

Cutting the Costs of War

Non-military Prevention and Resolution of Conflict

By Dr. Scilla Elworthy
with a preface by Professor Paul Rogers



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About this Briefing

This briefing is the first collaborative venture between Oxford Research Group and **peace direct**. **peace direct** is a newly established charity to promote and support non-violent means of conflict prevention, resolution and transformation and to raise awareness of how war prevention works. **Oxford Research Group** has a long track record in analysis and dialogue aimed at influencing defence and foreign policy to find ways of eliminating the threats posed to global security by nuclear weapons, the arms trade, and militarism.

About the authors

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Dr. John Sloboda took up his appointment as Executive Director of Oxford Research Group in January 2004. He is also Professor of Psychology at the University of Keele, where he has worked for thirty years. He is a founding member of Keele's Alternative Globalisations Research Network, and is currently researching the psychological factors underlying the recent massive growth of the global anti-war movement. He has been active in human security initiatives for two decades, most recently by co-founding and managing the website www.iraqbodycount.net which quickly became a key source of information about civilian casualties for media and NGOs worldwide during the Iraq war and its aftermath.

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Non-military Prevention and Resolution of Conflict***

Dr. Scilla Elworthy

March 2004

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Foreword

At the time of publication (close to the first anniversary of the US/UK invasion of Iraq) the huge costs of the war in Iraq are still mounting. It may ultimately be possible to estimate the amounts spent on equipment, ammunition, transport, public relations, training, and logistical support. But the larger cost of the lives of servicemen and women – whether British, American, Italian, Canadian or Iraqi – and of all the civilians who died, are as incalculable as they are irreplaceable. The most authoritative estimates available put the civilian death toll alone at over 10,000; the total number of Iraqi military deaths is simply unknown at this point. The damage done to the fabric of society by any war takes generations to heal. Innocent people on all sides have been killed, and the resulting rage and grief will foment revenge and future terror. Women who have been raped will go to their graves unable to forgive and forget. Children have been made mute from the horrors they witnessed. Other children struggle to manage stumps of limbs. More children are yet to be blown to pieces by unexploded bombs.

Apologists for this and other wars may argue that a decision not to go to war in Iraq would have resulted in equivalent amounts of suffering. That argument is not the subject of this major report. Scilla Elworthy, the report's author, focuses instead on alternatives to war – ways of dealing with conflict and aggression that do not necessitate the use of further force. These methods are worthy of attention because they are now well tested, evaluated and costed. In fact, they are both more effective and vastly cheaper than the use of military force. Yet awareness of these methods, among opinion formers and the general public, is shockingly low. This report describes some of the most effective conflict prevention and resolution measures, with examples of how each has been successfully used in recent history. It also analyses recent UK government initiatives in conflict prevention, and makes specific recommendations for how the UK could build

on its initial achievements in this area. Paul Rogers, in his preface to Scilla Elworthy's paper, outlines the dire consequences of war and conflict in the world since 1945, and argues that current military postures adopted by the USA and its allies are not bringing peace and security to the regions in which they have intervened. This makes the need for a serious examination of the non-military alternatives all the more pressing.

Local conflict is intimately linked to global causes and consequences, making it more difficult to justify wars in terms of traditional national or regional security concepts. Human security is rarely served by wars. Human security is defined as the set of conditions in which civilian populations are enabled to pursue lives free from hunger, poverty, avoidable illness, unemployment and arbitrary dislocation. Generally, contemporary wars threaten, rather than enhance, this security within the regions where they are prosecuted.

Global trends now require us to embrace new ways of thinking about our relatedness to each other, where the common interests of humanity are given higher priority than sectional interests and the preservation of privilege. In the light of these trends, non-violent methods of preventing conflict have never been more urgently needed. Scilla Elworthy has made a major contribution to thinking and development in these areas, and Oxford Research Group is delighted to be able to collaborate with Peace Direct (of which Scilla Elworthy is Director) in the co-publication of this timely and much needed report.

**Dr. John Sloboda
Executive Director
Oxford Research Group**

Preface

A Half Century of Peace?

The 55 years from 1945 to 2000 have sometimes been thought of as a period of relative peace following the carnage and destruction of the Second World War. Even the Cold War, with all its dangers, never escalated to a global nuclear catastrophe, and many of the richer countries of the world enjoyed years of prolonged peace.

At a global level, such a view is illusory. During that period there were well over 120 major conflicts killing at least 25 million people and injuring three times that number. Some individual

wars, including Biafra, Korea and Vietnam, claimed over a million lives, and many conflicts amounted to proxy wars between the two superpowers and their allies, whether in South East Asia, Afghanistan, the Horn of Africa or parts of Latin America.

Wars fought in third world countries mostly killed and maimed the people of those countries. They also had devastating long-term effects on the prospects for development, setting back health, education, agricultural and other programmes by years, sometimes decades. Indirectly, by their effects on nutrition and disease control, they killed many millions more people.

The Cold War itself is now recognised as having been extraordinarily costly, not least as a massive waste of monetary resources. At its height, in the mid-1980s, world military expenditure reached well over a \$1,000 billion a year (at 2004 prices), with over 80% of that entire expenditure in the NATO and Warsaw Pact states. The Cold War also consumed a vast array of expertise devoted to military research and development, taking some of the best scientists and technologists of at least two generations away from civil endeavours.

On top of this, the sheer extent of the nuclear arsenals, peaking at almost 70,000 nuclear weapons in 1986, now seems frankly

unbelievable. Yet, at the time, both sides were locked into a nuclear confrontation that involved a readiness to use nuclear weapons first and to target almost every military and civil aspect of modern urban industrial societies.

Lost Opportunities

The last decade of the twentieth century, after the end of the Cold War, appeared an

opportunity for progress. There were damaging wars in the Gulf, the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Great Lakes, but many military forces and defence budgets were cut back, especially in the former Soviet Union.

UN peacekeeping operations expanded, and some serious effort was made to understand and aid the processes of conflict resolution and post-conflict peacebuilding.

Even here, though, the indications of progress were limited. It is true that the United States and other lesser military powers such as the UK and France cut back many of their military forces that had been dedicated to the East-West confrontation. The strategic nuclear arsenals diminished and many of the massive armoured forces of central and Western Europe were withdrawn.

At the same time, though, other aspects of military power were maintained and even enhanced, with much of the effort going to creating the forces necessary to control regional threats to western interests. President Clinton's first CIA Director, James Woolsey, characterised the change by saying that the United States had slain the dragon but now lived in a jungle full of poisonous snakes. It followed that different kinds of military forces were needed to tame that jungle.

The end result was a greater concentration on rapid deployment forces, amphibious capabilities, long-range cruise missiles, strategic bombers with a global reach and many types of special operations and counter-insurgency forces. Budgets might be rather lower than in

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the Cold War years, but the military forces were available to "keep the violent peace" wherever necessary. Conflict prevention and resolution still took second place.

The Bush Administration and the Impact of 11 September

In November 2000, the Bush administration was narrowly elected to power, bringing with it a much more vigorous stance on international security in which multilateral cooperation was only considered advisable when it was strictly in US interests. Issues such as the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and the Kyoto Accords on climate change were no longer relevant to US interests and could be abandoned. A "New American Century" was in prospect in which the United States would have a civilising impact very much in keeping with its own image, leading to a globalised world community rooted in free market economics.

Within a few months of the November 2000 election, this new outlook was in full swing, only to be knocked back with appalling ferocity by the attacks on the New York World Trade Center and the Pentagon. The reaction was immediate and was rooted in sustained military responses and a further hardening of security policy.

Initially it appeared to work. The Taliban regime in Afghanistan was terminated, al-Qaida seemed in retreat, and President Bush could use his State of the Union address in January 2002 to talk of the requirement to control an "axis of evil" and to pre-empt future threats to US interests. Almost immediately, this vision of control became controversial across much of the world, not least in Europe, and the United States rapidly lost much of the goodwill that had existed immediately after 9/11.

This did little to limit the "war on terror", and the vigorous policies of the Bush administration went on to encompass the destruction of the Saddam Hussein regime in Iraq, seen as a threat to US interests in the region and beyond. Once again, the initial impact seemed to fit in with the American security paradigm, with a regime terminated in barely three weeks of intense war.

Once more, though, appearances were illusory.

Nearly one year after the start of the Iraq War and more than two years after the termination of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, that determination to pursue vigorous military campaigns against al-Qaida, the Taliban and Iraq is showing extensive signs of difficulty, if not disarray.

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In Afghanistan, the United States has had to maintain a force of around 10,000 combat troops, the Afghan government controls just Kabul and a few other parts of the country, the Taliban is re-grouping and preparing for a renewed guerrilla offensive, and the warlords retain power while overseeing an increase in opium poppy production. According to the UN, Afghan poppies now account for 75% of the world's opium. While US forces have opened up new military bases across Central Asia, this has been at the expense of developing close relations with regimes, as in Uzbekistan, with an appalling human rights record.

Al-Qaida may have lost its bases in Afghanistan, and may yet stage another major attack in the United States, but it has regrouped, evolved and acquired greater support in substantial parts of the Islamic world. It has even been more active in the 30 months since 9/11 than in the equivalent period before then. There have been repeated attacks across the world, from Djakarta to Morocco, Tunisia to Kenya, Istanbul to Bali and Karachi to Saudi Arabia. Some al-Qaida leaders and strategists have been killed or captured, but a new generation of leaders has come forth and the organisation and its many affiliates continue to demonstrate substantial threats to US and other interests.

Then there is Iraq. It has become abundantly clear that an apparent three-week war that terminated the old regime was little more than the start of a prolonged insurgency that has already killed and injured thousands of people and made it impossible to envisage a fully independent and democratic country. The United States is now drawing up plans to maintain a force of over 100,000 troops in the

country for up to three more years, in addition to establishing a number of permanent bases. In doing so, by occupying a key Arab state, it is providing a remarkable focus for anti-American sentiments across the region.

Over all of this lie two further issues. One is the human costs of the war on terror, with over 12,000 civilians killed in Afghanistan and Iraq and tens of thousands injured, in addition to many thousands detained without trial at Guantanamo Bay, in Iraq and elsewhere. The other issue is the determination to continue the war at whatever cost. The US defence budget for the coming year will exceed \$400 billion, with at least a further \$50 billion to pay for the continuing conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. Within a couple of years, the US defence budget could exceed \$500 billion.

In short, Afghanistan has not been restored to peace, Iraq is entering its second year of war, al-Qaida has not been brought under control and

yet military spending escalates. In such circumstances it is hardly surprising that the entire approach is starting to be questioned, and that alternative strategies are beginning to be considered.

The end of the Cold War, nearly 15 years ago, provided an initial opportunity to investigate and apply alternatives to a militarised security environment. That opportunity was almost entirely missed. Now, as the “war on terror” proves so difficult to prosecute using traditional military approaches, the time is surely right to look to the alternatives, and see if less violent and more effective routes to security might be available.

