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CIVIL CONFLICTS: GLOBAL CONSEQUENCES AND CONCERNS



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

WORKING PAPER FOR THE UNIS/UN STUDENT CONFERENCE

INTRODUCTION	I
DEFINITIONS	3
CIVIL CONFLICTS: A MECHANISM FOR SOCIAL DISINTEGRATION?	5
HUMAN RIGHTS	6
INTERVENTIONS IN THE LIVES OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE	7
THE EFFECTS OF CIVIL CONFLICTS UPON NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS AND POLITICS	7
MOTIVATIONS FOR INTERVENTION	9
THE FUNCTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN CIVIL CONFLICTS	10
CONFLICT-RESOLUTION STRATEGIES	10
WHAT HAPPENS WHEN THE CONFLICT IS OVER?	12
GOVERNANCE IN POST-CRISIS SITUATIONS	12
MIGRATION	13
THE CAUSE OF ETHNIC CONFLICTS	17
INTERFERENCE OF OUTSIDE POLITICAL PARTIES ON INTERNAL CONFLICTS	18
THE EFFECTS OF MASS IMMIGRATION.	18
CASE STUDIES:	
THE REBUILDING OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO	20
ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN YUGOSLAVIA	21
CIVIL CONFLICT IN LIBERIA	23
THE RWANDAN CONFLICT	24
CHECHNYA	25
NEGOTIATING A PEACE:THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CASE	28

PERCEPTION:

THE ISSUE OF TIBET	29
THE UN WEAPONS INSPECTORS AND IRAQ	34
UNIFICATION OF KOREA	35
NORTHERN IRELAND : PROTESTANTS AND ROMAN CATHOLICS	36
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	39
BIBLIOGRAPHY	40
CONCLUSION	45
CONTRIBUTORS TO UNIS/UN	47

INTRODUCTION

After the Cold War ended in 1990, there followed a brief period of hope, a belief that a new and peaceful international order would emerge. Instead, a series of violent and destructive civil conflicts have erupted. These are relentlessly portrayed in graphic detail on our TV screens.

The United Nations Charter, signed in 1945, states in its preamble that “the scourge of war” has “brought untold suffering to mankind.” Because this suffering persists into the 1990’s, taking horrifying forms, the problem of “Civil Conflicts: Global Consequences and Concerns,” was chosen as the topic for the 1998 UNIS/UN Conference.

Between 1990 and 1995, seventy states were involved in ninety-three wars, which killed 5.5 million people. Many of these outbreaks are still continuing in their destructive course.

The 1998 Working Paper examines the causes and consequences of civil conflict from a wide perspective. This document presents to us, the emerging generation, an overview of the problems that engender and impact civil conflicts, which will continue to confront the world community.

The UN is the only international forum capable of dealing with these widespread conflicts. Therefore, a rational and constructive approach to this global problem must emerge from the UN’s deliberations, actions, and decisions, through the work of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the International Court of Justice.

DEFINITIONS OF CONFLICT: CONTINGENT AND INHERENT THEORIES.

The World Encyclopedia of Peace describes two approaches to the origins of individual and social conflicts:

The Contingency Approach:

- (a) Individuals are basically pacific.*
- (b) Under special conditions the pacific impulses may be diverted.*
- (c) The major problem for conflict theory is to explain the frequency of violence.*
- (d) When special conditions arise, other human dispositions may be activated.*
- (e) Collective violence is affective rather than coolly calculated.*
- (f) The tendency to violence may be affected by cultural learning.*
- (g) Two further minor factors affecting the use of violence are the coercive balance between forces and other factors facilitating the successful use of violence.*

The Inherency Approach:

- (a) The fundamental disposition of individuals is towards power and dominance; violence is only an extreme but normal expression of this tendency.*
- (b) There are alternative channels for seeking power, of which collective political violence is merely one.*
- (c) The major problem is explaining why violence does not occur more often.*
- (d) The choice of violence is a question of tactical consideration.*
- (e) Tactical choices are influenced by cost-benefit calculations.*
- (f) Cultural factors play a relatively minor role, and will both inhibit and promote the use of violence.*
- (g) Factors such as the coercive balance of forces and facilitating conditions are of major importance.*

However the sociological effort to provide an apparently clear distinction between contingency and inherency approaches to sources of conflict, still leaves doubt as to whether a definitive answer can be provided to this problem of human nature.

CIVIL CONFLICTS: A MECHANISM FOR SOCIAL DISINTEGRATION?

Today, the world community confronts many man-made disasters, among them ethnic cleansing, roving militias, landmines, failed states and warring factions that use civilians as battle shields. In countries such as Angola, although the war is over, 20 million landmines--enough to kill every Angolan twice--will remain a hidden enemy for generations to come. Since 1990, humanitarian organizations such as CARE, World Vision, Save the Children and Catholic Relief Services have helped refugees and displaced people stay alive during civil conflicts. Some of the worst instances are those of Bosnia, Chechnya, Somalia, Rwanda, Angola, Mozambique, Liberia, and The Democratic Republic of the Congo. We are on the frontlines of civil wars that occur without the protection of world political action and which threaten people's lives.

Before going into detail about how social disintegration can occur through the constant erosion of civil conflicts, we should take a look at the basic formation of societies, because once the basic elements of a society fail, social disintegration results. In a society, there are two basic forces -- the individual and the collective. To make a society strong and successful, both interests must converge. Each member of a society is not only responsible for himself, each one also represents that society as a whole. It is everyone's duty to hold their group together. Hence, if one group within a given society acts against another, the collective may begin to disintegrate.

In Afghanistan, the situation for women in Kabul under the former Mujahideen leaders was never ideal. The government, which was headed by President Rabbani, never advocated the rights of women. The Taliban, which began as a movement of fundamentalist Islamic religious students in Afghanistan's villages, took over the Afghan capital of Kabul in September 1996. But the movement has been unable to seize the northern part of the country. In 1995, a report on the status of women in Afghanistan revealed that they have suffered greatly through a civil war which has ravaged their lives and homes in complete disregard of humanitarian law. As

the decades of violence go on, women continue to be victims of the hostilities. Women have been treated as spoils of war and subjected to rape and other forms of torture. Speaking to Afghan refugees in Nasir Bagh, Pakistan, Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright issued her harshest criticism of the Taliban movement that rules most of Afghanistan, calling its treatment of women and children "despicable."

At that desolate camp for 80,000 Afghan refugees, 25 miles from the Afghan border, Ms. Albright spoke proudly of her own experience as a wartime refugee who rose to become the first woman to serve as Secretary of State. She urged the young Afghan women and students, listening attentively in their flowing head-scarves and long clothes, to demand education for themselves and to seek equality in their society. Ms. Albright said: "If a society is to move forward, women and girls must have access to schools, be able to participate in the economy and be protected from physical exploitation and abuse."

All national societies are made up of both men and women. In Afghanistan, the role of women today is severely restricted. How can a society prevail and succeed if one half of that society is forced to be subservient? The situation of women in Afghanistan is a good example of how a civil conflict can cause internal social disintegration.

If we look at a society from yet another angle, it is also made up of adults and children. Imagine what would happen to our society if the children, "the hope for tomorrow," were to get lost in the course of civil conflicts? Children are expected to go to school and to learn, to hold the keys to their society's future. They hold the hope of every group for social, political and economic solutions for better living for tomorrow. However, throughout history, children have been used in wars in roles as varied as combatants, pack mules, water-boys and industrial laborers.

In the Afghan conflict women and children have been victims of the violence and destruction, so hastening the process of social disintegration.

FACT

Ethnic cleansing has driven about 700,000 people from Bosnia, and forced about 600,000 to relocate within the region.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Human Rights protect us as humans. They protect us against such abuses as unlawful imprisonment, torture, and execution. In spite of these protections, we see despair and hopelessness in the eyes of millions around the world. Even though human rights are perceived as universal, violations do still occur. These violations sometimes result from lack of awareness, but more often, from indifference.

The genocide that occurred in Rwanda in 1994 is a strong example of human rights violations. In that conflict, as many as one-fifth of Rwanda's population was killed, seemingly without reason. In one horrific incident, soldiers and militiamen went into an orphanage, took dozens of Tutsi children and slaughtered them in front of their Hutu playmates. Holly Burkhalter wrote about the situation in Rwanda as Director of Human Rights Watch: "The proper name for what is going on in Rwanda is genocide." In

this case there was a lack of awareness throughout the world community. If events in Rwanda had been recognized as genocidal from the beginning, further damage might have been prevented. Once the situation in Rwanda was acknowledged as genocide, the attempt of one ethnic group to completely eradicate another, UN forces moved in to resolve the situation.

The unlawful imprisonment that occurred in Somalia is still another example of a violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Such imprisonment is used to deprive people of the rights of speech, association and movement. Sometimes, prisoners are held for voicing their disagreements with governmental policy. Others have been imprisoned because they belong to political or religious groups that are outlawed by their government. In many cases of unlawful imprisonment, prisoners have been sentenced for practicing beliefs which criticized the government. Their incarceration violates Article 9 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states, "No one shall be subject to arbitrary arrest,



1994 Zaire
A Rwandan refugee camp in Zaire (Democratic Republic of Congo)

detention or exile.” Unlawful imprisonment has occurred not only in Somalia, but also in Syria, Vietnam, Brazil, Ethiopia, China, Czechoslovakia, Peru, and Sri Lanka.

These examples are only some of the violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Unrecognized human rights violations occur constantly around the world, but without shared knowledge of them, there is no way that they can be stopped.

INTERVENTIONS IN THE LIVES OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

In 1987, the Yanomamo people on the Brazilian side of the Brazilian/Venezuelan border underwent dramatic and tragic changes due to the eruption of a gold rush in their territory. The gold rush of 1987 has proved to be the most devastating event in Yanomamo history; it is considered to be a “tragedy of enormous proportions,” said Professor N. Chagnon. The gold rush first broke out in a remote region in Brazil called Mucajai, where Brazilian miners explored for gold. At that time, the miners had been asked to leave the inhabited region. They refused the official requests, and argued that if they couldn’t be there, missionaries and other foreigners should not be allowed to stay either. The Brazilian government agreed to the miners’ request and ordered the missionaries and the other foreigners to leave the area as well. Seeing that the area was free of other occupants, 40,000 miners then invaded Mucajai.

This invasion led to a number of ugly incidents. The first involved a clash between a group of miners and a group of Yanomamo, resulting in the death of four Yanomamo. The miners killed the indigenous people with guns and then desecrated their bodies. Over one hundred airstrips appeared in the region almost overnight. Some of these had a general store, brothels, and bars. The miners used hydraulic pumps, which were devastating to the landscape. These sucked the rivers of their gold-bearing ore. The ore would then be passed through troughs along with toxic mercury compounds, to extract the gold from the

mud, sending the poisoned residue flowing freely back into the rivers. The miners have been accused of raping the Yanomamo women and shooting their men and children. Furthermore it is alleged that the miners brought with them new diseases into the region which infected and killed over 1,100 of the indigenous inhabitants. The invasion of the Yanomamo by the miners caused radical changes to the region’s traditional cultural and social structures. Such changes caused the Yanomamo traumatic alterations in “their marriage, kinship, and descent systems.” according to N. Chagnon.

Since the Yanomamo territory is spread between Brazil and Venezuela, the Brazilian miners’ activities eventually extended into Venezuela. This incursion sparked a political conflict between the governments of both countries, and inflicted serious consequences upon the Yanomamo on both sides of the border.

FACT

An estimated 110 million landmines are strewn across our planet in more than 70 countries. 100 million of these landmines are small anti-personnel mines that cannot distinguish between the combat boots of a soldier and the foot fall of an innocent child. Landmines kill and wound over 20,000 people each year.

THE EFFECTS OF CIVIL CONFLICTS UPON NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS AND POLITICS

During the 1990’s, there has been a marked increase in the incidence of civil conflicts around the world, posing serious threats to the stability of governments and altering the political structures of numerous countries. Only recently, the world watched in amazement as the Soviet Union disintegrated, and the totalitarian political system of the USSR collapsed into fifteen different states, ending the once-powerful communist system.

Suddenly the Cold War was dealt a mortal blow, and the world seemed to be a safer place. There were talks of people reaping the so-called "peace dividend," as well as enormous optimism about changing the system of the world for the better. At the time, President Bush noted, "A new world order is struggling to be born ... where the rule of law supplants the rule of the jungle; a world in which nations recognize the shared responsibility for freedom and justice. A world where the strong respect the rights of the weak."

Little did the world realize that the Cold War had served as a deterrent to internal conflicts while acting as a source for stability within the international community. It soon became apparent that rising powers and declining powers would find themselves in conflict over such issues as territorial rights and the control of resources.

On every continent, we are witnessing increasing social separatism and fragmentation, engendered by differences in ethnic groups, race and religion. Once politically stable nation states are now threatened with disunion, as illustrated by Quebec's secession movement in Canada and the Scottish separatists in the United Kingdom. Europe has seen the breakup of many states, including Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, while many of the new smaller countries have their own separatist movements.

Currently, nationalism has become the major cause of conflicts around the world. With the decline of internal structures and the emergence of uncontrolled rivalries, the stability and economies of many countries have been seriously undermined. Secessionist movements in several of the 15 republics of the former Soviet Union have ushered in a new age of "Balkanization." This phenomenon is not simply confined to the former communist world. In other parts of the world, civil conflicts and ethnic rivalries have also intensified. The

Kurds have attempted to break away from Iraq, and are also attempting to achieve greater autonomy in Iran and Turkey. Fighting between Muslims in the north of the Sudan and non-Muslims in the south flared up, Somalia became a source of clan warfare, tribal violence between Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda erupted, and countless other vicious civil conflicts continue to shock the world. Such ethnically based rivalries present a problem of fragmentation that poses a serious threat to the political stability and domestic social fabric of many countries. This political and social fragmentation has placed several countries at risk of additional violence and even total collapse.

