Keynote Address at the Kathmandu International Conference

Global Terrorism: Trends and Response

Amb. Georg Witschel
Commissioner for Combating International Terrorism,
Federal Government of Germany

This presentation will focus on (1) recent global trends of international terrorism, (2) the response of the international community and (3) the legacy of September 11.

I. Recent Developments in International Terrorism

We have convened in Kathmandu less than 15 months after September 11. The shock of this terrible day is still very much alive, even more so, since the murderous attacks in New York, Washington and Pennsylvania reflect a number of recent global trends of international terrorism. Let me go into some more detail here:

1. Increasing Dominance of Religiously Motivated Terrorism

More and more religously motivated terrorism has superseded other forms or rather motivations of terrorism. Compared with the 1980s and even 1990s so-called ideological terrorism, which aimed at the revolutionary change of social structures as well as the so-called ethno-national terrorism, striving for the liberation of a certain territory seem to have been relagated somewhat to the backstage. However, even September 11 and more recent events like the bombing attacks in Bali and Al Ghriba/Tunesia should not obscure the fact that ideological and ethno-national terrorism still exists in various parts of the world – not least Soth Asia -and that there is a number of groups (like Hamas and Hisballah in the Middle East), which might fall into two or more categories. Yet we have to take into account that religion is more often the motivationfor terrorist acts than in the last few decades.

2. Globalization of Terrorism

Increasingly, terrorism goes global. Al Qaida, as the most striking example, is a global network, which cooperates more or less closely with national or regional groups like the GIA in Algeria or the Jemaah Islamiyah in Indonesia. Furthermore we have reports on an ad hoc-cooperation in various parts of the world with so-called non-aligned Mujaheddin, individual persons or small groups, which are not part of the Al Qaida-network and do not belong to any other, larger and somehow hierarchically structured group. Moreover some groups which limit their terrorist activities to a certain country or region have establisched extensive networks for financing their activities around the globe.The more traditional forms of terrorism like for example Sendero Luminoso in Peru or the Brigate Rosse in Italy had only very limited international relations, even if they advocated the international solidarity of workers or similar aims. Paradoxically Al Qaida with its rather anti-modern ideas and its opposition to open society went global, whilst communist groups in the 1970s preaching international revolution had a rather parochial range of action. The use of all the achievements of globalization, like international telecommunication, unimpeded, realtime money transfers, easily accessible flight schools and so on by terrorists striving for a rather medieval world has probably further deepened the shock of September 11.

3. Modern, Business-Like Leadership Structures

A major characteristic of modern terrorist organization is the lack of central authorities, of clear hierarchies. Especially Al Qaida, but also a number of other groups, are only loosely connected, with very flat hierarchical structures and no ,'military-style'' leadership structure. This lack of hierarchy is possible because – unlike in the more traditional forms of ideological and ethno-national terrorism - only a loose political, ideological or dogmatic framework exists. There are only very few leading principles as for example the hate against America, against Israel or against countries and governments supporting them. Furthermore, some rather vague ideas of revitalizing basic religious values and – in the case of Al Qaida, but also Hamas and Hisballah, the establishment of an Islamist Empire, a Taliban style Kalifat-State as a response to the perceived dominance of the ,'Western World''. Since there is no need for a detailed ideological or dogmatic framework there is also no need to gain the support of parts of the population of a certain country or at least parts of the politically active layers of society. Consequently, there is no need to focus on certain, limited targets as for example leading politicians, members of the military and other key figures of the ,'establishment''. And that leads us to the next point:

4. Assymetric Warfare; the Victim Not as Target, But as Part of A Communication Strategy

September 11 has been a perfect example for assymetric warfare. Only 19 suicide attackers and a financial input of probably 500.000 US $ killed more than 3.000 civilians and caused a material damage of at least 40 Billion US $. But not enough: The repercussions of September 11 resulted in a decrease of world economic growth of about 1 %, summing up to hundreds of Billions US $. Whilst I have no data on economic damage for Indonesia resulting from the Bali bombing attack, Tunesia has witnessed a decrease of income from tourism of 50 % after the (much less devastating) bombing of the Al Ghriba synagogue.

Most recent events, like in Tunesia, Karachi, offshore Yemen and Bali seem to indicate a new tendency, if not strategy of international terrorism. Probably due to the hardening of targets especially in the United States, terrorist attacks on so-called ,'soft targets'' like tourist or international trade facilities have increased . Since there are so many targets all over the world it is completely impossible to sufficiently protect them.

Even with more sophisticated intelligence it will hardly be possible to predict the exact venue and time of a terrorist attack on, lets say, a discothec, a container ship, or an oil storage facility. Furthermore, a successful attack on a soft target might well entail the same overall results as an attack against a hard target. It sends a shock wave proliferated by international media all over the world, intimidating not only the local population or those being geographically close to the scene of a terrorist attack, but also to people thousands of miles away, detering them from visiting or investing in the country where the actual attack took place. In fact the victims themselves have no particular importance for the terrorist, except as part of a communcation strategy, as conveyors of a triple message:

- the message that the government isn't capable to guaranty security in the country
- the message that tourists, foreign communities, investors, should avoid the country
- the message that the war against terrorism hasn't been and will not be successful, because the terrorists can select from a huge number of possible targets, all of them with major importance on local and regional economies, and because they have enough human and financial ressources to attack those targets at almost any time.

That is why terrorist attacks against so-called soft-targets are probably not less dangerous than those against hard targets. The impact on the local and regional economies is certainly considerable and the potential for economic destabilization of targeted countries and governments as well. Here we find ourselves in a dilemma, which has been reflected in the ASEAN-leaders-declaration adopted in Pnom Penh on 3rd November 2002. I quote: ,'We call on the international community to avoid indiscriminately advising their citizens to refrain from visiting or otherwise dealing with our countries, in the absence of established evidence of possible terrorist attacks, as such measures could help achieve the objective of the terrorists". End of quotation. And indeed we are between a stone and a hard place: On the one side countries like my own have a legal obligation to advise their citizens properly on possible risks of travelling abroad. On the other side an over-reaction in terms of unnecessary warnings might – unvoluntarily – promote the objectives of terrorists desiring to destabilize national economies.

5. Inseparability of Internal and External Security

September 11 has taught us another terrible lesson. No country on our globe is immune against the scourge of modern terrorism. Even a mighty army, good relations with neighbours or vast oceans cannot protect our cities and citizens from major terrorist attacks. The security of our country isn't any more almost exclusively in the hands of our own and other governments, in the hands of politicians, diplomats, generals, but increasingly of private actors. Terrorists, but also warlords and international organized crime pose more and more a direct risk for life, health and wealth of average citizens on our globe. Whilst state sponsored terrorism still exists albeit on a much lower level as in the 1960s and the 1970s, it is more and more the threat by non-state actors which characterises modern terrorism. This double challenge: inseparability of internal and external security and non state actors as a major threat for national and international security has still not been tackled in a sufficient manner.