**Professor Paul Rogers
Bradford University
Department of Peace Studies**

INTRODUCTION

This report is concerned with alternatives to war – ways of dealing with conflict and aggression that do not necessitate the use of further force – and examining their effectiveness and cost-effectiveness. The British Government has undertaken some unique and notable initiatives in conflict prevention, involving co-operation between three ministries, underlining the fact that these methods are now worthy of serious attention.

The report demonstrates that the non-military prevention and resolution of conflict now also merit serious *investment*, because its methods have, over recent years, been well tested, evaluated and costed. There are now over 50 institutes and organisations in the UK alone, from Sandhurst Military Academy to the Bradford University Department of Peace Studies, producing reports demonstrating the effectiveness and cost-effectiveness of methods of preventing war or resolving conflict non-violently. This article contributes to this re-assessment by:

- a. reporting on UK government initiatives to date, and the way in which it is committed to monitoring these;
- b. providing clear examples of thirteen effective strategies for peacekeeping and peacebuilding;
- c. examining the funds the UK has devoted to such initiatives, together with some international comparators;
- d. making eight practical recommendations to the UK Government for moving forward.

First let us be clear what is meant by the terms used in this field.

Conflict prevention refers to strategies that address conflict when it is still latent, with the aim of preventing an escalation into full-blown violence. These strategies may include early

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warning systems, crisis defusion, civilian protection, peacekeeping, control of arms entering the region or the introduction of trained inspectors to detect and report ethnic cleansing, torture or rape.

Conflict resolution refers to strategies that address escalating or full-blown violence with the aim of finding not only an agreement to end the violence, but also a resolution of some of the incompatible goals underlying it. It may take the form of Track II or ‘back channels’ diplomacy, strategies to bring warlords and militias under control, training of mediators and bridge-builders or active reconciliation measures. The aim is to build new and lasting relationships between hostile groups.

Conflict transformation is the most thorough and far-reaching strategy, addressing the wider social and political sources of a conflict and seeking to transform the negative energy of war into positive social and political change.¹ It may address issues such as governance, power imbalances and global influences. Supporting civil society movements can be important here, including locally-based opposition to dictators, and better sources of information such as independent media. This approach recognises that the problems faced may derive from global issues, such as resource shortages and arms trading, over which wealthier governments and institutions can exert influence.

More will be said later about the methods used in conflict prevention, resolution and transformation and how they work, giving specific examples.

1. UK GOVERNMENT INITIATIVES

We turn now to the UK – to a unique initiative undertaken by the Blair government in 2000 to foster the prevention of conflict using non-military means, under which an annual budget was allocated to three ministries – the Ministry of Defence (MoD), the Foreign & Commonwealth Office (FCO) and the Department for International Development (DFID) – on the understanding that they cooperate. This initiative goes under the rather strange name of the Global Conflict Prevention Pool (GCPP) and almost no-one, even among the broadsheet-reading public, seems to know about it.

The GCPP is chaired by the FCO and its budget for 2003-2004 is £74 million, although the total amount allocated is higher as it also incorporates funds carried over from previous years. Progress to date has focused on geographical, thematic, and international strategies. There is also the Africa Pool, chaired by DFID, which has been allocated £50 million for programmes in sub-Saharan Africa in 2003-2004. The two are known as the Joint Pools.

Equally unknown is the fact that there is a joint Public Service Agreement (PSA) target on conflict prevention:²

“Improved effectiveness of the UK contribution to conflict prevention and management, as demonstrated by a reduction in the number of people whose lives are affected by violent conflict and a reduction in potential sources of future conflict, where the UK can make a significant contribution.”³

The PSA goes on to say that, where the UK can make a significant contribution, DFID, FCO and MoD will work in partnership with others to:

- Strengthen international and regional systems and capacity for conflict prevention, early warning, crisis management, conflict resolution/peace making, peacekeeping and peace building.

- Contribute to global and regional conflict prevention initiatives, such as curbing the proliferation of small arms and the diversion of resources to finance conflict.
- Promote initiatives in selected countries, including indigenous capacity building, to help avert conflict, reduce violence and build sustainable security and peace.

Progress will be measured as follows:

1. (At high level) against relevant statistics on the incidence of new conflicts, conflict-related displacement and the number of war-related casualties in countries and regions in which activities are funded by resources from the Joint Pools. Changes in the level of the risk of future conflict will also be assessed in countries funded by the Joint Pools.

2. (At intermediate level) against the achievement of objectives for programmes funded from the Joint Pools.⁴ Appendix I to this report carries details of how progress against the PSA targets will be measured.

Progress to date

Within the Global Conflict Prevention Pool, it is mainly MoD measures that have been funded so far, as indicated in the FCO publication *The Global Conflict Prevention Pool: A Joint UK Government Approach to Reducing Conflict*.⁵ Examples include strengthening and training defence forces in conflict areas such as Afghanistan, the Balkans and Nepal, and on some occasions sending military equipment to developing countries. In January 2004 it emerged that two vertical take-off military aircraft are to be sent to Nepal. This fact was disclosed in Katmandu but not announced in Parliament or in London at all, leading to criticism from parliamentary committees including the Defence and International Development Select Committees, and the Quadripartite Committee. The criticism was all the more forceful because this is the second time military equipment has been ordered for Nepal under the GCPP budget, without consulting or informing Parliament.

MoD is quite right to emphasise the importance of conflict prevention activity, as it now frequently does, most recently in the Defence White Paper (December 2003). Confidence and security building measures do indeed help create transparency and trust. **This emphasis however reveals a fundamental inconsistency in British defence policy:** it is not coherent to vaunt effort “focused on countering the threat from the proliferation of conventional arms”⁶ when at the same time spending some £426 million to subsidise British arms sales.⁷ The UK regularly achieves second or third place in sales of arms to developing countries, and policy appears to follow practice rather than informing it. MoD does not appear to recognise the inconsistency; indeed, in a diagram to illustrate *Defence Relations Objectives* in the above White Paper, the ‘wider British interests’ of ‘Support to UK’s Defence Exports’ falls right alongside ‘Conflict Prevention and Conflict Resolution’.⁸ This inconsistency must be addressed before the integrity of MoD’s *Strategy for Defence Relations* can be established.

Less attention and funding have been devoted to the development of *non-military* conflict prevention and resolution measures, and it is this fast-growing expertise which is gaining attention among intergovernmental bodies.

The increasing importance of developing civilian capacities is apparent in the United Nations, the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and European Union over the last decade. The Brahimi Report⁹ pointed out the personnel shortfalls within the UN in this area, now being remedied. The OSCE developed guidelines and standards for the recruitment and training of civilians for OSCE missions and encouraged member states to develop their national rosters, training courses and personnel capacities. The EU followed suit in 2002 with the commitment to develop a ‘Civilian Crisis Management Capacity’ (CCM) alongside the Rapid Response Force. The UK played a leading role in the pilot phase of developing CCM by hosting two pilot pre-deployment training courses for future EU mission staff (developed and delivered by *Peaceworkers UK*) demonstrating their

commitment to strengthening capacities in this area.

Other governments have responded effectively to the increasing need for additional qualified personnel. Norway has developed NORDEM, a roster of trained and available personnel for election, democratisation and humanitarian

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assistance. Canada has a similar system (CANADEM). The Germans have set up ZIF, their centre for international peace operations, fully funded by the German foreign office. It has three departments –

training, recruitment and research – organising training courses for OSCE, UN, EU mission staff and election observers, managing a sophisticated personnel database through which they recruit for missions and training courses, and carrying out research into best practice and needs assessment.¹⁰

The UK is falling behind key international comparator nations in these respects, and could usefully publish an analysis of the UK’s civilian personnel capacities for responding effectively to emerging crises and conflicts, including training and recruitment. The UK government could build on the innovations described above by establishing a *UK Civilian Peace Service* to harmonise the training, recruitment and deployment of civilian peace professionals for international conflict work, to work with research centres to develop best practice and to liaise with NGOs/civil society organisations.

In concluding this section of the report, it is important to note that the Foreign Office recognises, in its Strategy White Paper published in December 2003, some of the deeper causes of conflict:

“Lack of access to water and other resources, corruption, disease and state failure are all causes of poverty and internal conflicts...The UK will [argue] for active responses to shared international problems and early action to prevent conflict.”¹¹

Given this understanding, and the fact that the Foreign Secretary chairs the Global Conflict Prevention Pools, the FCO should ensure that the GCPP budget is spent in accordance with its stated values and priorities.

2. CONFLICT PREVENTION AND RESOLUTION IN ACTION

The main response to the attacks of September 11 2001, especially from the United States, has been military, with persistent action in Afghanistan, the extension of military bases into Central Asia, support for counter-insurgency activities in numerous countries, and the war with Iraq. Yet at the same time others have taken quite different approaches to problems of political violence and conflict, approaches that seek to prevent or resolve conflict and in some cases to understand its root causes. Some have succeeded and some have failed, often through lack of support. In this section we describe initiatives undertaken by small groups, larger non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and governments.

Peacekeeping

When tensions are rising, or when people have murdered, brutalised or tortured each other, it may be necessary to keep them physically separated to enable levels of terror to lessen and to allow some form of mediation to begin. Peacekeeping forces are the traditional way of doing this, but it requires extensive training to transform a soldier into an effective peacekeeper. The British Army has developed highly regarded manuals for the training of peacekeepers, through sometimes bitter experience in many conflicts, most notably Cyprus and the Balkans. There are situations where the introduction of uniformed peacekeepers is unhelpful, for example when women in the population have been raped by other soldiers in uniform. Some commentators advocate the training and introduction of many more female peace-keepers.

Civilian protection

Another form of protection is provided by NGO initiatives like the Peace Brigades International (PBI), which mobilise and provide trained units of volunteers, in areas of high tension, to help discourage violent outbreaks. This kind of intervention only works when the aggressor knows that enough of the international community supports the protectors. For

example, in Columbia in 1995, where there had been 38,000 political assassinations over a four-year period, PBI sent teams to provide round-the-clock unarmed protection for prominent human rights activists whose colleagues had been killed, abducted or tortured.¹²

At least 19 human rights organisations in Colombia have benefited from PBI accompaniment, and the number of assassinations has dropped dramatically. Indeed PBI's presence in Colombia represents the largest unofficial international observer force in the world.

Some commentators advocate the training and introduction of many more female peacekeepers

Control of arms entering the region

Embargoes or sanctions against the supply of arms to areas of conflict rarely work, for a number of reasons. These could effectively be addressed if:

- 1) supplier countries agree and police a binding code not to supply to areas where conflict is imminent, and impose penalties for supposed end users who re-sell arms;
- 2) substantial funds are provided, possibly through a tax on corporate suppliers, to introduce effective boundary controls on gun-running, and severe and enforceable penalties; and
- 3) the five permanent members of the Security Council cut their arms exports.

