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REPORT

**Quaker International Affairs Program
for the period JANUARY 1, 2000 to JUNE 30, 2000**

of the

**American Friends Service Committee, U.S.
Quaker Peace & Service, Britain
Norwegian Friends Service Committee, Norway**

***Prepared by International Programs Unit, American Friends Service Committee
August, 2000***

REPORT

A rabbi asked his students how to tell exactly when the dawn came, the time for morning prayer. One student replied, "Is it light when you can distinguish a donkey from a horse? Another suggested, "When you can tell a palm tree from a fig tree?" The rabbi turned away all their answers, and told them "When you can look into the face of every man and every woman and see there the face of your brother and sister, then it is light. All else is darkness.

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INTRODUCTION

The Quaker International Affairs Program¹ works on conflicts and on direct causes of conflict, through dialogue, facilitation, and mediation. It seeks a culture of peace. And does this by injecting an ethical perspective into political and economic discussions at several different levels—grassroots, national, regional, and international. When people can engage each other directly about the problems they hold in common; when suffering people gain strength from each other to speak out; when those in power feel safe enough to listen...then we have hope of peace.

We believe that conflict is a normal, essential part of human life and interaction, at all levels. Yet violence—in many different forms—is far too often the individual, institutional, or state response to conflict. The core premise of this program is that enduring solutions at all levels to problems of economic and social injustice, cultural and racial and religious intolerance, state and ethnic struggle, militarization, environmental deterioration, and oppressions of all kinds will only be secured through careful, respectful building of institutions, norms, and behaviors that will enable people to see “that of God” in the other.

This program grew out of Quaker efforts to relieve suffering during and after the First World War. Convinced by that experience that Quakers must try to “take away the occasion for war” as well as to help restore peace, AFSC and sister agencies established Quaker Centers in Berlin, Vienna, Paris, Delhi, Beirut, Tokyo, etc. to serve as neutral meeting grounds for policy-makers and as sites for conferences on urgent international topics of the day.

Today, the program is staffed by 20 Quaker International Affairs Representatives, known as QIARs. QIARs are positioned in each major region of the world (Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America-Caribbean, and the Middle East) and serve as an active presence in the form of the Quaker United Nations Offices (QUNOs) at the United Nations—both in New York and Geneva.

Methods of work

Two aspects make Quaker international affairs work distinctive: it works actively and respectfully with people on all sides; it does not advocate for a pre-set position. QIARs make it clear to all that they stand for non-violence and respect for human rights, but their approach is to create a trustful environment in which adversaries can explore their own way to peace. From one-on-one conversations to large conferences, QIARs provide opportunities for people to get to know each other informally and see each other as human beings, rather than as faceless enemies. QIARs are facilitators. Whether it is a UN agency or a member of an ethnic minority, QIARs provide support from behind-the-scenes. Because of this, the Quaker International Affairs Program does not have high visibility. But the importance of QIAR work is known and recognized by key actors and agencies who seek them out to ask their assistance in approaching “the other”, in creating a forum to talk through a tangled issue, or to use their connections to open a blocked channel of communication.

Three levels - Five regions

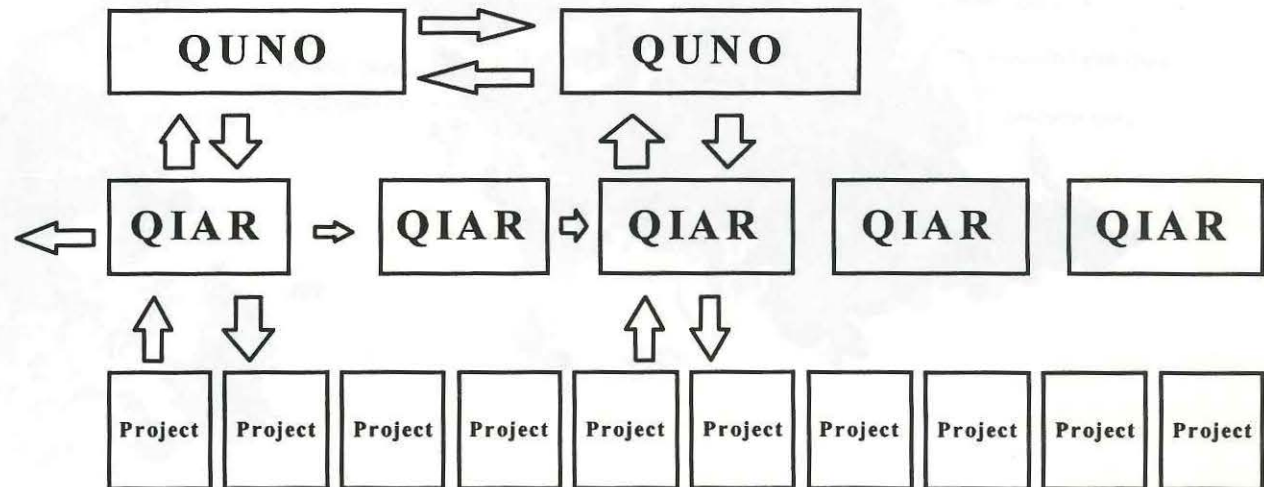
The Quaker International Affairs program is a mechanism for linking people who are working on similar issues in different parts of the world, for example, ex-combatants who are working for peace.

¹ The Quaker International Affairs Program is a joint effort of the American, British and Norwegian Friends Service Committees. At this time, all of the Quaker International Affairs Representatives plus the Quaker United Nations Office in New York (QUNO-NY) are under the support and supervision of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). The Quaker United Nations Office in Geneva (QUNO-Geneva) is under the support and supervision of Quaker Peace & Social Responsibility (Britain), and grassroots peace work in the African Great Lakes, linked with the East-Central Africa Quaker International Affairs program, is under the responsibility of the Norwegian Friends Service Committee.

These "global" connections foster the spread of new ideas and give new hope and energy to isolated peace-makers.

It is also a mechanism for speaking Truth to power. It provides a direct channel between the grassroots and centers of power and decision-making. Unlike many other agencies which employ a single approach or which focus on a single issue, the QIARs are part of a larger, three-level system: relief and development programs at the local level, QIAR dialogue and exchange programs at the regional level, QUNO programs at the international level. QIARs gain unique credibility from their ability to draw on local contacts and direct experience "where the problems are lived" and to bring these to bear at precisely the right moment when high-level discussions are taking place.

The Structure: 3 levels



The Global Program: 5 regions



**Part I: Selections
from Current Work to
Prevent or Halt
Conflict**

During the last six months, Quaker International Affairs staff have made some important contributions to peace-building. We have chosen a few examples to illustrate the *style, methods, and impact* of this program. Some of this work is very directly related to a "hot" conflict, such as Angola, Rwanda-Burundi, or Colombia. This is presented in "Work in Conflict Zones" below. Other parts address the issues that complicate or create violence (e.g. weapons, racism). This is presented in "Work on Conflict-Related Issues" below. Experience has shown us that this mix of short-term and longer-term measures creates a deeper and more durable effect in the long run. It makes sense both in theory and in practice.

For a fuller description of the actions which the seventeen Quaker International Affairs program staff have undertaken during the last six months, we refer you to their individual reports which give a more detailed picture of the work of each unit.

WORK IN CONFLICT ZONES

Angola

The bloody civil war in Angola continues with negotiations between the government and the opposition groups still at an impasse. Daniel Ntoni-Nzinga, the Southern Africa QIAR, has been working on the Angola conflict for some time. A few months ago he began to see an opening and has been working with a range of civil society—churches, NGOs, individuals, government officials—to see if it could be expanded into a major peace initiative. As a result, a broad coalition has formed around a common desire for a cease-fire and a comprehensive peace dialogue among the warring parties that would include the wider population of Angola. The following example shows how two levels of the Quaker International Affairs program have worked together to achieve something that neither could alone. Intransigent conflicts, such as Angola, cannot be dealt with simply at the national level. Bringing pressure (and information) to bear on the problem from a number of different angles gives strength to local action for peace.

The Southern Africa QIAR pulled off an extraordinary feat in January of this year with the help of the Quaker United Nations Office and the AFSC office in Washington D.C. Realizing that the new and delicate Angolan coalition would benefit from outside recognition and information, Ntoni-Nzinga approached QUNO with the idea of bringing a group of Angolan civil society leaders to the United Nations at the time of the UN Security Council hearings on Angola (January 2000). QUNO set up a week of events designed to build relationships with key UN and Member State representatives who are active on Angolan issues. These included five meetings with UN ambassadors who were sitting on the Security Council, with other interested states, with the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative for Africa and with members of the UN Department of Political Affairs carrying responsibility for African and Angolan issues. In order to familiarize the delegation with current UN deliberations on Africa, QUNO arranged for the delegation to attend the UN Security Council discussions on Angola, and on the peacemaking process in Burundi, the latter addressed by Nelson Mandela.

The visit to New York has been described as "a landmark for Angola". It changed awareness in a profound way and proved that ordinary people could use channels effectively which were previously reserved only for governments and politicians. It changed awareness on many levels and gave participating civil society organizations a new sense of power. The UN community also benefited; it learned of the need for a peace dialogue that included civil society as well as the main combatants (the Angolan Government and UNITA). QUNO's hard work in preparing the ground and by organizing meetings with almost every member state on the Security Council paid off as the United Nations

Security members and officials of the UN have taken good note of the delegation's analysis of the situation in their country and region. Feedback being received indicates that the trip was worth it.

Daniel Ntoni-Nzinga says, "Building a movement of civil society for peace in Angola is an achievement for all of those working together against great odds: communities are beginning to feel like communities, coalitions are coming together with a single profoundly moving purpose of peace. The nation is beginning to come together as a nation in spite of the minefields. The developments in Angola have brought requests from many other countries interested in a similar model. The peace movement is led by many in their twenties, thirties and forties working in collaboration with youth and elders. This age group brings skill and experience as well as energy. There is the start of new thinking in Africa." (See pp. 16-21 of the full report.)

Andes

The Andean QIAR, Amanda Romero, faced with the rapidly escalating violence in Colombia and the grave danger of spill-over into neighboring states, sees an unmet need at this moment in refugee protection and rights. Here is one small example of how she is working with UNHCR and grassroots organizations on the borders, in some of the worst affected areas, to monitor human rights violations and assist local groups contain the violence.

The areas where the most dramatic impact has taken place in the last six months are in Putumayo (Colombia) and in Panama. Putumayo is one of Colombia's southern provinces which borders on Ecuador and Peru. It is a coca-growing region, targeted by the United States for U.S. anti-narcotic activities (military training and coca-eradication). It is also an area where the guerrilla movements and the paramilitaries are fighting for control. Early in the year, reports began to surface of increasing human rights abuses and that the aerial spraying was not only destroying the coca, but also legitimate crops. Fish, animals, and even children were reported sick and spraying may have been a factor in 3 deaths. The QIAR, *Amanda Romero*, who is familiar with groups and issues in Putumayo from her work there in 1999, was in a position to help organize a meeting with 40 leaders from Putumayo to look at the potential dangers. From this meeting came a report that has been published and disseminated widely in Colombia and elsewhere. Subsequently, the governor of the province went to Washington, D.C. to speak out against Plan Colombia and the fumigation plans in particular.

The major increase in violence in the Choco and Antioquia regions of Panama and northern Colombia have meant that more Colombians are slipping into Panama. The QIAR learned that those fleeing the political violence (and some of those who helped them on arrival) were not aware of the international protections available to them. Networking with churches, grassroots leaders, and groups on both sides of the border, the QIAR has laid the groundwork for training in this crucial area. (See pp. 57-62 of the full report.)

Both the Quaker United Nations Office in New York and the AFSC Washington Office has been backstopping Romero's work by giving her a forum to speak on events. The Director in Washington, Jim Matlack, also arranged the visit in D.C. for an African-American journalist who has been investigating the situation of racial minorities in Colombia's Choco region. Concerned that the most important and ominous development with regard to Latin America is the rapidly escalating U.S. intervention in Colombia, Matlack has been meeting with officials and NGOs to understand the roles of the various combatants, the local peace movement, human rights abuses, and the situation of increasing numbers of civilians and refugees. Since efforts to block large U.S. military aid to Colombia have failed, he sees that the U.S. is likely to be sucked deeper into this vexing quagmire.

Korea

The US still views North Korea, with its missile program, as an immediate threat. But the QIARs, Karin Lee and John Feffer—whose work is facilitating détente with North Korea—are taking advantage

of the South-North-US discussions of the last few months to see what can be done to enable North and South Korean people to come to terms with each other. It is on the human level that peace will be made or broken on the Korean peninsula and the threat to other nations reduced. Currently, the QIARs are responding to a slight opening that has considerable potential for de-fusing violence at the personal level: interest in new, more constructive ways of handling opposition.

Demonstrations for social change in South Korea almost always turn violent; in part, local people explain, because neither the authorities (police) nor the activists see another way to handle tense situations. Concerned that this confrontational style may hinder future North-South communication, Feffer and Lee have started a 'training of trainers' program in conflict resolution. An initial group of fifteen trainees, eleven women and four men, drawn from eight organizations and four South Korean cities, are now in the midst of a year-long series of workshops. The workshops will enable them to analyze different conflict situations, employ non-violent techniques appropriate to each situation, and then train others. Along the way, the participants will develop a Korean model for conflict resolution, based on their analysis of differing characteristics in North and South Korean negotiating styles, as well as a packet of materials that can be used in workshops and classrooms. Resource people are being drawn from other divided societies, such as Germany, to help the Korean trainees understand better what to expect about the social and psychological impact of unification.

As Feffer and Lee note, "The conflict resolution training project continues to be our banner program in the region. The positive feedback we receive from this program comes not just from participants, but also from other agencies and academics who see the program answering a need felt in Korean society. This indicates that the AFSC listened well, and responded to a definite need in the region." (See pp. 30-40 of the full report.)