Loyalty to the state, traditionally the basis of successful government, is breaking down, especially when people feel it no longer serves their needs. Efforts to forge a new world order based on common democratic values have been stymied by rising civil conflicts and the resurgence of powerful religious and ethnic feelings. The war in the Balkans points to a new age of barbarism, where passion prevails over reason. The voices of tolerant political reason and morality, embodied in the secular-minded Bosnian government, have been extinguished by ethnic rivalries and horrendous violence and brutality. There is growing concern that the crisis in Bosnia has the potential to undermine tolerance and democracy in Western Europe.

In many countries, accountability and



1981
Chad repatriation. N'Djamena, a city destroyed.

justification are non-existent with the collapse of old political structures. Tolerance of cultural and ethnic differences has been seriously eroded, and the potential for greater fragmentation cannot be minimized. Clearly, the course taken by civil and ethnic conflicts has had a profound effect on international stability as shown by the many political shifts in the world. The question remains whether this is a transitional period or the dawn of a new and frightening age in world politics. Given the current situation, with the alarming increase in civil conflicts, it appears that the role of the state, as the principle source of political organization and power, may be diminished as a primary focus of political loyalty and activity in the international community. It is reasonable to anticipate that turbulent times lie ahead and that new political structures are evolving. Perhaps smaller political structures in which people will have to learn to coexist peacefully with one another, may be the ultimate profile of the new world order.

FACT

In 1994, the value of world trade in major weapons was US \$ 22 billion, less than half its value in 1985. The value of world trade in light weapons, such as handguns, is unknown and uncontrollable.

MOTIVATIONS FOR INTERVENTION

When civil conflicts arise, nations not directly concerned with the matter at hand may ask themselves, "should we get involved?" The answers to this question may be backed up by various rationalizations, making the final decision of whether or not to intervene one that must be weighed very carefully.

Countries may choose to intervene for a variety of reasons including pressures from the citizens of conflicting countries or to prevent the spread of war between opposing countries. The dominance of the news media, which hastens the rapid spread of current events around the globe, often arouses the sympathy of

foreign citizens who identify with the conflicts they hear so much about. Citizens of uninvolved industrialized nations may empathize with the plight of the warring countries, and urge intervention to resolve the problems of developing countries, because they may fear becoming involved in the conflict as well.

Intervening countries are usually motivated by their own interests, often combined with humanitarian reasons. These interests may be political, economic or military; or a strategic combination of reasons, to spread power and influence. Because intervening countries often place their own interests at the forefront, it is important that they are motivated to intervene in a conflict from which they cannot gain. But are these self-serving interests mutually beneficial to both the intervening and conflicting nations? When does intervention cross the line to become a form of invasion? When human rights violations are addressed, along with such issues as economic growth and higher standing in the global community, an intervening nation may find itself getting more deeply involved than it originally anticipated when it joined a relief effort or military action.

What happens when a country helps to create or exacerbate a conflict in order to benefit from the intervention? This question goes beyond simple opportunism and becomes an unethical attack on the global community itself. Such actions take a negative toll on the values surrounding the purposes of intervention and lead to a degradation of intervention in itself.

Regarding South Korea's experiences with intervention, we can find a good example of the 'gray area' which may arise from outside intervention. However, some historians and scholars of the Korean war have argued that the actions of the United States may have increased the possibilities of conflict between Koreans. If these scholars are correct, US involvement in the Korean War may have been a strategic and effective maneuver to gain power and influence in the Pacific rim.

If intervention is necessary to prevent a crisis from becoming a full-scale war, then the global community would probably agree that it should be put into effect. If intervention benefits the intervening country or countries while directly addressing and resolving the conflict, the global community may also feel that intervention is a reasonable solution for

everyone involved. If the possibility of intervention is overlooked and the conflict is allowed to continue, the global community should be held accountable for not responding. The world would frown upon those nations who had the authority, military and political power to intervene and chose not to--an action which could have made a difference.

THE FUNCTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN CIVIL CONFLICTS

The United Nations is the organization which deals with civil conflicts and threats to international peace. Its main functions through the Security Council are to maintain international peace and security; develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; to co-operate internationally in solving economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems to promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and to be a center for harmonizing the actions in attaining these common ends, as referred to in the UN Charter.

When a problem arises, the Security Council decides what measures of embargo and severance of diplomatic relations should be taken. If, however, the dispute leads to a state of war, the Council will try to bring the fighting to an end through a cease-fire request. The UN and the Council will attempt to find a peaceful solution to end the war, preventing casualties, and rectify the multiple problems which arise from war.

The Security Council may set up a commission or nominate a representative to go directly to the conflict site to negotiate with all the conflicting parties for a cease-fire or a peaceful resolution. If the cease-fire is accepted by the warring parties, the Security Council then sets up a UN peace-keeping mission in the fighting area. The mission of peace-keeping is to neutralize the conflict of the warring parties by separating them.

By 1995, there had been 34 UN peace-keeping missions, 17 of which were still in operation. Some examples of successful missions include those between Lebanon and Israel, Syria and Israel and

India and Pakistan. In Cyprus, and in other areas of the world, the UN is still involved because Greek and Turkish Cypriots have not yet arrived at a peaceful solution to their problems.

The peace dividend that results from successful peace-keeping efforts is that the war has been contained and fatalities have been curtailed. In the meantime, each warring party still has the opportunity to devote its resources to developing its economy to benefit its population.

After the end of the Cold War in 1989, when the Berlin Wall had fallen, then Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali introduced a new concept of peace-keeping in the manual, *An Agenda For Peace*, published by the United Nations. This agenda's two main ideas are "to seek to identify at the earliest possible stage situations that could produce conflict, and to try through diplomacy to remove the sources of danger before violence results" and "where conflict erupts, to engage in peacemaking aimed at resolving the issues that have led to conflict." On the basis of these two initiatives, and with the five permanent member states of the Security Council and all other member states, the world has avoided the spillover of local crises into regional or world wars. Cases of successful containment include Bosnia and ex-Yugoslavia, Rwanda and Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

CONFLICT-RESOLUTION STRATEGIES

Recorded human history indicates that people have been fighting for thousands of years. However, it is only in the last fifty or so years that we have begun seriously and systematically to accumulate knowledge about how conflicts arise and are resolved. Today, such groups as the National Conference on Peace Making and Conflict Resolution study "conflict analysis and resolution" as a recognized and respected field of study and practice.

There are three ways in which conflicts are usually resolved. One is through the domination of one side over the other, as many conflicts throughout history have ended. When this occurs, the conflict ends simply because the stronger party defeats its

opponent. The second scenario occurs when two sides reach a compromise. This usually happens after long and bloody wars, when both sides have realized that it is futile to continue the fighting. One side may believe it has a chance at victory, but will calculate that a compromise is the better solution. For instance, a compromise may be achieved if the fighting is deemed to be too expensive to continue or if winning on the battlefield would mean losing too many lives. A third possible outcome to a conflict is re-orientation, where the fighting stops because the two sides join together to focus their attention on a new problem. Compromise and re-orientation are preferred solutions to conflict resolution, because they are non-violent means of restoring peace.

Civil conflicts almost always affect the global community. There is also the question of whether or not the global community has a right or an obligation to intervene in civil conflicts and to what extent intervention should be enforced. However, once the decision has been made to intervene, new

problems of fairness arise. How can the global community make sure that fairness between the contenders is successfully achieved in the resolution of civil conflicts?

First of all, if a member of the global community decides to intervene, it is essential that they fully understand the situation and task they are undertaking. When planning different steps to resolve a conflict, those involved need to understand the specific causes and circumstances that led up to the conflict. Sometimes, this task is very difficult because a conflict may be centuries-old and based on many different, complex and interrelated factors. The second step is to employ the standards of international law and universally accepted moral standards found in the Declaration of Human Rights in order to craft the best possible solution, one that proves acceptable to both sides. The third step that the intervening authority must take is to use its influence and power to persuade the warring parties to stop the conflict. This must also be done according to international law and accepted moral standards, because the goal is not just to stop the conflict at any cost, but to make sure that the solution is fair and acceptable to both sides. However this is not always possible.

This vital step does not necessarily entail the use of force to achieve its objective. Conflicts can be resolved by non-violent means. Such "creative solutions" are what the global community is looking for. These may include economic sanctions, international isolation or the creation of a negative image for the conflicting parties. Due to the fact that the world is becoming increasingly interconnected, the global community will play an ever-increasing role as mediator. Finding resolutions to conflicts that are fair and which do not involve more violence is crucial to the elimination of future threats of civil and regional wars.



1994 Cambodia
A Rally for the new constitution.

FACT

The UN spent nearly two billion US dollars overseeing Cambodia's transition to peace. The refugees returned and a new government was elected. But in 1995 and 1996 fighting continued in western areas.

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN THE CONFLICT IS OVER?

What happens when social disintegration, catastrophe and violence finally end? In places such as Rwanda, Bosnia and Cambodia, The UNDP (United Nations Development Program) helps survivors to rebuild those institutions of governance and justice whose failures led to conflict and whose restoration is essential to preventing another outbreak of civil unrest. International officials come together to discuss how the elements for a sustainable democracy are being assembled and reconstructed.

The most promising hopes for good governance come from those community leaders who have empowered their fellow citizens to improve their own lives, and allow them to become key participants in policy and decision-making processes. Many of these local representatives will attend governance conferences to discuss and plan for the emergence of civilian structures such as political parties and for local leadership roles in their countries.

Politicians attending reconstruction conferences can report on how political campaigns are run in their countries. These officials can discuss the challenges of ensuring that elections are free and fair in nations with few democratic traditions, as well as opportunities resulting from high voter enthusiasm and turnout levels that are frequently higher than those in more established democracies.

One of the pillars of a healthy democracy is a vibrant and fair news establishment. Only when citizens receive open information regarding their government and elections can they fully participate in the election process. UNDP representatives have assisted local journalists in covering elections in countries ranging from Liberia to Kazakhstan, and in understanding the role played by the media in fostering government accountability and enhancing citizen participation.

Near-epidemic corruption threatens to destroy nascent efforts to achieve good governance as a means of sustainable development in countries worldwide. The UNDP helps countries to develop systemic reforms that not only root-out corruption but also build enduring institutions to prevent their recurrence.

GOVERNANCE IN POST-CRISIS SITUATIONS

During civil wars and other crises, institutions that protect the vulnerable are often the first to be destroyed. They are also among the first institutions that must be restored to prevent future conflicts and catastrophes. The UNDP steps in to restore judicial and public administration capacities, build consensus and implement peace accords.

In Guatemala, the peace accords ending thirty-six years of civil conflict provide a comprehensive blueprint for rebuilding the political and social institutions necessary to ensure future peace and democracy. The UNDP helped to implement the peace accords by assisting comprehensive judicial reform to help improve criminal justice procedures and administration, enhance human rights protections and help integrate former combatants into civilian life. Further areas of UNDP assistance include training judges, establishing a public ombudsman system and creating a police force independent of the military.

In Rwanda, judicial reform was necessary due to the 1994 genocide and subsequent mass exodus in which Rwanda lost most of its judicial personnel. Today, there is an urgent need to rebuild the country's judicial system to ensure that trials against imprisoned genocide suspects can proceed according to due process of law. Reconciliation and the peaceful reintegration of returning refugees depend on Rwanda's capacity to render justice. Consequently, UNDP works together with the Ministry of Justice to train judicial personnel, and re-equip tribunals, courts of appeal, and prosecutorial offices with essential material. So far, UNDP has trained 50 public prosecution officers, 100 magistrates and 400 civilian prison guards. The project has also helped to improve prison conditions for the approximately 100,000 people in detention.

For Palestinian self-rule to succeed on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, public administration, planning and policy development must be improved. This is one main area of UNDP assistance. The UNDP helps enhance the capacities of the Palestinian ministries, municipalities and village councils, and civil organizations. It also helps identify longer-term initiatives essential to the overall development of the

Palestinian territories.

After Paraguay's 1989 general elections, the government requested technical cooperation to help with human rights issues. The UNDP and the United Nations Centre for Human Rights (UNCHR) responded, established a joint office in the country to incorporate international human rights standards into the Constitution and national legislation, and to formulate state reports to human rights committees. To date, UNDP and UNCHR have reviewed more than 20 laws to ensure compatibility with international standards. For example, penal procedure now provides for public hearings. And, for the first time in decades, the attorney general is empowered to receive and act upon communications regarding human rights violations. Paraguay has also ratified several international covenants, such as the American Convention on Human Rights. UNDP and UNCHR provided consultants, fellowships and documentation; helped organize workshops and human rights training, and works to strengthen human rights and civil society organizations.

