not, however, become a counsel of doom. In many instances, best practice has been learned, and normally from the process of actual reconstruction rather than the energies of think tanks. Enormous international energies and resources have been devoted to post-war reconstruction in the past few decades. On balance this is vastly preferable to international inertia. Together with local inputs, there are many instances in which these international energies and resources have had a positive impact on the material conditions in post-war communities.

Participants hoped this would be the first of many similar forums in which the debate can be taken forward. The most rewarding forums though will be those that involve the ‘beneficiaries’ of post-war reconstruction processes, for it is the experiences of local recipients, participants, planners and originators in reconstruction that tend to be absent from most reconstruction narratives.
Reflections on post-Saddam Iraq

What is next for Iraq?

At a Departmental Seminar in November 2003, Sultan Barakat presented a paper – based on a personal visit to the Middle East. The aim of the visit was to: explore the dynamics of post-war reconstruction in Iraq, and the perceptions and feelings people have of the process; establish if the main lessons from other reconstruction experiences had been eternalised by the occupying forces and the UN; seek the existence of a shared vision that guides the reconstruction process.

He found little evidence of such a clear vision. Amongst the chaos and rising instability that has characterised Iraq since the fall of Saddam, the actions of the US have sent many mixed signals to the Iraqi population and the wider ‘regional’ and ‘global’ audience. In a bid to impose its authority on the Iraqi people and the process of reconstruction itself, the US has in effect exacerbated the current social, economic and political climate as well as created regional and international tensions.

A major task facing the Iraqi people remains that of negotiating peace with all parties, and achieving consensus as to how they wish to be governed. However, one of the main findings to come from Dr Barakat’s visit to the Middle East was the lack of voice for ‘middle Iraq’, currently uninvolved in the central decision-making process. The US obsession of minimising the influence of all Ba’athists has exacerbated the general socio-economic breakdown within Iraqi society and alienated its participation.

The financing for reconstruction should not just be viewed as a one off pledge but should be continued in the medium to long term to ensure sustainability. Reconstruction finance in Iraq is not without controversy. The lure of oil interest of the people of Iraq, state enterprises are to be ‘nationalised’ and oil is better sold in Euros? What if a ‘democratic’ Iraq decides to stay away. Coalition Forces (CF), therefore, have a very significant role at present in Iraq’s reconstruction, rather than just in its security.

The essential services facilities and networks in Southern Iraq are extensive and complex, and most date from the 1960s to early 1980s with almost no renewal or investment since. A major relief plan ($127M) was launched in response, with funding from UK and US Governments. Known as the Emergency Infrastructure Plan (EIP) it is, by default, being defined and managed by CF (Multi-National Division (SE)), in conjunction with the Iraqi Utility Directorates. Generally, it comprises only repair works on a grand scale – the longer-term development needs lie with the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), the Iraqi Ministries and their agents.

The 54 projects are logistically demanding, with particular complications for power line reconstruction. Traditionally, much of Iraq’s power has been produced in the South and exported north to Baghdad. In the Saddam era, those in the South were highly cynical about the virtually 50% time that they were without power. Thus, these lines suffered from extensive sabotage after the recent conflict, which facilitated extensive looting of conductor cables. There are thousands of kilometres of power lines, notoriously difficult to secure against theft.

Power politics with Baghdad continue, albeit with some new players such as CPA. The national allocation strategy is to balance out power demands against available supply in the most equitable way. Whilst seemingly fair in application, this places geographic relativity above temporal relativity, and here lie the dangers for maintaining ‘consent’ with the population. If the people in the South perceive a lack of improvement in supplies at the expense of imports to the North, then sabotage of the lines is likely to return. As much attention needs to be given to reconstructing the regional networks as to the national ones. A fine balance between the utility of power lines as ‘connectors’ rather than ‘dividers’?

There is a growing concern that, despite additional generating power being added to the grid, there still may not be enough in 2004 to get through the intensely hot summer without severe power outages. For domestic power demands are growing at a faster rate than ever as people use their new freedoms to buy electrical products not available under Saddam, and there is a lack of incentive to conserve electricity without an effective charging mechanism.

It seems that the US has started to realise the scale of the challenge and what a democratic Iraq may pose in terms of challenging US interest. What if a ‘democratic’ Iraq decides on having a sovereign Iraq and calls for the US to pull out of Iraq immediately? What if it decides that in the interest of the people of Iraq, state enterprises are to be ‘nationalised’ and oil is better sold in Euros? What if a representative government ends up dominated by the Shia majority and they decide to have closer relationships with Iran? More importantly, all observers seem to agree that a democratically elected Iraqi government will have no option but to support the Palestinian people in their struggle against the Israeli occupation.