The AFSC Washington Office continues to monitor policy and aid responses to food shortages in the North and to assess developments in political-military-nuclear issues involving both Koreas, such as the special report on U.S. policy options toward North Korea by former Secretary of Defense William Perry.

Cuba

Cuba has been a major feature in the news of the last six months with the seizure of six year old Elian Gonzalez, who became a symbol of the 40-year conflict between the United States and Cuba. This conflict may now see some change. QIAR work of the last four years, which has sought a bi-partisan movement in the United States Congress that would relax trade sanctions against Cuba, has finally borne fruit and could soon see a major legislative victory. AFSC Washington Office and the Cuba-Caribbean QIAR program have worked together on this.

In Cuba itself, the political situation remains precarious for civil society; and internal economic stresses continue to grow such that greater numbers of Cubans flout the rules—and risk retribution—as they seek to make ends meet. At the same time, the Cuban government is increasingly assertive internationally and can mobilize considerable internal support on issues of sovereignty. The QIAR organized an off-the-record meeting for a small group of Cuban economists and distinguished scientists who wanted to talk about notions of a sustainable society as these can be applied to Cuba. The meeting was held at a quiet resort hotel in Mexico. It was an important, unique experience for those attending, who arrived with considerable skepticism about such a gathering. They were introduced to a methodology they had seldom experienced, yet which is basic to QIAR work: an isolated, relaxed setting, a respectful, listening ambiance, an open-ended, unforced agenda, and ample opportunity for participants to get to know one another outside the formal agenda. A key factor in its success—because the participants were familiar only with Cuba—was that the meeting drew on experience from other countries in Latin America and the Caribbean through a variety of resource people. The meeting enabled the participants to re-frame their work on Cuba and re-focus their deep concern for the future of their country in positive ways. (See pp. 68-75 of the full report.)

Indonesia

The Southeast Asia QIAR program, started in the 1950s, is one of our oldest. The fact that AFSC now has privileged access to Indonesia's highest levels is due to Wahid Abdurahman, the current president of Indonesia, being a part of QIAR events during the 1970s. He has publicly attributed some of his present thinking and his underlying humanitarian philosophy to these early Quaker-led experiences. This example—of engagement with people from an early stage through their rise to positions of leadership—is not unusual in the International Affairs program. But it serves as just one more example of how this important legacy works to our advantage.

The current Southeast Asia QIARs, Bob and Helen Clarke, are taking the program into a new, intensive focus on the conflicts in Indonesia. Over the last year they have visited areas of conflict to talk directly with people on the scene (as well as in the capital) about what was happening. Through this, they have gradually built up an understanding of the conflicts and more importantly, the people who are working to address them. For example, the QIARs have been observing what elements are shared among the half a dozen different conflicts that are now occurring simultaneously in the country, and which ones are distinct. In general, they find that the conflicts are much more complex than simply "religious" or "secessionist" as the international media characterizes them. They also find that the global concern about conflict resolution has attracted a number of groups from abroad who come with proposals for how to bring peace in Indonesia. Often supported by substantial grants, these groups are carrying out training sessions, preparing documents and holding meetings on the subject. People in many Indonesian NGOs are also very concerned about the violence and trying, one way or another, to understand the violence and to help address it in some way. Many of these are skeptical about the motivation and approaches of outside peacemakers. Now, with a better understanding of the gaps and the sensitivities, the Clarkes are providing a simple but important connecting link that allows Indonesia peace activists "on the firing line" and those planning national policy, to learn from and reinforce each other in their efforts to build peace. (See pp. 41-44 of the full report.)

Note: Indonesians have appreciated the fact that the QIARs have not come with a predetermined formula for Indonesians to follow, but rather they are seeking ways to promote local capacities for conflict resolution and non-violence. Understanding the different concerns and approaches of Indonesian peacemakers has set the stage for a series of culturally-sensitive activities in the months ahead.

WORK ON CONFLICT-RELATED ISSUES

Small Arms and Other Weapons

A coordinated international effort has long been needed in order to curb the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. Small arms are the major cause of loss of life in the current conflicts around the world—both of civilians and combatants. QUNO has been working behind the scenes with the UN and NGOs to shape priorities for action.

QUNO representatives, David Jackman (NY) and David Atwood (Geneva), say: "Our clearest achievement has been to make it possible for NGOs, specialized in the disarmament field, to work successfully with governments in curbing the availability of small arms. We chose to focus on this issue in 1994, when it was still largely unknown among governments, and we have continued to play a significant role in developing the issue, both in the UN context and among NGOs operating in the field. The two QUNOs are regularly consulted by governments, UN agencies and NGOs and are sought out by all actors due to our long, in-depth engagement with the UN system. Our role as the primary interface between NGOs and the UN in relation to the 2001 Conference, *Illicit Trade in Small Arms in All Its Aspects*, is a recognition of the continuous work we have done on small arms over the past six years. We have every expectation that we will continue to play a central part in bringing these weapons under effective national and international controls. We are also pleased to see that our

underlying premise, that control of small arms must be treated as an integrated problem in development, peacemaking and peacekeeping rather than as a simple arms control process, has become a common opinion amongst governments and NGOs.

We have also worked hard to bring the full array of NGO views on small arms before the UN community. After our Colloquium on Small Arms, which brought together a range of government representatives and NGO experts to prepare for the 2001 UN Conference, it was a special pleasure for us to hear a government participant acknowledge 'I thought I was already an expert on this issue and that there wasn't anything new for me to learn. But,' he continued, 'you NGOs brought many new ideas to this session and I'm thankful that I was able to hear them.' (See pp. 80-107 of the full report.)

Arms control and conflict resolution continues to be at the heart of Washington Office work. Jim Matlack attends (and periodically presides over) weekly meetings of the Arms Control Caucus involving some 35 offices. These sessions provide crucial information, timely documents, advance notices of pending developments, and an opportunity to share plans for public education and outreach. One area of special effort is trying to effect a ban on landmines and to pass a binding Code of Conduct on Arms Sales. Both of these endeavors emerged out of the Arms Transfer Working Group along with focused efforts to block specific arms sales (e.g. Indonesia, Turkey) and to curb the world traffic in small arms. Wherever possible, Matlack relates these issues to gun control and gun violence in the United States, for example, taking part in the annual planning retreat of the arms control community in Coolfront, West Virginia.

At the regional level, the Viet Nam QIAR has been focusing on Agent Orange, a deadly chemical that was used to defoliate wide areas during the war. In cruel irony, both Vietnamese and Americans who came in contact with the weapon were affected. The QIAR is quietly working with all sides to facilitate meetings that will help identify "hot spots" where the chemical was dumped, information on health effects and treatments for those who are suffering, and to secure compensation for those who are incapacitated. (See pp. 45-56 of the full report.)

Unexploded ordnance is also a major problem in the region...still. The Viet Nam QIAR helped achieve a breakthrough in getting de-mining equipment as well as getting U.S. aid for clearing up unexploded bombs and mines left from the war. Lady Borton has also put in place a major public awareness campaign with the film, *Deadly Debris* to help people understand the danger. (See pp. 45-56 of the full report.)

The arms trade is a major destabilizing factor in the world today. The QIARs in Africa, Asia and the Middle East all work on this issue. They are working with local leaders to identify people who hold guns at the community level and ways that they might be encouraged to give them up, and to track the flow of weapons in and out of the region (East/Central Africa QIAR). They are linking activists in Europe and Asia to ensure information gets distributed about the flow of arms between the two regions (East Asia QIAR). They are looking at the possibilities for gun-free zones that lean on community-based action, raise local awareness of the danger of firearms, and encourage local populations to take initiative in stopping the circulation of firearms in their own communities (Southern Africa QIAR).

Globalization, Trade and the Poor

Economic strain is increasing for those on the margins everywhere in the world. Whether created by job loss as companies move, alienation of scarce resources (land, water), or a host of other factors, the economic strain expresses itself in violence sooner or later. Quaker International Affairs staff play a "mediating" role in the economic realm in the same they do in the political one. They often facilitate dialogue between local and international actors (e.g. WTO, World Bank, ILO), between sectors (e.g. employers and NGOs, labor and governments), and between different areas of the world. The QIARs, for example, help draw attention to the economy-conflict connection at the regional level, while the

Washington Office does so at the national level. And the QUNOs work with the multi-lateral bodies to incorporate the interests of the poor and unempowered in international rules. Here are examples:

After six years of work on trade and labor rights, QUNO-Geneva has reached such a point of confidence that the developing country delegations are using QUNO routinely to strengthen and facilitate their negotiating positions. During the last six months, QUNO focused on: 1) making sure that the TRIPs² agreement does not lead to developing countries' plant genetic resources being patented away from them, 2) building good relationships among the ILO³, WTO⁴, and NGOs, specifically to press for labour and environmental rights in global trade. QUNO was able to establish its credibility in the eyes of negotiators and secretariats, showing that it does not have a hostile or hidden agenda; that it is open to work with all points of view; and that it is well-informed both with the policy issues and the policy-making machinery. In June and July, QUNO organized two seminars on trade and intellectual property rights--specifically the rights of Third World producers to maintain ownership of their own plant genetic resources—to assist developing countries work with the architects of TRIPs to reform this treaty and make it more compatible with their national policy needs.

In Hong Kong, QUNO-Geneva and the East Asia QIARs conducted a seminar that successfully drew together groups who were all trying to address the issue of corporate conduct from Korea, the Philippines, China, etc. together with ILO and international NGOs. The QIARs (Feffer and Lee) said, "We view this workshop as a particular success due to the fact that a great deal of information was exchanged, and we were able to craft two-three strategies to raise labor standards both internationally and on the factory floor. One of the most significant achievements is when we witnessed some Europeans, while initially defensive, finally able to let down their guard and hear the concerns of the Asian representatives more clearly; we actually observed participants' positions beginning to shift."

The Washington Office, active on Global Economic Justice issues year-round, hosted a seminar with high-level officials from the World Bank, the I.M.F., the U.S. Treasury Department, and diplomatic representatives in April at the time of the World Bank/IMF meetings. A constructive conversation between the international officials and representatives of US and European NGOs (including two AFSC staff), specifically addressed the role of private banks in addressing failing economies and currencies as well as preventing future debt burdens.

Racism

Racism and ethnic intolerance play a critical role today in conflicts from the Balkans to the African Great Lakes. Several QIARs and QUNO-NY are using the opportunity of the upcoming UN Conference on Racism, Discrimination and Related Forms of Intolerance to advance constructive work on this issue in their regions. The next 18 months offer a unique opportunity—through the preparatory meetings in each region—to move forward an agenda to eliminate racism, to build appreciation for the contributions of ethnic minorities to the development of their societies and to develop not just tolerance, but an appreciation for diversity.

The Andean QIAR offers one example of how this is being done. For the last five years, this program has worked among Afro-Andean communities, which now puts it in an ideal position to facilitate conference work. This work began to come together in the AFSC-sponsored regional meeting, "Afroamericanos Piden la Palabra", in April, of Afro-Andean leaders from Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, the United States and Peru. The Andean QIAR facilitated a meeting immediately following in which the document "*Declaración Conjunta de las Organizaciones de la Comunidad Negra de la Región Andina*", was developed. This document was taken to the Prep Com meeting in Geneva for the 2001 U.N. Conference on Racism, and was used as the basis for developing a South

² Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights

³ International Labour Organisation

⁴ World Trade Organization

American analysis of racism issues. The Afro-Peruvian who carried the document was a member of the AFSC-QUNO delegation to the Preparatory Conference.

Child Soldiers

This January, a major victory was achieved on the diplomatic level that will translate into stopping the use of child soldiers on the ground. Already now six months later, the media are reporting signs from various parts of the world—particularly Africa—that both government and rebel militias are removing children from their ranks. QUNO-Geneva worked behind the scenes for over eight years to bring this into being. There is never just one factor which makes a change of this magnitude, but QUNO's Rachel Brett, a specialist in international law, has been the key figure in maintaining, supporting, and guiding a coalition of agencies and multi-lateral committees which have kept this issue moving forward. This was a double victory. In its June Conference where almost all nations of the world are represented, the ILO agreed to add child soldiers to the important new "Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour". The Convention contains an explicit prohibition of "forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict." This was the first time that an 18 year old minimum age had been set for soldiering in an international treaty and the first legal acceptance of child soldiering as a form of child labour, thereby giving the ILO a mandate to work on this issue. Furthermore, this Convention is likely to get wide ratification from member states, making it particularly powerful.

QUNO's work on this issue began in 1979. Even though the basic framework of international law is now in place through "The Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child", (which was adopted by the UN Commission on Human Rights, the UN Economic and Social Council and, on 25 May 2000, by the UN General Assembly),, Brett will continue to work with the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers and the NGO Sub-Group on Refugee Children and Children in Armed Conflict to work for the signature, ratification, implementation and submission of information on this protocol. There is also a need to develop a consistent practice by governments, UN bodies and agencies and others involved in monitoring and acting on under-age recruitment practices.

QUNO is now being joined in this by the Central/East African QIAR, Ahmed Shariff, who has conducted interviews with child soldiers in the Congo, and the Middle East QIAR, Lillian Peters. Peters who is facilitating the Middle East regional meeting (to be held in Jordan) that is part of the official follow-up efforts to implement the Optional Protocol. In both Africa and the Middle East, children are used in the irregular forces, and even honored for their role in liberation struggles. The last such regional conference on child soldiers (following Africa, Latin America and Europe last year) was for Asia-Pacific (Kathmandu, Nepal, May 2000) and brought together many participants unfamiliar with the topic because there is little regional experience to draw on. Nevertheless, the Declaration is remarkably strong, and as with the previous conferences, the particular concerns of the region (especially root causes of conflicts) came through strongly in the discussions and the Declaration.