To sum up: international terrorism is probably the most important challenge for Germany, its partners and probably most of the countries in the South-Asian region since the end of the cold war. More than ever a comprehensive strategy for preventing and countering terrorism is needed.

II. Preventing and Countering Terrorism

Coming to the second part of my speech I would like to dwell a bit on the response to terrorism given by the international community in the last 15 month.

1. The International Coalition

Terrorism is an international, global challenge. Therefore, at least in most cases, a merely national or even regional counter-strategy will not suffice. With regard to Al Qaida and the Taliban regime the creation of a coalition against terrorism, including all 5 permanent members of the security council, the whole western world, many states of the Arab world and of the G 77, including India and Pakistan, is of tremendous importance for combatting international terrorism. However, it is not an alliance based on common values, rather a coalition based on a limited convergence of interest for a given time. Therefore, we should not overlook that the coalition is fragile, and that for example unresolved regional conflicts, the question how to deal with so-called states of concern or other political factors might overburden and thus imperil the coalition.

Looking to Asia I would like to draw your attention to the recent declarations and action plans adopted by the second ministerial conference of the community of democracies in Seoul on 12 November 02, the APEC leaders statement on fighting terrorism and promoting growth agreed in Los Cabos/Mexico on 26 October 02 and the Chairmans statement made at the fourth Asia Europe meeting in Copenhagen/Denmark on 24 September 02. These documents prove the increasing willingness of states and international organisations to globally cooperate in the struggle against international terrorism. I find it also very encouraging that these declarations and action plans take into account economic factors and underline the ,importance of respect for international law including human rights.

2. Afghanistan

The success of Enduring Freedom and the destruction of the territorial basis of Al Qaida has been an important success in the war against terrorism. Afghanistan isn't any more the training ground and meeting point for potential terrorists. It isn't any more a potential laboratory for the development of weapons of mass destruction. But it's still a country with very fragile structures and far from being able to guaranty the safety of its own citizens. Much more needs to be done to build democratic structures, to firmly establish the protection of human rights and the rule of law, to extend the reach of the interim administration to all parts of the country, to have a functioning army and police force, to successfully combat drug cultivation and trafficking, etc. Recently, at a meeting of the Royal Institute for International Affairs, a high ranking diplomat of a major power made a very pointed remark. He said, I quote: if we don't win the battle for rehabilitating Afghanistan we might loose the war against terrorism. I will not comment this remark. But I do certainly agree that Afghanistan is an unfinished business with tremendous repercussions on the war against terrorism.

Furthermore: The success of Enduring Freedom has not led to a complete destruction of Al Qaida. To the contrary, and here I quote a UN document, the so called ,'Chandler Report'': ,'Al Qaida is fit and well and poised to strike again at its leisure''. That is why we have to look beyond Enduring Freedom, beyond Afghanistan in our fight against Al Qaida as the probably most dangerous international terrorist organisation of the early 21. Century.

3. Important Counter-Measures of the International Community

UN: The shock of September 11 has sparked or sped up a number of counter-measures adopted by the international community. The Security Council of the United Nations has unanimously and unequivocally condemned the terrorist attacks of September 11 and has qualified in its resolution 1368 of 12 September 2001 , 'any act of international terrorism as a threat to international peace and security''. The Security Council has consequently recognized the inherent right of individual or collective self defense in accordance with the charter, if a state is the victim of a terrorist attack. The Security Council stressed also that those responsible for aiding, supporting or harbouring the perpetrators, organizers and sponsors of terrorist acts will be held responsible. With resolution 1373 of 28 September 2001 a number of mandatory decisions were taken on terrorist financing, obliging states to refrain from providing support to terrorists and to take the necessary steps to prevent the Commission of terrorist acts, including by early warning, denying safe heaven and by suppressing the financing of terrorist acts. With the same resolution the so-called counter-terrorism committee has been established, to which all member states report on the steps they have taken to implement this resolution. The committee has meanwhile received more than 170 reports and has set up not only a directory of available help, but also identifies the need for assistance mostly in developing countries. Ideally it will match requests and offers for assistance. Kofi Anan has qualified , 'the work of the counter-terrorism committee, and the cooperation it has received from member states, ... as unprecedented and exemplary.'' Furthermore the Security Council has reshaped the sanctions regime directed originally against Afghanistan, the Taliban regime and Al Qaida. Whilst Afghanistan as a state has been removed from the target list, the sanctions regime under SC-res 1267/1390 now focusses entirely on Taliban and Al Qaida and particularly on the financing of those organizations. The sanctions committee established under resolution 1267 has identified a considerable number of persons and organizations, whose bank accounts are frozen and who are prevented from entering or transiting the territory of UN member states.

Less encouraging is the situation in the UN General Assembly. Whilst the GA has been able to unite in the condemnation of the September 11 attacks and of terrorism in general, its legal committee has so far been unable to agree on the so-called draft comprehensive convention against terrorism. The reason for that is less a legal than a political one. A number of states represented by the Organization of the Islamic Conference wish to add an exemption clause to the definition of a terrorist act, which would exclude , 'people's struggle including armed struggle against foreign occupation, aggression, colonialism and hegemony" from the scope of a terrorist crime. This far reaching exemption is not only unacceptable to the western world, but also to many G 77 members who believe that liberation wars fall under international humanitarian law and that an exemption clause in the terrorism convention would at best be superfluous, at worst extremely dangerous. Unfortunately it was not possible for the OIC to agree on a more flexible approach at the summit meeting in Kuala Lumpur last February, despite the efforts of PM Mahatir. Lets hope that time will help to find a suitable compromise.

EU: The European Union has decided at the Sevilla summit last June that combatting terrorism is a political priority which has to be mainstreamed in all EU policies. The EU action plan of September 2001, a living, permanently updated document, consists of up to 70 measures in the areas of justice and interior, foreign, traffic and financial policies. The most important achievements are an agreement on a EU-wide definition of a terrorist act, the harmonization of national penal-codes in the area of international terrorism, the European arrest warrant which ensures automatic arrest in each EU member if one of the EU member has made an arrest warrant, increased exchange of information and a number of measures with regard to freezing economic assets. In that context the EU member states created the so-called clearing house which recommends to the EU ministers council the listing of certain persons or institutions involved in non Al Qaida related terrorist activities. The clearing house has been established in implementation of security council resolution 1373 and deals both with proposals by the EU member states and with proposals made by third states.