The UK cannot continue to compete to be one of the world's top arms sellers, by subsidizing arms exports, without expecting these arms eventually to be used by people of whom we do not approve. There is a parallel to the ending of the slave trade, when it was feared that giving up slavery would undermine the economy; it is now clear that not only would ceasing to subsidise arms exports not undermine the British economy, it would have a net benefit for the economy.¹³ The UK has the opportunity actively to broker an international agreement, to lead to the end of trading in small arms.

The introduction of trained inspectors to detect and report killing, ethnic cleansing, torture, rape and other forms of violence

When civilians are threatened, driven from their homes, or under attack from militias, they can effectively be protected in a number of ways. One is by the introduction of trained civilian violence monitors, as in the case of Kosovo by the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe, a regional intergovernmental organisation with fifty-five member nations. For the six months prior to the NATO decision to bomb Serbia, the OSCE had deployed 1,300 monitors throughout Kosovo. The monitors were from all over Europe, their job to check and report on instances of intimidation or ethnic violence. There is good evidence to show that everywhere the orange vehicles of the OSCE went, violence stopped. It was precisely when these monitors were withdrawn and the bombing began that the wave of killing and eviction began in earnest.

Incentive schemes to collect weapons

When a country is awash with weapons after a civil war, effective schemes are needed to collect and destroy them. This has been undertaken in recent years by the United Nations in Albania, by NATO in Macedonia, and by individual initiatives in other countries. For example, in El Salvador in 1995 a group of businessmen whose trucks were being hijacked by heavily armed gangs (as a result of twelve years of civil war) copied a successful initiative from the Dominican Republic. For every gun surrendered they offered food vouchers worth \$100. By the end of the second weekend vouchers worth \$103,000 had been issued, despite the organisation having only \$19,500 in available funds. In view of the success of the programme the President of El Salvador intervened to help, and in three years around 10,000 weapons were handed in.

Law enforcement

This is a prerequisite of stabilisation, whether before, during or after major conflict. It is now widely recognised that strategies for security sector reform must take an integrated approach. The UK government's approach to the security problems in Sierra Leone show that an

integrated strategy can be very effective. In this case, four government departments were involved:

- DfID funded activities in support of civilian control of the security sector;
- MoD helped to develop a national security policy, including the reorganisation of Sierra Leone's defence ministry, and training the army;
- The Home Office provided personnel skilled in managing reform of police services; and
- FCO helped to fund military education and training.

Bringing warlords and militias under control

Armed militias or paramilitaries have to be brought to the negotiating table. This is not necessarily best done by armed forces; in many instances NGOs or respected civilians have succeeded. For example, in Mozambique the Community of Saint'Egidio, supported by the Vatican, became involved in a series of meetings with leaders of FRELIMO and RENAMO culminating in October 1992 in the signing of a comprehensive peace accord. This provided for the demobilisation and reintegration of combatants, the creation of a new Mozambican Defence Force, the creation of political parties, and freedom of the press. The United Nations was given the responsibility of overseeing the transition from war to peace which led to the first free elections in October 1994.

Track II or 'back channels' diplomacy

This refers to the work of individuals or NGOs working in private with government representatives in the fields of consultation, dialogue and training to facilitate creative solutions to major international and internal crises. Track II is a mechanism for advancing diplomatic efforts when official third party mediation is untenable; it has applicability in both intra and interstate crises. A good recent example is the sustained relationship built up by a British intelligence officer with Libyan officials, leading to an official statement renouncing WMD. Track II can be subdivided into three areas: *Consultation* is the most common form whereby people are brought together in their private capacities for facilitated discussion in order to generate creative problem

solving initiatives; *Dialogue* means facilitated communication between parties to explore deeper understandings of adversaries' needs and concerns; *Training* whereby the skills of 'citizen diplomacy' are taught by mediators to generate grassroots support for conflict resolution.

Training of mediators and bridge-builders

In every conflict, there are those who are willing to risk their lives to build a nonviolent solution. Such people are often community or church leaders, and frequently women. There are a multitude of examples, including the initiative of Liberian women to bring about disarmament before elections from 1993 to 1997;¹⁴ the Women's Organisation of Somalia, who emerged in the midst of war to prepare the groundwork for peace;¹⁵ the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo (mothers of the 'disappeared') in Argentina, who helped transform a fractured and violent society;¹⁶ and the Women of Wajir in north-eastern Kenya,¹⁷ whose motto was:

"You must commit yourself to continuing the peace work no matter what happens; if my clan were to kill your relatives, would you still work with me for peace? If you can't say yes, don't join our group."

Their intervention was key to ending an inter-clan war by setting up public meetings and rapid-response teams. It was so successful and cost-effective that it has now been copied in other parts of the country, co-ordinated by a special representative in the office of the Kenyan President.

The above initiatives may seem small, but when they receive support they can become replicable models that can transform a potential conflict from the ground up.

The efficacy of bridge-building between communities fractured by decades of violence has been most evident recently in N. Ireland, where it has been recognised as an essential element of efforts to overcome deeply ingrained community hatred and suspicion, with particular attention being paid to schoolchildren. During the late 1980s and early 1990s *Education for Mutual Understanding* was established to enable children to learn to respect and value themselves and others, appreciate the interdependence of people within society, know about and understand what is shared as well as

what is different about their cultural traditions, and appreciate the benefits of resolving conflict by nonviolent means. There are literally hundreds of such examples, now bearing fruit in the changed political climate.

Active reconciliation measures

The lies, suspicion and betrayals that characterise war can fester for decades and erupt in further atrocity if not addressed. This needs to be done in public and in a safe and controlled environment. One of the most effective methods is a *Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. To date there have been twenty of these, each building on the lessons of the last, the best known being held in South Africa from 1995 to 1998. The process, when properly conducted, goes far deeper than any superficial bargaining for amnesty.

As recognition of the efficacy of conflict prevention and resolution grows, there is a growing understanding of the classic cycle of violence. This cycle has been evident in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, in central Africa and repeatedly in different regions of former Yugoslavia; if unbroken, this cycle ensures that conflict follows conflict.

To break the cycle, effective intervention must address the physical, the political and the psychological security of people trapped in violence; all are equally important, and one without the other is insufficiently strong to break the cycle. In every case, the people involved in situations of violence must be supported in the development of their own resources for transformation.

Attention to psychological processes in peacebuilding or 'human security' is frequently neglected, perhaps because it is considered 'soft'. Yet the power of change in the human heart is formidable. It is what can transform violent activists into statesmen. The development undergone by Nelson Mandela during his years on Robben Island, after he was convicted of terrorism, made it possible for him to emerge from jail unshakably committed to negotiation and reconciliation. There were sufficient numbers of people on both sides ready to fight that, had it not been for the depth of his and his colleagues' conviction, South Africa could have been plunged into a civil war taking millions of lives.

In a much less famous example, the same is true of Alistair Little who joined a Protestant paramilitary organisation in N. Ireland at the age of seventeen, shot a man point-blank and spent the next twelve years in the Maze prison; it was there that he witnessed the fatal hunger strike of Bobby Sands. It moved him to the core that a Catholic could care as passionately about his cause as he did, and kill himself in the process. The depth of this experience was such that since his release thirteen years ago Alistair has worked full time and often unpaid for reconciliation and bridge-building between Catholic and Protestant communities in N. Ireland.

Support for locally-based opposition to dictators

The removal of a dictator and installation of democratic process is a monumental task. This was certainly so in the case of Slobodan Milosevic. In July 1999 the US-based East-West Institute and the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs brought together the representatives of pro-democracy forces from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, including trade unions, NGOs and independent media. A task force was set up to assist all those working for change, who had been active, even against terrible odds, during the war. They built a coalition eventually known as the Democratic Opposition of Serbia, which was able to build a common strategy united behind one candidate, Vojislav Kostunica. With extensive election monitoring by thousands of students and a wave of nonviolent protest when Milosovic attempted to annul election results, the Democratic Opposition of Serbia won the Serbian elections.¹⁸ Bombing failed to remove this dictator, while support for local democratic opposition succeeded, at a cost of approximately \$240,000.

Civil society and changes in governance

The twentieth century saw vast numbers killed in war, but it also witnessed the growth of civil society using the power of nonviolence to bring about change. These were not small changes. Gandhi harnessed the passion of millions in India to use nonviolent methods to depose the British Raj. Martin Luther King taught and used the same methods in the US to effect the de-segregation of the deep South. In the 1970s and

80s the steady development of civil society in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary became the power behind the 'Velvet Revolution', which brought down the Iron Curtain. Nonviolent techniques used by an organised sector of civil society was the force that deposed President Marcos in the Philippines, General Pinochet in Chile and the Apartheid regime in South Africa.

NGOs have to date been more active and astute than their governments in identifying and supporting sectors of civil society in oppressive regimes. There are many examples, including Mary Kaldor's work in eastern Europe through the Helsinki Citizens Assembly, Gene Sharp's training of Serbian students in election monitoring, the work of International Alert and Conciliation Resources and the training offered by Responding to Conflict at the Woodbrooke College in Birmingham. In Afghanistan today, previous leaders of civil society are now in government, managing budgets worth millions of dollars.

Providing independent information

Independent sources of information are essential to transform the negative energy of war into positive social and political change. Conversely, hate radio can inflame conflict to white heat, as happened in the Rwandan genocide. In nearby Burundi in 1994 violence began to spiral; the main radio station was controlled by the state, whose army had been complicit in the violence. With the aid of the US-based NGO Search for Common Ground,¹⁹ the independent Studio Ijambo was launched early in 1995. In spite of one of the team members being killed by the army, they continued their balanced news coverage, proposing solutions to the crisis facing the country. In two years they produced 2,500 features on peaceful co-existence, and a soap opera to which after four years 85% of the entire population was listening. Studio Ijambo has received many international awards for its role in calming explosive tensions, defusing rumours and promoting reconciliation. For every example given in this section, there are literally hundreds of other non-military interventions taking place, from which much can be learned.

3. APPLICATION TO IRAQ

Prior to the invasion of Iraq, several NGOs familiar with Iraq proposed detailed plans to the US and UK leadership for addressing the problems posed by the Saddam Hussein regime without military invasion.²⁰ These included:

- Extension of UNMOVIC inspections for WMD
- Addition of an inspection force to check on the constitutional changes claimed by the regime to be underway and monitor their stated moves towards a multi-party state
- Installation of TV and radio broadcasting networks to provide non-regime information to Iraqis
- Introduction of methods to protect opponents of the regime, and members of the Iraqi diaspora wishing to return, including electronic tagging, surveillance cameras and protective accompaniment
- Provision of non-military support to opposition groups
- Agreement and policing of a binding code not to supply arms to any faction, with penalties for supposed end users who re-sell arms
- Introduction of effective boundary controls on gun-running with severe and enforceable penalties, to curtail opposition groups fighting each other
- Substantial increase in human intelligence gathering, to provide accurate information on levels and quality of internal opposition

These proposals would undoubtedly have taken longer to effect the removal of the regime, and would have posed plenty of difficulties. But they would have resulted in few civilian or military casualties, little physical destruction, and none of the current bitterness and hatred for the occupying forces. Non-military support for progress to a multi-party state could eventually have produced an Iraqi opposition capable of government, as happened in South Africa, the Philippines, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and many other instances. By keeping to the principle of enabling a people to decide its own future, rather than imposing military rule, the

current level of anger and resentment towards the US and UK, with all the latent contribution to terrorism, would have been avoided.