CONCLUSIONS

In looking toward the future, we see two great challenges facing the Quaker International Affairs program...and indirectly, our organization as a whole.

The greatest challenge at the international level is: how to keep grounded in grassroots reality and experience. So often, it is the privileged in all societies that have a voice and are the ones who shape policy. And so often, we too, who work in the arena of peace-building, are drawn to fashionable analyses, mainstream answers, and popular approaches. It seems that neither political figures nor NGO staff talk to ordinary people any more. Our challenge is to stay grounded in the lives of real people.

The greatest challenge at the local level is: how to stay grounded in values. Traditionally, a set of ethics was the foundation of all human behavior. Now, these are being eroded under the pressure and allure of a more individualistic and impersonal culture. Our challenge is to stay grounded in an ethical perspective that seeks the welfare of all...not a few.

Part II: Unit Reports

Southern Africa QIAR

Daniel Ntoni-Nzinga
Johannesburg, South Africa

I. FOCUS ISSUES

- Peace and Security
- Economic Transformation

II. ACHIEVEMENTS OF NOTE

The case of building a movement of civil society for peace in Angola is an achievement for all of those working together against great odds: communities are beginning to feel like communities, coalitions are coming together with a single profoundly moving purpose of peace. The nation is beginning to come together as a nation in spite of the minefields. The developments in Angola have brought requests from many other countries interested in a similar model. The peace movement is led by many in their twenties, thirties and forties working in collaboration with youth and elders. This age group brings skill and experience as well as energy. There is a need for new thinking in Africa. The visit to New York by the Angolan delegation was a landmark for Angola. It changed awareness at a profound level and proved that ordinary people could use channels effectively which were previously reserved only for governments and politicians. It changed awareness on many levels and gave participating civil society organisations a new sense of power.

III. UPDATES

Significant Events in the Region

Angola remained our primary geopolitical focus throughout the first part of this year. At the beginning of the year, Angolans were made to believe that the end of the devastating war was just around the corner. A hearing on the situation in the country by the UN Security Council, an announcement by the Head of State of the possibility for an election next year and the imminent capture of Mr Savimbi by the national armed forces raised hopes that have been dashed at the end of the first semester of the year 2000.

The referendum on the new constitution in Zimbabwe and the defeat of the ruling party, which has been in government for the last twenty years, contributed dramatically to the profound changes that have been taking place in the region. This trend was, once again confirmed as Zimbabwe voted, just at the end of June, for a new political dispensation which marks an important step in the transformation process. One must also acknowledge the negative impact of the land issue debate in the region which was very much influenced by the forced occupation of land by the landless Zimbabweans who could no longer wait for an orderly redistribution of land by a government that took them to the bush to fight for peace with justice.

The flood in Mozambique, Botswana, Zimbabwe and South Africa was another important development that challenged the hopes and abilities of the people and nations of this region. This development exposed our weaknesses and strength in terms of the capacity and readiness to respond to both natural and human made disasters. There were good and quick responses from within the countries

and regions although the majority of the nations of the Southern Africa Development Community failed to address such natural disaster in a very prepared manner.

Changes in Program Administration

Our administrative basis continued to suffer from the shortage of human and material (financial) resources. The main task during the first six months was to reorganise our administrative services both in Johannesburg and Luanda. In terms of working space, we established a small office in Luanda and employed a young Angolan who has been assisting the SAIAR in attending to administrative and some program related issues in the country. In Johannesburg, we battled with the question of registering the Office according to the laws of the country, which has been on the table for more than two years now. We also had to employ a temporary staff to replace our Secretary who left for maternity leave in April. We decided on the occasion to organise a package that would enable her to further her training for the remaining period of the year and allowed her to seek other employment at the end of her training.

Changes in the Program Plan

No major change took place in the Program Plan, except the reorganisation of the themes which are now as follows:

- Peace and Security (which is the integration of 2 of the old themes: Peace and Human Dignity, Defense and Security). This means that issues related to Peace and Conflict Resolution, Disarmament and Demilitarization, Security and Defense Budget and Policies are to be addressed from the perspectives and under the theme of Peace and Security.
- Economic Justice and Transformation (Development)
- Community Building and Governance.

The last two themes remain the same in terms of content and approach. However, we intend to focus on economic transformation as a means to integrate in our approach the Jubilee concept as defined in the context of Angola, in particular, and the region at large.

There is no doubt that the establishment of the Luanda Office and the employment of a staff person who works full time added pressure on our limited budget. This is to say that we have been spending more than we budgeted for at the beginning of last year. Therefore, there is need for a revised budget that will take into account the new project. One must also say this requirement is not just financial as it implies a review of our strategic plan, in terms of content and strategies in order to determine how best we can respond to the needs of this region with the available resources both financial and human.

IV. REPORT OF PROGRAM WORK

Following the steps we took last year, especially those of the second semester of 1999, we continued promoting activities that strengthened the capacity of the peace movement in Angola and the region at large. We concentrated especially on building up bridges between the civil society organisations in Angola and focused on the role of religious organisations in constructing peace.

Focal Issue I. Peace and Security

Objective 1. Connect conflict resolution resources throughout Southern Africa with local NGOs, social movements, church groups, trade unions, youth and women's organizations in conflict areas, in order to strengthen these groups' ability to work more effectively in combating local and/or national violence.

1. We took part in the first Ecumenical Summit that gathered church and civil society organisations of the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes Region under the umbrella of FECCLAHA (Fellowship of Churches and Council of Churches in the Eastern and the Horn of Africa), an organisation which Daniel helped create. The purpose of this meeting was to reflect on conflict in the region and to work with together and with other organisations of civil society on peace making. The meeting took place in Nairobi during the same period with that of the AACC's Commission on International Affairs. This provided an opportunity for the work of the Southern Africa QIAR and the exploration for the East/Central Africa QIAR to begin to work collaboratively for unity of action for AFSC's work in the region.
2. We attended the annual meeting of the International Affairs Commission of the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) in March. They met to discuss regional conflict and developed a new plan of action for that organisation with regard to its role in international affairs in Africa.
3. We addressed in April this year a workshop organised by the UN Institute of Research and Training, which is based in Geneva, and provided an analysis of the conflict in Angola. The workshop gathered diplomats and military officers working as liaison officers in peace keeping missions and in embassies of the SADC countries. It took place at the SADC Peace Keeping Training Centre in Harare. Our role was to highlight the reasons behind the failed peace process and identify ways and means of resolving the Angolan conflict peacefully.

Objective 2. Promote national and regional policies of defense and security based on humanitarian systems rather than the military.

1. We addressed a workshop in June this year on constitutionalism as a primary tool for conflict management and resolution, which was organised by the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR) in Cape Town. The workshop gathered high ranking government officials, party leaders and distinguished academics of the SADC countries. I was asked to present the key note speech in place of the former President of Botswana who was unable to come at the last minute due an emergency meeting in Kinshasa.
2. We organised a workshop on the situation in Zimbabwe during the dark days of violence in May this year. The meeting was convened by the Secretariat of FOCCESA, which is based at EDICESA in Harare. It was attended by church leaders from almost all denominations of the Christian faith, academics and representatives of a few non government organisations. The meeting, which was convened at our request, came out with a very exciting analysis and conclusions that were meant to motivate Churches to be more active in addressing the crisis of the time in the country. Two working groups were established. One was to address the issue of land using the biblical imperatives of jubilee. The other was to deal with the burning issue of violence and the electoral process. In conclusion, it was agreed that land issue should not be linked to elections because such linkage was dishonest and very damaging to future developments for the nation. The meeting called upon the churches to stand up and help the nation to resolve the land issue once and for all.

Objective 3. Assist popular movements and communities of faith in raising a unified voice promoting policies and ethics that sustain nation building, regional integration, and active participation in national consensus building.

1. We made it possible for the Angolan peace movement, represented by four organisations, to go to New York for the Security Council Hearings on Angola in January. This delegation of five people had meetings with many representatives in the Security Council through whom they conveyed to the Security Council the concerns and positions of Angolan civil society regarding the Angolan conflict as well as the role of the international community on this matter.
2. We continued working with the COIEPA, the Angolan Inter-Ecclesiastic Committee for Peace, and participated in the organisation of two important events. First, we called upon the people to observe a national day of prayer and fasting which took place on May 31, 2000. This was the first time that Angolans joined voluntarily in an event—observe 5 minutes of break from all activities—to demonstrate their demand for peace. Second, we also participated in a public march which culminated with an ecumenical service on Sunday, June 11, 2000. We delivered a key note speech on behalf of the Committee and in our capacity of Executive Secretary of the Committee.
3. We met on a number of occasions with members of the FWCC/Africa Section's Executive Committee in charge of the project of the Quaker Africa Unity Office at the OAU. The first meeting took place in March, during the week of the meetings mentioned above. The second took place in May and was intended to finalise the report of the workshop we sponsored and helped organise last year and to decide on the next steps. A third meeting was planned for June but we failed to attend it for other reasons. We understand that our colleagues are still working on the issue and they have asked us to maintain connection for the "baby to be born alive and well."
4. We participated in the monitoring of the electoral process in Zimbabwe together with other groups. This program was represented by the SAIAR and three young people. Two of the three joined the team as interns, which is a new internship project of our program, while the third was the Administrative Assistant in our Luanda Office. This became an exciting time for the young people to make discoveries and a sense of what the Quaker International Affairs office means in this region.
5. There were many occasions for this program to continue connecting resources. Hence, one young person, John Rocha, has been co-operating with us in his capacity of coordinator of the movement, Angola 2000. He represented this program at the workshop on small arms which was convened by the Organisation of Africa Unity in Addis Ababa in June 2000. We had to turn down a number of invitations for which we still carry the pain of not being able to respond positively.

Focal Issue II. Economic Transformation

Objective 1. Promote a regional campaign that affirms the imperatives of Jubilee.

1. We traveled to Lome (Togo) at the end of March this year to address a major conference on the occasion of the proclamation of the independence of the Methodist Church of Togo as an autonomous institution from its founding missionary society. We addressed the conference on the theme of Jubilee in the African context. This was a national event because of the place that the Methodist Church of Togo occupies in the history of that country and its role today.

What is important is that all these activities and many others contributed to good prospects for meeting new actors, networking with new and old partners, building bridges and establishing connections between resources, issues and people. The Southern Africa QIAR work was accompanied by countless written speeches and interviews. A file of news clippings is available upon request as are copies of written speeches although most of them are in Portuguese.

V. RELATIONSHIPS

Within the International Affairs Network

The most important piece of work we did with the QUNO New York is that of facilitating the presence of a delegation of the Angolan civil society to be present in New York during the United Nations Security Council Hearings on Angola. David Jackman and other colleagues in the QUNO/NY office played an important role in preparing the ground and by investing so much in organising meetings with almost every member state on the Security Council. Their hard work paid off as the United Nations Security members and officials of the UN have taken good note of the positions presented by the delegation on the situation in their country and region. Feedback being received indicates that the trip was worth it.

Work done immediately after the annual gathering of the International Affairs staff in Earlham, with colleagues in Washington, in the national office and with regions and Africa Panel members in Chicago and Atlanta was very encouraging. They enabled a wide range of dialogue with media and community in the US. Jim Matlack in Washington, DC enabled us to get a first hand interpretation of the analysis being made on Capital Hill about the situation in Angola. Connections which have been made during this trip have already proven to be very useful and we hope to build up on them. In doing so we will develop a comprehensive approach in our work as we attempt to mobilise active solidarity from the international community.

The basis for healthy collaboration among QIARs in Africa was laid by a series of meetings between the Southern African QIAR and the consultant for the East/Central Africa QIAR exploration. Ahmed Shariff visited South Africa and met with a variety of institutions and resources that expanded the potential for work on the issues being identified for the work of the East/Central Africa QIAR. Among those issues are small arms control and elimination, demilitarization and rehabilitation of child soldiers.

On the other hand, efforts to develop close cooperation with fellow QIARs continues to be hampered by inability to correspond to the speed of my colleagues, especially in terms of producing written material in final form.

VI. ASSESSMENT OF OVERALL IMPACT AND STRATEGY

The QIAR work of 1999 produced a rich fallout of issues, organising and expectations that with proper human resources and funding could have capitalised on an incredible momentum. Another Africa representative and one or two competent program assistants could have built powerful, stronger programs in the region because the region is ready to move and now faster, better results are possible.

It is with humility and truth that I say the peace movement, and the commitment of the churches in Angola to work together on peace as described in this report could not be done without the accompaniment of AFSC. In effect, the AFSC QIAR has been a loan to the peace movement in Angola.

When I began this work I was clear that AFSC is not a funding agency but QIAR work is a very useful approach and can have excellent outcomes for both the region and the International Affairs Program. It has been a pleasure to be put in the position of being able to make global connections. As a QIAR to be able to make connections between issues and people has been very important and should continue to be an important part of QIAR work. This connection between issues and people is as important as the connections between people in Angola and those in the outside world.

Prepared by: Daniel Ntoni-Nzinga
Date: July 31, 2000

Central-Eastern Africa QIAR

Ahmed Shariff
Nairobi, Kenya

I. FOCUS ISSUES

- Peace and Reconciliation.
- Small Arms Proliferation.

II. ACHIEVEMENTS OF NOTE

This six-month reporting period was a continuation of the exploration for a potential QIAR program in Eastern and Central Africa. One of the objectives of this initial phase was to assess the current political, economic, social and military environment of the region in order to inform the planning of an eventual QIAR program. This objective was achieved and recommendations were made to the Africa Region oversight committee and on to the decision-making arm of AFSC's International Programs. This important part of the mission was completed on time and as expected, and the ground has been prepared for a new QIAR program to start.

As a result of this work, today AFSC is considered among the NGOs and peace organizations operating in East and Central Africa and is being involved in regional peace conferences. That this has been achieved within a short period of QIAR presence should be counted as a special achievement, especially taking into consideration that the last year marked a new program exploration phase with specific program objectives and activities only recently having been determined.