4. Asia

Some important political signals, but also more concrete steps came from Asian organizations and fora. I would like to highlight here the declaration made by the ASEAN summit in November 2001, which condemned terrorism and underlined the multicultural and multireligious character of ASEAN. In May 2002 Malaysia, the Philippines and Indonesia

signed a framework agreement on combatting terrorism. In September the 4th Asia Europe Meeting (ASEM) took place in Copenhagen, attended by heads of State and Government of 10 Asian and 15 European States. They underlined their resolve to fight international terrorism and adopted the Copenhagen Declaration on Cooperation against International Terrorism and the ASEM Copenhagen Cooperation Programme on Fighting International Terrorism. Combatting terrorism will be placed high on the agenda of an ASEM foreign ministers meeting in spring 2003. I also would like to draw your attention to the activities of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization which includes besides China countries like Russia, Kasachstan, Kirgistan, Usbekistan und Tadschikistan. I do mention this not only in order to commend these regional activities.I do it also because I realize that regional activities seem to be far more limited in western and southern Asia. Unfortunately, the SAARC has so far not been able to deal with issues like combatting terrorism in a satisfactory manner. That is even more sad since 15 years ago, here in Kathmandu, SAARC member states signed a Regional Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism, which is supposed to be revised after the last SAARC summit in Kathmandu last January.

III. The Legacy of September 11

The legacy of September 11 is not simple. It is a multiple challenge. It is one about keeping the international coalition against terrorism alive, about rehabilitating Afganistan, about taking all possible measures to counter terrorism, but even more it is the challenge to prevent terrorism. Obviously it's much more efficient to prevent people from becoming terrorists than preventing terrorist acts from happening. However, referring to a remark made by UN Secretary General, Kofi Anan in Autumn 2001, there will always be people who hate and kill even if all injustice has been removed. So let us be clear that prevention of terrorism cannot simply replace combatting terrorism. But this is also true the other way round: Combatting terrorism cannot be successful if there is no meaningful prevention of terrorism. Prevention of conflicts is always also prevention of terrorism. And even if the equation of poverty and injustice on the one and terrorism on the other side is far fetched, even incorrect, we must realize, that prevention of terrorism goes well beyond police and judicial measures. Whilst September 11 has changed the world, we should remember, and here again I quote Kofi Annan, ,'that none of the issues that faced us on September 10 has become less urgent''. In order to dry out breeding grounds for terrorism and to lead potential followers on a path to peaceful solution of conflicts a number of major political steps have to be taken:

- We need to solve the political and social conflicts quite rightly emphasized in the Millenium declaration, as these form the breeding ground for the emergence of terrorism. A fair and peaceful solution for regional conflicts not only in the Middle East is of upmost importance. History tells us that the best guaranty for successfully fighting terrorism is a viable strategy to deal with underlying root causes.

- We want the people in our countries to be able to live in safety, freedom and without want. To achieve this, we need a system of global cooperative security, which includes all levels of global policy relevant to security: The relations between great powers and their alliances, as well as the potential danger of regional crises and the threat posed by assymetric conflicts. Since terrorism threatens world peace just as much as civil war and regional conflicts such a system must not be ,'toothless'', but must function in all three fields through reliable verification systems and enforcable sanctions mechanisms.

- We need a comprehensive global policy which includes classic foreign and security policy, but also development and structural issues. International trade, financial systems, global environment, migration and debt management have to be seen in a cohesive manner, as part of an enlarged concept of the human security.

- We have to strengthen a meaningful dialogue between civilizations, aiming at peaceful solution of conflicts and replacing prejudice by confidence.

- Global security cannot work without respect for human rights. All efforts to secure peace will fail, if human rights are not protected and duly implemented. We need a binding global set of values to prevent and overcome conflicts that emerge due to inequality, injustice and deprivation of freedom. Combatting terrorism must not be a pretext to violate human rights. It's rather the other way round: Only through respect of human rights, through good governance we can dry out breeding grounds for potential terrorists.

Kathmandu Conference on:

TERRORISM IN SOUTH ASIA: IMPACT ON DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

A conference on *Terrorism in South Asia: Impact on Development and Democratic Process*, was held at Soaltee Crowne Plaza, Kathmandu, Nepal, November 23-25, 2002, in collaboration with Konrad Adenauer Foundation. The Key-note speaker was Ambassador Dr Georg Witschel, Commissioner for Combating International Terrorism, Federal Government of Germany.

The objective of this conference was to bring together experts on terrorism, developmental economics, political science and strategic issues from across South Asia to discuss on a common theme of "Terrorism in South Asia: Impact on Development and Democratic Process".

Economic and political cost of terrorism: impact of terrorism on democratic development in South Asia: political consequence of terrorism on interstate relations and issues related to developing a cooperative framework for dealing with terrorism were some of the themes set for discussions.

Conference proceedings will be published as an edited volume shortly. All papers presented are available in our website: http://www.rcss.org

Conference in progress: Ambassador Dr Georg Witschel (L) and Prof Sridhar K Khatri (R)

Some of the eminent speakers at the conference

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Prof Imtiaz Ahmed, Chair, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh;

Prof Amena Mohsin, Dept. of International Relations, University of Dhaka Bangladesh;

Dr Atiqur Rahman, Fellow, Centre for Policy Dialogue, Associate Professor & Chairman, Department of Economics, North South University, Dhaka, Bangladesh;

Mr Motiur Rahman, Editor, The Daily Prothom Alo, Dhaka, Bangladesh;

Amb M Shafiullah, Senior Research Fellow, Bangladesh Enterprise Institute, Bangladesh;

Lyonpo Dawa Tsering, Bhutan;

Prof P R Chari, Director, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS), New Delhi, Inida;

Prof Muchkund Dubey, Former Foreign Secretary, India, President Centre for Social Development, New Delhi, India;

Maj Gen (Retd) Afsir Karim, Editor, AAKROSH, Asian Journal on Terrorism & Internal Conflicts, Noida, UP, India;

Amb I P Khosla, New Delhi, India;

Prof S D Muni, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India;

Mr Mohamed Saleem, Administrative Officer Ministry of Planning and National Development, Male, Maldives;

Prof Lok Raj Baral, Executive Chairman, Centre for Contemporary Studies, Kathmandu, Nepal;

Mr Dev Raj Dahal, Central Dept of Political Science, Tribhuvan University, Nepal;

Mr Ajaya Dixit, Nepal Water Conservation Foundation, Kathmandu, Nepal;

Mr Padma Jyoti, President, SAARC Chamber of Commerce, Kathmandu, Nepal;

Prof Krishna P Khanal, Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal;

Prof Dhruba Kumar, Senior Fellow, Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal;

Dr Suman Sharma, Institute of Integrated Development Studies (IIDS), Purano, Baneshwar, Kathmandu;

Prof Moonis Ahmar, Department of International Relations, University of Karachi, Karachi, Pakistan;

Prof Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, President, Islamabad Policy Research Institute, Pakistan;

Dr Akmal Hussain, Pakistan Institute for Environment, Development, Action Research (PIEDAR), Lahore, Pakistan;