All of these factors present worst case scenarios for the US, and it is keen to play down certain elements of its democratic ideals for Iraq. It remains to be seen whether the United States is willing to tolerate either an Islamic state or a socialist democratic one.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Pledges for reconstruction over 4 years</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Pledges per capita</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>US$ 4.5 billion</td>
<td>25,839,000</td>
<td>US$ 174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>US$ 33 billion</td>
<td>24,683,000</td>
<td>US$ 1,337</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Power politics in Southern Iraq

Iraq remains a semi-hostile environment. Civilian employers have a duty of care to their staff and many of the International Organisations and NGOs have decided to stay away. Coalition Forces (CF), therefore, have a very significant role at present in Iraq’s reconstruction, rather than just in its security.

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What Works to Reduce Political Violence?

After an extensive literature review and interviews with over 20 authorities in the field of Conflict Resolution and peacebuilding, Ben Hoffman has given prevention and post-violent peacebuilding a “pass” grade, and mediation a “fail”. He claims, however, that there is enough known now, technically, to reduce the levels of violence in the world, and the glass of effectiveness is “half full”.

Nevertheless, the findings also point to a Knowledge-Action Gap. Technical knowledge and good intentions are insufficient. Action to prevent political violence, to stop the killing when it has broken out, and to re-build war-torn societies is not taken often enough, or for long enough, to achieve the changes being sought. Political actors responsible for authorising these activities are not sufficiently seized of the need to act. This gap between knowledge and action must be bridged.

Based on his interviews with the authorities, Hoffman has identified nine major concerns which relate to effectiveness of Conflict Resolution and peacebuilding efforts to reduce political violence. These are:

**The Nature of the Beast**

There is a prevailing worldwide culture of violence, sustained in large part by the anarchic nature of the international state system and the fact that state leaders retain the prerogative to use violence to advance state interests. This legitimises the use of violence, and this becomes the “box” in which all conflict resolution work is done. The box itself mitigates against violence being easily, let alone significantly, reduced.

**The Wrong Objective**

There is too much emphasis put on conflict and not enough on violence.

Peace is the goal: violence reduction, not conflict resolution, should be the objective. More talk about violence prevention, ending violence, and re-building societies in the aftermath of violence should clarify program activities, bring obstacles more clearly into focus, and help with measured success. Reduced levels in violence will not be sustainable unless root causes are addressed, predators removed and viable institutions established.

**Political Naivety**

Every intervention is political and alters the balances of power. Conflict Resolution Practitioners need to develop more political savvy. To create real change towards the aim of violence reduction one will need to understand what motivates leaders, both war lords and peace lords, and have the creative means to influence them to give peace a chance. The study concluded that better training is needed for Conflict Resolution Practitioners to help them become more effective at influencing decisions in the political arena.

**Inadequate Conflict Analysis**

Described as a “shocking finding”, the study confirmed a prior finding by Anderson and Olson *(Confronting War: Critical Lessons for Peace Practitioners, 2003)* that those designing and implementing conflict resolution and peacebuilding programs fail to conduct adequate conflict analysis. Hoffman’s results assert that both risk assessment and analysis, required throughout interventions, is often too narrow or too broad to be of much use.

**A Failure to Communicate Effectively**

In addition to conflict resolution expertise, practitioners must add skills in political analysis and advocacy to generate the political will for war lords to move toward peace, and for external state actors to become and remain involved. Conflict Resolution Practitioners are often inept at effectively communicating with politicians to generate the political will needed to prevent or end violence.

**No Coordination of Effort**

Organising for effectiveness is essential, yet the Conflict Resolution field is anything but organised. It is not organised to: identify core competencies and ensure that these are taught to practitioners; signal early warning and make compelling arguments that action be taken; execute action; measure the effectiveness of action; disseminate lessons from the field to others at that level; send better questions back to the academy for further research.

**Institutional Shortcomings**

Hoffman estimates that for every one million dollars spent annually on peace twelve million dollars are spent for war. Institutional shortcomings identified by the authorities interviewed, however, are not so much the concern of lack of resources, but those things needed to bridge the Knowledge-Action Gap, including: Violence reduction knowledge; Policy to act; Mechanisms to support action; Political will; and Effective violence reduction action.

**United States Unilateralism**

The authorities recognise that the 9/11 attacks have left the US in a state of fear, but the current Administration’s reaction is viewed as wrong-headed and counter-productive. US willingness to use force unilaterally undermines gains made in international conflict resolution in its efforts to de-legitimise violence, and in seeking reductions in violence through UN-sanctioned multilateral initiatives. US action is deemed as escalatory of violence.