Another successful achievement was the introduction of AFSC to such organizations as the OAU, IGAD (Inter-governmental Authority for Development, which is a regional body that deals with development and security of the Horn of Africa), EAC (East Africa Corporation), and FECCLAHA (Fellowship of the Christian Councils of Churches of the Great Lakes and the Horn of Africa). These organizations are among the most active regional bodies in the areas of peace, security and development. Establishing direct relations not only provides a wider range of communication and information sharing for the QIAR but also helps inform them about important community-level concerns and initiatives throughout the region that are part of the QIAR network.

Eastern and Central Africa have the largest concentration of Quakers in Africa, but many of them were not previously aware of or involved in peace work. We have managed to begin building a collaborative relationship with Quaker communities in the region to the extent that I was invited on several occasions to dialogue about ideas and strategies toward helping local Friends engage their communities in peace processes. Any subsequent QIAR in the region will be called upon to use this large Quaker community as a pillar and support for work on all major program issues.

"I was in Kigali on March 6 at a Change Agent Peace Program seminar. On the closing day, I was asked to speak to the participants. Among the participants were returned refugees of the 1959 conflict, who had been in Tanzania for more than 30 years. My unprepared speech focused on the peace process, particularly the need for a rebirth of Rwandan nationalism (if there ever truly was one). I also explained about the QIAR and CAPP programs, and our hope to work hand in hand with Rwandans as they seek to regain their lost peace and stability. After the session, one of the participants, an old man, followed me and greeted me in very good Swahili, saying, "We Rwandans have almost lost hope of unity among ourselves. Our only hope is in God and in you. We know what we want but we don't trust each other. Thank you for your commitment and I hope that you will continue with your support." I was very touched by these words and realized, more than I had before, how much hope our humble attempts bring to some people, whose lives have been directly affected by the ravages of conflict and war. There is hope for lasting peace. Our greatest challenge is how to help restore that hope and trust among Rwandans themselves."

III. UPDATES

Significant Events in the Region

In general, international community-led peace initiatives in the countries of concentration during this six-month reporting period were on the increase with positive signs of eventual success. The Burundi reconciliation consultations continue in Arusha mediated by Nelson Mandela, former president of South Africa. Negotiations began in February and, by the end of June, the fighting rebels attended the meetings but refused to be part of the negotiations until their main demands were met (closure of all regroupment camps--mostly those of Hutus in Burundi, and the liberation of all political prisoners). Despite all that, Mandela fixed August 28 as the date of the signing of the final compromise agreement prepared by his facilitation team.

In the DRC, the Lusaka agreement signed last year has not yet been fully implemented but all parties still consider it an acceptable instrument for reconciliation. The Rwandan and Ugandan armies who fought for the control of Kisangani airport in the north east of DRC have finally agreed to cease aggression and have stopped fighting in the area.

In Uganda, a referendum was held in June for Ugandans to choose between a no-party and a multiparty system. Supporters of the latter boycotted the referendum because of what they considered government bias towards the no-party system. Thus, the no-party government supported system won. Hence, Uganda continues to be the only No-party system in Africa.

In Rwanda, a change of leadership took place in April in which Pastor Bazimungu, the Hutu president since the RPF took over in 1994, resigned under speculation of corruption and was replaced by his all powerful vice-president who abolished the post of vice president to keep out of power competition. Peace seems to reign in Kigali and in most of countryside. The Rwandan army remains in the Congo supporting the CRD rebels while Ugandans support a second rival faction of CRD on the northeast.

Burundi is close to signing a peace agreement in Arusha, but Congo stands a better chance of durable peace once the Lusaka Accords are implemented. The cause of the conflict in Burundi is deeply rooted in the historical differences between the two main groups, Tutsi and Hutu, to the extent that each group does not trust the other to maintain a durable peace. As a result, each group tends to go on the offensive to protect itself in its fear of being eliminated by the other. In the Congo, on the other hand, the crisis is a political one. Once a political solution is achieved, it will be supported by the majority of the population.

Changes in Program Administration

The most significant change is the temporary hiatus in activities caused by the interim QIAR needing to return to the U.S. for a period of time. At the time of this writing, either he or a replacement is expected to be back in the field within a month.

Changes in Program Plan

At its meeting of April 15, 2000, AFSC's Africa Region Committee (responsible for program oversight) recommended that a new Quaker International Affairs Representative program for Central and Eastern Africa be formally established. On May 22, 2000, the International Programs Executive Committee approved the regional committee's recommendation, bringing the exploratory phase to a close.

The Africa Region Committee recommended the following changes:

- Concentrate initially on the geo-political area of the Great Lakes Region of Africa, to include the countries of Burundi, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), and Uganda.
- Concentrate on four major issue areas: (a) peace and reconciliation; (b) small arms; (c) child soldiers; and (d) women as peace builders.

IV. REPORT OF PROGRAM WORK

Theme I. Peace and Reconciliation

Objective 1. Engage churches and community members at the local level (e.g., DRC and Burundi) in developing a pilot program of peace education and training.

1. **Burundi Reconciliation Meeting, Arusha International Conference Center (AICC), Arusha, Tanzania, 2/21/00 - 3/4/00.** Accompanied by Quaker Pastor David Niyonzima, who is among the religious leaders of Burundi's peace movement, I observed the proceedings and met off-the-record with various official observers and delegates in order to learn more about the peace process and to establish key contacts for potential future QIAR engagement in the Burundi peace movement. This gathering marked the first session facilitated by Nelson Mandela, former President of South Africa, who succeeds deceased former President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania. Representatives of eighteen political parties in Burundi participated, accounting for more than two thirds of that country's political parties. The Presidents of Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, and Mozambique also attended. The President of the United States also addressed the delegates by video conference, supporting Mandela in his call for a sense of urgency to reach a negotiated settlement in order to stop the senseless human suffering in Burundi.

Tutsi-led parties reacted strongly and issued a statement condemning Mandela's candid observation that there can be no long-term peace in any country in which a minority dominates the majority. A number of parties refused to participate in the negotiations, particularly those responsible for terrorizing the Burundian population. Nonetheless, delegates managed to continue working on five critical commissions that include: origins of the conflict, democracy and good governance, peace and security, reconstruction, and the guarantees from the negotiations. Given the history of conflict in Burundi, however, acceptable compromises will be hard to reach. The commissions are still debating the issues that divide them.

There is a strong need for community-based organizations to work closely with Burundians not only to educate the population about such high level agreements of an eventual peace accord but also to help local communities embrace the new peace effort. Burundian Friends and the CAPP community are already engaged in such a process. The QIAR and his Quaker colleague met with other Burundian Catholic, Protestant, and Muslim religious leaders in Arusha and explored with them the possibility of forming an ad hoc committee of religious organizations in the country as a direct follow-up to the Arusha meeting(s). Inspired in part by the momentum of the popular peace movement that is growing in Angola, the leaders expressed great interest and enthusiasm for developing such an inter-faith initiative.

2. **Nilotic East Bank Peace and Reconciliation Conference, Southern Sudan, May 8 – 14, 2000**

I was invited to observe the latest of an ongoing series of reconciliation meetings among Southern Sudanese ethnic groups. This gathering brought together about one hundred fifty people from different areas of the East Bank of the Nile, mainly from the Dinka and Nuer communities as well as representatives of other Nilotic peoples, in an effort to build peace and security in the region. The New Sudan Council of Churches (NSCC) has already sponsored a similar Dinka/Nuer reconciliation gathering at Wunlit in the West Bank of the Nile in March 1999 and the Lou/Nuer meetings held at Akobo, Upper Nile, in August 1999. These conferences have been endorsed by many politicians inside and outside the country, including the leadership of the Sudan Peoples Liberation Movement (SPLM). The process has also received wide support and the active involvement of civil society in Southern Sudan, including traditional leaders, women's organizations, church and military authorities. One reason for such broad-based support is the use of traditional participatory dialogue and agreement methods that have proven successful in previous conferences hosted by NSCC.

AFSC was the only religious organization not operating in Sudan to be invited to the conference, and its participation as observer was highly appreciated by the participants and organizers. Noticed the presence of the SPLM/A during the conference and its strong involvement in the process. Such a presence unfortunately casts some doubt about the process being a truly voluntary people to people dialogue. Exposure to the particular model for reconciliation that was used, nonetheless, was helpful in terms of providing another mediation alternative to current conflicts in Africa, particularly where many ethnic groups are involved, such as in the Congo. It could also be applied in places like Rwanda and Burundi, where conflicts are not just between the Tutsis and Hutus but also arise from within their own ranks as well. Conflict between clans within these groups is as severe as between the major groups.

3. I traveled to Western Province, **Kenya**, with Joseph Andugu, the General Secretary of FWCC-Africa Section, and to Mombasa to meet with other Quaker Yearly Meetings and Change Agent for Peace (CAPP) committees, such as the CAPP committee on Women's Rights in Kakamega. Kenya's coastal province, in particular, afforded the opportunity to meet with leaders of the Muslim community in order to elicit their perspective on Muslim/Christian relations. There is a general sense of mistrust and tension between Christians and Muslims and a sense of discrimination felt generally by Muslims. There is a strong need to establish a forum for dialogue, especially in the coastal area, possibly through a local CAPP initiative.

4. I spent the month of March in **Rwanda, the DRC, and Uganda** (accompanied in Uganda by Stephen Guloba, Clerk of FWCC-Africa Section), and traveled back again to Bujumbura, Kigali and Kampala in May. He met with national CAPP committees and other Friends, religious leaders, and the NGO community. The Situation Report listed in the previous section contains a detailed description of the current situation in each country and a report on contacts made and potential key areas for QIAR program involvement.

5. I visited the Organization of African Unity (OAU) from May 2-5, 2000, in **Addis Ababa, Ethiopia**, in order to establish QIAR contact. The OAU has been involved in conflict resolution since its creation. However, it has not been very effective in resolving crises - particularly armed ones. The Western Sahara, Angola, Cassamance in Senegal, Sudan, and the Comoros are still without solution. Liberia and Sierra Leone conflicts have come to a halt but not as a direct result of OAU intervention. Recently, a section of Conflict Prevention, Resolution and Management was established in the Department of Political Affairs with a focus on addressing conflicts as well as security issues on the continent. In fact, the QIAR learned about a Conference on Security and Peace in Abuja, Nigeria, in addition to a May 17-19, 2000, continental conference on small arms in Addis Ababa. It is hoped the Addis Ababa conference will result in continent-wide common actions. Quakers were invited as observers. Most of the officers for conflict management were away, but the QIAR managed to talk with those who were present and who showed interest in AFSC's work. The Director of Cabinet of the Secretary General was very interested in Quakers in

general and AFSC's peace work in particular. This was his first time to learn about Quakers and their peace and justice work. He advised interested Quakers to first learn and understand how the OAU works, how it approaches conflicts and how it measures its successes and failures. There are no NGOs or church organizations that work with the OAU to link it with grassroots organizations and communities. Therefore, the idea of forming a Quaker partnership with the OAU with such a goal in mind was welcomed.

While in Addis, I was also asked by AFSC to gather information on the situation in Ethiopia and on ways the organization might direct contributions to humanitarian intervention efforts among the large population seriously affected by the drought and conflict in Ethiopia and Eritrea. Major relief agencies were already heavily involved in the collection and distribution of food and non-food items. Among them are the government agency, Disaster, Prevention and Preparedness Commission (DPPC); Save the Children Fund (UK); Oxfam (UK); Lutheran World Federation; WFP; and UNICEF.

Theme II. Small Arms Proliferation

Objective 1. Facilitate the process whereby local communities develop the capacity to control violence and the flow of weapons within their areas.

1. **Small Arms Conference, Arusha, Tanzania, March 23 – 25, 2000** The International Resource Group, based in Nairobi and supported by such international Non-Governmental Organizations as the World Council of Churches and the International Red Cross, organized a small arms conference in Arusha to discuss the increasing problems of small arms proliferation in Africa (particularly East, Central and the Horn of Africa). I attended the conference at the invitation of the organizers. The conference dealt with causes of arms circulation in the region and the impact on the civilian population in the political, economic and social development of the region. The conference recommended measures to be taken both at the national and regional level in order to combat, limit and, if possible, eliminate the illegal arms deal in the region. It also called for a regional structure to deal with the issue of small arms in the region.

My being present provided the opportunity for AFSC to gain information on the different small arms problems in each of the represented countries (Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Sudan and Somalia) as well as establish contact with individuals and organizations that work on this issue in the region. Since small arms will be one of the main focus areas of the QIAR in the region, this was an appropriate introduction to learn about the main problems in this area that lead to small arms circulation and to identify potential future partners on this issue.

2. From April 25 – 29, 2000, I traveled to **Johannesburg, South Africa**, to meet with the Southern Africa QIAR and staff of two key organizations working on the issue of small arms and gun control. They met with the staff of the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) to gather basic information and to learn more about their research methods for community-level monitoring of the flow of small arms and conventional weapons in Africa. Similarly, the two representatives also visited staff of Gun Free South Africa, which deals with the spread of handguns and assault weapons and which has had good success in mobilizing public opinion on making public areas gun free zones. This initial contact with both institutions holds strong promise of further collaboration with the QIAR on the issues of small arms flows and gun control in Eastern Africa and the Great Lakes Region. The ISS, for example, expressed interest in possibly sending a trained intern to help the QIAR with research on the issue. One of the strategies of ISS is to lean on community-based action, raise local awareness of the danger of firearms and to encourage local populations to take initiative in stopping the circulation of firearms in their own community.

(A contact database was further developed and a series of confidential trip reports was also submitted to AFSC's Africa Region Director during this reporting period.)