In Kyrgyzstan, where harsh living conditions and the collapse of social safety nets threaten to undermine that country's nascent democracy, the government asked UNDP to help enhance human rights and strengthen democratic institutions. In addition, a project to develop a ministerial department

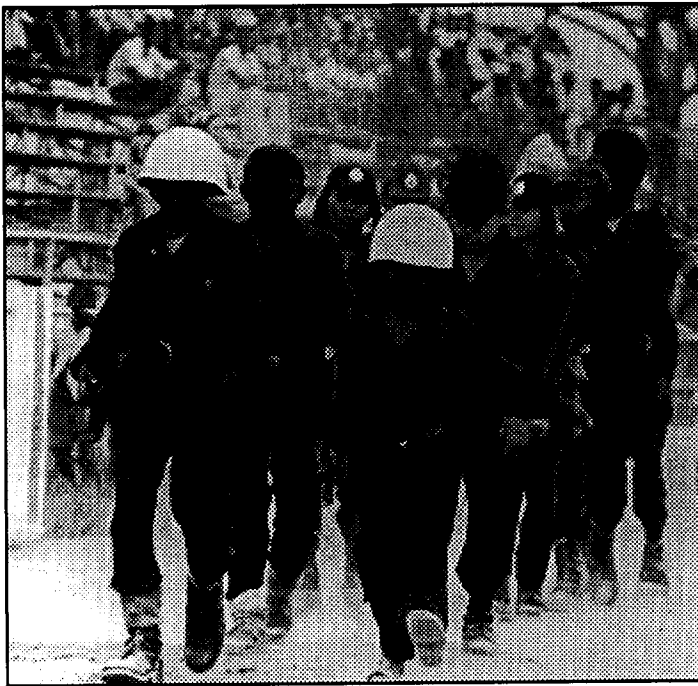
responsible for fighting organized crime, drug trafficking and corruption was later started with separate financing.

In many countries in Africa, the United Nations Development Fund For Women (UNIFEM) initiated an international program to allow African women to articulate their priorities on citizenship rights and political participation in African democracy movements. The program provided training to women candidates for public office in several African nations.

MIGRATION

The problem of migration of African refugees continues to grow rapidly in many nations. The United Nations Convention defines a refugee as someone who has fled their motherland due to the concern of being persecuted for belonging to a particular race, religion, nationality, specific social group or having certain political opinions. In 1997, as many as 90 million people, or 1 out of every 70 people, were living outside their country of birth as migrants or refugees. Of the number, about 75 million are international migrant workers and their dependents, while about 13 million are refugees. The main question that arises from this situation is why are there so many people today so far away from home? In these days of economic uncertainty, do the host countries have the right to be intolerant or is prejudice blinding them to certain advantages of migration? There are several reasons why people seek refuge in different countries. Millions of emigrants leave their home country each year because of poverty or persecution and are in search of improving their way of life. Around one million people migrate to other countries permanently each year, while hundreds of thousands more seek political asylum. Added to this are millions of refugees who are driven from their homeland by war or natural disasters.

Throughout the world, the 'official' attitude towards immigration is similar. Governments tend to welcome highly skilled professionals, but do not relish the prospect of large numbers of unskilled workers. Concerns about immigrant workers have been compounded in recent years by massive flows of



1994
Children being train for the military.

refugees and asylum-seekers. As of January 1996, there were about 13 million who became official refugees as the result of internal wars or of new states coming to terms with internal ethnic or political divisions. Most of the burden of migration is born by developing countries, as the vast majority of refugees move from one developing country to another. One-third are in Africa, with Rwanda as just one example. However, with improved international communications and transportation, many more refugees are heading for industrial countries.

Although politicians sometimes try to make sharp distinctions between 'genuine' refugees seeking asylum and people who are 'merely' trying to improve their economic position, the definition of a refugee is actually quite blurred. This is partly because wars cause massive economic disruption, so refugees usually tend to be poverty-stricken in addition to fleeing for political reasons. Some migrants choose to slip from one category to another, according to the opportunities that arise. Many political refugees in the

1960's found it easier to cross borders as migrant workers. Nowadays, the position is reversed: with labor immigration closed off, many economic migrants are knocking on the "asylum door." This accounts for the massive increase in the number of asylum applications in Western Europe and North America. From less than 100,000 in 1983, applications peaked at over 800,000 in 1992. This influx caused most countries to tighten their immigration regulations.

Stopping immigration may satisfy populist political sentiment, but it is doubtful that it makes economic sense. Apart from making a useful contribution to the labor force, immigrants can also make a positive demographic contribution. Many industrialized countries are facing steadily aging populations, and will therefore have fewer active workers to support a growing number of retired people (by 2010, there will be more Europeans drawing pensions than contributing to them). Immigration can help rejuvenate the working



1995 Rwanda

Dead bodies are piled on top of one another and removed from the streets in the back of a pick-up truck.

population, although it would have to take place on a massive scale to have a significant impact on the age profile. For example, to maintain the minimum dependency ratio of about three workers to each dependent, Canada, would need to increase annual flows of immigrants by around 50%.

Despite this phenomenon, governments are still under pressure to reduce the inflow of immigrants. The tension caused by this situation usually conceals an argument about other issues, such as race, with immigrants getting caught in the crossfire.

Emigration also has a major impact on the countries left behind. It eases unemployment pressures somewhat, and also brings in flows of foreign exchange, as money gets sent home from foreign countries, though these advantages must be offset against the potential 'brain drain' of some of the younger and more ambitious people.

Migration pressures seem likely to increase in the foreseeable future, as poor people in developing countries look in desperation for work overseas or across borders. Better economic prospects at home

will eventually staunch the flows, as occurred in the poorer nations of Europe such as Spain and Italy, (which in recent years have switched to being countries with net immigration). For the poorest nations, such reversals will take a longer period of time. In the short term, economic development is more likely to accelerate emigration because of the social disruption it causes. Not only does it uproot traditional communities and drive people from the countryside to the cities, it also gives them greater cash income, therefore providing the money they need to migrate overseas. Only when development offers sufficient incentives to stay at home will rates of emigration fall.

High numbers of refugees produce a nervous reaction in receiving countries. Some of this response is considered racist. While there are undoubtedly high concentrations of immigrants in ghettos as they join their compatriots or simply head for the cheapest place to live, overall immigrant figures are by historical standards not particularly high: the proportion of foreign citizens in European countries, for example, is generally less than five per cent. And



1995 Rwanda
A Rwandan intersection is littered with corpses

while immigration to the US in 1996 was substantial - 911,000 people - this still falls short of the peak year of 1914 when 1.2 million people entered the country. At the beginning of the century, the total US population was only around one-third of today's, so that the impact of 1996's immigration was accordingly smaller.

Migration causes tensions not only in the area directly concerned, but it also affects the social and political well-being of the global community. People worry that others of a different color or a different language group will overwhelm their culture and economic status. Hearing a 'babble' of foreign languages can also be disturbing, but immigrants know that in order to get a good job they need to learn the local language. Children invariably learn the host language at school, often acting as interpreters for their parents. Within a couple of generations, the immigrant community has generally accepted the host language as their first one. Others worry about the economic impact - nervous that immigrants are going to 'steal' their jobs. Such fears may be understandable, but are in most cases unfounded. Immigration certainly increases population, and therefore, the

number of job-seekers, but employment and unemployment have little connection with population size or density: In 1997, the highest unemployment rate, 22 per cent, was in Spain (population 40 million), while virtually the lowest unemployment rate, 3.3 per cent, was in Japan (125 million). In practice, immigrants do not substitute for local workers but rather complement them - often doing the '3-d' work, the 'dirty, dangerous, and difficult' jobs that the locals refuse to do. Another economic concern is that immigrants will swamp social services such as education, health and welfare. Refugees who arrive traumatized in their new countries are obviously more likely to need considerable support. Concerns about immigration are usually greatest at times of economic difficulty.

Poverty is also a chief concern nowadays due to the belief that it will drive people in increasing numbers from developing to industrialized countries. Since the end of Apartheid, many more Africans from all over the continent have been heading for South Africa, where the government is becoming increasingly defensive, expelling well over 135,000 aliens in 1996. In 1997, it was estimated that the number of illegal immigrants ranged from two to five million, or approximately twelve per cent of the population.

According to recent statistics on this matter, four of the leading countries which produce refugees are Rwanda, Liberia, Somalia and Angola. In Rwanda's case, the main countries of asylum are Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda and The Democratic Republic of Congo. For Liberia, the hosting countries are generally Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana and Nigeria. Somalian refugees are usually hosted by nations such as Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya and Yemen. For Angolans, the countries of



Soldiers learning to use imported weaponry.

asylum are Congo, Zambia, The Democratic Republic of Congo and Namibia. The number of refugees who have left Rwanda is approximately 1.7 million; the number who have left Liberia, 750,000, the number from Somalia, 446,000 and the number from Angola, 324,000. The majority of these asylum seekers are young men in their twenties.

Emigration continues to be a constant struggle and the pressures that arise from it are still overwhelming. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is the main agency offering international legal protection for refugees and assisting in their voluntary repatriation or resettlement. Within refugee camps, however, many other agencies, particularly non-governmental ones, such as Oxfam and Save the Children, help provide food, medical care and other forms of relief as they would in any other emergency. A favorable light has been shed on the dilemma of refugees and progress continues to be made. The total number of refugees has fallen slightly in recent years as some of the political turbulence of the early 1990's has subsided.

FACT

The International Civilian Mission in Haiti (MICIVIH) was created in February 1993, during the coup d'etat, at the request of President Aristide. The Mission is dedicated to verifying respect for human rights. It is the first joint mission between the United Nations and a regional organization, the Organization of American States. On April 3, 1991, the Security Council adopted a nine-part resolution which called for a formal cease-fire after the Gulf conflict provided that Iraq agreed to all the terms and conditions of the resolutions. Under the terms of resolution 687 (1991), Iraq was required to cooperate in UN-supervised identification and destruction of its nuclear, biological and chemical capabilities. To oversee this work, the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) was established.

THE CAUSE OF ETHNIC CONFLICTS

Over the past few years the international community has faced an ever-growing problem: ethnic conflict. Even though ethnic conflicts are highly publicized, the root causes of this specific type of conflict are often mistaken, overlooked and misunderstood. The majority of ethnic conflicts are not always fueled by historic disputes which eventually boil over. They are more likely to be sparked by an ethnic group's sense of uncertainty and their subsequent fear for the future of their people. This fear can manifest itself in various ways. One culture may feel that their identity is being threatened by another, and this may lead them to take steps towards justifying and defending their status.

There are three main theories explaining why ethnic conflicts arise: the primordial, the instrumentalist, and the constructivist theories. The primordial theory claims that ethnic tension and conflict is natural because differences in ethnicity are inherent biologically and usually culturally. The instrumentalist theory claims that ethnicity is used as a political tool by groups seeking power to reach a desired political aim. Finally, the constructivist theory claims that ethnic conflicts are beyond the control of any ethnic group because they are the result of social systems that cannot be controlled.

In some cases, the causes lie not in the differences in culture. Rather circumstances and the subsequent pressures hovering over ethnic groups result in conflict. Another cause of ethnic conflict is a government's inability to provide reliable protection for each ethnic group in the nation. When the central control deteriorates, ethnic groups may be apprehensive about their protection and may deem it necessary to take matters into their own hands. This places government weakness at the forefront of causes for ethnic conflict.

Competition for resources by two or more ethnic groups may also lead to ethnic conflict. Scarce resources include anything from jobs to property rights. Political power often controls access to these scarce resources. Thus, the control of political power comes to be a central theme in ethnic conflict.

Problems also arise when there is an ethnic power shift. Usually, when power between two ethnic groups is equally shared, the balance between the two ensures a fair distribution of power and of resources.

It is evident that there are a number of dangerous flashpoints which can often result in the ethnic conflicts that are sweeping parts of the world today. It is vital that the international community comes to understand the steps leading up to the outbreaks of ethnic conflict and to learn to deal with them effectively to prevent the tragic outbreak of these conflicts.

INTERFERENCE OF OUTSIDE POLITICAL PARTIES ON INTERNAL CONFLICTS

Outside political parties have interfered in civil conflicts throughout history. The legitimacy of such interventions has been widely contested. In some cases, the outside country has been justified in its intervention actions and in others there were no acceptable reasons for the invasion.

A controversial case of outside intervention came in the 1960's when Australia became involved in Vietnam. Initially, Australia provided only financial support to the Republic of Vietnam, but later, it changed its policy and shifted towards a more militaristic approach. Officially, Australia came into the war at the request of the South Vietnamese government in order to safeguard Southeast Asia from Communism. The true reason was later discovered. Australia joined the war for the sole purpose of maintaining good relations with the United States.

Another case of unwanted intervention came when the United States indicated that it might protect the Chechnyans against a Russian assault. This would have been an incorrect decision according to many experts, including PNS commentator Sanjay Banerjee, a professor of International Relations at San Francisco State University. He said that the US intervention would only intensify the conflict: "It would be wrong for outsiders to intervene. That would only make the situation worse and prolong the conflict. The Russians and Chechnyans, along with many other minorities in Russia, share a common history."

In the Gulf War of 1992, the United States gave economic reasons for its intervention in the Persian Gulf. President George Bush declared: "Our country now imports half the oil it consumes and could face a major threat to its economic independence." The justification was questioned. The United States wanted to maintain low oil prices. Jacob Hornberger commented that "To choose the death of our fellow citizens over a relatively small economic discomfort is an abomination."

Nations must carefully analyze the delicate ramifications of each intervention in a conflict. They must not only pursue their own interests, but also focus on the needs of the countries involved in the conflict and judge every possible intervention very carefully before taking irrevocable action.

FACT

In Cambodia only 13.5 square kilometers were cleared of land mines between 1992 and 1995, the first three years of the mine clearance program, on the most optimistic assessment, it will take another thirty years to clear the rest.