Much useful information could even now be gained from consultation with the voluntary sector on post-conflict reconstruction in Iraq and in Afghanistan. It is not only physical reconstruction that is required. For example, as a result of this war hundreds of thousands of Iraqis have suffered wrongful arrest, rape, destruction of their livelihood, family members killed or disappeared; there is currently no system of recourse for them. Even obtaining information is almost impossible; on top of years of repression this produces an intolerable situation. Citizen liaison centres need to be set up all over the country to attempt to provide information and address grievances. Vast numbers of soldiers, many of whom have known no other life since early teens, need to be re-integrated into community life. Extensive job creation schemes are urgently required.

Sunnis, Shi'ites and Kurds, as well as many sub-groupings, fear and mistrust each other to a profound degree. A steady, widespread programme of community and trust-building – perhaps learning from the programmes undertaken in N.Ireland and South Africa – will need to be undertaken by Iraqis if the cycle of violence is not to repeat. The fears and needs of a war-traumatised people have to be explored before society can be re-generated; witness to and testimony on past killings and atrocities are necessary for healing to begin. It may be a long time before some version of a truth commission can take place, but in the meantime adequate means have to be set in motion for peoples' experience to be heard.

The British government could contribute to such initiatives. To avoid a policy vacuum in future it may be advisable to set up a tri-departmental initiative to address the necessary stages of Post Conflict Reconstruction, working with experienced NGOs and the Post-war Reconstruction and Development Unit at the University of York.

4. EVALUATION AND COST EFFECTIVENESS: 'PEACE FOR THE POUND' VS. 'BANG FOR THE BUCK'.

From the available figures it is likely that non-military interventions, while slower, not only tend to cause less destruction than bombing or armed intervention, but they actually work better in saving lives. They are also far cheaper. In 1999, Oxford Research Group examined 240 cases of non-violent interventions in conflict in different parts of the world and published the fifty most effective of these in *'Conflict Prevention Works: 50 stories of people resolving conflicts'* in 2001. These case studies show that small groups of highly motivated people, determined not to use weapons, can achieve extraordinary results in preventing or stopping killing. These interventions cost little. Of the examples mentioned above, successful third party mediation between Renamo and Frelimo in Mozambique in 1989-92 cost approximately \$350,000; the gun return scheme organized by businessmen in El Salvador (1995-1999) cost \$1.3million; and the task force set up in former Yugoslavia in 1999 to forge effective, united democratic opposition to Milosevic cost \$240,000.

This is not to say that military intervention is never useful or necessary, but it is to say that to date the value of non-military measures has been insufficiently recognised and that very substantial savings can be made by investing in them.

Having examined briefly some of the effective non-military measures which can be taken or encouraged by governments, we now return to the essential underlying question posed by this final section of the report. That is, **given the growing evidence of the cost-effectiveness of non-military intervention to prevent or resolve conflicts, are governments up-to-date in allocating sufficient funding to this, relative to traditional budgetary allocations to ministries of defence and military alliances?**

At present the European Union appears to be leading the way. A conflict prevention

dimension is to be included in the EU's common training programme within the framework of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), so that this "may form an integral part of the common European security culture". Specific conflict prevention assessment missions were carried out in 2002 in

There are now over 50 institutes in the UK alone studying and developing techniques of conflict prevention and resolution

order to examine how to bring community instruments to bear on the root causes of conflict in the South Pacific, Indonesia, Nepal and Sri Lanka. Further such missions are planned. The EU's current document on the *Prevention of Violent Conflicts*²¹

details at least seven instruments for long and short-term conflict prevention. To date it has not proved possible to discover the extent of budgetary allocation made to these initiatives.

On the question of evaluation, the difficulties of assessing how many lives have been saved by a particular intervention are self-evident – it is difficult to measure something that did not happen. Nevertheless, it is possible to compare similar situations where different approaches have been taken and assess results; if the GCPP were to undertake this, it would provide the Treasury with an invaluable source of comparative cost-effectiveness. There are now over 50 institutes in the UK alone studying and developing techniques of conflict prevention and resolution (see Appendix II); consequently, large amounts of data are becoming available on the costs of various types of intervention. Putting resources behind those found to be most effective could result in large savings for governments.

Relative UK budget allocations

From the above it is clear that in the UK, progressive policy is in place but in practice the MoD dominates programme design and budget allocation. This result is the continuation of an overwhelmingly military rather than a non-military approach to conflict prevention and resolution, despite the demonstrable cost-effectiveness of the latter.

The amount the UK Government currently devotes to conflict resolution is minute compared to amounts allocated for military intervention. The MOD budget for 2003 is £32.2 billion;²² the overwhelming majority of this is spent on equipment, troops and infrastructure; only a few million pounds are devoted to the activities described above. ***The conflict resolution Joint Pools budget, plus the overall peacekeeping and enforcement budget, comes to less than £600 million per annum, in other words, less than 2% of what we spend on military measures.***

Moreover it appears that the tri-ministerial conflict prevention budget has not been fully spent for two years in a row.

Recent experience both in Afghanistan and Iraq has conclusively demonstrated the need for greater emphasis, in Britain's defence and foreign policy forward planning, on non-military measures. These are relatively cheap as

Fig. 1

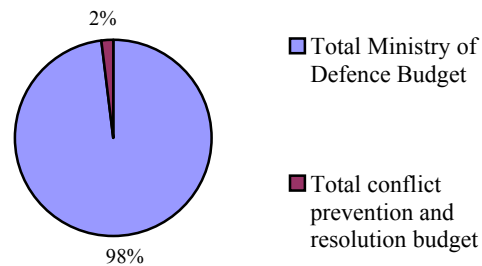


Fig 1: Comparison of budgets for conflict prevention and resolution (over three ministries) and the total budget of the MoD.

well as self-evidently cost-effective ways of preventing war, reducing the destructive effects of conflict, or enabling those caught in a cycle of violence to break out of it.

Eurofighter

The UK currently has 232 Eurofighters on order. One Eurofighter will cost £80 million. For that amount we could:

- ~ Put another 1000 peacekeepers into Afghanistan, organise negotiations with warlords to bring militias and opium production under control, and support local initiatives to restore law and order outside Kabul;
- ~ Set up liaison centres all over Iraq to enable people to get help with the daily trauma which engender hatred for the occupying forces – civilians murdered, destroyed homes, arrested relatives, lack of food and employment.

Arms Subsidies

The British government currently provides subsidies to arms exporters of £426 million per annum. For that amount we could:

- ~ Support the setting up of gun collection schemes in every single country where there is local killing, including Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Colombia, Indonesia, Somalia, Afghanistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Angola, and Nigeria;
- ~ Introduce effective boundary controls on gun-running, with severe and enforceable penalties; fully support the EU commitment to develop a 'Civilian Crisis Management Capacity' by providing training for civilians ready to join.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The British government was forward-looking in setting up a tri-departmental policy on conflict prevention, recognizing the benefits (and no doubt the challenges) of co-operation. The Foreign Office, in its December 2003 Strategy White Paper, concludes that terrorism, weapons proliferation and state failure are interlinked with poverty, conflict and climate change. Other government policy documents and speeches recognize the interdependence of the 21st century world, and the fact that national preoccupations must when necessary give way to global priorities.

In conclusion, therefore, we urge that **a set of principles be developed to guide government policy on conflict management** (to include closely related decisions such as arms export). In this way, decisions on the use of Britain's armed forces can in future be made in a manner congruent with the wider values espoused by Government ministers and departments.

Recommendations

1. Establish a further tri-departmental initiative, to develop policy for Post-Conflict Reconstruction in situations like Serbia, Afghanistan and Iraq.
2. Research be undertaken by the Conflict Prevention Joint Pools to establish the following:
 - A detailed analysis of those conflicts, such as N. Ireland, which have been addressed both through military and non-military means, with cost comparisons of the two approaches.
 - An analysis of those conflicts where *non-military means* did/did not prove effective.
 - An analysis of those conflicts where *military means* did/did not prove effective.
3. Publish an analysis of the UK's civilian personnel capacities for responding effectively to emerging crises and conflicts, including training and recruitment, similar to those set up in Canada, Norway and Germany.
4. Establish a 'UK Civilian Peace Service' to harmonise the training, recruitment and deployment of civilian peace professionals for international conflict work, to work with research centres to develop best practice and to liaise with NGOs/civil society organisations.
5. Fully spend the annual budget allocations for conflict prevention and resolution, on non-military methods in accordance with stated government values and priorities.
6. Take the necessary measures now to comply with the conflict prevention Public Service Agreement targets by 2006, including "*the promotion and funding of indigenous capacity-building to help avert conflict, reduce violence and build sustainable security and peace*".
7. Resolve the inconsistency in MoD policy between on the one hand subsidising British arms exports, and on the other trying to counter the threat from the proliferation of conventional arms.
8. Initiate negotiations to agree and police a binding code not to supply any arms to areas where conflict is imminent, and impose penalties for supposed end-users who re-sell arms.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. A most perceptive analysis of these distinctions is to be found in *Working with Conflict: Skills and Strategies for Action* Fisher, Abdi et al, Zed Books 2000.
2. Established after the Government's 2000 Spending Review.
3. See http://www.mod.uk/issues/psa/psa_note1.htm for further information.
4. The PSA contains two distinct elements requiring measurement: the number of people whose lives are affected by conflict and a reduction in the potential sources of future conflict. Fatalities, Refugees, and Internally Displaced Persons (IDRs) will measure the first element and the new Conflict Level Assessment Tool on variations in the level of conflict will measure the second element. Success at a high level will be measured against the existing relevant data. The baseline for this will be provided from SIPRI and IISS for war related casualties and incidence of new conflicts (at country and regional levels). The baseline for conflict related displacement (at country and regional levels) will be taken from UNHCR data. At intermediate level, success will be measured against the outcome of individual programmes.
5. Published August 2003 by the FCO.
6. MoD White Paper, Dec 2003, Supporting Essay 4, p.13.
7. Ingram, P. and David, I. *The Subsidy Trap: British Government Financial Support for Arms Exports and the Defence Industry*, Saferworld and Oxford Research Group, July 2001.
8. MoD White Paper, Dec 2003, Supporting Essay 4, p.14.
9. Published by the United Nations, 2000.
10. See, *Enhancing UK Capacity for Handling Conflict* published by Peaceworkers UK, Chapter 5.
11. *UK International Priorities - A Strategy for the FCO* published Dec. 2 2003.
12. www.peacebrigades.org
13. Ingram, P. and David, I. *The Subsidy Trap: British Government Financial Support for Arms Exports and the Defence Industry*, Saferworld and Oxford Research Group, July 2001.
14. P.O.Box 1063, 11 Broad St, Monrovia.
15. P.O.Box 71135, Nairobi, Kenya.
16. www.madres.org
17. P.O.Box 444, Wajir, Kenya.
18. See *War Prevention Works: 50 Stories of People Resolving Conflict*, Oxford Research Group, 2001, p.12-13.
19. www.sfcg.org
20. Including a consortium of US church leaders, and Oxford Research Group.
21. See *Implementation of the EU Programme for the Prevention of Violent Conflicts – Conflict Prevention Report*, Presidency report to the Council of the European Union, 18 June 2003.
22. The Department for International Development budget, which assists in alleviating the root causes of conflict through aid, is £3.5 billion. The Foreign Office budget, where most of our governmental activity takes place in non-military efforts to prevent and resolve conflicts through diplomacy, is £1.5 billion.