V. RELATIONSHIPS

Partner Agencies

Key partner organizations in the region include the Change Agent for Peace Program (CAPP), of Quaker Service Norway (Kvekerhjelp), and Friends World Committee for Consultation (FWCC) – Africa Section, and the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC). Specific collaborative activities and accompaniment during this reporting period are referred to in other sections of this report. See below for a description of a larger Quaker Service network that is also developing in the region.

Contacts in Rwanda are: the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, Muslim community, Council of Protestant Churches of Rwanda (CPCR), Friends Church of Rwanda, Center for Conflict Resolution, USAID, Save the Children Fund, U.K., World Vision, National Commission on Human Rights, and the Catholic Conference of Bishops of Rwanda, and Africare.

In Uganda, I visited UNICEF, the Human Rights and Peace Center, Save the Children of Denmark and of Norway, the Uganda Human Rights Commission, the Foundation for Human Rights, World Vision, the Center for Conflict Resolution, MCC, and the Uganda Muslim Youth Assembly.

Contacts in the DRC included the UNICEF Child Protection program, Catholic Relief Services, the Church of Christ of the Congo, IFES, MCC, UNHCR, La Voix des Sans-Voix Pour les Droits de L'Homme, the Association of Women Magistrates, All Africa Churches, and the Quaker Community of Congo.

Within the International Affairs Network

One significant outcome of a worldwide Quaker International Affairs gathering in the United States last January was the further development of a growing network among international Quaker organizations working in partnership with Friends in the Great Lakes Region of Africa. Several agencies are involved in new and existing initiatives in that relatively small geographic region. An organizational list was drawn up and the group agreed to work to improve general communication and to consult and coordinate with each other, in addition to African Quaker partners. This includes consultation and coordination among field workers, and also sharing information when planning, opening or changing individual projects and overall programs. The group committed itself to seek collaborative opportunities in order to strengthen the impact of Quaker work for peace, development and human rights in the region.

Of significance to the exploration strategy of the Central and Eastern Africa new QIAR program was the opportunity for several exchanges and a joint retreat with the Southern Africa QIAR while in the United States in January, and later in Nairobi in March and in Johannesburg in April. The two representatives identified potential areas in which joint strategies might be developed. These include security issues (e.g., small arms, child soldiers, etc.), Jubilee 2000 in Africa, and eventually bringing religious leaders together (particularly from the countries currently involved in the DRC) to work together on peace and reconciliation. The two representatives did not have time to discuss how they might collaborate in preparation for the upcoming UN Conference on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Forms of Intolerance. A large contingent of AFSC staff and constituents and other Friends and Quaker Service organizations plan to attend the 2001 meeting in Durban, South Africa, and preparations are already underway.

VI. PROGRAM PLANS

Being a new area for QIAR work, the proposed countries (Congo, Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda) all provide new challenges. I initiated contacts with various local and international NGOs that operate in these countries that already form the basis of a QIAR network in the region. These organizations

focus on a number of different issues that will help QIARs both in their orientation and in carrying out concrete activities. The Quaker Change Agent for Peace Program is one of the QIAR program's closest partners. CAPP is already operational in all these countries, except Congo-Kinshasa and the area occupied by Bemba (North-West). In addition to FWCC-Africa Section, CAPP provides ready access to and a close programmatic link with Quakers and other community-based conflict prevention and management initiatives and non-violence peace movements.

Because of the wide geographic scope of the exploration (which originally encompassed seven countries, including the Horn of Africa) and the absence of past and current AFSC programmatic involvement in the short list of recommended countries of concentration (AFSC has a long-standing program presence in Somalia and history of refugee and relief assistance in other parts of the Horn of Africa.), much time and effort was needed to introduce AFSC as an organization and a QIAR program conceptually. The exploration consultant focused on identifying potential partners and in building a program network. Now, finally, this QIAR program is positioned to actively engage in facilitating needed exchanges and in producing more substantial analysis of the region and program issue areas in order to inform AFSC and its partners.

Within the two issue areas (out of four new program focus areas mentioned earlier in this report) that were pursued over the last six months, below are suggested strategies. During the next reporting period, the Grant Agreement will be amended to incorporate these as new objectives.

Peace and Reconciliation

As follow-up to the discussions with religious leaders in the DRC and Burundi, work to form an ad hoc religious organization committee to be engaged in the peace process. This is especially important, as there is a tendency for communities to remain within their traditional religious membership, even when that membership is ethnically divided. By helping to facilitate the development of interfaith religious leadership at the local and national level, efforts to seek reconciliation will be strengthened because they will be approached as one population belonging to one nation. Such a position of solidarity could apply needed pressure and support to such processes as the current Arusha negotiations for Burundi and the Lusaka Accords for Congo. The following are suggested directions for activities.

1. Work with religious leaders (Christians of all denominations and Muslims) to find common ground on peace and develop plans for religious initiatives (at national level and at regional level). This activity should be done in such a way that the leaders themselves take possession of the activity.
2. Facilitate meetings and contacts in which the religious leaders will meet with local populations as part of the process to implement their plans.
3. Facilitate meetings and contacts with peace organizations (state and non-state) so that both groups can work together honestly and confidently to promote peace and justice in the country. Very often the two sectors are wary of each other in what they consider their domain. It is therefore necessary to build confidence between them for the smooth running of the program.
4. Introduce CAPP to these groups so that it can help them at the grass-roots level.
5. Facilitate meetings of religious leaders of the region to exchange experiences and draw common strategies for a regional peace initiative.

Small Arms

Develop a community-based research arm for the program, applying some of the already tested methods described by the Institute for Security Studies in order to better understand the root cause of the proliferation of small arms in the countries where QIAR will operate most directly, and the neighboring countries.

1. Continue to participate in small arms conferences in the region as well as in Africa in general to learn and understand the different causes of the proliferation of arms.
2. Track the route of arms flow in the countries of QIAR work and in the region as a whole.
3. Undertake a research project with other organizations with similar concern operating in the region and elsewhere, involving other Quaker affiliates like QUNO Geneva and New York as well as ISS and Gun Free South Africa.

Work closely with CAPP to further develop methods to build local-level community capacity to control violence and flow of arms in their localities. Facilitate grassroots initiatives toward gun control by providing education about the use of firearms and their impact on society.

1. Design and conduct seminars and workshops for different community leaders to make plans on how to identify people with guns and incentives to get the guns from gun holders.
2. Identify a cluster of community organizations to help come up with alternatives to the use of guns for conflict resolution.

Overall, AFSC is on the right track toward achieving an active participation in work for peace and justice in the Great Lakes Region of Africa, provided adequate resources are made available for such an important program.

Prepared by: Ahmed Shariff
Date: August 6, 2000

East Asia QIAR

Karin Lee and John Feffer
Tokyo, Japan

I. FOCAL ISSUES

- Active or imminent conflicts, where avenues for reconciliation are blocked:
 - Build and Strengthen Regional Dialogue
 - Increase DPRK Exchange and Communication with the USA
- Militarization and proliferation of weapons
- Global economic pressure on vulnerable groups

The goal of the program is to help support the creation of a community of neighbors in East Asia. Such a community is characterized by reconciliation on the Korean peninsula and resolution of disputes throughout the region through dialogue, cooperative security structures, and sustainable, broadly beneficial economic development. The program works toward this goal by promoting exchanges among civil society activists and policy analysts from around the region to build regional communication and strategy building. In order to build solidarity across regions, the program sponsors exchanges between representatives of affected communities within and outside the region. The program also aims to strengthen US-DPRK relations by bringing delegations from the United States to the Democratic Republic of Korea, and, when possible, by bringing delegations from the DPRK to the US. The program also works with the Quaker United Nations Office (QUNO) staff in New York to build relations with the staff of the DPRK Mission to the UN.

II. ACHIEVEMENTS AND OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF WORK

We launched a year-long conflict resolution training program in South Korea as the joint initiative of three Korean groups and AFSC. In addition, we were able to draw in participants from other South Korean groups and, in a group of 15 trainees, achieve interesting gender and regional diversity (11 women, 4 men; 11 from Seoul, 2 from Kwangju, one from Chonju and one from Taegu. Because of the importance of gender and regional divisions in Korean society, this diversity is critical. We have also lined up an impressive group of trainers, including a native Korean now getting his Ph.D. in conflict resolution.

Our e-mail list is a tool we've been developing in the two years that we have been here. As noted above, we feel that it has been useful in sharing AFSC's perspectives with a wide audience.

The corporate conduct program in Hong Kong was a good first step to working on this issue in the region. If possible, we would like to follow this up with a second workshop next year, this one including representatives from business.

We are excited by the directions that may be taken regarding obligatory military service in South Korea. We continue to deepen our program connections with South Korean and Japanese peace and justice organizations.

The trip to the DPRK in April was especially productive and advanced our planning for future medical and other professional exchanges with the U.S. We realize that it will take time and patience to

implement these plans, but we are now working from a firm base of understanding with our counterparts in the DPRK.

NOTE: Extremely Confidential

This example shows the importance of Quaker International Affairs work in bringing together people who don't often have the chance to communicate with one another. The workshop on "Addressing Corporate Conduct" began with introductions. We had tried hard to invite people of differing opinions, and as part of the opening encouraged people to be frank about their disagreements. Two people – an NGO representative and a representative of an independent monitoring firm, immediately lit into each other, the monitoring representative accusing NGOs of "complaining all the time," and the NGO representative angrily listing justifications for NGO actions. The auditing representative, however, was extremely forthcoming during the meeting. He contributed the most interesting and valuable information during the meeting, winning everybody's trust. By the end of the meeting, the NGO representative and the auditing representative had agreed to share information. This will be very valuable to the NGO, greatly enhancing its effectiveness.

Also at the meeting, there was friction between some of the Asian participants and representatives of a European initiative which had not been well received in the region. During the meeting itself, the European representatives showed some resistance to listening effectively to the criticisms. However, after the meeting had ended and the European representatives were out of the spotlight, through a smaller group conversation, it became clear that one of the representatives had been listening carefully, and would be able to incorporate new perspectives into her work.

III. UPDATES

Significant Events in the Region

The first six months of 2000 brought heady changes in the DPRK's diplomatic relations. The U.S. and the DPRK are now engaged in one of the longest-running series of diplomatic negotiations since the end of the Korean War. North Korea has recently established diplomatic relations with Italy, renewed normal relations with Australia, and is negotiating with Japan to normalize diplomatic relations. In May North Korea was approved for membership in the ASEAN Regional Forum, the inter-governmental security group. But perhaps the most significant changes are in relations between North Korea and South Korea. In March, the two Koreas announced a Summit Meeting between South Korean President Kim Dae Jung and North Korean leader Kim Jong Il. With the world watching, the two Kim's historic June meeting ended with a signed agreement pledging further cooperation and negotiations toward ending the fifty year old conflict. While everybody acknowledges that the hardest work is yet to come, nobody denies the impact of the historic meeting.

The election of Chen Sui-bian, the first president not from the KMT, brought a new era of two party politics to Taiwan. While the "One China" issue at first seemed to be a potential flash point between China and Taiwan, the situation seems now to have settled into cross-straits status quo.

Against this back drop of peaceful advances, militarization in the region intensified. In June, the Pentagon released Joint Vision 2020, in which Asia replaces Europe as the focal point of US security interests and China is the major threat (or "peer competitor") to these interests. The South Korean government has been negotiating with the U.S. for longer-range missiles, negotiations that were concluded successfully in July. Joint US/Japan research on Theater Missile Defense continues, despite objections by Russia, China, and both Korean governments.

The six-month period also saw increasing visibility of grass-roots resistance to US troops in the ROK and Okinawa. In the ROK, the murder of four women by US servicemen over the last 12 months, and

an accident in May during bombing practice at the Maehyang-ri practice range have sparked repeated demonstrations. In late June a US serviceman was killed after enraging a Korean man by making derogatory comments. In Okinawa activists are preparing to use the G8 Summit as a platform to highlight the negative effects of US bases. In both places, July has seen an outpouring of complaints over incidents such as an alleged sexual molestation and a hit-and-run accident on July 9 in Okinawa, and information released about the US military dumping toxic waste in a river in Korea. We should expect to see sustained efforts in this regard, especially since the agreement governing the behavior of US troops in Korea is up for re-negotiation in August.

Meanwhile, the US granted China Permanent Normal Trade Relations, over protests of pro-human rights and anti-WTO groups. PNTR is seen as the final obstacle to China's entry into the WTO, and it signals a cementing of US/China economic relations, despite continued tensions on security issues. Entry into the WTO means almost certain dislocation for millions of China's farmers, and there are grave doubts about how China's flimsy "safety net" will cope with this impoverished population.

Changes in Program Administration

Both QIARs took a three-week Korean language course in March 2000

Changes in the Program Plan

The Conflict Resolution Program and the DPRK Medical Exchange Program are both seeking substantial earmarked financial support.

IV. REPORT OF PROGRAM WORK

General Networking

QIAR work continues to be networking, building contacts and communicating across the region. Over the course of the 6 month period, we had over seventy off-the-record meetings, and gave presentations to numerous small gatherings. During these meetings and gatherings, we gained information to develop program objectives, exchanged information on our work, or reported on program activities. This on-going work is reported on fully in the following documents:

- EAQ # 32/Japan Report #5
- EAQ #33/USA #2/Europe #1
- EAQ #34/ROK Report # 12
- EAQ #35/DRPK #2/China #4
- EAQ #36/ROK # 13
- EAQ #37/ROK #14

Posts to E-mail List (approx. 575 names)

The internet era has increased the overlap in the categories of "networking" and "outreach." An important aspect of our networking and information-sharing work is our email list of contacts. Using this list, which has reached over 575 names, we send updates on our work, information about the region, and book reviews. Our reports are well-received, and often re-posted on other lists. The e-mail reports are a way to stay in contact with our contacts and colleagues, and to weave together the connections among the various issues we follow. We attempt to send out the reports 6 times a year. In this six-month period, we sent the following "e-reports." Comments generated by the reports are available upon request.