THE EFFECTS OF MASS IMMIGRATION

Thousands of people emigrate from their native countries each year and settle in different countries all over the world. There are many reasons why they decide to flee their homelands, but it is often prompted by severe population pressures, rural unemployment, racial and/or political persecution, or the attraction of economic opportunities in the country of destination. Some of the countries able to incorporate large numbers of immigrants into their society are South Africa, Australia and the United States.

When people migrate in small numbers, it is not so much of a problem for the host countries because these immigrants tend to spread out and merge with existing residents and assimilate their customs and beliefs. Even though these immigrants integrate, many continue to practice their own

religions and uphold their customs in the privacy of their own homes.

It is an altogether different matter when large numbers of one specific ethnic group decide to settle in one area of the host country, since the local population may feel overwhelmed and believe that their own culture is being diluted. This can often lead to hostile feelings between the two groups which then degenerate into far more severe situations. Immigrants are inclined to settle in such large numbers because it gives them a sense of security, identity, and unity. Since they are living all together, there is no need for them to blend-in with the surrounding population, they can continue leading lives similar to the ones they led in their homelands, which prevents them from assimilating and reinforces their traditions and beliefs.

Problems often arise when these groups of people start to make demands on the local government for their own schools in which their own beliefs can be taught, private religious establishments, and individual commodities to cater for their needs. These kinds of demands may lead to hostility among different ethnic groups because the local residents begin to feel isolated in their own communities; they feel as though their hometowns are no longer their own.

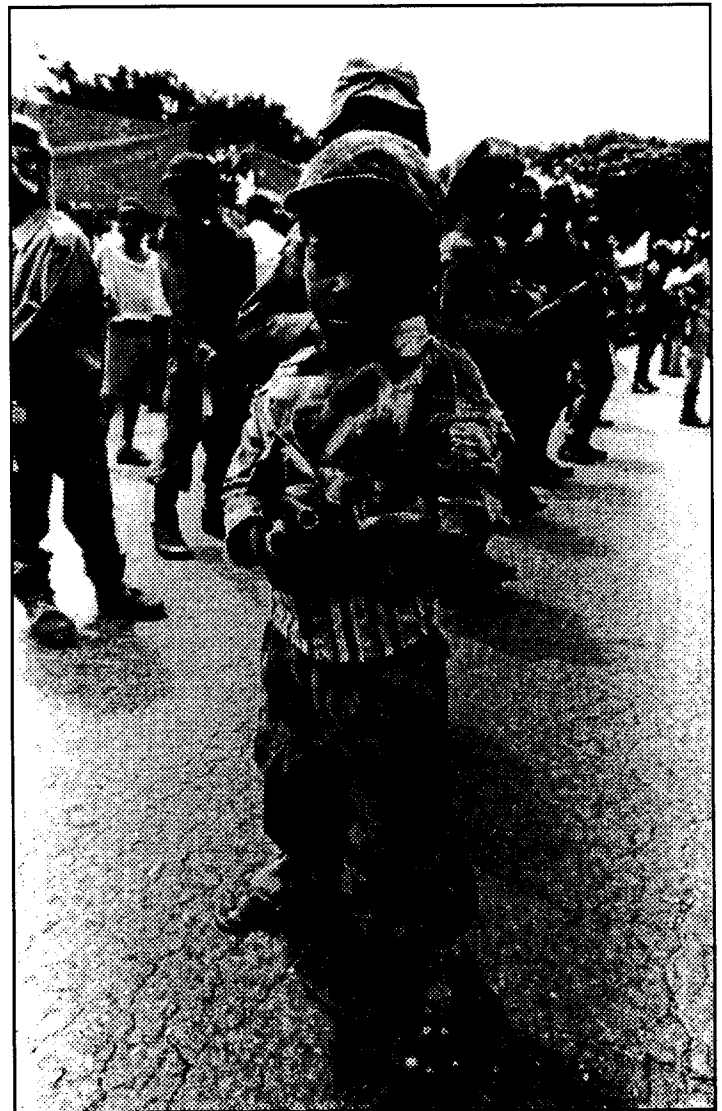
In the beginning, the area in which they settle seems like a safe haven for immigrants, but as time progresses, they begin to realize that the only opportunities for their personal success are to be found outside their close-knit environments. Future generations tend to leave their communities in search of greater opportunities which they have come to expect as a result of greater educational achievements than those of their parents. They desire to leave the immigrant communities as strongly as their forefathers did when they first left their homeland.

The governments of many host countries have tried to cut down on such great numbers entering their countries each year by passing anti-immigration acts and laws because they feel that mass immigration may hurt employment, housing and social service opportunities for the existing population. In most countries, governments have failed to adequately enforce these acts and reforms, thus limiting their effectiveness.

The numbers of immigrants looking for occupations in the host country are sometimes viewed

as unwanted competition by those already living there. In turn, higher unemployment and lower wages among the poor make turning to welfare or resorting to crime more likely. Shortages of jobs may even result in some illegal immigrants being turned in to authorities by prejudiced individuals who want to find a scapegoat for all their troubles.

Although mass immigration is often viewed as a negative event, immigration *per se* can be an enriching experience for those prepared to embrace different cultures and different peoples.



In Africa many children have been recruited into civil conflicts.



June 1974
Members of Israeli Armed Forces (in the background) prepare to withdraw from their position. Members of the UNDOF forces look on.

CASE STUDIES

THE REBUILDING OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

The Democratic Republic of Congo, one of Africa's richest nations, has experienced a long period of turmoil since 1991, when President/Dictator Mobutu Sese Seko saw his supreme

rule challenged by rebel leader Laurent Desire Kabila. Six years later, on May 17, 1997, Mobutu resigned his power. This marked the end of an era under which the country had suffered the iron fisted rule of a dictator. Mobutu, during his 32-year rule, had embezzled money from UN relief funds. Now the newly "freed" people of The Democratic Republic of Congo are both celebrating their victory while looking forward to their promised freedom

In late 1965, Mobutu installed himself as President of what was then the Democratic Republic of Congo. In 1966, Mobutu established a presidential form of government. The change was formalized into a new constitution which was adopted in 1967. During his early years as President, Mobutu introduced political stability to the country and ruled with a strong hand, emphasizing a return to African authenticity. There were a number of short-lived regionally based revolts and students occasionally protested his allegedly dictatorial rule. Some foreign-owned mining firms were nationalized, and in 1966 the European names of several cities were replaced by African names; for example, what was once Leopoldville became Kinshasa.

In 1970, Mobutu's political party, the MPR, was declared the only legal party. Mobutu was elected to a seven-year term as President, thus starting his long rule. In 1971, the country's name was changed to Zaire. A poor economy remained Zaire's greatest problem in the early 1980s. The nation's foreign debt was rescheduled in 1981, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) extended a billion-dollar infusion into the Zairian economy. Further aid in 1983 and 1984 followed a currency devaluation and other austerity measures. In 1986, however, Zaire abandoned the IMF program, and the economy took a downturn.

The government again attempted economic reform in 1989. In 1990, facing popular demands for multiparty democracy, Mobutu legalized opposition parties. Discontent with Mobutu intensified in the early 1990's, while Mobutu's wealth increased and the nation's economy deteriorated. Outbreaks of violence and looting led many European and American civilians to flee the country.

In July 1994, refugees from Rwanda began streaming into Zaire due to the outbreak of ethnic war in their native country. More than 1 million Rwandans

gathered in camps along the Zairian border. In 1995, the government of Zaire and the UN struggled to find a method of safely repatriating the refugees. In February of that year, the first 150 of 1500 Zairian troops were sent by the UN to maintain order in the camps. Over a period of four days in August 1995, the Zairian government ordered that refugees be returned to Rwanda. After approximately 15,000 refugees had been forced back into Rwanda, the government was forced to halt the operation in response to international pressure.

In September 1996, near the Hutu refugee camps along the borders with Rwanda and Burundi, a small minority population of Zairian Tutsi known as Banyamulenge became targets of harassment by local non-Tutsi and the Zairian army. Recent national legislation had established new criteria for Zairian citizenship, and locals decided to expel the Banyamulenge, who had lived in the region for about 200 years. The Banyamulenge, armed and trained by the Rwandan government in preparation for such an attack, retaliated and, reinforced by Rwandan Tutsi,

successfully fought off the Zairian army in October. Accompanying tensions between Zaire and Rwanda led to brief cross-border mortar fire around Lake Kivu. By November, the resistance had been organized into the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo (AFDL), led by longtime anti-Mobutu revolutionary Laurent Desire Kabila. Kabila declared that the goal of the AFDL was to overthrow Mobutu and his government. The AFDL began capturing towns and cities near the border, easily defeating the disorganized Zairian army.

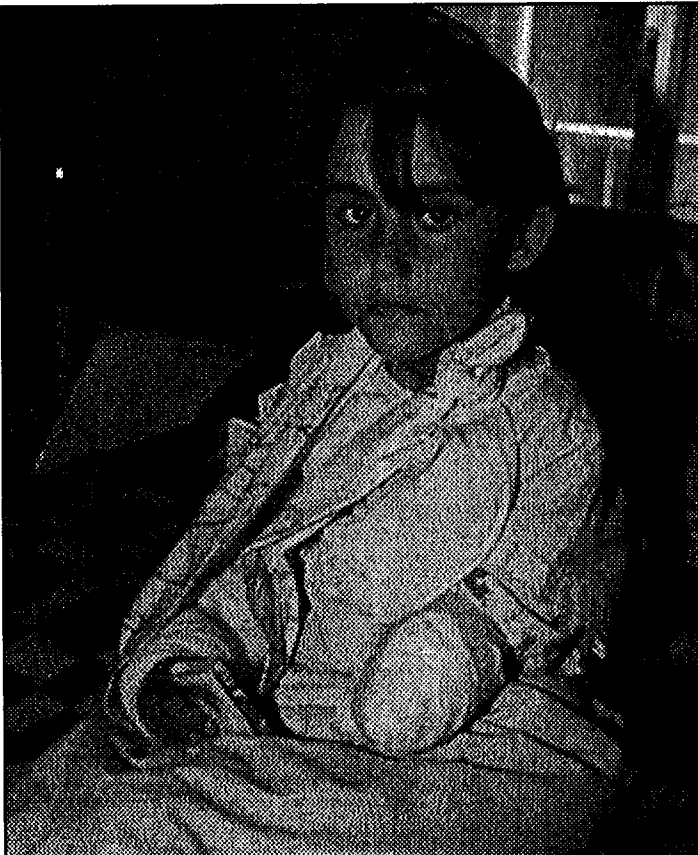
The AFDL annexed more of eastern Zaire in the following months. The Zairian army was consistently routed, as the underpaid and inexperienced soldiers frequently surrendered or fled instead of fighting. Lubumbashi, Zaire's second largest city, fell in April of 1997.

In mid-May, with rebels nearing Kinshasa, Mobutu fled the country. The AFDL captured Kinshasa with minimal resistance, and the rebels found themselves in control of all of Zaire, which was renamed the Democratic Republic of Congo. Kabila declared himself President and promised a democratic constitution with fair and open elections. Former Prime Minister and longtime Mobutu opponent Etienne Tshisekedi clashed with Kabila's new administration in May and June, demanding a leading role in the transitional government.

Today, the future of The Democratic Republic of Congo seems more stable than it was previously. After years of unrest, it may well be on its way to political recovery.

ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN YUGOSLAVIA

Ethnic conflict refers to a clash between groups which may differ from one another in physical features, language, culture or religion. These clashes aren't always violent, although it is to the bloody ones that attention is most often drawn. Nonviolent conflicts are not to be ignored, however, for they frequently plant the seeds for future violence. Recently, ethnic conflict has been the most common form of collective violence in the world. Ethnic cleansing, a term that was first used in the late 1980's,



1993 Bosnia
One of many children to have been injured during the course of the war.

describes the removal of all groups of people except one from a specific region. This is often an important part of ethnic conflict. Two examples of recent ethnic conflict (occurring post cold war) are those in Yugoslavia and Rwanda.

In 1929, the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was renamed Yugoslavia. Then, during the Second World War, a provisional government was set up which was to be the basis of the relatively new country's Constituent Assembly. Soon after, in 1945, Yugoslavia was proclaimed a republic, held together under the powerful and dictatorial leadership of President Tito; he remained a strong leader from 1945 until his death in 1980, keeping the federal state united. In 1989, dissensions in Kosovo between Albanians and Serbs, and in Croatia between Serbs and Croats, brought about inter-ethnic tensions. With the election of new national assemblies in six republics during 1990, Serbs and Croats among others, came increasingly into conflict with the federal government. By 1990 both Croatia and Slovenia announced their right to secede from the Yugoslav federation. Ethnic conflict had erupted. Because of Serb-Croat violence and requests for secession from mainly Serb-inhabited regions of Croatia in May 1991, the federal army was given the green light to restrict the movements of unofficial armed groups. On May 12, 1990, when the Krajina area held a referendum, the majority voted for union with Serbia. The poll was rejected by Croatia. Yugoslavia was left without a head of state after Croatia's representative failed to win the presidency when the five essential voter regions either didn't vote, or abstained. On June 25, Slovenia and Croatia declared independence. Two days later, federal forces moved into Slovenia to secure Yugoslavia's external frontiers. A three-point peace plan was presented by the European Commission (EC) which suggested that Mesic should be elected president, that the army should leave Slovenia, and that Croatia and Slovenia should suspend their declarations of independence for three months. The presidency and the suspension of independence were agreed on almost immediately on June 30. But attempts by federal troops to depart with their tanks were alleged by Slovenia to oppose the terms of the truce and were blocked. On July 2, federal forces made another effort to rescue their troops, and there were more clashes, this time between

federal and Croatian forces. The fighting continued during the summer in Croatia between Croatian forces and Serbian irregulars from mainly Serbian areas of Croatia backed by federal troops. By July 1991, all federal forces were out of Slovenia. At this point, the United Nations intervened. It imposed a mandatory arms embargo on Yugoslavia on September 25, 1991. This proved to be of little help. By October, the conflict had broken out again. The Serbian and Croatian presidents met the EC negotiators at the Hague and agreed to recognize Croatia's independence, with a loose Yugoslav confederation as the basis for peace. Despite this attempt and several others of its kind, the fighting continued. Croatia and Slovenia declared their official independence from the Yugoslav federation, when the three-month agreement expired. The twelve European Community foreign ministers issued an ultimatum that trade sanctions would be imposed if any republic did not comply with a plan for the orderly dissolution of the Yugoslav federation. These sanctions were applied to the whole of Yugoslavia from November 8, but only restricted Serbia for two weeks. The UN supervised a fourteenth cease-fire - the first thirteen having failed - on November 23. This was signed by the presidents of Croatia and Serbia and the federal defense minister. Following a request on November 26 from the federal government, a Security Council resolution of November 27 proposed the development of a UN peace-keeping force if the cease-fire held. The battles, however, did not cease.