APPENDIX I

Public Service Agreements

Public Service Agreements (PSAs) are at the centre of the current government's public service reforms. Introduced in 1998, they are essentially agreements that departments enter into with the Treasury in return for additional resources. These agreements contain targets that are described as SMART – Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Relevant and Timed. The implementation details of these objectives now appear in Service Delivery Agreements published in the autumn. Ministers and departments sign up to deliver an agreed set of outcomes or outputs in return for a three-year funding deal. If departments fail to adhere to these agreements, then funds are supposed to be withheld – though this does not seem to happen in practice.

The PSAs are meant to be transparent commitments that the Government can be held accountable for. Progress in delivering these targets is monitored closely and reported in annual departmental reports. Each department also publishes Technical Notes, which specify precisely what will be measured under each target. PSAs are a commitment to the public on what they can expect for their money and each agreement sets out explicitly which minister is accountable for delivery of targets.

Global Conflict Prevention Pool

Public Service Agreement

The conflict prevention PSA joint target with the MoD, FCO, and DFID is:

“Improved effectiveness of the UK contribution to conflict prevention and management, as demonstrated by a reduction in the number of people whose lives are affected by violent conflict and a reduction in potential sources of future conflict, where the UK can make a significant contribution.”

The PSA contains two distinct elements requiring measurement: the number of people whose lives are affected by conflict and a reduction in the potential sources of future conflict. Fatalities, refugees, and IDPs will measure the first element and the new Conflict Level Assessment Tool on variations in the level of conflict will measure the second element.

Service Delivery Agreement

By 2006 the MoD, FCO and DFID will work to:

a) Resolve existing violent conflicts and prevent new conflicts in priority countries and regions e.g. Afghanistan, Balkans, former Soviet Union, Middle

and Near East, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Sierra Leone, Great Lakes, Sudan, Angola and Nigeria.

b) Address the national and regional causes of conflict by:

- Strengthening local conflict management, e.g. through improved governance and security sector reform in priority countries and regions
- Improving local peace support capacity in co-operation with internal partners, e.g. the development of a G8-Africa Peace Support Operations plan by 2003.

c) Improve the international community's response to conflict by:

- Strengthening UN Conflict Management capacity, e.g. improving peacekeeping deployments.
- Mobilising and supporting coherent bilateral and international action at UN, G8, EU, Commonwealth and other forums including NEPAD.
- Implementing agreements to reduce the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, e.g. international and national action plans.
- Tackling the economic and financial causes of conflict, e.g. by mobilising national and international agreement to increase oil revenue transparency and corporate social responsibility.

Technical Notes

Progress against the PSA target in 2000-6 will be measured using:

(a) Global Pool sub-targets on Afghanistan, Nepal, Macedonia, Georgia, Israel/Occupied Territories and Sri Lanka, contributing 25% to the overall PSA target

- (i) A 10% reduction in fatalities from a SIPRI baseline of 3,825 in 2000 to 3,442 by 2006.
- (ii) A 10% reduction in fatalities from an IISS baseline of 19,200 in 2000 to 17,280 by 2006.
- (iii) A 10% reduction in refugees from a UNHCR baseline of 3,722,192 in 2000 to 3,349,973 by 2006.
- (iv) A 10% reduction in internally displaced persons from a USCR baseline of 924,000 in 2000 to 831,600 by 2006.

b) Africa Pool sub-targets on Sierra Leone, DRC, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan, Angola and Nigeria, contributing 25% to the overall PSA target

- (i) A 20% reduction in fatalities from a SIPRI baseline of 6,500 in 2000 to 5,200 by 2006.
- (ii) A 20% reduction in fatalities from an IISS baseline of 31,500 in 2000 to 25,200 by 2006.
- (iii) A 20% reduction in refugees from a UNHCR baseline of 2,229,018 in 2000 to 1,783,214 by 2006.
- (iv) A 20% reduction in internally displaced people from a USCR baseline of 9,720,000 in 2000 to 7,776,000 by 2006.

(c) Conflict Level Assessment Tool sub-targets contribute 50% to the overall PSA target (25% for each Pool) - a new product measuring variations in potential sources of future conflict is being created. Targets and baselines will be set by April 2003.

APPENDIX II

UK institutes developing and evaluating techniques of conflict prevention and resolution

ActionAid

www.actionaid.org

ActionAid is a unique partnership of people who are fighting for a better world - a world without poverty. As one of the UK largest development agencies, they work in more than 40 countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, listening to, learning from and working in partnership with over nine million of the world poorest people. See booklet entitled *Peacebuilding in Africa – Case Studies from ActionAid*.

ActionAid, Hamlyn House, Macdonald Road
Archway, London, N19 5PG, UK
Tel: +44 (0)20 7561 7561
Fax: +44 (0)20 7272 0899
Email: mail@actionaid.org.uk

Action for Children in Conflict

www.actionchildren.org

Action for Children in Conflict (AfC) works to break cycles of violence, hatred and despair by providing psychological, emotional and educational support to the survivors of conflict. AfC focuses its activities on children and young people, who have the greatest capacity to transcend the conflicts of their communities and to bring about change in the future. Children offer the best hope for change, and are increasingly amongst the most vulnerable in conflict situations. AfC works, both in the UK and overseas, to create places of safety where trained key workers can provide a climate of support and befriending tailored to the needs of young people and their communities.

Action for Children in Conflict, SilverBirch House,
Longworth, Oxfordshire, OX13 5EJ, UK
Tel: +44 (0)1865 821 380
Fax: +44 (0)1865 822 150
Email: info@actionchildren.org

Amnesty International

www.amnesty.org

A worldwide movement of people who campaign for internationally recognized human rights. Amnesty International's vision is of a world in which every person enjoys all of the human rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights standards.

Amnesty International, 99-119 Rosebery Avenue,
London, EC1R 4RE, UK
Tel: +44 (0)20 7814 6200
Fax: +44 (0)20 7833 1510

**British American Security Information
Council (BASIC)**

www.basic.org

BASIC is a progressive and independent analysis and advocacy organisation which researches and provides a critical examination of global security issues, including nuclear policies, military strategies, armaments and disarmament. BASIC assists in the development of global security policies, policymaking and the assessment of policy priorities, and promotes public awareness and understanding of these policies and of policymaking in Europe and the United States.

BASIC UK, The Grayston Centre, 2nd Floor, 28
Charles Street, London, N1 6HT, UK
Tel: +44 (0)20 7324 4680
Fax: +44 (0)20 7324 4681
Email: basicuk@basicint.org

BASIC US, 110 Maryland Ave, NE, Suite 205,
Washington, DC 20002, USA
Tel: +1 202 546 8055
Fax: +1 202 546 8056
Email: basicus@basicint.org

The British Council

www.Britishcouncil.org.uk

The British Council's core objectives are to bring people and ideas together, and to work to contribute to peace education, training, exchanges and curriculum development in mediation and conflict resolution. To promote a responsible and critical media and through a cross-sectoral approach using creative arts as a vehicle for confidence building and communication between communities experiencing violent conflict.

The British Council have offices all over the world.

For general enquiries:

Tel: +44 (0)161 957 7755
Fax: +44 (0)161 957 7762
Minicom: +44 (0)161 957 7183
Email: general.enquiries@britishcouncil.org

For educational enquiries:

Tel: +44 (0)131 524 5770
Email: education.enquiries@britishcouncil.org

Belfast

The British Council, Norwich Union House,
7 Fountain Street, Belfast BT1 5EG
Tel: +44 (0)28 9023 3440
Fax: +44 (0)28 9024 0341

Cardiff

28 Park Place, Cardiff, CF1 3QE, UK
Tel: +44 (0)29 20 397 346
Fax: +44 (0)29 20 237 494

Edinburgh

The British Council, The Tun, 4 Jackson's Entry
Holyrood Road, Edinburgh, EH8 8JP, UK
Tel: +44 (0)131 524 5700
Fax: +44 (0)131 524 5701

London

The British Council, 10 Spring Gardens, London,
SW1A 2BN, UK
Tel: +44 (0)20 7930 8466
Fax: +44 (0)20 7389 6347

Campaign Against the Arms Trade

www.caat.org.uk

CAAT is working for the reduction and ultimate abolition of the international arms trade, together with progressive demilitarisation within arms-producing countries. It supports the promotion of peace, justice and democratic values, and the use of the United Nations and civil society to resolve international disputes by peaceful means. CAAT also encourages policies to reorientate the UK economy away from military industry towards civil production.

Campaign Against the Arms Trade, 11 Goodwin

St, London, N4 3HQ, UK
Tel: +44-(0)20 7281 0297
Fax: +44-(0)20 7281 4369
Email: enquiries@caat.demon.co.uk

Conflict Archive on the Internet

<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk>

This site contains information and source material on 'the Troubles' in Northern Ireland from 1968 to the present. There is also information on politics in the region and Northern Ireland society. New material is added regularly to the site and there are also frequent updates, so information on particular pages may change.

Conflict Archive on the Internet, Aberfoyle House,

University of Ulster, Magee Campus, Northland
Road, Derry, Londonderry, BT48 7JL, N. Ireland
Tel: + 44 (0)28 7137 5517
Fax: + 44 (0)28 7137 5510
Email: m.melaugh@ulster.ac.uk

Causeway

Causeway is an independent, non-party political, non-sectarian project devoted to conflict resolution through an exploration of the causes and effects of offence arising from the British/Irish conflict. It is inspired by and seeks to formalise the ongoing

efforts of a number of former combatants and victims who, in discrete instances, have sought to reach out to the other and are aware of the transformative, healing effects of contact and co-operation.

Causeway, c/o Intercomm, 290 Antrim Road, Belfast, BT15 5AA, N. Ireland
Email: causeway29@eircom.net

Centre for Conflict Resolution

www.brad.ac.uk/acad/peace

The Centre is located within Bradford University's Peace Studies Department, offering full and part-time courses in conflict resolution theory and practice, as well as post-graduate research opportunities. From the beginning, emphasis has been placed on combining the ideas and experiences of both academics and practitioners and on the transference of research findings into practical applications.