- January: General Update#5
- February: Book Reviews #4

- June: Book Reviews #5

Theme I. Active or imminent conflicts, where avenues for reconciliation are blocked

Objective 1: Build and/or strengthen regional dialogue, especially among the DPRK, Japan, South Korea, and the US

1. **Japan/US Common Agenda Meeting, January 16/17, Honolulu** This meeting was the result of a governmental discussion between the United States and Japan on the need for more NGO cooperation. It was attended by about 20 US and Japanese NGOs, as well as US AID representatives. A third of the participants were female. In general, the meeting seemed to be an opportunity for Japanese NGOs to learn how their US counterparts operated. In Japan, NGOs are relatively rare. It is difficult and costly for them to attain legal status and there are no tax laws that encourage charitable giving (although there is currently a law to that effect being considered). Both Japanese and US presenters pointed to the Kobe earthquake as a turning point for Japanese NGOs. On the one hand, the Japanese government did not seem capable of fully handling the crisis. On the other hand, a new upsurge in NGO activity filled in some of the gaps. US presenters stressed how much the NGO community extends beyond grassroots community groups. One half of all education and health services in the U.S. are provided by private non-profits. Virtually all symphony orchestras are private. Seventy percent of museums are private. Private non-profits take in \$600 billion and account for 7 percent of the GNP. There is an established career ladder for NGO workers in the U.S.; no such ladder exists in Japan.

There were several presentations on actual cases of successful US-Japanese NGO cooperation, and the work of AFSC's San Francisco office with JUCEE was mentioned on several occasions. Karin attended a meeting at which KUMAOKA Michiya from Japan Volunteer Center proposed a joint US/Japan research project on humanitarian needs in North Korea. Kumaoka also proposed a meeting in Tokyo in May as a follow-up to the last May's InterAction Meeting in Beijing. They met again in Tokyo in February and then in April, to discuss the NGO meeting, which eventually took place June/July.

It is intriguing that the U.S. government is making a push for greater NGO cooperation between the two countries. On the one hand, it makes a great deal of sense to strengthen the bilateral relationship this way. On the other hand, it goes hand in hand with other US efforts to weaken the Japanese central government. So, for instance, the U.S. government is pushing for various economic changes – liberalization of markets, privatization, reduction of tariffs – that reduce the Japanese government's ability to control the economy. By pushing for NGOs to take on social service functions, in the health care field or in dealing with homelessness, the US government is clearly pushing for the adoption of a certain model in Japan. It would be interesting to see if European governments are providing Japan with any alternative ways of imagining the relationship between government and NGOs in the provision of social services.

In February, we went to a follow-up Common Agenda Meeting in Tokyo, and through such contacts are able to develop closer ties with Japan NGOs.

2. **Delegation to the DPRK, April 18-April 25** Our trips to the DPRK are an essential part of our work. It is through such trips that we expand our understanding of the DPRK perspective, enabling us to sensitively and effectively write, speak, and engage in other forms of outreach. It is also an important physical act for us, as European-Americans, to travel frequently to the ROK and as often as we are able to the DPRK. In both countries we are candid about our work on the opposite side of the DMZ, and our objective to support efforts toward peaceful reconciliation.

Trips also furnish the best opportunity to develop program initiatives. We went to the DPRK with the hope of pursuing several program goals: discuss bringing another delegation of cardiology

doctors to the United States; present a proposal to bring Dr. Pastore from St. Elizabeth's Medical Center of Boston and Dr. Richard Liberthson from Mass General Hospital to North Korea for a study tour; meet with the Institute of Architecture to discuss a tour of energy efficient architecture in the United States; meet with the Korean Democratic Women's Union to discuss a Friendship Tour to the US and to present an invitation to the Fourth East Asia Women's Forum; present an Invitation to the DMZ Forum; and meet for the first time with the Korean Anti-Nuclear Peace Committee to discuss regional exchanges. We were successful in all but the last meeting.

We were part of a 6-member delegation that included the Associate General Secretary for International Programs, Martin Garaté; Coordinator of DPRK Development Assistance Programs, Randall Ireson, and two agricultural specialists, Lee Wheeler representing Mennonite Central Committee and Dr. Thomas Lumpkin from Washington State University. As this was to be only our third trip to the DPRK, and our first trip in a year, we hoped to add to our scant understanding of the situation in North Korea by accompanying Randy and the rest of the agricultural delegation on their trips to the three farming cooperatives supported by AFSC.

We were surprised to receive a reception that contrasted greatly with our first two visits. There was a striking difference in the manner of the people with whom we met at the Ministry of Public Health, the Korean Democratic Women's Union, and the Institute of Architecture. We met with animated, optimistic representatives, all of whom have some or excellent English and whose job, it seems, is to work for a "yes." We were able to meet face to face with the doctors who want to come to the US, an opportunity we had requested, but which we really didn't expect. John could use his Korean more freely. The conversations involved far less political rhetoric. There was greater economic activity visible.

At the same time, we were told that the electricity situation remains dire and the last winter was the worst in the last decade. In general, the people that we saw looked lively and happy. There was a good deal of optimism concerning the upcoming inter-Korean summit and we heard none of the previous anti-South Korean rhetoric. However, the summit was not brought up as frequently as one might have expected.

Our program planning conversations were very fruitful. We left with solid plans to carry out the following work: hosting three non-invasive cardiologists and one translator in the US for one month this summer and two cardiac interventionists and a translator this fall for one month or longer; hosting three architects on a study tour to the US on energy-efficient architecture; providing small-scale material aid to the Ministry of Public Health; providing material aid to the Korean Democratic Women's Union; funding the participation of KDWU participants at the Fourth East Asian Women's Forum in Taiwan this September; funding the participation of KDWU participants at Global Tribunal 2000 in Japan this December. We also touched on possibilities for these future projects: medical study tours expanded to include other medical specialties, further discussion on a tour of DPRK musicians, a tour to "expose North Korean engineers to American technology;" an exhibit of Korean textiles to American businessmen. For more information, see EAQ Report #35.

3. **Delegation Follow-up** The Delegation required both extensive preparation and follow-up, which is described below.

- **Preparation for Architecture Delegation.** In preparation to bring a group of North Korean architects to the US, the EAQIARs began to contact US organizations active in the field of energy-efficient building design. Groups were contacted in Seattle, Washington, Washington, D.C, and Vermont.
- **Fourth East Asia Women's Forum.** Prior to traveling to the DPRK, the EAQIARs were in touch with EAWF organizers in Taiwan and South Korea. As a result, they were able to secure an invitation, which they hand-delivered in DPR Korea. Following the trip, the EAQIARs have maintained contact with the ROK and Taiwan, as well as China, regarding

the inclusion of North Koreans in the event. This follows up on connections originally made at the Third East Asian Women's Forum in Mongolia in August 1998.

- **Preparation for the Cardiology Delegations.** Preparation for the next cardiology delegations continued, supported by the Philadelphia and Oregon offices. This involved interviews, phone calls, and emails with participants from the first exchange, the development of the relationship with Christian Association for Medical Mission (CAMP), a group of Korean-American doctors that supports activities in the DPRK, and search for funding. In addition, the EAQIAR attended the following two international symposia in order to gain a better understanding of health concerns in the DPRK. For more information, see EAQ# 33.
4. **Coordination of Support for DPRK in the Area of Health and Medical Care June 1-3, 2000**
We attended a conference with approximately 30 representatives of NGOs and Korean medical associations, predominately male, where the state of health care in the DPRK was discussed. It was important in terms of networking with a representative from CAMP, with whom AFSC will work on upcoming cardiology exchanges. Karin gave a brief presentation on AFSC's work on medical issues. For more information, see EAQ #37.
 5. **International NGO Conference on Humanitarian Assistance to DPRK, June 30-July 1, 2000, Tokyo**
This conference facilitated interaction among various NGOs working or hoping to work in the DPRK along with UN agency heads. While billed as a "follow-up" to the May 1999 NGO conference in Beijing which was organized by InterAction, the focus here seemed more toward providing information to Japanese and ROK NGOs about working conditions and strategies for assistance to the DPRK. UN staff, and European and US NGOs provided most of the panel presentations, while ROK and Japanese NGO representatives were the predominant audience. For those already closely involved in DPRK assistance efforts, there was probably little new information shared, but the event was an opportunity to exchange views and reflect on the implications of the recent North-South summit. It was not clear whether the conference provided much relevant guidance for those not yet closely involved in DPRK work. The comments and questions from the audience suggest that the institutional and political agendas of ROK and Japanese NGOs are substantially different from the agendas and working methods of the US and European NGOs. For more information, see the report written by Randall Ireson.
 6. **Civilian Massacres during the Korean War Conference on the 20th Anniversary of the Kwangju Uprising, South Korea, May 2000**
Groups in the United States and South Korea used the occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the Kwangju Uprising –and the 50th anniversary of the start of the Korean War – to draw attention to civilian deaths that took place after WWII on the Korean Peninsula. Investigation of the Nogun-Ri tragedy has drawn attention to the strafing by US soldiers of South Korean civilians during the Korean War. Incidents such as the one at Nogun-ri took place throughout South Korea during the war. In addition, in the years and months leading up to the official outbreak of the war in June 1950, thousands of political prisoners were rounded up and killed, often on extremely flimsy "evidence" of their political affiliations. After a leftist rebellion on Cheju island in 1948, many citizens were killed. Estimates range from 15,000 - 60,000, with up to 40,000 fleeing Korea for Japan. During the summer of 1950, further atrocities were committed.

We joined a tour of several sites of Korean War civilian atrocities and heard from many survivors. Until recently, the National Security Law has been used to silence calls for investigations of civilian massacres. For example, one activist was imprisoned in 1960, when he called for an investigation into the 1950 Kyungsan Cobalt Mine Massacre where, we were told, 3,000 - 5,000 political prisoners were killed. Now, however groups are finding the political freedom to organize and demand justice. The extent of the US role in these and other wartime civilian losses is only beginning to be known. Survivors are asking for support in their call for US accountability in these civilian deaths.

In addition to visiting sites of war-time deaths, the group also visited the US Airforce practice bombing range in South Korea, Kooni-range, next to Maehyang-ri village. In early May, a US Airforce pilot experiencing engine difficulty dropped six practice bombs beyond the borders of the Lockheed Martin-operated practice range, resulting, say the villagers, in injury to seven people and damage to dozens of houses. This incident has resulted in sustained demonstrations in the ROK demanding the withdrawal of US troops. See EAQ Report #36 for more information.

- 7. Conflict Resolution Training Program, Seoul, June 19-20 2000** On June 9 and 10, we inaugurated a conflict resolution training program in Seoul in partnership with Women Making Peace, Korean Women's Associations United, and the Korean National Congress for Reunification. The 15 trainees, eleven women and four men, are drawn from eight different organizations and four different cities. They will be attending a series of workshops over the course of the year that will provide training in conflict resolution skills, analyze different conflict situations, and teach the trainees how to become trainers themselves. Along the way, the participants will develop a Korean model for conflict resolution as well as a packet of materials that can be used in workshops and classrooms.

At the orientation, the trainees discussed their hopes and fears for the program and began to practice some conflict resolution skills. The following day, Scott Snyder of the Asia Foundation and author of *Negotiating on the Edge: North Korean Negotiating Behavior* (United States Institute of Peace, 1999) discussed with participants some of the characteristics of both North and South Korean negotiating styles. The next event in this program will be a discussion of the social and psychological impact of unification, bringing together a group of German and Korean resource people. See EAQIAR Report #37

- 8. Work Camp in East Timor** The organizers of the youth camp in Thailand in October 1999 (see 1999 Annual report or EAQIAR #30) decided to hold the next youth camp in East Timor. Originally planned for November 2000, the event would differ from the last year's camp by focusing on a common work project. The EAQIARs offered to identify possible consultants familiar with establishing work camps in international settings and also to help shape the project proposal. Because of the difficulties of setting up a work camp, particularly in a zone of conflict such as East Timor, the organizers postponed the youth camp until November 2001. Since the work camp will take place in South East Asia, the EAQIARs recommended that SEAQIARs take an active part in organizing efforts.

Theme II. Global economic pressure on vulnerable groups

Objective 1: To build and strengthen dialogue across the East Asian region by facilitating and supporting engagement among individuals and groups on questions of socio-economic justice.

- 1. Addressing Corporate Conduct, Hong Kong, May 24-25 2000** In Hong Kong in May, we held a roundtable discussion on corporate conduct. Resource people from several Korean, Hong Kong and Philippine organizations joined with resource people from the International Labor Organization, the Quaker United Nations Office, and the Ethical Trade Initiative. The group evaluated some of the latest approaches to improving labor standards and corporate conduct at several levels, from multilateral institutions such as the ILO down to the factory floor. Consensus on goals was not difficult. Roundtable participants all agreed that we should be working for the alleviation of poverty, the improvement of working conditions, the close coupling of economic and social development, and a closing of the "development gap" between rich and poor countries. But the difficulties lay in the details: how can the various actors work together equally and in an atmosphere of trust to achieve these goals? On whose behalf is each group working? How does an NGO from the US or the EU work effectively with NGOs in Asia?

A fundamental difference of opinion that emerged from the discussions concerned strategy, the best way of getting from here to there. Some participants favored focusing their efforts at one

level to raise labor standards, for instance by organizing workers by factory or sector. Other participants advanced a strategy of interlocking relationships -- for instance, promoting standards at a multilateral level and drawing together "multi-stakeholders" (such as unions, businesses, and NGOs) to set codes of conduct and monitor them at the factory level. The discussion, while lively and provocative, identified common ground concerning the kinds of codes of conduct that the different participants could accept. (Full report available)

2. **AFSC Publication of Resistance to Market Globalization** In March, we approached an interested publisher for the book of AFSC essays on regional responses to globalization (a joint project that emerged from the QIAR/QUNO meeting in 1999.) We are in the process of developing final drafts with the individual writers. Final versions will be presented to the potential publisher in September or October. Contributors include QIARs, international staff, and several staff in Philadelphia and the regional offices.