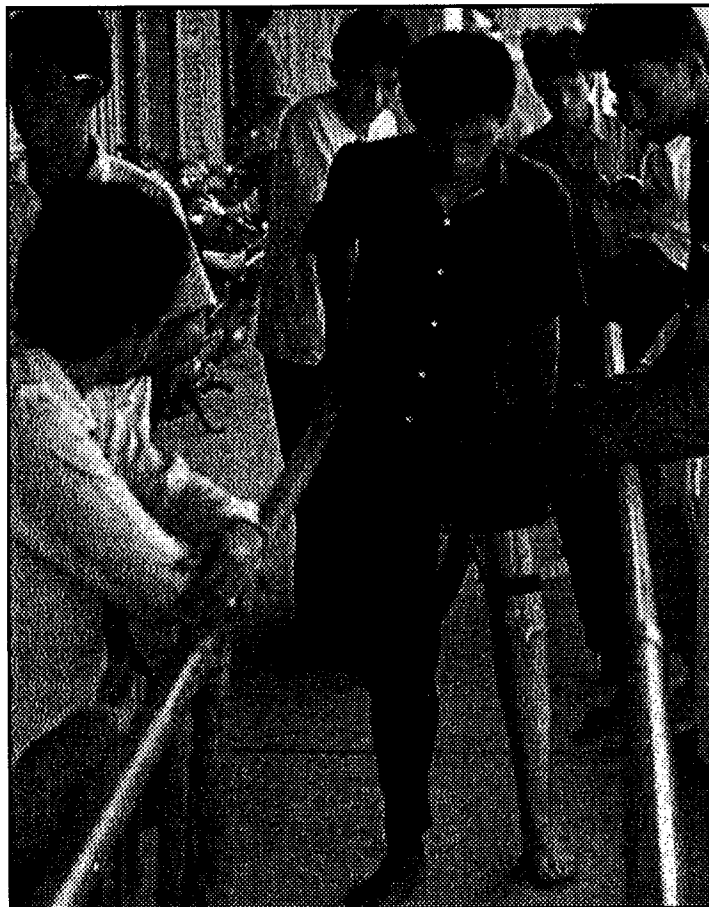
On January 15, 1992 the EC finally recognized the independence of Croatia and Slovenia. Soon to follow were the recognition of the independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia. In another effort to moderate the situation, the UN Security Council decided on February 21 to send a 14,000-strong peace-keeping force to Croatia and Yugoslavia.

On April 27, Montenegro and Serbia announced the formation of a federal republic of Yugoslavia with themselves as the legal successor to the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). In response to continued Serbian military activities in Bosnia and Croatia, on May 30 the UN Security Council voted to impose sanctions. These involved a total ban on trade, the suspension of air links, the withdrawal of diplomats, the seizure of financial assets, and the cancellation of sporting and

cultural exchanges.

In mid-1992, the EC countries had already committed air, sea, and even land forces to enforce the UN sanctions and to protect humanitarian relief operations in Bosnia. Some thirty countries and all former republics of Yugoslavia endorsed a plan to end the fighting in Croatia and Bosnia, install UN supervision of weapons, recognize the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina and return refugees at a joint UN-EC peace conference on Yugoslavia.

At a later conference in Geneva on September 30, the Croatian and Yugoslav presidents agreed to make efforts to bring about a peaceful solution in Bosnia, but again, the fighting went on. On September 22, the UN resolved that the self-proclaimed Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of Serbia and Montenegro could not be in the General Assembly on the grounds that it could not automatically assume the seat of the former SFRY. Attempts to calm the conflict were failing left and right, but the UN Security Council persisted. On November 16, it voted for sanctions to be



August 1992
Many Cambodians, like this man, have lost their limbs due to landmine explosions.

strengthened, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the EC agreed to lend naval support to their enforcement. Yet again, peacetalks were held in Geneva in January 1993. On February 22, it was decided by the UN Security Council that a war-crimes tribunal would be set up to examine violations of Human Rights in the former SFRY. A court was inaugurated at the Hague on November 17, 1993. Work began in August 1994. In 1995, the tribunal was merged into the International Tribunal for Yugoslavia and Rwanda sitting at the Hague. Further, after Serbian president Milosovic announced that Yugoslavia would no longer send supplies to the Bosnian Serbs and would attempt to place international monitors on its borders, on September 24 1994, the UN Security Council lifted the non-trade sanctions against Yugoslavia affecting civil aviation, culture and sport.

By mid 1995 Croatia had regained most of the territory lost to the Serbs in 1991, and in the Autumn after NATO air strikes, Bosnian government forces regained some of the land lost to the Bosnian Serbs. US diplomats then brokered an agreement among the Serbs, Croatians, and Bosnians to divide Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Serb area is largely autonomous and occupies 49% of the territory while the Muslim-Croat federation hold 51%.

CIVIL CONFLICT IN LIBERIA

In Monrovia, Liberia, whenever the gun battles for control of the downtown streets of this capital grew particularly fierce, the leaders of Liberia's warring militias decided that the fighting was too intense to risk the lives of their most experienced men. However, the leaders did not pull back and regroup. Instead, the battle for Monrovia became a bloody all-kid affair, as happens in similar battles in a growing number of conflicts around the world. Indeed, in certain places children are becoming as prominent a feature in conflict as their parents.

Organizations such as Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International observe that no one knows exactly when the practice of using children as combatants first emerged. "It has become a phenomenon mostly of civil conflicts, and typically it



1995 Bosnia
Bosnians survey the wreckage that was once their home.

is the rebel forces who employ child soldiers,” said Lois Whitman, director of the children’s rights project at Human Rights Watch. Today, international human rights organizations are monitoring reports of the use of child combatants in Myanmar, Sudan, Guatemala, Cambodia, and Peru. There are about 30 countries in which children are currently acting as soldiers or have done so in recent years.

Whenever a civil conflict takes place, there are always innocent people involved. People die or become injured and maimed and many become homeless. Women suffer and are often raped, and children suffer abuse. Civil conflicts damage and disrupt entire societies, causing levels of social disintegration that can take generations to redress and repair.

THE RWANDAN CONFLICT

In 1959, an uprising of the Hutu tribe (which makes up a 90 percent majority of the Rwandan population), destroyed the Tutsi feudal hierarchy and overthrew the monarchy. (The Tutsi tribe makes up 9 percent of Rwanda and are mostly of the ruling elite). Elections held under the supervision of the United Nations, resulted in a majority for the republican party and the rejection of the monarchy. Under a decision of the UN General Assembly, the Republic of Rwanda became independent on July 1, 1962.

In October 1990, rebel Tutsi forces of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) invaded from neighboring Uganda. Two years later, on August 14, 1992, an agreement was signed to end the civil war, but the fighting continued. Peace talks in March 1993 resulted in the rebels and the government agreeing to merge forces. A peace agreement was signed on August 4, 1993. On October 5, the UN Security

Council decided to send a peace-keeping force to ensure that the August agreement was being carried out. But on April 6, 1994, President Habyarimana was killed, which triggered the fighting to begin again. Both the Prime Minister of Rwanda and UN personnel were killed during this violent outbreak. Rebel Tutsi forces of the RPF began an attack from the north of the country.

A temporary government was formed on April 10, with Theodore Sindihubwabu as President and Jean Kambada as Prime Minister.

Most UN forces were withdrawn during the massacres of April 1994, but on May 17, the UN Security Council decided to send in a new peace-keeping force of 5,500.

By May 1994, an estimated 860,000 Rwandan refugees had fled to neighboring countries. On June 22, 1994, 2,000 troops from France embarked on a humanitarian mission. The RPF, however, said it would treat the force as invaders. The French troops maintained a 'safe zone' for refugees in the southwest of Rwanda until their withdrawal on August 21, 1994.

The temporary government of Rwanda and the RPF agreed to a cease-fire. On July 6, 1994, at the request of the RPF, a 22-member government of national unity was formed in which eight posts were held by the RPF.

On November 8, 1994, the UN Security Council resolved to set up an international tribunal to try crimes of genocide in Rwanda. It began on June 27, 1995 and later merged with that of Yugoslavia (as mentioned above). On March 8, 1996, UN forces left Rwanda.

Ethnic conflict is a global issue, it occurs everywhere, from Europe to Africa, Asia to South America. In July of 1993, there were 25 ethnic conflicts that involved the regular use of violence, executions, terrorist bombings, lootings, mass killings, rapes, and forced expulsions, by groups to achieve their aims. Peace talks and cease-fires were often ineffective, which made the violence nearly impossible to stop. The world is in need of mechanisms to ensure that groups experiencing conflict will be able to achieve non-violent solutions to their problems.

The war between the Russian Federation and Chechnya has presented unique circumstances for a case study of a civil conflict. It occurred in a post-Soviet context on the territory of a former superpower and a UN Security Council member. Set in a multi-ethnic venue, the conflict has regional overtones and exemplifies warfare conducted without humanitarian pretensions. Still, the war failed to capture the interest of the international community.

The Chechens are one of the more than 50 ethnic groups in the Northern Caucasus, which hugs the eastern shore of the Black Sea and is one of the historical links between Western Europe, Russia, India and Asia. The population of Chechnya is 1.3 million; the capital is Grozny, with 400,000 residents; the main religion is Islam.

Chechnya has been an irritant to Moscow for many years. It took the Russians nearly 50 years and much blood to subdue the Northern Caucasus in a war that did not end until 1864. Nor did Chechen hearts warm much to the central government in this century, when Stalin deported many of them on groundless charges of cooperating with Nazi Germany in World War II.

Dzhokhar Dudayev, the charismatic and nationalist Chechnyan President, opened a new chapter in the hostilities when he declared the region independent from Russia in 1991. It is this secession that the Russian government had hoped to avoid. Led by Dudayev, the Chechens were (and still are) allied with Muslim countries such as Afghanistan and Iran. The Chechens' independence movement found little support in Russia. The Northern Caucasus, where Chechnya is located, is important for the physical defense of the Russian Federation. It is also an area with rapidly shifting political alliances and immensely valuable oil pipeline routes. Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who had been able to quell independence in other regions of the Russian Federation, had no such good fortune with Chechnya.

On December 11, 1994, a period of instability ended with the intervention of the Russian military. The Chechen capital, Grozny, sustained heavy damage from bombing and shelling, killing an estimated 10,000 civilians. Large areas of the city were

destroyed in battles between Russian forces and Chechen fighters. The latter largely withdrew from Grozny to continue fighting from bases in the rural mountainous areas of the south.

In June 1995, an act of terrorism so savage and daring that it quickly gained international attention took place in Budennovsk, a town in southern Russia. A Chechen leader named Shamil Basayev led a hostage-taking raid in which hundreds of residents died before the Chechen returned in a triumphant caravan to their own land. This incident paved the way for a temporary cease-fire, which gradually gave way to further resummptions of hostilities. The seizure by Chechen fighters of the town of Gudermes in December 1995, and another widely-publicized Chechen attack and hostage-taking in January 1996, this time across the eastern frontier at Pervomaiskoye,

Daghestan, marked a new phase in the conflict. Russian activity inside Chechnya increased steadily in the beginning of 1996, while Chechen forces multiplied attacks on the Russians following the death of Dudayev.

While Russia's pro-democracy movement opposed the intervention, the international community chose to keep a hands-off approach. The Clinton Administration, for example, maintained that it shares the goals of the advocates of democracy, but that the Chechen crisis is only a smaller part of a larger puzzle. They also said that Russia's handling of Chechnya was an internal affair, though one Washington hoped would involve a minimal amount of bloodshed. Only when the Russian military stepped up its air strikes, and charges of human rights abuses were levelled by Russian officials, did the Clinton



April 1993

An ammunition crate full of human bones is a grim reminder of the 30-year armed conflict over Eritrea's political status. In the UN supervised referendum, held from 23-25 April, Eritreans voted for independence from Ethiopia.

Administration begin to shift the tone of its comments.