Centre for Conflict Resolution, Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford West Yorkshire, BD7 1DP, UK
Tel: +44 (0)1274 235 235
Fax: +44 (0)1274 235 240
Email: enquiries@bradford.ac.uk

Centre for the Study of Forgiveness and Reconciliation

www.coventry.ac.uk

The Centre focuses on the study of non-violent means of peacebuilding and, in particular, the significance of processes of reconciliation and forgiveness in conflict transformation. Ongoing research projects at the Centre include comparative studies of how successor regimes deal with a legacy of violence and gross human rights abuse. Other research has concentrated on South and East Asian approaches to conflict transformation, peacebuilding in Kosovo, and prospects for peaceful co-existence in the Middle East.

Centre for the Study of Forgiveness and Reconciliation, Coventry University, Priory Street, Coventry CV1 5FB, UK
Tel: +44 (0)24 7688 7448
Email: a.rigby@coventry.ac.uk

Conciliation Resources

www.c-r.org

Conciliation Resources' organisational objective is to provide practical and sustained assistance to people and groups in areas of armed conflict or potential violence who work at community or national level in order to prevent violence or transform conflict into opportunities for social, economic and political development based on more just relationships.

Conciliation Resources, 173 Upper Street, London, N1 1RG, UK
Tel: +44 (0)20 7359 7728
Fax: +44 (0)20 7359 4081
Email: conres@c-r.org

Committee for Conflict Transformation Support

www.c-r.org/ccts

Members and associates of the Committee run workshops, seminars, discussion groups and/or debates with organisations and individuals involved with peace, human rights, peace education, the well-being of refugees and displaced persons, the analysis and resolution of conflict, the care of those traumatized by violence, and those who are themselves involved in training in a variety of organisations. These have mostly been non-governmental organisations working for peace, non-violence, human rights and the relief of suffering, also university and church groups, in most areas of the former Yugoslavia.

Chair: Diana Francis
Secretariat: **Conciliation Resources**, 173 Upper Street, Islington, London, N1 1RG, UK
Tel: +44 (0)20 7359 7728
Email: ccts@c-r.org

Conflict Trauma Resource Centre

CRTC's mission is to contribute to alleviating the pain, suffering and trauma experienced as a result of the violent conflict in and about N. Ireland by way of cooperation and partnership across and between many boundaries to improve the quality of peoples lives.

Conflict Trauma Resource Centre, Unit 9, Clanmill Arts and Small Business Centre, Morthern Whig House, 3-10 Bridge Street, Belfast, BT1 1LU, N. Ireland
Tel: +28 90 926060
Fax: +28 90 296050
Email: marc_n_Ireland@yahoo.co.uk

Conscience - The Peace Tax Campaign

www.conscienceonline.org

Conscience campaigns for the legal right for those who have a conscientious objection to war, to have the military part of their taxes spent on peacebuilding initiatives.

Conscience, Archway Resources Centre, 1b Waterlow Road, London, N19 5NJ, UK
Tel: +44 (0)870 777 3223
Email: info@conscience.org.uk

Dolphinton Dialogue Centre

A very exciting project is unfolding in Scotland close to Edinburgh airport. On a 30-acre site, a centre of excellence will emerge that will offer a creative space for groups to engage in facilitated dialogue, develop best practice and learn the skills of dialogue for extending it to others. Currently funding is being sought for developing the buildings on the site but skilled facilitators of dialogue are available now to work with groups or organisations.

Dolphin Dialogue Centre, Tricia Boyle

Tel: +44 (0)131 319 2224 or +44 (0)131 319 2203
Email: patricia.m.boyle@btinternet.com

Edinburgh Peace & Justice Resource Centre

Resource centre for individuals and organisations interested in peace, justice and the environment.

Edinburgh Peace and Justice Resource Centre,

St John's Church, Princes Street, Edinburgh EH2 4BJ, UK
Tel: +44 (0) 131 229 0993
Email: peace-justice@btconnect.com

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

www.mod.uk/linked_files/issues/gcpp/gcpp.pdf

The **Global Conflict Prevention Pool (GCPP)** was set up in April 2001 as a new approach to tackling conflict prevention. Together with its partner - the Africa Conflict Prevention Pool - it represented a major innovation in joined-up government. The purpose of the Pool is to bring together the resources of the Ministry of Defence, Foreign & Commonwealth Office, and the Department for International Development to enable a more strategic approach to conflict reduction. It has forged a more holistic view of how to tackle conflict and brought synergy to the Government's conflict prevention work.

Head of Department: Joan Link

Foreign and Commonwealth Office, King Charles St, London, SW1A, UK

Tel: + 44 (0)207 008 2486

INCORE

www.incore.ulst.ac.uk

INCORE was founded in 1993 in a joint initiative between the University of Ulster and the United Nations University. INCORE aims to address the management and resolution of conflict via a combination of research, training, and other activities which inform and influence national and international organisations working in the field of conflict.

INCORE, Aberfoyle House, Northland Road, Londonderry, BT48 7JA, N. Ireland

Tel: +44 (0)28 7137 5500

Fax: +44 (0)28 7137 5510

Email: incore@incore.ulst.ac.uk

International Fellowship of Reconciliation

www.ifor.org

The International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR) is an international, spiritually-based movement composed of people who, from the basis of a belief in the power of love and truth to create justice and restore community, commit themselves to active nonviolence as a way of life and as a means of transformation – personal, social, economic and political.

International Fellowship for Reconciliation,

Spoorstraat 38, 1815 BK Alkmaar, The Netherlands / Pays-Bas

Tel +31 (0)72 512 3014

Fax +31 (0)72 515 1102

Email: office@ifor.org

International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)

www.iiss.org

The IISS is a source of accurate, objective information on international strategic issues for politicians and diplomats, foreign affairs analysts, international business, economists, the military, defence commentators, journalists, academics and the informed public. The IISS's work is grounded in an appreciation of the various political, economic and social problems that cause instability, as well as the factors that can lead to international cooperation. It is an independent institute and it alone decides what activities to conduct. It owes no allegiance to any government, or to any political or other organisation.

International Institute for Strategic Studies,

Arundel House, 13-15 Arundel Street, Temple Place London WC2R 3DX, UK

Tel: +44 (0)20 7379 7676

Fax: +44 (0)20 7836 3108

Email: iiss@iiss.org

International Alert (IA)

www.international-alert.org

An independent, international, non-governmental organisation that works at local, national, regional and global levels to generate conditions and processes conducive to the cessation of war and the generation of sustainable peace. IA currently works with partner organisations and individuals in West Africa, the Great Lakes region of Africa, the Caucasus region of the former Soviet Union, Colombia, Sri Lanka, Nepal and the Philippines. IA

also conduct advocacy and policy analysis in the fields of Business, Development, Gender, Security and Religion in relation to peacebuilding.

International Alert, 346 Clapham Road, London SW9 9AP, UK

Tel: +44 (0)20 7627 6800

Fax: +44 (0)20 7627 6900

E-mail: general@international-alert.org

The International Crisis Group

www.intl-crisis-group.org

ICG is a private, multinational organisation, with over 80 staff members on five continents, working through field-based analysis and high-level advocacy to prevent and contain conflict.

The International Crisis Group, London Office, Queen's Wharf, Queen Caroline Street, London W6 9RJ, UK

Tel: +44 (0)20 8600 2538

Fax: +44 (0)20 8600 2539

Email: kcronin@crisisweb.org

Iraq Bodycount

www.iraqbodycount.org

The Iraq Body Count project aims to promote public understanding, engagement and support for the human dimension in wars by providing a reliable and up-to-date documentation of civilian casualties following the US-led war in 2003 in the country. This project records - single-mindedly and on a virtually real-time basis - one key and immutable index of the fruits of war: the death toll of innocents.

Iraq Body Count, Hamit Dardgan

Email: comment@iraqbodycount.org

Justice & Peace, Scotland

www.justiceandpeace.org.uk

The Scottish Catholic Justice and Peace Commission was formed in 1979. It is the Scottish Commission of the Pontifical Council *Justitia et Pax*. The Commission combines its function as the Bishops' advisory body on issues of social justice, international peace and human rights with the responsibility for networking existing newly formed local parish groups. Throughout its history, policy has been formulated at all levels under the supervision of the Bishops' conference. Each of Scotland's eight dioceses is entitled to send an official representative to the National Commission. Also represented are the religious, missionary and secular clergy; youth and ecumenical representatives; and SCIAF – the Scottish International Aid Fund, their sister agency.

Justice and Peace, Scotland, 65 Bath Street, Glasgow, G2 2BX, UK

Tel: +44 (0)141-333 0238

Fax: +44 (0)141-333 0238

Email: justice_peace@virgin.net

Landmine Action

www.landmineaction.org

The organisation's objectives are to provide information and advice about landmines and unexploded ordnance to communities, United Nations agencies and charity or voluntary groups; to educate the public concerning the humanitarian, developmental, medical and human rights impact of landmines and unexploded ordnance and undertaking research on their effects; and to provide assistance to communities, charities and voluntary groups in the relief of poverty caused by landmines and unexploded ordnance.

Landmine Action, 1st Floor, 89 Albert

Embankment, London, SE1 7TP, UK

Tel: +44 (0)20 7820 0222

Fax: +44 (0)20 7820 0057

Email: info@landmineaction.org

Mediation Northern Ireland

www.mediationnorthernireland.org

Originally founded as the 'Northern Ireland Conflict Mediation Association', the 'Mediation Network' evolved in the 1990s as an agency to promote the practice of mediation and train mediators in Northern Ireland. In recognition of advances in the Peace Process and the growing diversity of mediation practice, the Mediation Network re-organised itself as 'Mediation Northern Ireland' in the Autumn of 2002. They aim to be an independent centre of excellence in mediation and other methods of conflict intervention.

Mediation Northern Ireland, 10 Upper Crescent,

Belfast BT7 1NT, N. Ireland

Tel: +44 (0)28 90 438614

Fax: +44 (0) 28 90 314430

Email: info@mediationnorthernireland.org

MEDACT

www.medact.org

Medact is a charitable organisation of doctors, nurses and other health professionals who are concerned about major threats to health such as violent conflict, poverty and environmental degradation.

MEDACT, Grayston Centre, 28 Charles Square, London, NI 6HT, UK

Tel: +44 (0)20 7272 2020

Fax: +44 (0)20 7281 5717

Email: info@medact.org

Mediation UK

www.mediationuk.org.uk

Mediation UK is working to promote constructive ways of resolving conflict within communities. They seek to ensure that everyone has access to high quality mediation and that the principles and practice of mediation are supported by decision makers and the public, making mediation the first choice of method for resolving conflicts.