Participants at the Kathmandu Conference November 23-25, 2002

Prof Ijaz Hussain, Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, Quaid-I-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan;

Amb Niaz A Naik, Islamabad, Pakistan;

Dr Ayesha Siddiqua-Agha, Islamabad, Pakistan;

Dr Saman Kelegama, Executive Director, Institute of Policy Studies, Colombo, Sri Lanka;

Dr Vernon L B Mendis, Director General, The Bandaranaike International Diplomatic Training Institute, Colombo, Sri Lanka;

Dr Kumar Rupesinghe, Former Secretary General, International Alert, Sri Lanka;

Dr P Saravanamuttu, Executive Director, Centre for Policy Research & Alternatives, Colombo, Sri Lanka;

Mr Jagath Senaratne, Social Scientist Association, Colombo, Sri Lanka;

Prof John M Richardson Jr, Center for Teaching Excellence, American University, Washington, USA;

Amb Dr Georg Witschel, Commissioner for Combating, International Terrorism, Federal Government of Germany;

H E Ruediger Lemp, Ambassador, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, Gyaneshwar, Kathmandu, Nepal;

Prof Gert W Kueck, Resident Representative to India, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, New Delhi;

Mr Pankaj Madan, Chief Executive Advisor, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, New Delhi;

Prof Sridhar K Kathri, Executive Director, Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Colombo, Sri Lanka and

Mr Sugeeswara Senadhira, Associate Director, Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Colombo, Sri Lanka.

Summary and Overview[*]

Prof Muchkund Dubey
Former Foreign Secretary of India
President, Centre for Social Development, New Delhi.

The following observations of the deliberations in the Conference is divided into three parts:

1. Summing up the debate
2. Outlining some areas of the work that could be focused on by RCSS
3. My views on the way forward in the situation brought about by terrorism

Summing up
The papers presented have been profound and based on empirical research and sound thinking, and the discussions enriching. The most salient feature that has emerged from the discussion is that terrorism is an ubiquitous phenomenon in the region and all countries in South Asia are victims of one or more of the four forms of terrorism identified. These are: as a part of Al Qaeda network; arising out of religious fundamentalism; brought about by structural factors like extreme and widely prevalent poverty, glaring inequality and prolonged and gross forms of injustice; and as a result of the general collapse of law and order. Terrorism in each country is influenced by what takes place in the neighbouring countries and it is not a coincidence that intense terrorism is concentrated in the bordering areas in the region or the neighbourhood of the region.

Outside powers have a definite influence on terrorism in the region. South Asia is in the vortex of outside powers' global campaign against terrorism. Involvement of other countries in the recent past have spawned terrorism and profoundly influenced inter-state relations in South Asia.

There were discussions on the definition of terrorism, its causes and impact, measures for countering and preventing terrorism and on solutions and on forms of possible cooperation in the future.

Definition

There is no agreed definition of terrorism internationally and that is the main reason why it is not possible to have an international convention on terrorism. However, what is clear is that all forms of violence is not terrorism. Several countries in this region have resorted to violence for different purposes as in their independence movement, which was not necessarily terrorism. There is a clear shift of emphasis on the importance to be attached to a definition after the 11 September incident. It is now agreed that action to combat terrorism cannot be postponed until an agreed definition is arrived at internationally and should proceed on the basis of a working definition. There is a broad agreement on some elements as a hypothesis which has been agreed upon internationally and gained acceptability:

1. When the violence is resorted to for a premeditated purpose
2. When it is directed against innocent people or non-combatants
3. Terrorism should be recognized by the means adopted and the victims of terrorism; not by the goals of the terrorists.
4. The term combatant and non-combatant is controversial. The concept of 'combatant' cannot be extended too widely as it will then be meaningless. For example, it cannot be extended to the families of combatants or to a whole religious community or nationality. Persons targeted for giving signals cannot be classified as combatants.
5. 'Unlawful' is another term that is frequently used when describing terrorism and has been brought in to keep the State outside the scope of terrorism. There was a unanimous view at the discussion that this was not acceptable. Legal, political violence or structural violence by the State against its own people means as much terrorism as violence by non-State actors. This cannot be acceptable in the South Asian context. Democracy has safeguards against structural violence although it may be practiced imperfectly. But in a totalitarian regime, that safeguard is not generally available. This is the generalization that can be made within the South Asia experiences.

Causes of Terrorism

1. It is the general consensus that there is no cause of terrorism that could be applied uniformally to all the countries in the region. The causes are country-specific.

2. Without going into all possible causes, some critical variables can be identified:
   • Persistence of extreme poverty and accompanying deprivations such as unemployment, low levels of literacy and limited access to health services;
   • Non-functioning or mal-functioning of democracy;
   • Years of misgovernance which have made violence the only means of bringing about a change;
   • Brutal suppression of human rights over an extended period of time;
   • Alienation of whole cultural or ethnic groups brought about by threats to life by frequent communal violence, destruction of means of livelihood, historical humiliation, and continuing *de facto* discrimination in jobs and opportunities.
   • Another important factor is the narrowing of the mind brought about by fundamentalist indoctrination.

3. Social and political injustice

In the context of Nepal in particular there is extreme poverty and illiteracy and there is the phenomenon of rural centred terrorism as a result.

4. Globalization

Rise of terrorism in South Asia is associated with some of the adverse effects of globalisation. Globalisation causes economic dislocations leading to the creation of pockets of unemployment, particularly in the informal, small and medium scale industrial sectors. The ensuring frustration, particularly when it is concentrated in particular ethnic, religious or linguistic groups, often fuels the fire of terrorism. In Sri Lanka, privatisation and liberalisation of imports particularly affected the emerging entrepreneurs among the Sinhalese. This proved to be a major factor contributing to the JVP's descent to the path of terrorism.

The marginalisation of large sections of population brought about by the retrenchment of social development activities under the structural adjustment programmes implemented by South Asian countries and designed to facilitate the process of globalisation, has been another contributory factor.

Yet another aggravating factor has been the loss of cultural identities due to the homogenization process associated with globalisation. This has led to the reassertion, as a defence mechanism, of primordial identities, often by violent means.

Globalisation is associated with the weakening of the State, the rising salience of realistic as opposed to idealistic paradigms and the consequent decline of social values. These have adversely affected the functioning of democracy and brought about mis-governance – phenomena closely linked to the rise of terrorism in South Asia.

5. External factors

Use of Non State actors by external powers in pursuit of their political or strategic goals have played a crucial role in spawning terrorism. This has a negative effect on democracy in the entire region and strengthened autocratic

regimes. Foreign support has also contributed to the heightening of the salience of national security concerns, aggressive nationalism and militarism in the region.

Impact on inter-state Relations.