In December 1994, Russia had requested the UN's help to deal with persons displaced as a result of the conflict in Chechnya. UN humanitarian agencies were deployed in January 1995, but their activities were limited to Ingushetia, North Ossetia and Daghestan. There has been no UN involvement in Chechnya with the exception of a federally-sponsored visit by an official from the UN Commission for Human Rights (UNCHR).

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) received permission from the Russian Federation to field a six-member assistance group to Grozny in April 1995. The OSCE participated in brokering a cease-fire in July 1995.

Although the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has been actively involved in disseminating humanitarian law and the rules of war in the area since 1993, it concedes that these efforts have met with limited success against a backdrop of minimal pre-existing knowledge.

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) has been a particularly effective presence, even though it has diverged somewhat from its usual migration-assistance role into relief and rehabilitation work. Given the absence of UN humanitarian agencies in Chechnya, IOM has been the only organization participating in the UN Consolidated Appeal which has been working in Chechnya.

The most noticeable obstacles faced by international organizations include passing through Russian checkpoints which control entry to and exit from the affected areas and a high incidence of theft, banditry and armed robbery in Chechnya. Several incidents have involved expatriate staff being killed or kidnapped and held hostage.

The fighting ended only after the daring intervention of Alexander Lebed, the former general and Russian presidential candidate, in August 1996. Lebed brokered a cease-fire and a tentative political agreement with Mr. Maskhadov, the chief of staff of the Chechen forces. That agreement led to the withdrawal of Russian troops and to the scheduling of elections. Aslan Maskhadov, a moderate leader who seemed capable of handling the difficult work of sealing some form of separation from Russia, was elected in January 1997.

In a move to normalize relations without

resolving their fundamental dispute, President Boris Yeltsin and the leader of Chechnya signed a peace treaty that both officials described as the end of a centuries-old conflict between Russia and the rebellious region on May 13, 1997.

The consequences of the conflict are hardly appealing to either side. From the political point of view, Russia's reputation as a democracy was badly damaged by the brutal conduct of the campaign to defeat the separatists, although Mr. Yeltsin seized a chance to repair it by signing the treaty. For the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria (the name the Chechens gave their region to symbolize its independence) political instability continues, as no further agreement on its status has been worked out by the joint Russian-Chechen Commission.

Economically, the region is in need of Moscow's help; Chechnya may be autonomous, but it cannot survive without Russia. As soon as the peace treaty was signed in May, the Chechen delegation also signed a one-year interbank agreement that would give the Chechen government an account with the Central Bank of Russia, but will not integrate the Chechen banking system with the Russian one. Both sides also claimed that they are eager to restore a destroyed pipeline linking Caspian oil fields to the Russian Black Sea port of Novorossiysk.

But probably the most severe consequences are the social ones. An estimated 40,000 people, mostly civilians, have been killed in the war in Chechnya. The number of combatant casualties is in dispute. Normal life throughout Chechnya has ceased, with appallingly insecure conditions still prevailing in most urban and many rural areas. Infrastructure elements such as waterworks and the Hospitals have been heavily damaged, while schools are often forced to close for extended periods in the most heavily populated areas. The ethnic-Russian minority is considered to be especially at risk because they lack the support systems offered by extended family ties. There are high levels of crime. Six Red Cross field hospital workers were murdered in their sleep by unknown gunmen in December 1996. The killings made clear that the rebels who defeated Russia are not yet under control.

UN specialized agencies that have operated successfully in other highly politicized humanitarian contexts have been effectively dealt out of potential

roles inside Chechnya by political concerns related to Russia's place in the UN Security Council. Russia has preferred to maintain the lowest possible visibility in

NEGOTIATING A PEACE: THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CASE

The Madrid Conference, in October, 1991, began the current phase in the Middle East peace process. As a result of the conference, economical, cultural, social, and political advances have been made. The United States has consistently supported and aided these advances, to reinforce a lasting peace.

The accomplishments attributed to the conference became clear when Israelis and Palestinians began secret negotiations that resulted in the signing of the "Israeli-PLO Declaration of Principles of Interim Self-government Arrangements" on September 13, 1993. In that accord, Israel agreed to recognize "the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people." In return, the PLO "recognized Israel's right to exist in peace and security, accepted UN Security Council Resolution 243 and 338, and renounced the use of terrorism and violence." The United States endorsed the agreement by pledging to help implement the Israel-PLO agreement. Former Secretary of State Warren Christopher, an enthusiastic advocate of the peace process, stated that the purpose of the agreement was "not simply to give peace a chance, but to ensure that it would not fail." To carry out their promise, the US joined Russia to co-sponsor a fundraising conference entitled "Conference to support Middle East peace." The conference was attended by forty-two countries; two billion dollars was to be given to the Palestinians in Gaza and on the West Bank over a period of ten years.

On April 29, 1994, the Israel-PLO agreement was signed and trade, money, banking and taxation issues were defined. In May, the agreement was updated and Israeli military forces were withdrawn from the Gaza Strip and West Bank city of Jericho. By December, there was Palestinian control of education, taxation, social welfare, tourism and health on the West bank.

Intent on further improving the agreement, the US Secretary of State convened a meeting with the ministerial-level people involved in the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee on Palestinian assistance. The AHLC decided to fund projects in the West bank and Gaza to create employment for the Palestinians. In



July 1992
A British UNPROFOR soldier (left) surveys the ruins of Vukovar which sustained heavy damage from shelling by Serbian forces.

the Chechnya conflict and has resisted the involvement of UN organizations there.

Responsible leaders on both sides must work together to reach an accommodation that secures Chechnya's autonomy. Chechen leaders are more likely to consolidate their gains now through negotiation and patience than through confrontations.

FACT

In the first six years after the end of the Cold War, the UN put more military operations into conflict areas than it did in the previous forty years.

conjunction with these endeavors, the US Secretary of State, Israeli Foreign Minister Perez, and PLO Chairman Arafat met to “discuss the possibility of more efficient use of water resources, to consult on matters of mutual interest, and promote cooperation on regional issues.”

A similar success occurred in the aftermath of the Madrid conference when Israel and Jordan signed a “common agenda” pact in October, 1993. The pact outlined goals each country had to meet to achieve lasting peace. The United States, again a willing participant in the process, invited the respective leaders, Jordanian Crown Prince Hassan and Israeli Foreign Minister Perez, to the White House. There, President Clinton set up a trilateral economic committee. Significant progress was made during the year, and by July 25, 1994, King Hussein and Prime Minister Rabin signed the “Washington Declaration” that signalled the end of the war between Israel and Jordan. The terms of the peace included such topics as energy, trade, tourism, agriculture, transportation and navigation.

The trilateral committee continued to meet and outlined a number of undertakings, such as environmental problems, water, energy, transportation, and tourism. The future of Aqaba-Eilat as a free-trade zone was discussed when the leaders decided to have an “economic hub” for the Northern peninsula of the Red Sea.

Following the peace accord between Israel and Jordan, the US focussed its efforts on reopening trade between Israel and Egypt. Then Commerce Secretary Ron Brown’s meeting of February 7-8, 1995 in Taba with senior Egyptian, Israeli, Jordanian and Palestinian trade officials initiated attempts to end the Egyptian boycott of Israel.

The United States turned next to the issues of peace between Israel and Syria and Israel and Lebanon. President Clinton stated that “we will press forth with our efforts until the circle of peace is closed, a circle that must include Syria and Lebanon if peace is to be complete.” On January 16, 1994, the President supported his statement by meeting with President Assad of Syria in Geneva. The US Secretary of State followed up on the President’s meeting and held discussions with Prime Minister Rabin and President Assad. The results were commendable. The Secretary announced that the two had “reached an

understanding on security arrangements.” Both leaders discussed their concerns about achieving a peace accord.

The United States has not ceased the important work of securing peace in the Middle East. Today it is chairing discussions on the possibilities of regional security centers in the Middle East and are gathering data on water issues. They are also leading a conference to encourage “regional economic cooperation and integration, private sector investment, and strengthened public-private partnership in economic development.”

PERCEPTION

THE ISSUE OF TIBET

When the day comes for Tibet to be governed by its own people, it will be for the people to decide what form of Government they will have. The system of governance by a Dalai Lama may or may not be there. It is the will of the people that will ultimately determine the future of Tibet.

In 1950, the state of Tibet was invaded by the Peoples Republic of China. It has remained occupied to the present day. This was the second Chinese incursion into Tibet: the first occupation lasted from 1700 - 1911. Communist China’s occupation has had a devastating effect on Tibetan culture, its history, art, music, religion and way of life, which Tibetans viewed as unique. Since 1950, there has been a constant struggle in Tibet over the attacks on its cultural identity. China has been determined to absorb Tibet into its secular, Marxist society. In order to understand the implications of the Chinese occupation, we must first understand the culture and way of life that existed in Tibet before the occupation began.

Tibet until 1950 had remained a remote, isolated country due to its geographical location. The culture of old Tibet was a highly religious one, focussing on a branch of Buddhism known as Lamaism, Vehicle of the Thunderbolt, Taritism or

Tibetan Buddhism. It is one of the largest sects of Buddhism, along with Zen Buddhism which is indigenous to Japan; Chan Buddhism indigenous to China; Mahayana or Greater Vehicle Buddhism in Vietnam and Korea; and Theravada, Lesser Vehicle or Hinayana Buddhism common in Sri-Lanka. Only Tibetan Buddhism is led by the Dalai Lama, its reincarnated leader. Lamaism is based on the same principles as the rest of Buddhism, which entails the accumulation of karma through spiritual enlightenment or oneness. This leads to salvation and Nirvana or paradise, which is freedom from the eternal cycle of life and death. Tibetan Buddhists also acknowledge Buddha as possessing true enlightenment.

The highest religious leader, the Dalai Lama, was also the head of the government, making Tibet a theocracy, a society ruled by god. Nearly 20 percent of the male population were monks, also known as lamas. They filled the majority of leadership positions including police, guards and higher government officials. Many monks came from poorer families which allowed for some degree of class mobility.

Before the Chinese occupation, there existed approximately 200 noble families in Tibet. They normally served as government officials and had large estates. They would grant rights to cultivate land to the peasant population. The monasteries would also grant similar rights.

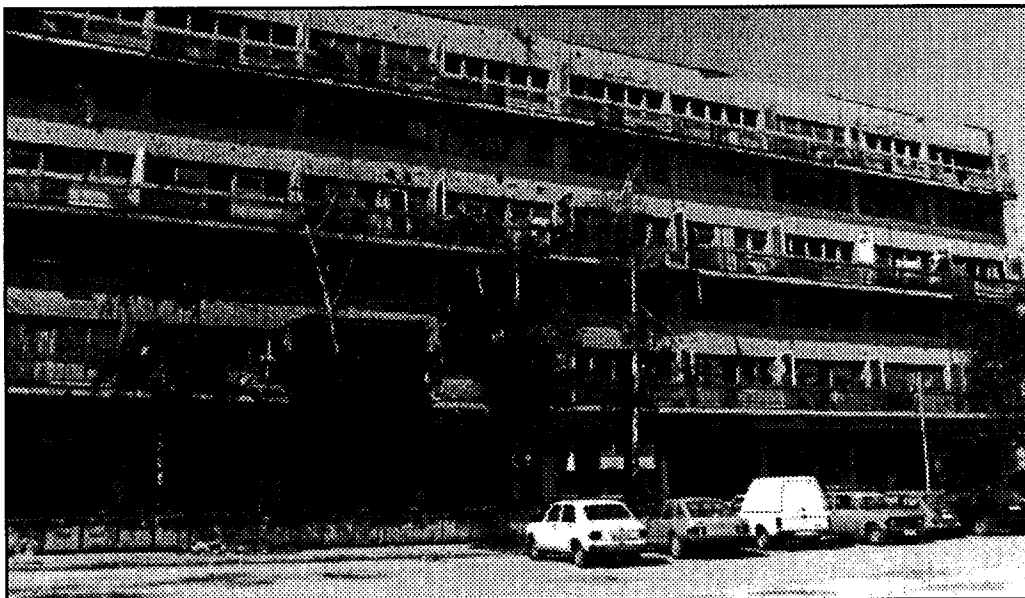
The peasant population was comprised mostly of two distinct groups: Farming or serf peasants were given the land grants mentioned above. Nomadic groups, such as the Drukpas, Drundpas and Shingpas, were mostly herders. These nomads made up 48 percent of Tibet's population.

There was, however, no merchant or middle class. There was some trade with the outside world, but this was all within the religious and noble classes. Tibet's remoteness allowed it to develop differently from neighboring nations. This is reflected in some Tibetan traditions such as cremation and the absence of arranged marriages. Public schooling for the population did not exist before the Chinese occupation. Any formal education was through the monasteries, and illiteracy was commonplace throughout the country.

Tibet was annexed in 1950 by China's new communist government, led by Mao Tse-Tung. Mao had his own version of communism known as Maoism and ruled China from 1949 to 1976. Change was not immediate in Tibet. In 1951, the government of Tibet signed a treaty with China which acknowledged the sovereignty of China and guaranteed Tibet autonomy. The first attempts by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to take power and influence away from the Dalai Lama and alter some of Tibet's cultural values and practices came after this time.

The prime reason for China's assault on

Tibetan culture was that Tibet was a theocratic society. The religious establishment and the state were the same. In order for the Chinese to gain sovereignty of the Tibetan people, China had to eliminate both the religion and the state. China intended to impose a secular society, rather than a religious one, based upon Marxism. China's version of Marxism differed from other communist nations, because the power base and support came from the peasant population, rather than the industrial proletariat. There also was a strong personality



September 1992

An apartment building in Vukovar, damaged during the intense fighting there during the winter of 1991.

cult built around Mao. The CCP's main targets were the monks, the monasteries and Tibetan Buddhism itself.