Theme III. Militarization and proliferation of weapons

Objective 1. [Note: new objective in this year's workplan] To build and strengthen dialogue across the East Asian region, and between East Asia and other parts of the world, by facilitating and supporting engagement among individuals and groups on questions related to arms, the military, and peace.

1. **Militarization in Korea.** Throughout this six month period, more research and networking has been done in planning for a workshop on conscientious objection and obligatory military service. There are a number of groups viewing obligatory military service from different perspectives: women's rights, handicapped rights, human rights, and peace issues. Through conversations with representatives of the different groups, the QIARs continued to lay the ground for facilitating an event that brings the various groups together. For more information on the status of obligatory military service in the ROK, see EAQ # 34.
2. **International Women's Summit: Redefining Security International Forum for People's Security Okinawa, June and July 2000.** To learn more about current organizing efforts on regional peace and security issues, Karin participated in the International Women's Summit from June 22 to 25 and John participated in the International Forum for People's Security from June 30 to July 2. The International Women's Summit brought together, for the third time, activists from Okinawa, Korea, Japan, and the Philippines to discuss the parallel harmful effects of US bases in each location. The group of about 60 women was joined for the first time by an activist from Vieques. In most of these places, the presence of US bases has meant violence against women and other crimes often unfairly prosecuted under unequal "Status of Forces Agreements." In bombing practice ranges, accidents have resulted in injury or death of local citizens. Toxic pollution and the constant noise result in hearing loss, increased stress and violence, and higher rates of miscarriage and cancer. At the Women's Summit, organizers and activists shared information and strategies. Comparisons were made between Status Of Forces Agreements in Korea, Germany, and Japan. Participants discussed ways to grow a network into a coalition, and analyzed when coalitions could be useful.

Participants noted that the leadership of women should be central to all matters of peace and security, including planning base closures and conversion. Moreover, women's organizations must be included at all levels of peace negotiations and national reconstruction, most immediately in the dialogues beginning between North Korea and South Korea.

Conference participants' demands included calls to do the following: stop the bombing practice in Vieques, Puerto Rico; stop plans for new or replacement bases in Okinawa such as the proposed heliport at Henoko; revise the Status of Forces Agreements and Visiting Forces Agreement as a first step toward the total removal of US bases from Okinawa, mainland Japan, and Korea; oppose the new U.S.-Japan Defense Guidelines and support the new International Criminal Court;

and compensate host countries and individual victims and survivors of military toxic waste and of violent acts against women and children that are results of the US military presence. The EAQIARS shared this information widely, and encouraged support of the activists. For more information, see EAQ #38 (completed in July).

3. **Arms Trade** The EAQIARs continued to work with activists in Europe and Asia on the arms trade project that was proposed at the Hague Appeal for Peace in May 1999 (see EAQIAR #24). This involved the e-mail distribution of information bulletins compiled from various sources approximately twice a month to around 50 people. The project suffered a significant setback when the European coordinator was forced by health reasons to curtail his activities. It may, however, be possible to revive the project with the help of Randy Forsberg and her colleagues at the Institute of Defense and Disarmament Studies. They have compiled a great deal of information on the military balance in Asia and Europe as well as the flow of arms between the two regions. It remains to be seen how much additional information the European and Korean activists need to provide. The larger research project must also be translated into Korean; factsheets must be designed; and the results must be distributed in some form prior to the ASEM event in October 2000.
4. **Japan-Korea joint work** Our attempts to facilitate more joint projects between Korean and Japanese peace activists were largely stymied by a lack of interest, time, and funding (largely on the part of the Japanese partners). Nevertheless, the upcoming global protests against the militarization of space (October 7, 2000) may serve as a possible opportunity for closer Japanese-Korean cooperation. Groups in both Korea and Japan have met separately and agreed to participate in this event. We will continue to try to facilitate this connection.

Publications

- *Addressing Corporate Conduct*, self-published, a report on a Hong Kong meeting on codes of conduct and other methods of improving labor standards, by John Feffer
- *A New Era for the Korean Peninsula*, Foreign Policy in Focus, June 2000, by John Feffer
- *"It's time to end the Korean War, 50 years later"*, by John Feffer. Appeared in the following papers: *News Herald*, Panama City, FL June 26, 2000; *Birmingham News*, Birmingham, AL, June 25, 2000; *Providence Journal*, Providence, RI, June 27, 2000; *Press-Enterprise*, Riverside, CA, June 24, 2000.
- *"East Asia Economic Model,"* Dollars and Sense, forthcoming, John Feffer
- *"Gunboat Globalization,"* Social Policy, forthcoming, John Feffer
- *"Trickle-Up Approaches to Building Peace in Korea,"* Peace Magazine (Canada), forthcoming, By John Feffer and Karin Lee
- Reprint of *"The Trickle-up Approach to Building Peace in Korea,* in Focus: Asia Pacific, Newsletter of the Asia-Pacific Human Rights Information Center, March 2000 by Karin Lee

Presentations

- "Youndae and Solidarity," Presentation at NADRK event (John Feffer)
- Presentation to Friends School, Tokyo (Karin Lee)
- Presentation regarding AFSC's work to Seoul conference, Coordination of Support for DPRK in the Area of Health and Medical Care: What and How

V. RELATIONSHIPS

Partner Agencies

For the ASEM workshop, we are cooperating principally with the European Network Against the Arms Trade (Netherlands), Solidarity for Peace and Human Rights (South Korea), Women Making Peace

(South Korea), the Korean National Congress for Reunification (South Korea), The Transnational Institute (Netherlands), and Focus on the Global South (Thailand)

In preparing for the next round of exchanges between North Korean and US doctors, we have maintained relationships with the Korean Committee for Solidarity with the World's People (North Korea) and numerous U.S. medical institutions including hospitals (Mount Sinai School of Medicine, NYU Medical Center, St. Elizabeth's Hospital of Boston, Children's Hospital of Boston, Massachusetts General,), U.S. NGOs (International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, International Society for Adult Congenital Heart Disease), and have nurtured a new relationship with the Korean-American medical organization, Christian Association for Medical Mission. We hope that CAMM will be an important linguistic and cultural link for our exchanges.

For the conflict resolution program in South Korea, we are working with three South Korean NGOs: Women Making Peace, Korean Women's Associations United and the Korean National Congress for Reunification. For the year-long training program, we have also included participants from Citizens' Coalition for Economic Justice, People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy, Kwangju Citizens Solidarity, Solidarity for Peace and Human Rights and WomenLink (Kwangju). We have also engaged with the following organizations for help in facilitation of workshops: George Mason University (United States), United States Institute of Peace, International Alert (England), Asienhaus (Germany), and the University of Potsdam (Germany).

For the youth camp work in East Timor, we are working with Kwangju Citizens' Solidarity (South Korea), Asian Human Rights Commission (Hong Kong), and the SEAQIARs. We plan broader outreach to the Quaker community as well.

For regional security work focusing on women, we are cooperating with the East Asia-US Women's Network Against Militarism.

Within the International Affairs Network

Our cooperation with the QUNO-Geneva office and the Economic Justice Network Coordinator based in Philadelphia was critical to the success of our May workshop on Addressing Corporate conduct. QUNO staff-person Brewster Grace worked closely with the QIARs to develop the agenda and the invitation list. QUNO also provided a major source of funding for this event. In addition, Brewster served as a resource person regarding the WTO and Geneva perspectives on corporate codes. Through Brewster, we were able to include Auret van Heerden, an ILO representative with a great deal of experience in EPZs. It was clear from the evaluations that both Brewster's and Auret's expertise was well-appreciated by regional NGOs. Angie Berryman, from the Philadelphia office, was able to share information about different efforts to address corporate conduct in both the US and Latin America. Her presentation of successful and unsuccessful strategies in Latin America leant some useful concrete examples.

The Richmond, Indiana international affairs meeting in January allowed for a useful interest group on COs and CO movements in other countries. Rachel Brett of QUNO, Geneva, is working with EAQIARs on developing this program area. "A Conscientious Objectors Guide to the Human Rights System," co-published by QUNO-Geneva and WRI, is proving to be a useful tool for this program.

QUNO-New York and the Third World Coalition in the National Office have asked for assistance in alerting East Asia NGOs regarding the upcoming Asia/Middle East Preparatory Meeting for the UN Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance. The EAQIARs have created a list of relevant NGOs with whom they will communicate regularly.

For the Globalization publishing project, we are working closely with QIARs, international staff, and several staff in Philadelphia and the regional offices.

We continue to work closely with Joseph Gerson in AFSC's Northeast Regional Office. This recently focused on work around China and PNTR, and information regarding organizing around the anti-bases movement in Okinawa.

Joe Volk of the Friends Committee on National Legislation in Washington, DC has kept us informed about key changes in attitude regarding North Korea, helped us to publicize our writings, and was an important partner in discussion about PNTR.

The relationship between AFSC Asia Desk/ QUNO-New York and the DPRK Mission has increased in importance in relation to our work with the DPRK. In early July /ambassador Li Hyong Chol of the DPRK Mission to the UN was hosted by AFSC in a visit to Philadelphia and to Mennonite Central Committee office in Akron, PA. Communications between the AFSC-Tokyo Office and the Korean Committee for Solidarity with the World's People continue to be intermittent at best, so the relationship with the DPRK UN Mission is a valuable means for furthering our work.

Interpreting events on the Korean Peninsula and giving voice to unheard perspectives, are important parts of our work, and are carried out in close collaboration with our colleagues based in the US, both the AFSC DPRK Development Assistance Program in Oregon and the Asia Desk of AFSC International Program. Using the opening created by the summit between the two Koreas, the AFSC plans to organize a series of seminars discussing North Korea today, and the relation between North Korea and the US. This work will be directed by colleagues based in Oregon and Philadelphia, and will draw in part on EA QIAR perspective and experience.

Prepared by: EAQIARs
Date: July 21 2000

Southeast Asia QIAR

Helen Jenks Clarke and Bob Clarke
Indonesia

I. FOCUS ISSUES

- Conflict resolution
- Religion and ethnicity

II. ACHIEVEMENTS AND ASSESSMENT OF OVERALL IMPACT

This assignment is moving forward as planned. A final report of Findings and Recommendations will be submitted in July 2000. In addition, are these achievements:

- Developed further lines of communications with more Indonesian Muslim groups, particularly Muhammadiyah.
- Developed networks with Indonesians living in several conflict areas in Sulawesi, Indonesia.
- Developed contacts in Indonesia with individuals and organizations involved in struggles over natural resources and indigenous people's rights in several provinces.
- Furthered links to organized and informal labor in Thailand and Cambodia.

During an hour-long ride down a twisting, narrow mountain road in a remote part of eastern Indonesia, we chatted with an Indonesian NGO activist who had been working with us in several meetings. Over that and the previous days, we had met with representatives from a number of local Indonesian NGOs who have programs in the surrounding Sulawesi countryside. We had received a rather "hostile" grilling about our intentions and asked to describe our "plan" for work in their region. The activist explained that Indonesians working in NGOs are very skeptical of foreign NGOs. In their experience, these foreign NGOs usually come to Indonesia with a plan already worked out – something that they think would be good for Indonesians. They meet with some groups, collect information, and then get a big grant to implement their plan. In the end, none of this brings many benefits to Indonesians or to Indonesian NGOs.

After this day's meeting, some of the local activists confronted her to ask why she was helping the foreigners. She explained that she thought that this Quaker International Affairs work was something different. Bob and Helen had been coming to Indonesia for the past year to meet with activists all over the country. They did not have a specific plan, nor did they present guidelines or call for specific project proposals.

Turning to us in the car she said, "you actually listen to people, they find that confusing, but they are coming to realize that this QIAR work is something different, something from which they can benefit. They recognize that they could work together with the QIAR program and be treated as equals. They do not have to follow 'your plan' in order to participate. They can follow their own directions and still benefit from participating with others in these QIAR activities." At this point and just as we reached the city, a torrential downpour drowned out any further conversation.

III. UPDATES

Significant Events in the Region

- The countries of the region continue to rebuild their economies and their social and political infrastructure after the financial collapse of 1997. While economic indicators are improving the number of poor remains extremely high and few countries seem to have learned lessons for social or economic equality from the crisis.

- New Thai legislation has come to a halt as fraudulent elections have prevented the newly mandated Senate from convening. In Chiang Mai at the ADB annual meeting activists mounted a large-scale protest against the policies of the bank. Several thousand local farmers and NGO activists occupied the World Bank-funded Pak Moon Dam demanding that local communities be given more control over water and fisheries.
- The trial of former Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim highlights long-standing tensions: the role of Islam in a multicultural country and the equal participation other ethnic groups.
- Voices calling for a more effective president are rising while the Philippines continue to be beset by Muslim rebel groups.
- Laotian pro-royalist rebels have taken up arms against the central government in fighting along the border with Thailand.
- Demobilization of soldiers in Cambodia is just beginning, with only a weak program of social and economic support. The government continues to negotiate with the UN, moving toward a tribunal to try senior Khmer Rouge figures.
- Indonesia is moving toward a parliamentary review of the democratically elected governments' first year. Although a cease-fire between rebels and government troops holds in Aceh, conflicts elsewhere continue. The Papuan People's Congress recently declared independence for that province. Communal violence continues unabated in Maluku and recently spilled over into Sulawesi. Many human rights violations have been resolved and the pace of disentangling the military from government has increased. The country continues to face a severe financial crisis, exacerbated by a lack of investor confidence and concerns about violence. Few people who dropped below the poverty line during the fiscal collapse have immediate hope to improve their conditions.