It was agreed that terrorism has brought about a deterioration in bilateral relations between countries in the region. If terrorism was a common problem in all the countries, they could have united in adversity but unfortunately the same source of terrorism is perceived differently by different countries. There are bilateral problems inherited from the past, which are aggravated due to the differing attitude of the countries towards the same source of terrorism. Terrorism can even lead to a regional war if it continues to be viewed as it is today and a drastic change in perception is required.

Impact of Terrorism.

Different types of terrorism have different impacts. The poor suffer most in terrorism perpetrated as a consequence of the breakdown in law and order and collapse of governance. The elite have a nexus with the terrorists in such a situation. But there are also instances of direct attacks being made on the elite, particularly on State actors. Elites also suffer in terrorist violence the main purpose of which is to send out messages. For, bigger the catch, the stronger is the message and hence greater the chance of its reaching the destination. No attempt has so far been made to draw up a sociological profile of terrorists in South Asia. However, one can safely assume that the poor are the foot-soldiers of terrorism mounted as a rebellion against injustice and deprivation.

Cost of Terrorism

Terrorism has adversely affected development and imposed heavy economic costs on most of the South Asian countries.

There were many presentations which attempted to calculate the cost of terrorism. The problems in doing so are:

- Double counting and
- Isolating terrorism from other factors

In spite of these difficulties it is vital to calculate the cost to understand the phenomenon. Such calculations should be the basis of advocacy and for combating terrorism and for eliminating the root causes. Costs are both direct and indirect. There is no uniform methodology that can be prescribed for calculation but guidelines can be established. The calculations in terms of impact on macro-economic variables such as GNP, foreign exchange position, export growth, FDI flows, fiscal deficit etc. are more complicated than calculations of the impact of terrorism on particular sectors, commodities and units of industry.

Combating Terrorism

There is an international consensus that combating terrorism cannot be postponed until a commonly agreed definition is arrived at or until the root causes are eliminated. Progress should be simultaneous.

There is a problem of collateral damage in campaigns for combating terrorism. Given the technology of modern warfare and the inter-connectedness among countries and economies, collateral damages are on a much larger scale today than before. Article 50 of the UN Charter provides for resorting to Security Council in case of a collateral damage, but when the Charter was drafted, it was not imagined that collateral damage is inherent in the very structure of the economy and society today. In any punitive action to be taken other than in the context of Chapter VII of the Charter, minimising collateral damages and putting in place an arrangement for providing compensations against them should be regarded as crucial.

It was suggested that more professionalism is required in the law and order machinery but it was agreed that it is hard to do so in the divided and polarized societies of South Asia. The consensus was that the task of reducing polarization in all countries and professionalisation of law and order should be undertaken at the same time.

Areas to be focused on by RCCS

- Extent of terrorism spawned by misgovernance and collapse of governance.In several aspects, misgovernance is endemic in this region. It was explicit in the Bangladesh presentation and although there was no presentation on India, terrorism is rampant and attributed to outside factors but there is much 'home-grown terrorism' in India which should not be ignored.

- Calculating cost of terrorism should continue with improved methodology. It is difficult to prescribe a uniform methodology; but certain guidelines can be laid down.

- A study of the mainstreaming of indigenous terrorist movements within democratic processes, because it will be a major activity and challenge in the near future – e.g. Mainstreaming the LTTE, religious fundamentalist groups in Pakistan, Maoists in Nepal, militants in northeast India and the remnant of the extreme leftists in Bangladesh.

- Definition of terrorism in the context of South Asia. This will differ from the definition given by the major powers.

- Redefining relationship between the State and non-State actors of violence in the context of changes that have taken place in the recent past.

- A study on terrorism in border areas and its linkages with domestic terrorist movements in the neighbouring country.

A study is required of the role of the State actor in this scenario. There was a suggestion to attempt the social profile of the terrorist movements. The poor are the foot-soldiers of some forms of terrorism.

MAHBUB UL HAQ RESEARCH AWARDS

for Collaborative Research on Non-traditional Security Issues 2003

Mahbub ul Haq Research Awards for Non Traditional Security Issues in South Asia is a grant for a programme of collaborative research sponsored by the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Colombo, Sri Lanka, as an activity under its project on, *"Non-Traditional Security Issues in Asia".* This award is meant for collaborative research between two, one each from a different South Asian country, for joint research on non-traditional security issues that has relevance to contemporary South Asia. Awards will be made on the following themes:

- *Governance in Plural Societies and Security*
- *Environment and Security*
- *Globalisation and Security*
- *Conflict Resolution*

OBJECTIVE

The objective of the RCSS Research Award is to provide opportunities for intensive collaborative research with specific focus on non-traditional security issues at national, regional and sub-regional level. The programme seeks to conduct in-depth research focused on new and emerging issues of South Asian strategic and international interest coupled with a problem-solving approach. A related objective is to promote collaboration and networking of individuals and institutions within and between countries, regions and sub sub-regions of South Asia. The long-term objective of the programme is to facilitate expertise and capacity building at the level of both individuals as well as institutions in coping with the challenges of non-traditional security issues.

RESEARCH AREAS

RCSS Research Awards will address four main themes under the broad ambit of non-traditional security issues. In conformity with the Centre's programmatic priority the selected themes for research under this grant programme must be of current policy relevance. One award each will be granted for studies on themes given below.

Governance in Plural Societies and Security:
- The parameters of liberal democracy and its applicability in the region.
- Consider domestic political changes taking place in the region.
- Relationship between democratisation and devolution.
- The state of human resource development and its relation to governance
- Measures to safeguard minority rights.
- Role of women's movement in the process.
- Accommodation of different ethnic identities.
- Relationship between democracy, federalism and secularism.

Environment and Security:
- Identifying the causes of environmental degradation
- The resultant impact on society
- Its impact on living conditions and human habitat
- The nature and type of threat it poses to society
- Impact on women and the family and the role of women's movements
- Alternative developmental models while sustaining the ecology
- Sustainable development and ecological balance

Globalisation and Security:
- The nature and potential of globalisation and its relevance for South Asia
- Relationship between globalisation and state sovereignty
- The impact of the East Asian economic down turns on South Asian policies
- The need to ensure human security through protecting the marginalised and vulnerable sections of society, policy options for South Asia
- Examine the role of multi-national corporations and their impact on South Asian policies
- How should states handle international pressures connected with globalisation
- Should the State be an active agent, a passive participant or an opponent to the process

Conflict Resolution
- Conflict resolution methods in South Asia, success and failures
- Sociological analysis of conflict resolution practices on South Asian societies
- How should intractable conflicts be dealt with in South Asia
- How deeply is conflict resolution methods engrained in interstate relations within the region
- The lessons South Asia can learn from conflict resolution practices in other parts of the world.

ELIGIBILITY

Nationals of all South Asian countries - Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka- are eligible for these research awards.