China entered Tibet claiming to liberate the Tibetan people from western imperialism. They also claimed Tibet to be a part of China, since China did occupy it from 1700-1911. Many believed that Tibet's mineral wealth and strategic position as a buffer against India were also factors. The traditional government of Tibet remained in place until 1956, when China attempted to bring the eastern region under its direct control. This action sparked a spontaneous revolt. Tensions had been building between the Tibetan government and China since 1950. This revolt gained momentum until 1958, and led to a revolt across all Tibet in the spring of 1959. It was then suppressed by the Chinese military, and resulted in the Dalai Lama fleeing to India where he set up a government in exile that remains there today.

After this, Tibet was claimed as an autonomous region of the Peoples Republic of China under the direct administration of the CCP. Under communism, the nobility of Tibet lost their privileges and many of them were either imprisoned or killed. The land of the nobles was given to the peasants, but afterward made into communes. Both the agricultural and nomadic peasants were put under the commune system, which changed the class structure. Most monasteries were closed in an attempt to reduce their influence.

Tibet experienced many changes, most of these were not the result of a direct offensive by the CCP against Tibet alone, but against traditional thinking in all of China. This was known as the Cultural Revolution, an attempt by the CCP to radically change China's education and way of life. In the 1960's the culture of China was thought to be backward and ill-equipped to deal with an industrialized society. The basic premise of the cultural revolution was to educate the youth to be loyal communists, and to eliminate such old, oppressive institutions as monasteries. Between 1966 and 1969, this resulted in the large-scale destruction of many Tibetan cultural icons by youth groups known as the Red Guards. These icons included a huge number of religious texts and paintings, and the Jokhang, the main temple in Lhasa, which is the capital of Tibet. The Red Guards' insurgence, and the resulting disorder did however,

loosen China's grip on Tibet for some time. This disturbance later caused the CCP to try to regain control by declaring martial law in Tibet. These efforts seemed to be aimed at transforming Tibet into something very similar to Communist China.

There were five stages to the Chinese strategy. The first was from October 1950 to 1955, known as the peaceful liberation and involved China's initial entry and the treaty with the Dalai Lama. This is when China gained physical control of Tibet. The second, from 1955 to 1959, entailed China's attempt to introduce communist doctrine into Tibetan culture and to assume direct control. The resulting rejection sparked the uprising that forced the Dalai Lama out of Tibet and into India. The third stage, 1960 to 1966, was the abolition of the traditional government/religious system of Tibet, which meant the closing of thousands of monasteries, the increasing use of communes, and a large influx of Han Chinese

FACT

When Tibetans fled their homeland after the Chinese invasion of 1949, the routes to neighboring countries were not easy. Moving on foot through the treacherous Himalayan Mountains, circumventing Chinese soldiers, they had to endure hunger, illness, inclement weather and hostile terrain. Only the courage they took from their religious heritage gave them hope. Some took two years to reach safety, and the cost was high. Over 130,000 Tibetans have taken sanctuary in neighboring countries, but 1.2 million died as a result of the Chinese invasion. Over 6,000 monasteries were destroyed. Between 1975 and 1979, some 1.5 to 2 million Cambodians died unnatural deaths, from starvation, overwork, torture and execution.

from other parts of China. The fourth was the cultural revolution from 1966 to 1968, when many relics of old Tibet were destroyed by the Red Guards. The fifth stage, occurred after 1969, when the military restored order and has been one of continuing industrialization and indoctrination. However, Tibet still remains one of China's greatest trouble spots.

China has continued to impose itself on Tibetan life. In the early 1970's, the population remained about 96 percent Tibetan, however, the

remaining 4 percent who were Chinese, controlled many of the high ranking positions. There was a continuing influx of Han Chinese, who today outnumber native Tibetans in many areas. In the Chinghai province the present ratio is 2.5 million Chinese to 700,000 Tibetans. Similar statistics are present in the 11 other provinces. The ratio in all of Tibet is 7.5 million Chinese to 6 million Tibetans. This reduction in the percentage of ethnic Tibetans can be seen as an effort to curb Tibet's hopes for self determination, as well as decreasing employment opportunities for many Tibetans. Many monks and lamas were forced to marry in a further imposition of Chinese culture. Large numbers of Tibetans were also labeled as dissidents. As many as 20,000 Tibetans are in prison, 3,000 to 4,000 of them are believed to be political prisoners.

Formal schooling for the population as a whole was instituted as a way of assimilation. This was a broad education based on a Marxist curriculum and at the same time eliminating the monks formal education system by closing the monasteries. Several thousand Tibetan children were sent to China for schooling. A significant effort was undertaken to downgrade and demystify the Dalai Lama in the eyes of the average Tibetan. The largest increase of formal schooling was during the late 1950's when the numbers of schools

and total enrollment increased from 27 to 150 schools with an attendance of 33,000 pupils. By 1962, 58,000 students were enrolled. These increases were in part related to the policies of the CCP in Tibet after the 1959 revolt. Enrollment and school construction continued rapidly to 1971 with 1,970 primary and 7 secondary schools with 83,000 attendees. This was coupled with the construction of a radio station and distribution of communist literature.

Large scale construction of highways, chemical plants, coal mines, several small hydroelectric plants and 666 operating communes were completed by 1971. However, despite China's massive effort many native Tibetan children do not complete primary schooling and the Tibetan budget is constantly in debt. The Tibetan Army was absorbed into the Red Army and Tibet's Foreign Office (diplomatic affairs) was taken over by China in 1951 as part of the original Agreement on "Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet."

Various reasons are given for the closing of the monasteries and the disappearance of those who oppose the Chinese occupation, derived from explanations given by the Chinese government or the Free Tibet movements. The CCP's strategy towards Tibet wasn't the liberation of the people, as China claims, nor is it as severe as the tyrannical cultural genocide charged by the extremist independence groups.

About 130,000 Tibetans have left Tibet since 1949 and are presently refugees in places such as India, Canada, Taiwan, and other parts of the world. The Dalai Lama reported 1,000 monasteries destroyed in eastern Tibet by 1959. About 2,500 monasteries have closed along with other public buildings making 6,000 in all. 70 monasteries remained in 1962. Despite the influence of Mandarin, Tibetan, similar to Tibeto-Burman, still remains the predominant language of Tibet, it has many dialects but



Refugees are forced to pack their belongings and relocate.

usually recognized is the one native to the Lhasa province. The Chinese government is still printing official papers in both languages. The Tibetan standard of living has declined since 1950 and famines have been reported, but this has been credited to misguided economic policies. Presently there are million Chinese troops in Tibet.

The Chinese have characterized Lamaism in general in a negative light. One basic communist doctrine is that there is no god and all religion is superstition. Islam and Buddhism have been tolerated to a greater degree by the CCP in other parts of China due partly to diplomatic relations with neighboring nations such as India.

The CCP was at the time trying to change the ways of thinking of China as a whole. They were attempting a sinification of Tibet, which before the occupation had very little contact with the outside world. Whether Tibet would have remained isolated or would have tried to become a part of the global community is unknown. China has put the Tibetan culture in a state of limbo. The forced rapid leap forward imposed by China was intended to change Tibet from a religious, seemingly medieval nation to a secular, industrialized one has made some Tibetans resistant to change.

There is no doubt that many of the subtleties of the Tibetan way of life have changed or been lost since the Chinese occupation. The ownership of land, schooling, religious practices, and the basic structure of the country, which all reflected Tibet's culture, have changed. The farming peasants and nomads now work on communes. Many of the traditional Tibetan crops, such as barley, have been replaced with others such as wheat. The influence of Buddhism in many areas has been greatly lessened and the number of monks diminished as a result of the CCP's campaigns to limit religion in all of China. Many of the literary and artistic treasures of Tibetan Buddhism were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. Most of the teachings of their stories and literature were banned by the closing of the monasteries. In some cases, old Tibetan stories were altered to endorse communism.

The entire governing system has been destroyed all the way to the provincial level. Their spiritual and administrative leader, the Dalai Lama, has been exiled and a new communist administration is in place. From all this restructuring it is logical to

assume that daily life in Tibet has changed substantially on many levels, if not completely changed. The religious and agriculturally based feudal system of old Tibet has been replaced by an industrial, single party communist society.

However, as with all totalitarian regimes, the Tibetan people still retain some of their identity. China has basically waged a war against Tibet's cultural pride and nationalism, which due to its long isolation is very strong. Its influence is still there in the form of the movement against the occupation and acceptance of Chinese doctrine. The Dalai Lama has been attempting to resolve China's occupation for over 40 years. Since 1973, due to mounting international pressure, China has allowed some monasteries to reopen, though there is considerable criticism that this is merely a token gesture. Today Tibet is a common tourist attraction in China attracting 30,000 people a year. Tibetan culture has been permanently altered by China, but not fully assimilated. The end product is a Chinese style communist society with a suppressed but still Tibetan nature. Some effort to maintain Tibetan culture outside Tibet is seen in the exiled Tibetan government and the numerous Free Tibet movements.

This situation is reminiscent of the old Soviet block where many of the indigenous cultures of the occupied countries were systematically altered to make way for more Marxist thinking. At this point, China shows no intention of giving up control of Tibet. For better or for worse Tibet has undergone extremely rapid development under the CCP, but apparently at a great cost to its cultural identity which has been submerged beneath the flood of Maoism. Tibetan culture is still alive outside of Tibet with the Dalai Lama and the thousands of Tibetan refugees around the world, but the changes in Tibet will probably never be reversed.

The Dalai Lama said in 1970 "Many of the Tibetans maybe ideologically communist but they are definitely nationalist communist. To these Tibetans, their nation comes first, ideology second. We are fighting against colonialism and not against communism"

The Dalai Lama reiterated this position four years later when he said that "According to the Mahayana School of Buddhism you sacrifice for the benefit of others, for the good of suffering humanity.

So is the goal of communism. We are not against communism. The struggle is really against Chinese domination and it will continue till the good day comes and the Chinese leave Tibet.”

THE UN WEAPONS INSPECTORS AND IRAQ

Recently, questions have been raised as to the possibility that another war could erupt with Iraq because of the difficulties that the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) weapon inspectors are having in carrying out their duties. The problems began with Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait which led to the Gulf War. Iraq fought against a UN coalition led by the United States. During the Gulf War, it was asserted that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction such as nuclear ballistic missiles as well as chemical and biological weapons. The UN Security Council passed a resolution that Iraq would have to reveal and destroy these weapons. If they did not do so, severe economic sanctions would be implemented. Weapons inspection teams were formed to ensure that Iraq was complying with the terms of the cease fire that ended the Gulf War.

Even though the war was over, tension

continued with the UN’s implementation of the “no-fly zone” over southern Iraq. On December 28, 1992, an American plane shot down an Iraqi fighter plane when it entered the “no-fly zone.” On June 27, 1993, the US fired 24 cruise missiles at the Intelligence Headquarters in Baghdad. A major threat of war was averted in October, 1993 when the US sent planes and 54,000 troops to the Gulf when it seemed that Iraqi troops were on the verge of launching a second offensive on Kuwait. Iraq withdrew.

Tension began mounting in October, 1997 when the UNSCOM inspectors claimed Iraq was withholding information about its weapons programs. On October 29, 1997, President Saddam Hussein stopped the American members of the team from entering the inspection sites, claiming that the Americans were spies. The US made it clear that they were ready to use force if necessary. On November 5, three UN envoys went to Baghdad to reach a diplomatic solution. The team left Iraq three days later without having broken the deadlock.

It is believed that Iraq had come close to developing nuclear weapons shortly before the Gulf War. This would have been a violation of the "Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty" which Iraq had signed. Between 1975 and 1990, Iraq imported over 800 Scud B missiles and 11 mobile launchers. Iraq admitted to having produced 36 launch pads. These were discovered by UNSCOM. In 1995, a shipment of advanced missile gyroscopes was intercepted in Jordan.

Iraq is known to have produced mustard gas and the deadly nerve agent VX. Iraq used both chemical and gas weapons against Kurdish civilians in Northern Iraq in 1988. On November 2, 1997, it was reported that Iraq was holding secret stocks of the lethal nerve agent VX. It was said that UNSCOM was on the verge of uncovering the nerve agent when President Saddam Hussein ordered the American members of the team out of Iraq. The chairman of UNSCOM, Richard Butler, said, "I think we're getting hot, and



UN peace-keepers search for mines.

UNIFICATION OF KOREA

maybe that's part of the reason." UNSCOM discovered that Iraq wanted to build a biological weapons capacity which could produce biological agents, such as Anthrax and Botulinum. Even though UNSCOM destroyed several tons of the agent, the US Secretary of State, Madeline Albright, has said that Iraq possessed, at one time, enough weaponized anthrax to kill the entire population of the world several times over.

Very recently, the Iraqi government said that it would stop any further arms inspections by the American head of the UN monitoring team. President Clinton responded to these claims, saying, "Certainly Saddam Hussein shouldn't be able to pick and choose who does this work. That's for the United Nations to decide." The President said, "that he has had nothing whatsoever to do with choosing members of the UN monitoring team."

An administration official (This official spoke on the condition of anonymity.) said, if the reports were accurate, "this decision is a clear violation of the Security Council's demand that Iraq give (the UN inspectors) full and unfettered access to all sites." The UNSCOM inspectors do not represent their governments and are on the teams because of their expertise as scientists and non-proliferation experts. The official later added, "Iraq's complaints about the balance or nationality of team members are spurious and irrelevant. Iraq cannot pick and choose who will inspect its weapons of mass destruction."