Mediation UK, Alexander House, Telephone Avenue, Bristol, BS1 4BS, UK
Tel: +44 (0)117 904 6661
Fax: +44 (0)117 904 3331
Email: enquiry@mediationuk.org.uk

Minority Rights Group International

www.minorityrights.org

This is a non-governmental organisation working to secure the rights of ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities and indigenous peoples worldwide, and to promote cooperation and understanding between communities. Their activities are focussed on international advocacy, training, publishing and outreach.

Minority Rights Group International, 379 Brixton Road, London, SW9 7DE, UK
Tel: +44 (0)20 7978 9498
Fax: +44 (0)20 7738 6265
Email: minority.rights@mrgmail.org

Newham Conflict and Change Project

www.conflictandchange.co.uk

Runs excellent workshops for schools throughout the country on conflict resolution.

Newham Conflict and Change Project, Christopher House, 2A Streatfield Avenue, East Ham, London, E6 2LA, UK
Tel: +44 (0)20 8552 2050
Fax: +44 (0)20 8470 5505
Email: conflict_change@btconnect.com

Nonviolent Communication (NVC)

www.LifeResources.org.uk

NVC is a process of communication developed by international peacebuilder Marshall Rosenberg to enable people to communicate with respect, compassion and honesty. It leads to being heard and understood, communicating clearly without blame or judgement, and choosing actions that are in harmony with each others' needs and values. NVC offer a range of courses nationwide.

Non-violent Communication, Bridget Belgrave
Tel: +44 (0)845 456 1050
Email: nvc@LifeResources.org.uk

Nonviolent Direct Action in Britain

www.nvda-uk.net

This site has been developed to provide cross-movement and online information about nonviolent direct actions taking place in Britain. It aims to offer regular events listings for antimilitarist, environmental and other activists working on a range of different issues. Nonviolent Direct Action also re-publish Britain's only cross-movement, monthly, nonviolent print-magazine, *Nonviolent Action*. They also offer useful texts and practical resources for nonviolent direct activists.

Email: info@nvda-uk.net

OneWorld

www.oneworld.net

An online civil society network, supporting people's media to help build a more just global society. Offers comprehensive and professional production services to NGOs and charities to build a better world. Training and voluntary work possible all over the world.

OneWorld, 2nd Floor, River House, 143-145 Farringdon Road, London, EC1R 3AB, UK
Tel: +44 (0)20 7833 8347
Fax: +44 (0)20 7833 3347
Email: justice@oneworld.net
Or
foundation@oneworld.net

Oxford Research Group (ORG)

www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk

ORG combines rigorous research into nuclear weapons, arms control and conflict resolution with an understanding of the people who make those decisions. The areas of research also include the reduction and control of the arms trade, the 'war on terrorism' and the effective non-violent resolution of conflict. ORG's work involves promoting accountability and transparency, providing information on current decisions so that public debate can take place, and fostering dialogue between those who disagree. ORG regularly brings policy-makers - senior government officials, the military, strategists and scientists - together with independent experts to develop ways past the obstacles to nuclear disarmament, non-proliferation and greater global security. The aim is to build bridges of understanding as a means of opening up new ideas and to make possible significant new thinking on policy.

Oxford Research Group, 51 Plantation Road, Oxford, OX2 6JE, UK
Tel: +44 (0)1865 242 819
Fax: +44 (0)1865 794 652
Email: org@oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk

Peace Brigades International (PBI)

www.peacebrigades.org

A non-governmental organisation which protects human rights and promotes nonviolent transformation of conflicts. When invited, PBI sends teams of volunteers into areas of repression and conflict. The volunteers accompany human rights defenders, their organisations and others threatened by political violence. Perpetrators of human rights abuses usually do not want the world to witness their actions. The presence of volunteers backed by a support network helps to deter violence. This creates space for local activists to work for social justice and human rights.

Peace Brigades International, International Office
Unit 5, 89-93 Fonthill Rd, London, N4 3HT, UK
Tel: +44 (0)20 7561 9141
Fax: +44 (0)20 7281 3181
Email: info@peacebrigades.org

Peace Centre for Warrington Children for Peace UK

www.childrenforpeace.org

A leading organisation in the development of young people's peace building skills which will help resolve conflict non-violently. They offer accredited educational programmes and activities, and need volunteers, gift-aid donations, commitment of regular giving (yearly, quarterly, monthly), and event/programme sponsorship.

The Peace Centre, Great Sankey, Peace Drive,
Warrington, WA5 1HQ, UK
Tel: +44 (0)1925 581 231
Fax: +44 (0)1925 581 233
Email: info@childrenforpeace.org

Peace Direct

www.peacedirect.org

Peace Direct aims to generate a growing movement of people determined to challenge violent responses to international, regional, national and local conflicts. They are committed to the peaceful resolution of conflict, and seek to support and promote the work of those who share these values. They directly support those working in conflict areas to prevent atrocities and rebuild peace using non-violent methods. They work to raise the profile of conflict resolution - to show how peaceful solutions can work, do work, and where they work; collect and publish evidence on the value and cost effectiveness of war prevention and conflict resolution in order to influence government policies and the allocation of public resources; and advocate for a significant increase in government resources allocated to non-violent conflict resolution.

Peace Direct, 39a Lancaster Grove, London, NW3 4HB, UK

Tel: +44 (0)845 456 9714

Fax: +44 (0)207 794 2489

Email: claire@peacedirect.org

Peace Exchange, Quakers

www.peaceexchange.org.uk

The Peace Exchange web pages are managed by Quaker Peace & Social Witness as a resource for everyone. It is possible to find information on events, campaigns and peace vigils. Pages frequently at times of international crisis or for urgent action.

Peace One Day

www.peaceday.org

Peace One Day aims to raise global awareness of the annual United Nations International Day of Peace; a day of global ceasefire and non-violence on the 21st September. In this they engage civil society in the peaceful observance of a day of global unity. They influence governments, organisations within the United Nations, regional and non-governmental organisations to initiate and support life-saving, educational, interfaith and public awareness activities.

Peace One Day, Block D, The Old Truman Brewery,
91 Brick Lane, London, E1 6QL, UK
Tel: +44 (0)20 7456 9180
Fax: +44 (0)20 7375 2007
Email: info@peaceday.org

Peaceworkers UK

www.peaceworkers.org.uk

Peaceworkers UK aim to contribute to the alleviation of suffering caused by violent conflict through the promotion and encouragement of civilian strategies for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict. They do this by developing and running training courses to prepare people for practical work in conflict areas, developing assessment standards for ensuring the quality of personnel working in this field, setting up a register of qualified personnel available in the UK, by promoting the establishment of a UK Civilian Peace Service and supporting similar international efforts in this field.

Peaceworkers UK, 18a Victoria Park Square,
London, E2 9PB, UK
Tel: +44 (0)20 8880 6070
Fax: +44 (0)20 8880 6089
Email: info@peaceworkers.org.uk

Quaker Peace & Social Witness

www.quaker.org.uk/peace

The Quaker Peace & Social Witness works to create the conditions of peace and justice locally, nationally

and internationally through a number of long-term work programmes. By placing workers in areas of current or recent conflict the organisation supports local capacities for building peace and social justice. Quaker representatives at the United Nations in Geneva facilitate dialogue between diplomats and non-governmental organisations on human rights, disarmament and international development issues. In the UK Quakers engage with policymakers, raise public awareness, stimulate reflection and enable action for change on a range of peace and social issues.

Quaker Peace and Social Witness

Email: davidg@quaker.org.uk

Responding to Conflict

www.respond.org

They provide advice, cross-cultural training and longer-term support to people working for peace, development, rights and humanitarian assistance in societies affected or threatened by violent conflict.

Responding to Conflict, 1046 Bristol Road, Birmingham, B29 6LJ, UK
Tel: +44 (0)121 415 5641
Fax/answerphone: +44 (0)121 415 4119
Email: enquiries@respond.org

The Richardson Institute for Peace Studies and Conflict Research

www.lancs.ac.uk

A research centre within the Department of Politics and International Relations at Lancaster University which aims to promote a better understanding of the conditions of peaceful change and encourage the practical application of its work.

The Richardson Institute for Peace and Conflict Research, Department of Politics and International Relations, Lancaster University, Lancaster, LA1 4YL, UK

Tel: +44 (0)1524 594 262
Fax: +44 (0)1524 494 238
Email: ri@lancaster.ac.uk

Rissho Kosei-kai (RKK)

www.rk-world.org

RKK fund projects with the aim of restoring humanity to society through such social activities as blood donation and charitable fund-raising. Their firm belief is that people of religion the world over, as well as others whose activities are rooted in the spirit of religion, should cooperate in a way transcending sectarian differences to promote such activities from the broad-based viewpoint of social and public well-being.

Rissho Kosei-kai of the UK, c/o International Association for Religious Freedom, 2 Market Street, Oxford, OX1 3EF, UK
Tel: +44 (0)1865 241 131
Fax: +44 (0)1865 202 746
Email: rkk-uk@jais.co.uk

Royal Institute for International Affairs

www.riia.org

Also known as Chatham House, the RIIA is one of the world's leading institutes for the analysis of international issues. RIIA is membership-based and aims to help individuals and organisations to be at the forefront of developments in an ever-changing and increasingly complex world.

Royal Institute for International Affairs, Chatham House, 10 St James's Square, London, SW1Y 4LE, UK

Tel: +44 (0)20 7957 5700
Fax: +44 (0)20 7957 5710
E-mail: contact@riia.org

Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies (RUSI)

www.rusi.org

Its purpose is to study, promote debate, report and provide options on all issues relating to national and international defence and security.

Royal United Services Institute, Whitehall, London, SW1A 2ET, UK

Tel: +44 (0)20 7930 5854
Fax: +44 (0)20 7321 0943
Email: information@rusi.org

Saferworld

www.saferworld.org.uk

Saferworld is an independent non-governmental organisation that works with governments and civil society internationally to research, promote and implement new strategies to increase human security and prevent armed violence.

Saferworld, 28 Charles Square, London, N1 6HT, UK

Tel: +44 (0)20 7324 4646
Fax: +44 (0)20 7324 4647
Email: general@saferworld.org.uk

Sandhurst Military Academy

www.atra.mod.uk

Sandhurst Military Academy, The Adjutant, Royal Military Academy Sandhurst, Camberley, Surrey, GU15 4PQ, UK

Email: spartacus@pavilion.co.uk

Scottish Centre for Nonviolence

www.nonviolence-scotland.org.uk

The centre shares experience of using nonviolence at home, at work and in the community. It organises nonviolence training and workshops, and also promotes training modules for universities and statutory bodies. Its library and resource materials are accessible to the public.