The grantees will be expected to conduct the research in a collaborative process under the guidance of supervisor(s) to be designated by the RCSS.

Preference will be given to younger scholars, women and those coming from non-capital cities. Preference may be given to RCSS Alumni.

APPLICATION PROCEDURE

Eligible candidates wishing to be considered for the awards should apply to the RCSS along with the following:

a) Full curriculum vitae and contact address including telephone, fax and e-mail, if any;

b) A research proposal jointly written by the co-applicants not exceeding 1000 words. In addition, the following may be spelt out.

> ➢ Aim of the project
> ➢ Research methodology
> ➢ Requirement of field work and time frame
> ➢ Research Schedule

c) Copies of up to two recently published work by each applicant, if any; and

d) Two confidential letters of academic reference in favour of each applicant to be sent directly to the RCSS. The referees are expected to comment on: i) the length and capacity of the knowledge of the applicant's academic/ professional performance; ii) the importance and relevance of the proposed research topic; iii) the applicant's research aptitude and capability including command of necessary research methods and literature to carry out the study; iv) the applicant's overall competence and comparative standing in her/his own discipline; and v) the applicant's record of timely completion of project. Full name, title and contact address of the referee must be clearly mentioned.

Online application will be preferred. Additional references may be sent by post.
A selection panel constituted by the RCSS will make final selections.

OUTPUT

The product of the collaborative research will have to be submitted to RCSS as a research paper of about 100 pages, (double spaceed) in English within six months of the announcement of the Award. The research papers of outstanding quality may be published by the RCSS in its *Policy Paper* series

STIPEND AND ALLOWANCES

US $ 2,000/ each will be paid for the award equally to the awardees. Additional incentives will be available for timely submission of the completed Project.

An additional modest amount will be available for fieldwork connected with the project, depending on the requirement and submission of a detailed proposal.

CLOSING DATE OF APPLICATION

The Centre must receive all application material by February 28, 2003, at the following address; application by e-mail is also welcome.

Programme Officer
Regional Centre for Strategic Studies
No: 2, Elibank Road, Colombo 5, SRI LANKA.
Tel: (94-1) 599734-5; Fax 599993
e-mail: program@sri.lanka.net
Visit RCSS website at http://www.rcss.org for more details.

RCSS Web Discussion Forum:

We invite you to join us in examining the dynamics of contemporary South Asian conflicts, on different outstanding issues time to time on our Web Discussion Forum. The ongoing e-mail discussions will now go on the web. The Centre will appoint leading practitioners and national experts to facilitate the forum by providing in-depth analysis and also responding to your views on the subject of discussion.

We encourage you to take part in this lively web discussion that will work as an ideal forum for talent spotting of participants for our workshops lined up for the year ahead and aslo help self introduction of newcomers to RCSS's network.

The next web-discussion will be announced shortly.

- A study of the impact of terrorism on the domestic political structure and the nature of polity.

The rise of militarism, chauvinism and lurch to the extreme right;

deleterious effect on democracy; compelling need for a regime change.

- Economics of Terrorism

The financial ramifications; sources and methods of financing, its economic networking. Such a study should go beyond the region. Draw from work already done in U.S., U.K. and the United Nations.

- Implications of counter-terrorist measures in the context of South Asia.

Its effectiveness in our polarized society and the vested interest it can create which can be a liability.

The Way Forward

The approach should be different in different instances as no uniform way can be suggested.

The Bangladesh situation is interesting as they are relatively in a better position so far as the impact of terrorism is concerned. Because of social and cultural homogeneity, there is a large margin of safety with regard to all four sources of terrorism and the challenge to Bangladesh is to ensure that this margin is not eroded.

Nepal's task is to reconstruct the democratic and constitutional order; thoroughly reconsider the basic parameters on which democracy was founded; how disaffected communities can be brought into the mainstream and included in the democratic process.

Maintenance of pluralistic society is an effective means of containing terrorism. There should be a conscious effort to provide security to different minority groups.

Each country has a stake in maintaining a pluralistic society in other countries because what happens to pluralism in one country has an effect on others and nothing should be done in one country which will adversely affect pluralism in another.

Terrorist threats from other regional countries should not be exaggerated. In the contemporary situation, this deflects attention from domestic terrorism and makes it difficult to elicit the co-operation of other countries for fighting terrorism.

All South Asian countries should ensure that there is no 'failed State' in the region because such a situation is ideal for the resurgence of terrorism. There is a role that countries have to play with responsibility in absorbing the economic shocks of other countries which could result in moving towards the status of a 'failed State'. Countries should invest in the economic futures of each other.

Maintenance of good relations is an important antidote to terrorism. Normal political and economic relationships among the countries of the region should be maintained at all cost. It may not be possible to have very close relationships or integration of the economies but there is no reason for normal

political and economic relationships to be disrupted. Although there is no agreed framework for one country to rise to the occasion and prevent a situation in another country which can lead to the resurgence of terrorism and other problems, countries can at least support each other in such situations. If there is a State drifting towards failure and there are strained relationships, no assistance can be given because even a positive overture could be misunderstood. Hence what is important is to maintain cordial economic relations among all the countries in the region.

Building Stakes in each other's Stability and Prosperity.

By undertaking major projects which can withstand vicissitudes of political relations. Any project that is not impacted by political bilateral relations will enhance development.

Sharing a common vision even though it may not be based on realistic paradigm. A public movement for South Asian co-operation can be built around such a vision. Ingredients of the vision:

- the goal of economic community – it should be politically accepted and left to the second track to take it forward.
- Goals of the Social Charter, which could also be accepted politically, but left to the civil society movement to get it implemented at the ground level.

Transparency

The way South Asian countries deal with domestic terrorism or that affecting their neighbouring countries is often shrouded in secrecy. This creates problems all round. There is, therefore, a need for greater transparency in the manner individual South Asian countries deal with terrorism. This can be facilitated by debates in Parliaments, taking people into confidence and a more constructive and objective reporting by media.

The Media

The media is used by the terrorists effectively; those who combat terrorism should also use the media to its fullest extent. A discussion could be organised on the role of media for combating terrorism.

Civil Society

The role of civil society in a variety of ways – in the democratisation process, in empowerment, confidence building, in carrying forward the vision mentioned above – can be powerful in building pressure for ensuring greater transparency in the way governments deal with terrorism and for maintaining good relations with neighbours.

Cultural Rediscovery

The South Asian society has historically been characterised by cultural diversity and religious perspectives rooted in tolerance and humanism. Conscious nurturing of these values and distinctive cultural features can go a long way towards making the region inhospitable for terrorism based on extremisms of different varieties.

[*] From the summary report of the Conference on *Terrorism in South Asia: Impact on Development and Democratic Process*, Soaltee Crowne Plaza, Kathmandu, Nepal, November 23-25, 2002.