At the time of writing, the UN's effort to complete the program of inspection for weapons of mass destruction goes on. In spite of increased tension between the United Nations and the Iraqi government, diplomatic means are being used in order to avoid a potential conflict.

In the year 1945, after the second world war, Korea was divided into two and each part was occupied by different forces. United States troops occupied the southern half of Korea, and Soviet forces occupied the northern half. The United States and the Soviet Union tried to develop a plan to reunite Korea, with no success. So the United States then submitted the problem to the United Nations in 1947.

In December 1948, the Soviet Union announced that all its troops had left North Korea, and the United States reported that their last troops left South Korea in mid-1949. However in 1950, North Korean troops invaded the South, which began the Korean War. The war continued until an armistice was signed in July 1953. Neither side had claimed absolute victory. The war involved either directly or indirectly not only the two Koreas, but also the most powerful Communist and non-Communist nations.

Efforts have been made to overcome the hostility between the two Koreas, and on February 25, 1988, President Roh Tae Woo of South Korea declared his determination to bring about reconciliation on the Korea Peninsula by peacefully co-operating with North Korea in line with the people's yearning for an end to the division of the land. He took the lead in revitalizing national self-confidence in political and economic development, spurred by the successful staging of the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games. There were more contacts during that year as well, which in effect cleared some of the obstacles between the two Koreas.

In March 1989, North-South sports talks were held twice for the matter of the formation of a single team to take part in the 11th Asian Games in Beijing, China. In these meetings, the two sides agreed to use "Arirang" as the official song for the North-South single national team, and several problems were peacefully solved. However, these games might have served as a mechanism for the process of unification.

However, North Korea's intentions not to unite with South Korea and her frequent oppositions and disagreements, caused continued hostilities. In spite of South Korea's attempts to create conditions favorable to unification, North Korea's oppositions against open relations with the world frequently blocked the

FACT

20% of the entire Cambodian population, men, women and children, lost their lives in the Khmer Rouge revolution, many of them through state-organized violence.

development of better relations between the two Koreas.

The South favored simultaneous South and North entry into the United Nations, but the North continued to oppose this approach vigorously. During the working level contacts, a frustrated South Korea announced that if the North continued to oppose simultaneous membership, the South would join the United Nations unilaterally.

The North abandoned its call for sharing UN membership in May 1991, choosing in the end to go along with simultaneous South-North entry into the world body. Both joined the United Nations on September 17, 1991. UN

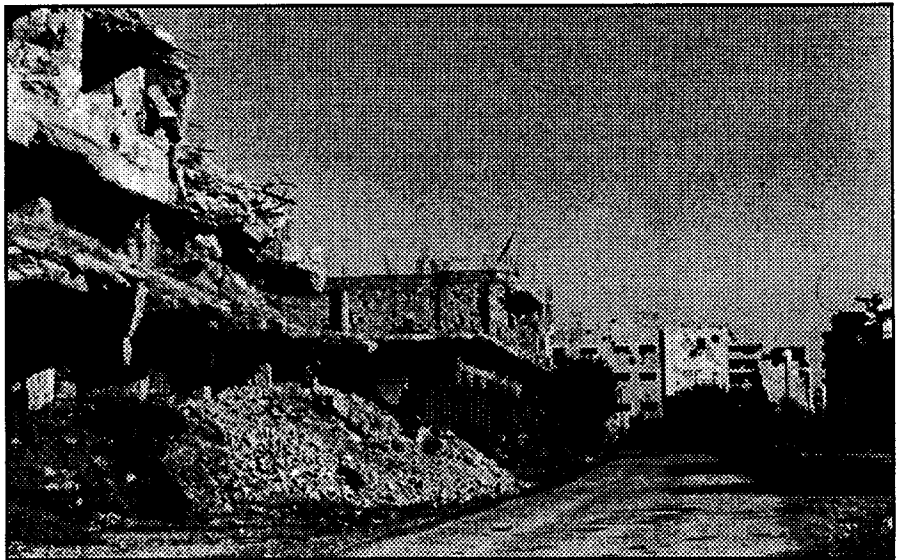
membership is an inevitable phase the two sides must experience on the path to unification and marks a new point of departure for South-North peaceful coexistence.

A peaceful-unification is desired for the two Koreas. Although there are many troubles on the path to unity, there are several factors that may trigger the Korean unification. The downside is that those triggers are most likely to be negative events or situations. For example South Korea's economy is in a crisis, while that of the North is in a state of collapse.

Out of this unpromising situation unexpected changes could suddenly begin the process of unification. The biggest problem may be the people themselves, for even if the two Koreas are united it is very possible that there will be profound differences between the former citizens of the two countries, as was the case in Germany.

NORTHERN IRELAND : PROTESTANTS AND ROMAN CATHOLICS

The United States has been asked by the British and Irish governments to use its influence and intervene to help broker a peace in Northern Ireland. However, "hope is a fragile emotion. Acceptance or rejection of change will depend on the attitude or a lack of confidence of people at the grass-



Beirut, Lebanon 1990
Bomb-blasted buildings line a street in Beirut.

roots level. If the attitude is to be one of never ending suspicion and mistrust, nothing will be gained," said Archbishop Robin Eames of the Protestant Church of Ireland on October 22, 1997, in referring to the peace talks.

The Sinn Fein party was negotiating with the Ulster Unionist Party, the largest political and overwhelmingly Protestant party in the province of Northern Ireland, in the current talks chaired by the American, former Senator George Mitchell, made possible by the unconditional although not permanent cease-fire of the IRA declared in July in response to the cessation of demands that it surrender weapons before admittance to the talks. The IRA had broken the last cease-fire in 1994, in response to the halt in peace talks by the then British Prime Minister, John Major, and the Ulster Unionist Party.

The IRA's militant stance from 1970 onwards was a result not only of the particular circumstances of that period, but also the historical context of the IRA itself. The most important rebellion of the many in Irish history opposing British rule was the Easter Uprising of April 24, 1916 by the IRA. By 1920, the IRA had developed a campaign that was to become a model of urban guerilla warfare which the British were unable to defeat militarily. They conceded a certain measure of independence to twenty-three counties. At the same time, they conceded to the Loyalists in the North the province of Ulster (the nine counties), which happened to contain most of Ireland's industry, excluding that region from the newly created Irish Free State. By declining to include

three counties, the Protestant Loyalists assured their large majority in the new Ulster, i. e. the six counties of Antrim, Derry, Tyrone, Fermanagh, Armagh and Down. This led to a situation in which both the Protestant Loyalists and Catholic or nationalist communities felt themselves to be entrenched minorities, the Catholics as a 30 percent minority in Ulster, but a majority in all of Ireland, and the Protestants as the majority in Ulster, but a 27 per cent minority in all of Ireland (as of 1973). The IRA never accepted the Irish Free State that had resulted from the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921, and it certainly did not accept Ulster and the government at Stormont. Over the next fifty years, the Stormont government was opposed to the idea of reunification; the Unionists fearing that the growing Catholic population would eventually vote them into a United Ireland. The local authorities adjusted ward boundaries to allocate housing, thus ensuring a Catholic voting minority in as many wards as possible. A system evolved whose main function and purpose was to protect the Protestant majority.

“The Troubles”, did not recur in 1968 due to the militant activities of the IRA, but rather were triggered by the civil rights marches of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA). The IRA did not challenge the Stormont government as an institution, but rather the abuses within it. The Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and the Protestant right-wing were led by the Reverend Ian Paisley, whose main political support came from the Protestant manual workers who felt threatened by the Catholics in the context of the highest unemployment rate in the U.K.

They felt that the NICRA was a front for the Republicans. But in confrontations in Londonderry, Burntolllet and Belfast, sparked by an Orange march and the Protestant Apprentice Boy March on August 12, 1969, all led to the violence that brought the British army to Londonderry, although the IRA was not involved. After its defeat in 1962, IRA policy had been revised, making it a Marxist movement which maintained that the Republic of Ireland was a feudal society dominated by the Church with a rural population that was hopeless as revolutionary material. A Marxist revolution would only be possible with the support of the relatively industrialized North, with its substantial proletarian element. The official

IRA argued that this would only be possible if it attracted bisectarian support in the North against bourgeois capitalists. It therefore condemned the instigation or use of violence in Protestant and Catholic neighborhoods, areas in which most of the violence occurred because of competition for jobs and housing. The split in the IRA occurred when the Catholics lost complete faith in the organization, after the IRA held back in Belfast and Londonderry in August 1969, making, “IRA equals I ran away”, a common sign on the walls of Catholic neighborhoods. Unlike the official IRA, the Provisional IRA “advocated the necessity of an armed struggle to be directed at the main core of the problem which was British imperialism, and not a reformist approach to sectarianism which was merely a symptom of British imperialist rule.” The factions engaged in inter-communal fighting and indiscriminate bombing attacks in Belfast and Derry which were condemned by the official IRA (despite their own indiscriminate bombings in England in 1972). The Catholic minority initially viewed the withdrawal of the RUC and the arrival of the British army, which had been called in as a result of the August 12-15 riots in Londonderry, as a major triumph. But they turned once again to the IRA when they came to believe that British policy embodied the Provisional IRA’s stance that the abuses of the Stormont Government were not the problem, but rather that the actions of the British army were.

Actions such as Prime Minister Blair's recent decision to reopen the inquiry into the death of fourteen Catholics shot dead by British troops on January 30, 1972, known as 'Bloody Sunday,' are necessary for the reconciliation of thirty years of violence in which more than 3,200 people have died. Many young Catholics joined the IRA after witnessing the events of Bloody Sunday and after Lord Widgery's investigation which suggested that the marchers, protesting internment, had been armed.

Compromise is difficult when both sides of the conflict can make standards of the dead who either fought for a United Ireland or continued Union with the United Kingdom. If Bloody Sunday was pivotal for the Catholics' turn to the IRA for protection and justice in the 1970s, then the ten IRA men, prisoners in the Long Kesh, who died on hunger strike to have Prisoner of War status returned to the IRA, became martyrs for the nationalist cause. Bobby Sands, the

first prisoner to go on a hunger strike and die, had been elected to be an MP in the British House of Commons but was prohibited, by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, from entry into Parliament. At the same time, protestants who died in random killings and bombings by the IRA's campaign have been transformed into icons for the unionist and loyalist cause. Graffiti on the walls of cities make the passerby readily aware of whether the residents of these areas support the IRA or one of the protestant paramilitaries, the boundaries separating, for example, the catholic Falls Road and the protestant Shankill Road in West Belfast.

Because of the lack of integration, even in densely populated cities, paramilitary groups became not only protectors of their respective agendas but, paradoxically, the protectors of segregated protestant and catholic communities. By the late nineteen seventies, civil rights reform had become inextricably linked to a United Ireland for both catholics and protestants, and, with the violence to attend to, was no longer on the political agenda. But the undeniably sectarian paramilitaries were also wont to punish "their own people" who deviated from the hard-liner position. Intermarriage suffered the same punishment from both extremists: tarring and feathering and/or death. Religion was not only linked to political beliefs but to a feeling of alliance and a deep awareness and fear of the "other."

Now, as the ratio between both communities approaches a one to one ratio, it becomes ever more clear that the outcome from these talks will not hold a glorious end for either extremes. A friend of mine, Claire McCartan, who holds a theatre workshop for children in Belfast, for both catholics and protestants, says she loves the idea of a United Ireland, but added, "nobody should have to die for that, and least of all these children." The outcome of the talks seems to hold no promise for a United Ireland as both the British and Irish governments have agreed that a plebiscite majority in both the North and the Republic would be necessary. Instead they have proposed the outline for a compromise: a Parliament for Northern Ireland which would equally represent both sides, a Council of Ireland in which officials from both the North and the Republic would meet to discuss issues common to the island, and a Council of the Isles where members of the newly formed Scottish

Parliament, the Welsh Assembly and the British Parliament in London would meet with representatives of the Northern Irish government over issues common to the United Kingdom. This should be a basis for a compromise. One of the major impediments to the talks and to the passage of a fair settlement so far, however, has been the refusal of David Trimble, head of the Ulster Unionist party, the largest in the province, to speak directly to Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Fein, at the bargaining table.

The settlement from the talks will and must be a compromise between both camps. And with compromise there is the danger that the IRA could split again, similar to the split of 1970, over the issue of a United Ireland or the decommissioning of weapons, resuming its violence for the cause of a unified Ireland, free from British rule, or that other paramilitaries who are not complying with the cease-fire will continue to obstruct the peace process with acts of violence. The Sunningdale Agreements in 1974 were overturned because of violence by the Ulster Volunteer Force and the Ulster Defense Association which undermined any belief that those settlements would lead to a peaceful conclusion.

Yet the British and Irish governments, by sponsoring talks in which all parties may participate at the bargaining table, may be providing a model for the resolution of deeply rooted sectarian conflicts. Their decision to engage all parties involved, in a political process, may finally provide Claire McCartan and the children of her theatre with the first foundations for the peace they have been hoping for.

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CONCLUSION

This Working Paper has examined many of the problems produced by civil conflicts. The UN's peace keeping efforts, together with the work of other institutions have prevented such conflicts from becoming regional wars.

We must be aware of the efforts made to enforce human rights and so we should give our support to the underlying values of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which are designed to protect the individual and help in the development of civil societies.

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