The Scottish Centre for Nonviolence, The Annexe, Kirk Street, Dunblane, Scotland, FK15 0AJ, UK
Tel: + 44 (0)1786 824730
Email: nonviolence@callnetuk.com

United Nations Association

www.una-uk.org

The United Nations Association of the UK is a voluntary, membership-based non-governmental organization. They campaign, educate and fundraise to help turn the ideals of the United Nations into reality. However, UNA-UK does not necessarily believe that the UN is perfect and beyond criticism. It is their job to ensure that the UN is used more effectively, efficiently and creatively in all the areas where it works.

United Nations Association, 3 Whitehall Court, London, SW1A 2EL, England, UK
Tel: +44 (0)20 7930 2931
Fax: +44 (0)20 7930 5893
Email: info@una-uk.org

VERTIC

www.vertic.org

VERTIC is an independent, non-profit making, non-governmental organisation. Its mission is to promote effective and efficient verification as a means of ensuring confidence in the implementation of international agreements and intra-national agreements with international involvement. VERTIC aims to achieve its mission by means of research, training, dissemination of information, and interaction with the relevant political, diplomatic, technical, scientific and non-governmental communities.

The Verification Research, Training and Information Centre (VERTIC), Baird House, 15–17 St Cross Street, London, EC1N 8UW, UK
Tel: +44 (0)20 7440 6960
Fax: +44 (0)20 7242 3266
E-mail: info@vertic.org

War Resisters' International

www.wri-irg.org

War Resisters' International, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N1 9DX, UK

WITNESS

www.witnessforpeace.org

Witness for Peace is a politically independent, grassroots organisation. They are people committed to nonviolence and led by faith and conscience. Their mission is to support peace, justice and sustainable economies in the Americas by changing US policies and corporate practices which contribute to poverty and oppression in Latin America and the Caribbean. They stand with people who seek justice.

Witness for Peace, 707 8th St., SE Suite 100, Washington, DC 20003, USA
Tel: +1 202 547 6112
Fax: +1 202 547 6103

Womankind Worldwide

www.womankind.org.uk

Works internationally to raise the status of women, equipping them with the skills, knowledge and confidence to challenge discrimination and oppression and make positive changes in their own lives – for the benefit of all.

Womankind Worldwide, 2nd Floor, 32-37 Cowper Street, London, EC2A 4AW, UK
Tel: +44 (0)20 7549 5700
Fax: +44 (0)20 7549 5701
Email: info@womankind.org.uk

University Departments:

Aberystwyth

The Aberystwyth Forum on Humanitarian Affairs was established by staff and postgraduate students in the Department in 1995 as an interdisciplinary discussion group to debate and explore issues on human rights and humanitarianism. The Forum aims to provide an informal setting for the growing number of people concerned with study and practice of human rights, humanitarianism and associated areas.

University of Wales, Aberystwyth, Old College, King Street, Aberystwyth, Ceredigion, SY23 2AX, Wales, UK
Tel: +44 (0)1970 623111
Email: bl17@aber.ac.uk
Or
irm98@aber.ac.uk

Bradford

www.brad.ac.uk/acad/peace

The department was established in 1973-4 and has since grown to become the largest academic centre exclusively for the study of peace and conflict anywhere in the world. It has a world class reputation for peace research and its research has substantial impact throughout much of the world.

Department of Peace Studies, School of Social and International Studies, University of Bradford, Bradford, West Yorkshire, BD7 1DP
Tel: +44 (0)1274 235 235
Fax: +44 (0)1274 235 240

Cardiff

www.cardiff.ac.uk
Department of International Relations, Cardiff University, Wales, CF10 3XQ, UK
Tel: +44 (0)29 2087 4000

Kent

www.kent.ac.uk
The Centre for Conflict and Peace (CCP) is the successor to the long-established Centre for Conflict Analysis (CCA) founded in the 1960s. The practical activity of the CCA continues and includes a role in track-II mediation in protracted international conflicts around the world. Research interests of the CCP include international relations and international history including international organisation and conflict resolution; conflict analysis and resolution, mediation and intervention in Africa; European security and its institutions, and the legitimacy of security institutions in the post-Cold War area; theories and methods of international relations, war and conflict studies, and conflict management with an emphasis on its institutional aspects; international relations, international organisation and conflict studies.

Centre for Conflict and Peace, The University of Kent, Canterbury, Kent, CT2 7NZ., UK
Tel: +44 (0)1227 764 000
Email: T.K.Saalfeld@kent.ac.uk

Kings College London, Centre for Defence Studies (University of London)

The Centre for Defence Studies (CDS) was established at King's College London in 1990, initially with a core grant from the UK Ministry of Defence. The primary mission of the CDS is to engage in research at the highest level on British, European and international defence and security issues; to promote interdisciplinary approaches to security and defence policy research; to distribute research and expertise through formal academic channels; to work with UK and other governments and international organisations; and to maintain a high public profile by interacting with the media.

Centre for Defence Studies, King's College London, Strand, London, WC2R 2LS, UK
Tel: +44 (0)20 7848 2338
Fax: +44 (0)20 7848 2748
Email: cds@kcl.ac.uk

St Andrews

www.st-andrews.ac.uk/intel/research/cstpu
The Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence aims to investigate the roots of political violence, to develop a body of theory spanning its various disparate elements, and to study the impact of violence, and responses to it, at societal, governmental, and international levels.

Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence, University of St Andrews, St Andrews, Fife, KY16 9AL, Scotland, UK
Tel: +44 (0)1334 476161
Fax: +44 (0)1334 462937
Email: cstpv@st-andrews.ac.uk

York University Post War Reconstruction and Development Unit

www.york.ac.uk/depts/poli/prdu
The Post-War Reconstruction and Development Unit (PRDU) specialises in the academic research, teaching and consultancy in issues of peacebuilding, management and planning of reconstruction after war, humanitarian intervention in complex emergencies and post-war recovery. The Unit recognises that no single professional group or theoretical perspective is likely to hold all of the answers to the complexities of post-war recovery. It also places the combination of theory and practice at the heart of its activities.

Post War Reconstruction and Development Unit, Derwent College, University of York, Heslington, York, YO10 5DD, UK
Tel: +44 (0)1904 432 640
Fax: +44 (0)1904 432 641
Email: prdu@york.ac.uk

OXFORD • RESEARCH • GROUP

Oxford Research Group seeks to develop effective methods whereby people can bring about positive change on issues of national and international security by non-violent means.

Our work involves:

- undertaking and disseminating research on key security issues so that public debate can take place;
- researching how policy decisions are made and who makes them;
- engaging with policy-makers on constructive policy options;
- fostering dialogue between policy-makers and their critics to explore creative solutions to national, regional and global security problems;
- promoting accountability and transparency in government decision-making.

Our research focuses on three broad areas: nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation; UK defence and foreign policy; and global security in the changing international environment. Specific projects include: non-violent approaches to conflict prevention and conflict resolution; preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons; control of the arms trade; constructive approaches to dealing with international terrorism; and preventing the weaponisation of space.

We bring senior policy-makers together with independent analysts, scientists and technologists, military experts, writers and psychologists, to develop ways past the obstacles to achieving peace with security.

Oxford Research Group is a small independent team of researchers and support staff. It is a public company limited by guarantee with charitable status, governed by a Board of Directors and supported by a Council of Advisers. The Group enjoys a strong reputation for objective and effective research, and attracts the support of foundations, charities and private individuals, many of Quaker origin, in Britain, Europe and the United States. It has no political or religious affiliations and does not campaign.

51 Plantation Road, Oxford, OX2 6JE, UK

Tel: +44(0)1865 242819; Fax: +44(0)1865 794652; Email: org@oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk

www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk

Registered Charity No. 299436

peace direct

Our vision is of a growing movement of people determined to challenge violent responses to international, regional, national and local conflicts. We are committed to the peaceful resolution of conflict, and seek to support and promote the work of those who share these values.

We work as follows:

- We directly support those working in conflict areas to prevent atrocities and rebuild peace using non-violent methods.
- We raise the profile of conflict resolution - to show how peaceful solutions can work, do work, and where they work.
- We collect and publish evidence on the value and cost effectiveness of war prevention and conflict resolution in order to influence government policies and the allocation of public resources.
- We believe in non-violence, transparency and respecting the knowledge and experience of those living and working in conflict areas.

peace direct builds on two decades of research into what works and what doesn't in terms of transforming and resolving conflict.

peace direct is systematic, focussed and pragmatic: we support and monitor peace building activities, analyse the results and present these to decision makers to open a dialogue on altering destabilising policy, such as the export of arms.

peace direct is 'needs led', taking its cue from grass roots experience, and making this comprehensible at policy level.

We achieve our aims by:

- Building an aware, articulate and powerful constituency of individuals and organisations that will give voice to the peaceful resolution of conflict.
- Raising funds to promote the peaceful resolution of conflict.
- Connecting groups internationally to provide moral, financial and practical support to those working for peace in conflict areas, and to learn from them.
- Publishing evidence of successful initiatives that reduce violence in areas of conflict.
- Advocating for a significant increase in government resources allocated to non-violent conflict resolution.

Peace direct is a new organisation, started under the aegis of the Woodstock Research Trust and Oxford Research Group, and governed by a Board of Trustees. It aims to engage the support of the public, as well as of trusts and foundations.

It has no political or religious affiliations and does not campaign.

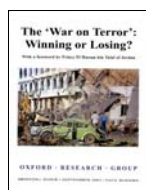
39a Lancaster Grove, London, NW3 4HB, UK

Tel: +44 (0)845 456 9714; Fax: +44 (0)207 794 2489; Email: claire@peacedirect.org

www.peacedirect.org

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THE 'WAR ON TERROR': WINNING OR LOSING?

£5 (Paul Rogers, September 2003)

This report examines the effectiveness of the 'war on terror' two years on. Professor Paul Rogers argues that rather than winning the 'war on terror', the current strategies for dealing with the threat from al-Qaeda and associated terrorist organisations are proving inadequate. New policies are urgently needed to make real progress against the paramilitary threat and to resolve the serious security and humanitarian problems in Afghanistan and Iraq.



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£5 (Paul Rogers, October 2002)

This report warns of the likely outcomes of a US-led attack on Iraq, the difficulties an attack would face and the likely Iraqi response, and offers an analysis of the problems the US would face 'winning the peace' and reconstructing Iraq after a war. The effect on the region if Iraq were to become a client state of the US, and the extent to which a US-led occupation of Iraq might play into al-Qaeda's hands are also assessed. Given the scale of the risks, this report makes a strong case for the pursuit of alternative policies.



THE 'WAR ON TERRORISM': 12-MONTH AUDIT AND FUTURE STRATEGY OPTIONS

£5 (Paul Rogers & Scilla Elworthy, September 2002)

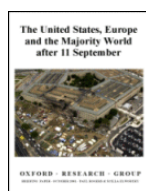
This report examines the effectiveness of the 'war on terrorism' one year on and suggests options open to Western governments in dealing with the harsh challenges of political violence. It explores the extension of the war on terrorism to war with Iraq; the need for action on potential terrorist use of weapons of mass destruction; and non-violent methods of breaking the cycle of violence.



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