SRI LANKA'S PEACE PROCESS:

EXPERIENCES AND LESSONS FOR NEPAL[*]

Dr Kumar Rupesinghe
President, Foundation for Co-existance
Former Secretary General International Alert

There are many features that your country has in common with mine and one of them is that we share a common aspiration to end the protracted conflict facing both our countries. I am not fully conversant with your situation in Nepal but it seems to me that you are also entering an escalating phase in the armed conflict in your country and already it has taken the lives of over 6000 people and devastated parts of your country. I do hope that Nepal does not have to go through the same traumatic experience that Sri Lanka went through and that you would be able to find ways and means of finding a negotiated settlement. Perhaps you may be able to learn a few lessons from our own protracted war and our efforts to reach a solution..

Applicability of International Experiences to Other Conflict Situations

Of course each country has a unique history, a unique culture and experience. Therefore, attempts to translate experiences without respect and recognition of this fact will bear no result. Unfortunately, there are no text books solutions. Although books can provide us with comparative experiences of how other countries dealt with their conflicts. We can learn lessons from such readings. It is always important to understand the dynamics of a conflict, its evolution, and specific contours.

The conflict in Sri Lanka has been multifaceted and protracted. Sri Lanka has experienced three armed insurgencies within a span of three decades. Two of these insurgencies were mounted by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) in 1971 and 1989. Both these insurgencies were ideological conflicts based on a critique of the governance structure of the country. The democratic institutions in the country were able to withstand these two insurrections at a great cost to life and property.

The other insurgency that Sri Lanka has faced is the protracted conflict between the Government of Sri Lanka (GoSL) and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). The conflict has been primarily over equitable power sharing, minority rights and discrimination over land, language and employment. Many scholars have characterized the root causes of the conflict as a failure in building a multi-ethnic nation after Sri Lanka attained independence in 1948. The inability to share power with other communities and the intolerance shown towards their language and discrimination in employment created a situation where the Tamils felt marginalized and alienated from the nation building exercise. All efforts by the Tamil moderates to reach a peaceful settlement of the dispute through non violent peaceful means came to very little. The armed conflict in Sri Lanka then began around 1975 when a younger generation of Tamils decided to take up arms and fight for a separate state.

It has now been over twenty five years since Sri Lanka experienced an armed separatist insurgency from the North and the Eastern part of the country. Throughout these years our fragile democracy faced many challenges but has withstood the test of time. It is indeed remarkable that our political leaders have had the wisdom and never attempted to throw away the democratic traditions to face the crisis.

The last two decades have been a dark period in our country's history. We did not see the end of the tunnel. The cost of the war has been enormous for both sides. Sri Lanka was once seen as a country which had one of the highest quality of life index for Asia. We had the potential of being one of the richest countries in the region. The war kept us back. We were overtaken by countries with lesser resources and infrastructure. It would be foolhardy to measure the cost of the war in numbers alone. The psychic pain and suffering cannot be measured. But they tell a significant story. Over 60,000 killed, thousands disappeared, over 50 thousand injured in battle and over 50 billion rupees spent on armaments in one single year alone. The war had generated over a million refugees. By the end of the year 2001 we were a bankrupt nation.

There has been several efforts to resolve the protracted conflict in Sri Lanka. I need not enumerate on the history of these failed efforts, but to acknowledge that all our leaders tried to resolve this vexed question either through our own efforts or through the assistance of third parties. It is however important to summarize the lessons that need to be learnt from these previous exercises.

The current negotiations between the UNF government led by Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe and the LTTE is the most far reaching and ambitious negotiation process that has been developed. Both the parties seemed to have learnt from past mistakes. Both parties have realized that neither side can win militarily Currently the talks which are now being held in Oslo with the support of the International community provides the best opportunity ever for a negotiated solution.

The most important factor which overrides anything else is the political commitment of both sides to seek a negotiated solution. Some theoreticians say that parties come to the table when there is a hurting stalemate. We had reached such a hurting stalemate. Both sides were war weary, an entire younger generation lost to the war, the economy in a state of bankruptcy and enormous suffering experienced by the people of the North East. The political will to settle matters was evident from both sides.

But a hurting stalemate is not a sufficient condition. An important element is the quality of leadership to undertake the process of transformation. Such a leadership was provided by the Prime Minister Ranil Wickremasinghe and his team. It seems they had studied the process deeply during their period of opposition. The UNF government received an overwhelming mandate by the people of both communities in December 2001 to sue for peace. The LTTE also had enormous pressure from a war weary and suffering people and the Diaspora which numbers over half a million in major capitols in the Western world voted for a peace with dignity. An important corollary to this is the aftermath of September 11th and the global war on terrorism where the Diaspora felt that the LTTE may have no choice but to enter the mainstream.

Whilst political will is a precondition there were other ingredients which are necessary to sustain the peace. A significant factor here is the invitation by the Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE to invite Norway to facilitate the peace process. It has to be noted that President Kumaratunge had first invited the Norwegians to facilitate the peace process as far back as 1996. However it was with the advent of the UNF government to power in December 2001 that peace talks began in earnest. What was distinctive in the Norwegian facilitation was the signing of a Cease-Fire Agreement between the two parties to the conflict. The Cease Fire Agreement had far reaching implication and created a framework for the negotiations process. What is significant in the Cease Fire Agreement is that emphasis was given to confidence building measures and building trust between the parties. No artificial deadlines were created and both sides came to the conclusion that fundamental issues regarding the nature of the power sharing arrangements and decommissioning of weapons would not be taken up during the initial discussions. The parties had decided through their past experiences that positional bargaining would get them nowhere.

The Ceasefire agreement also ensured the establishment of an International Monitoring Mission composed of Scandinavian Monitors who wee mandated to monitor the Cease Fire Agreement. These monitors have been a courageous peace keeping force without arms that have demonstrated their neutrality in the evenhandedness of their work with the Government and the LTTE.

You would of course be wondering why Norway, a country 5000 miles away should be so heavily involved in the affairs of Sri Lanka. Norway is one of the wealthiest countries in the world with enormous reserves of oil and gas. They have over the years been in the forefront of development assistance and have built a special capacity for facilitating peace in Israel-Palestine, Guatemala, the Sudan etc. In Sri Lanka's case Norway was a substantive development partner with a fair amount of experience and knowledge having been in the country for over two decades. Some say that Norway's contribution to international relations is in peace making where it has found a special place for itself. But the most important consideration is that it has won the trust of both parties to the conflict. Both were convinced that Norway has no hidden agenda. Norway's facilitation role has been crucial to the success of the process so far, in that Norway enabled effective communication between the parties and was ever ready to convey the concerns and apprehensions of both sides to each other.