**The Women’s Perspective**

Women’s perspective on political violence and peace is extremely useful, and largely overlooked. Women are agents of peace and healing even though they are increasingly the targets of violence. The study reinforces UN Resolution 1325, emphasising that the women’s perspective is vital and needs to be included in all prevention, mediation, and post-violence peacebuilding activities.
Congratulations to Esther Charlesworth, Carel Richter, Arne Strand and Carol Westrik, who have all passed their PhD vivas during 2003. For the PRDU this is a record number of doctoral graduates in any one year. On behalf of the PRDU, Sultan Barakat – who supervised all four candidates – wishes them every success with their future careers. Below is news of ‘where they are now’, together with a brief overview of their DPhil research areas. Full abstracts of all doctoral theses can be found on the PRDU website.

Esther Charlesworth is founding Executive Director of Architects without Frontiers (Australia) undertaking a range of urban planning and design projects in Mostar, Kathmandu and Stradbroke Island. A recipient of four major international awards for her research into the role of architects in post-war reconstruction, she is now completing a book on Divided Cities with colleague Jon Calame, which is to be published by the University of Virginia Press in 2004. Having been a Visiting Assistant Professor at the American University of Beirut (2000–02), Esther is now visiting Lecturer with QUT (Brisbane).

The Role of Architects in War Divided Cities
This thesis examines the role of architects (including planners, urban designers and landscape architects) in the reconstruction of three war-divided cities – Beirut, Nicosia and Mostar. It analyses the key lessons emerging from the case studies and proposes a reflective framework for design processes for architectural practice in other cities partitioned along ethnic, religious, political or related lines.

Examiners: Charles Cockburn (internal); John Worthington, Visiting Professor, University of Sheffield + DEGW (external).

Carel Richter is currently a senior policy advisor in the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In June he will be transferred as First Secretary for economic affairs and development co-operation at the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Cairo, Egypt.

Action Planning: The challenges facing decentralised local government recovering during low intensity conflict
This research attempts to gain insight into the history and current problems facing the conflict-stricken districts of Adjumani and Moyo in Northern Uganda. Furthermore, it assumes the ineffectiveness of current development policies, which focus on decentralised local government planning, when it comes to areas of protracted low intensity conflicts. The hypothesis emerging from this work is that ‘Action Planning’, if used in the right circumstances, can contribute towards the improvement of such policies. Action planning techniques were adapted and tested over a period of twenty months in the field.

Examiners: Dr Alp Özerdem (internal); Professor Jim Whitman, Bradford University (external).

Arne Strand, who also holds an MA from York (PRDU, 1998), is now a researcher with the Chr. Michelsen Institute in Bergen, Norway. His main area of research is peace-building and post-war recovery, maintaining a focus on Afghanistan.

Recent Publications

Reconstructing War-Torn Societies – Afghanistan
Published by Palgrave: www.palgrave.com

The first in a Third World Quarterly Series, 16 contributors look critically at the evolution and meaning of the core concepts underpinning aims and strategies for recovery in Afghanistan.

Who’s helping Who? NGO Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance
This thesis examines the effectiveness, efficiency and impact of NGO coordination of humanitarian assistance, primarily in Afghanistan. It seeks to discover whether NGO coordination primarily benefits the NGOs or the local forced-migration population whom they purport to serve. The prime finding is that the local population was essentially disconnected from any NGO decision-making or coordination process, so that it was primarily the NGOs themselves, not the intended beneficiaries, that benefited.

Examiners: Dr Mark Evans (internal); Dr Peter Walker, Tufts University (external).

Carol Westrik has returned to The Netherlands to take up a temporary contract within The Hague.

Reading contested landscape: from buffer zone to peace tool, the case of Cyprus
The aim of this thesis is to gain a better understanding of the interaction between landscape, culture and conflict. Literature research and fieldwork support the hypothesis that: Buffer zones should be regarded as important peace tools rather than as places of division, since they are areas where fighting factions can meet, interact and work towards a sustainable solution without interference from their respective governments. An improved understanding of the importance of reading the landscape, specifically in the context of present day conflicts, enables a better understanding of contested landscapes and the use of buffer zones in conflict resolution.

Examiners: Dr Rob Aitkin (internal); John Warren, Lecturer/author on conservation (external).

Housing reconstruction after conflict and disaster
Published by ODI: www.odihpn.org

Reviews experiences in housing reconstruction after natural disaster and conflict, and argues that housing should become a more prominent part of programming.

Revising the wheels of recovery: international humanitarian architecture
World Outlook Paper by John Warren (2003; 6pp)
Published by ODI: www.odihpn.org

Reviews the wheels of recovery: international humanitarian architecture.

Property and conflict
Published by the Pseudo Publishing Co. (2004; 15pp; ISBN 0 85003 697 6)

Reviews the role of property and conflict.

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