The strategy of confidence building and building trust had an enormous impact in the country. A war weary nation could wake up without the fear of bombs exploding or hearing of another bomb explosion in the radio and television. The road blocks were removed instantaneously and roads open for travel. Essential food and other items went to the war torn areas. A divided nation became united in that the barriers which had separated them opened up. People in the South visited the war torn areas and were moved by the carnage and damage that had been done to a part of their country. Goods traveled from one part of the country to another. Citizen diplomacy was at its height with people to people contact at numerous levels.

Further the process and sequencing of events proved to be well designed, where the parties have moved away from positional bargaining to problem solving. Problem solving has been the hallmark of the negotiations process.

There are of course other factors which we need to take into account. Of special importance is the leadership and time that the Prime Minister devotes to the peace process. He has given his highest priority to this and has had the ability to delegate powers to two of his most able and senior Ministers to lead the negotiations team. The establishment of a Peace Secretariat with two distinguished and able Ambassadors heading the team and with over 25 staff ensures that proper documentations and all the practical work necessary to support the peace process are available. Therefore, the architecture and framework provides for a sustainable and focused effort

which can be under constant evaluation. This kind of architecture and framework where all the building blocks necessary for sustainability is on hand.

Another important asset has been the overwhelming support provided by the international community. The international community has been prepared to share the burden of relief and reconstruction and has also created a normative framework where both parties have to adhere to standards set by the international community. Some call it a peace trap but I prefer to think that this is the kind of co-operation that we need to see to tame and resolve other conflicts around the world. The leverage adopted by the International Community has ensured that the process remains on track. The establishment of an umbrella of support and burden sharing has been unique. Sri Lanka is indeed fortunate when we compare similar processes in other countries. Over thirty countries attended the development forum in Oslo which will be a precursor to a major donor pledging meeting in Japan in May this year. Japan has appointed a Special Envoy, the former Under Secretary General of the United Nations Ambassador Akashi, who will be fully engaged to lead the pledging conference. The U.S. and U.K. and the European Union have also given encouraging signals. India as a demonstration of its support has provided a large stand-bye loan in spite of the legal problems associated with dealing with the LTTE.

Another important feature of the peace process is the involvement of Civil Society institutions in providing innovative and creative support for the peace initiative. Sri Lanka has a robust civil society which has withstood the terror of the last twenty years and have rallied to the support of the peace process. Several organizations have been engaged in informing the public through numerous seminars and workshops throughout the country. Others have done excellent work to influence and promote policy dialogue with decision makers. The business community has also supported the peace process in numerous ways. The media has been equally supportive except for a few who continue to be strident and vituperative. This is however a part of our democracy. All the religious forces in the country whether Buddhist, Christian, Muslim or Hindu have rallied for peace through prayer, mediation, midnight vigils and countless number of manifestations. The Maha Sangha have given their blessings to the process.

Challenges Ahead

All this does not mean that we will not face obstacles and challenges in the way. This is inevitable since we are travelling on a journey with many roadblocks on the way. It is unchartered territory.

The most significant challenge is the reconstruction of a war torn society and enabling relief and rehabilitation for over a million refugees who are returning to regaind their land and their dignity. This is an enormous task with very intricate and complex problems. The returnees have to be fed, housed and provided the minimum of infrastructure support. They need to find gainful employment.

The reconstruction of a war-torn society, repairing roads, removing land mines, and rebuilding an infrastructure for continued and sustainable development is another challenge that the country is facing.

The wounds and the memories of the war still remain with us. The traumas of the war is still to be seen in the faces of countless children and mothers. We need a lot of space to acknowledge the harm that we have done to others and ask for forgiveness and reconciliation. This is yet to come and the necessary building blocks are now taking shape.

Over the next few months difficult issues will come up on the agenda as to the nature of power sharing, whether a federal or confederated model is most appropriate for the country's future development. The decommissioning of weapons will be on one of the most intractable issues to resolve. The nature of power sharing between the Tamils, Muslims and Sinhalese living in the region will be another.

The whole country will be engaged in a transformative exercise.

Another enormous challenge which the country will face is in seeing to what an extent our competitive political system can create a bi-partisan solution where all the main political parties will broadly support the peace process. The President has publicly given her full commitment to the peace process. I think it is the hope of all our people that the political leaders will have the vision to cooperate and ensure that peace will be enjoyed by future generations.

Associate Director Leaves

Mr Sugeeswara P Senadhira, Associate Director of the Centre, left for Oslo, Norway in December, 2002 to take up a diplomatic posting in Sri Lanka's Consular Office in Oslo, Norway. He was attached to the Centre since April 1999, and leaves the organization prematurely before his term ended in April 2003. RCSS wishes him success in his new endeavour.

From the Bookshelf

D D Khanna and Gert W Kueck (eds.,) *Conflict Resolution, Human Rights and Democracy*, (SHIPRA Publications, Delhi, 2003).

The book contains contributions of some of the outstanding scholars and thinkers on Human Rights and Conflict Resolutions and its association with Democracy. An in-depth analysis of the needs of future and the imperatives of democracy and suggestions pertaining to ways and means of promoting democratic culture; minimal conditions that the politics of the country must meet in order to make political democracy functional are focused. The book should be useful to all dealing with the subject.

Taina Sisuluoto (ed.,) *Tactical Nuclear Weapons; Time for Control*, (United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), Geneva, Switzerland, United Nations 2002.)

Tactical nuclear weapons are a particularly dangerous category of nuclear weapons. They are portable, often integrated into conventional force structures and, in some cases, less well guarded than their strategic counterparts… To mark the tenth anniversary of the 1991 Bush-Gorbechev unilateral declarations on tactical nuclear weapons, UNIDIR and its collaborative partners held a meeting in September 2001 at the United Nations in New York days after the terrible attack against the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon on 11th September. This volume is a collection of some of the papers presented at the New York Seminar.

Monique Mekenkamp, Paul van Tongeren and Hans van de Veen (eds.,) *Searching for Peace in Central and South Asia, An Overview of Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, Colorado,USA, and London, UK, 2002).

Continuing a widely acclaimed series, the book provides critical background information, up-to-date surveys of the violent conflicts in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, the Ferghana Valley, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan and a directory of 187 organisations working in their field of conflict prevention and peacebuilding in the region. The authors include detailed, objective descriptions of ongoing activities, as well as assessments of future prospects for conflict resolution, focusing on efforts to make civil society an integral part of any peace process.

Small Arms Survey 2002: counting the human cost, A Project of the Undergraduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, (Oxford University Press, New York, 2002).

The Small Arms Survey is an independent research project located at the Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, Switzerland. The objectives of the Survey are: to be the principal source of public information on all aspects of small arms; to serve as a resource centre for governments, policy –makers, researchers, and activists; to monitor national and international initiatives (governmental and nongovernmental) on small arms; and to act as a clearing house for the sharing of information and the dissemination of best practices. The Survey also sponsors field research and information gathering efforts, especially in affected states and regions.