Changes in Program Administration

There have been no significant changes in program administration.

Changes in the Program Plan

In meetings with EZE and AFSC, Philadelphia staff in January we agreed that the "joint project" would be integrated into the SEAQIAR program and would not be the subject of a separate project proposal.

The appointment of the interim representatives was extended until 19 July 2000.

IV. REPORT OF PROGRAM WORK

All activities during this period have been exploratory, involving meetings with individuals and representatives of organizations in the U.S., Canada, England, Sri Lanka, and Southeast Asia. We had meetings in Malaysia, Thailand, and Cambodia. In Indonesia, we continued to meet with national-level organizations focussing particularly on Muslim organizations. We also visited four sites of conflict in Indonesia: West Papua, South, Central and North Sulawesi where we met with local government officials, NGO activists, religious leaders, academics and members of the public. We attended the 14th Asia Pacific Roundtable in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Below is a summary of regional activities:

1. January 2000

- Meetings with government officials, NGO activists, academics and religious leaders in West Papua, Indonesia, learning about local conflicts over natural resources, land, human rights, and national self-determination. Reported in: SEAQIAR Report # 12.
- Lectures in Seattle to AFSC supporters and the Seattle Friends. Meeting with AFSC staff on the current situation of conflicts in Indonesia.
- Presentation on developments in Southeast Asia to the meeting of the worldwide Quaker International Affairs staff, Richmond, Indiana.

- Presentation of a preliminary project design for the SEAQIAR program to staff of EZE, Richmond, Indiana. Reported in: Notes for a Discussion of the SEAQIAR Program, 19 January 2000.
 - Meeting with the International Affairs committee of the Ottawa Friends
- 2. February 2000**
- Presentation on SEAQIAR work to AFSC head office staff, committee members and supporters.
 - Presentation at Quaker House, QUNO-New York: Civil Society and Peace Making in "Reformasi" Indonesia. Meeting with the Indonesian mission at the UN concerning their current activities.
 - Meetings with U.S. State Department Officials concerning status of events in Indonesia and Cambodia. Meeting with the U.S. Institute for Peace concerning current events in Indonesia, particularly community-level peace making initiatives and the approach of the SEAQIAR program. Discussions concerning Institute resources that could be accessed by Southeast Asians.
 - Presentation to the AFSC office in Washington. Meeting with the director of Nonviolence International concerning their trainings in Indonesia on active nonviolence and other resources that can be accessed by Southeast Asians.
 - Meetings with staff and faculty of Eastern Mennonite University, Conflict Analysis and Transformation Program, to learn more about their approaches to community peace building and the resources that they can make available to Southeast Asians.
 - Consultation with Professor Robert Hefner of Boston University on the role of Muslim groups in contemporary Indonesia.
- 3. March 2000**
- Meetings with Quaker Peace and Service staff to discuss the situation in Southeast Asia and their peace work activities in Sri Lanka, Africa, and the Middle East.
 - Meetings with staff of Responding to Conflict to learn more about their program and resources.
 - Visit to the Quaker Peace and Service project in Sri Lanka Reported in: SEAQIAR Report #13
- 4. April 2000**
- Indonesian meetings with leaders of several Muslim mass organizations, NGOs and institutes as well as student activists and youth leaders. Visits to conflict areas in South Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi and North Sulawesi and meetings with community leaders, NGO representatives, youth leaders, student activists, public officials, religious leaders, and academics. Reported in: SEAQIAR Report #14
- 5. May 2000**
- Joint meetings in Bangkok with representatives from QUNO-Geneva and QPS to discuss ethical marketing and labor rights issues with labor groups, NGO activists and ILO staff.
- 6. June 2000**
- Attendance at the 14th Asia Pacific Roundtable, meeting regional diplomats, military personnel, academics and members of the "security community." Reported in SEAQIAR Report #15

V. RELATIONSHIPS:

Within the International Affairs Network

- participated in a meeting in Richmond to coordinate work on the ethical trading initiative, the WTO and labor standards.

- presentation at QUNO-NY luncheon
- collaborated in a visit to Thailand with Brewster Grace of QUNO Geneva and Robin Robison of QPS London to meet NGO and labor activists and ILO representatives.
- continuing cooperation with the East Asia QIARs to develop a work camp in East Timor together with Kwangju Citizens' Solidarity (KCS), South Korea, and the Asian Human Rights Commission (AHRC), Hong Kong.
- cooperated with East Asia QIARs to complete a chapter entitled "Resources for Resistance" for the "What Works" book.
- continuing cooperation with the Cambodia Program on the Local Capacities for Nonviolence project.

Prepared by: Robert Clarke and Helen Jenks Clarke

Viet Nam QIAR

Lady Borton
Ha Noi, Viet Nam

I. FOCAL ISSUES

- Conflict Resolution and Reconciliation
- Demilitarization and Disarmament
- Eastern and Western Values
- Economic Transformation
- Women's Increasing Economic Burden
- Changing Civil Structures Resolution on long-standing enmity
- Weapons

II. ACHIEVEMENTS AND ASSESSMENT OF OVERALL IMPACT

AFSC's 30+ history in Viet Nam, my similar span of work here, and the 25+ year relationship between the Quaker Service Director and myself make it possible for AFSC quietly to take on issues that other groups working in Viet Nam cannot easily address. This and the flexibility of the staff are great strengths, but like all strengths, they are also weaknesses, for they lead to constant requests (everyone's errands!), making it hard to hold to priorities.

The last six months included several "firsts:"

- A breakthrough in US promised assistance to Viet Nam in clearing with unexploded bombs and mines left from the American War
- Permission from the Government of Vietnam to use two Vietnamese films to "open a movement" of public awareness in the West about Agent Orange and unexploded bombs and mines
- The first TV program jointly shot by Vietnamese and Americans to air in the US
- The first informal "working tea" of Vietnamese and American journalists
- A request from the National Political Publishing House to the "Working Group on Globalization" for more book manuscripts to publish and distribute to key leaders
- A request from VN Television to air *Regret to Inform*

The likely signing of the Viet Nam - US Trade Agreement and President Clinton's proposed trip in November create the likelihood of a busy fall in quiet diplomatic efforts, and the organizing process for the *Regret to Inform* visit in winter for spring of 2001 will provide chances to renew contacts with Viet Nam Television.

The shooting ended 25 years ago. Relations with the US finally turned the corner towards normalization 5 years ago. But it is still a rocky road to friendship between two former enemies. That rocky road is being made a little smoother by our work which has significantly broadened the channels of communication between the two countries and in the following cases, played a critical role in some key steps along the way.

NOTE: Extremely Confidential

Two recent announcements of progress in US-Vietnam relations seem unremarkable by themselves. One, was that the US State Department Office of Humanitarian Assistance agreed to give \$1.7 million worth of demining equipment to Vietnam. The second, that an American NGO will work with the Vietnamese government to do a survey of unexploded ordnance in Vietnam, including land mines. A third, much higher profile announcement is expected in the near future. The We played a key role in all of these.

The US has de-mining equipment available for use in countries seeking to remove the debris of war from their soil. A belief that with the equipment there had to be US military personnel as well blocked any agreement between the US and Vietnamese who were discussing the subject. I learned that the assumption was false. Through connections in Vietnam and the US, I was able to arrange and facilitate informal, off-the-record discussions between key Vietnamese and State Department personnel, personally helping bridge conceptual and communications gaps during the meeting. Soon afterwards a State Department delegation in Hanoi announced the donation of \$1.7 million worth of de-mining supplies to Vietnam.

The Global Landmine Survey project was making little progress until we were able to arrange and facilitate direct discussions between the American NGO personnel and key Vietnamese officials. This project idea, which both groups wanted, nearly foundered on different assumptions by the two parties, until they were cleared up with the bi-lingual, bi-cultural help of our program.

With luck, and building on our initiative, the highest ranking US delegation to Vietnam may yet take place in November this year. Even people trying to be friends again can use some help in bringing it about.

III. UPDATES

Significant Events in the Region

For Viet Nam, 2000 is a year of anniversaries: the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Viet Nam Communist Party and of Party People's Organizations; the 25th anniversary of the end of the American War in Viet Nam; and the 990th anniversary of the founding of Ha Noi. April 30 brought a surge of Western media and opportunities for VNIA involvement in media coverage.

Viet Nam continues to be affected by the Regional Economic Crisis, which began in the summer of 1997. At the time, Viet Nam's overseas investment came largely from the region, as it does still. Many South Korean, Indonesian and Thai companies withdrew staff, closed plants, and dismissed Vietnamese workers. Occupancy in four-star hotels dropped to less than 20%; enrollment in Ha Noi's International School dropped one-quarter. Previous to the crisis, Viet Nam had pushed to become another "Asian tiger;" the crisis, however, has created a climate of re-evaluation of "Renovation," Viet Nam's policy openness to a market economy, to the West, and to greater individual freedom.

Changes in Program Administration

VNIA has worked informally for many years; however, the program was formally named "Viet Nam International Affairs" in 2000 and tied to wider QIAR work. The other key staffpersons are the Director of Quaker Service-Viet Nam, Ms. Le Thi Hoai Phuong, and Ms. Chau.

It's a rare day that the Quaker Service staff eats lunch without guests because Chau's *com binh dan* ("ordinary people's food") is thought by many to be the best food in Ha Noi. Vietnamese colleagues too busy to meet during business hours are often keen to share in a delicious, informal lunch at the round table in the Quaker Service "dining room" (the hallway) and then to linger over tea for what usually turns out to be an important program conversation. Lunches provide an excellent opportunity for international visitors to meet busy Vietnamese colleagues. Quaker Service food cost for feeding all comers -- staff and guests -- is \$100/month, arguably the best program investment AFSC makes.

Changes in Program Plan

The fall of 2000 should also offer us special opportunities, as did the spring. VNIA had planned to help host a visit to Viet Nam from the staff and interviewees in *Regret to Inform*. Many consider *Regret to Inform* the best US film about the American War in Viet Nam. It was nominated for Best Documentary at the 1999 Academy Awards and received Best Director and Best Cinematographer at the 1999 Sundance Festival. President Bill Clinton's likely visit to Viet Nam in the fall, we will postpone the *Regret to Inform* visit until late early January 2001 or at the time of International Women's Day, March 8, 2001. President Clinton's visit provides opportunities to continue work on issues remaining from the war, including Agent Orange, unexploded bombs and mines, and Vietnamese Missing in Action.

IV. REPORT OF PROGRAM WORK

VNIA's partner agencies listed below suggest the range of smaller program activities and VNIA's role in linking individuals and groups. The following highlights some of the activities within each program theme.

Theme I: Conflict Resolution and Reconciliation.

Objective: Contribute to greater understanding and resolution of the on-going concerns of Vietnamese from the American War, including:

- Unexploded bombs and mines
- Agent Orange and other toxic substances
- Vietnamese Missing in Action

by developing stronger links of understanding and cooperation between Vietnamese and American institutions and groups.

1. **Regarding unexploded ordnance.** VNIA worked closely with directors from the Viet Nam Documentary and Scientific Film Studio to produce a (revised) English-language version of the half-hour film, *DEADLY DEBRIS: The Explosive Aftermath of the American War in Viet Nam*. VNIA secured co-sponsorship of other International NGOs working in Viet Nam for an English-language version, translated the script, coached the reading of the English script, assisted with the editing of the English version, and arranged for international distribution. We appear in the film. During the spring of 2000, *DEADLY DEBRIS* aired at the Santa Barbara International Film Festival (the international film festival serving Los Angeles) and international film festivals in Japan and Switzerland.
2. **Regarding Agent Orange** VNIA has been raising the question of Agent Orange exposure among American citizens of Vietnamese ethnicity who were spraying Agent Orange or lived or worked in areas of spray concentration. Veterans of the Army of the Republic of Viet Nam (ARVN) are not compensated, as are US Army veterans (or their children) with disabilities that may be a result of Agent Orange exposure. Vietnamese Americans are reluctant to raise this question because they do not want to seem "ungrateful" towards the US Government. However, Vietnamese overseas are keen to have the medical information VNIA has gathered. Through Vietnamese-American doctors with whom I worked at the Pulau Bidong Refugee Camp in Malaysia in 1980, it may be possible to connect with studies already in Vietnamese-language medical literature in the US or to assist with thinking about studies that might be done. I will be meeting with representatives from this community in July in Virginia and in August in Los Angeles.

Working with the National Documentary and Scientific Film Studio, VNIA completed (yet another) English language version of the searing half-hour documentary, *Where War Has Passed* about the effects of toxic chemicals on ordinary people in Viet Nam. In February, *Where War Has Passed* was shown in at the Santa Barbara International Film Festival, the international film festival serving Los Angeles. VNIA has also edited and distributed several reports written by Dr. Le Cao Dai, Viet Nam's premier researcher on the effects of Agent Orange.

Quaker Service has been working with Vietnamese on Agent Orange for more than 25 years. VNIA works very closely with the Viet Nam Agent Orange Victims Assistance Fund of the Viet Nam Red Cross and with Hatfield Consultants, the Canadian firm that carried out the first comprehensive study of Agent Orange in Viet Nam. After a year and a half of searching, VNIA is close to finding the exact location of a spill of 3,5000 gallons of Agent Orange on Bien Hoa Air Base in March of 1970 (presumably still a "hot spot") as listed in the *Hatfield Report*; VNIA has finally made contact with a veteran who worked on the tanks at the time of the spill. From this veteran, we now know there were many other spills at Bien Hoa that are not in the Department of Defense papers and that the area around the tanks was always muddy, even during the dry season, indicating leakage. Once we have the specific site located, Dr. Dai of the Viet Nam Agent Orange Victims Assistance Fund will take soil samples can be taken for testing. VNIA has also been quietly discussing with the Vietnamese the possibility of facilitating a quiet, off-the-record consultation on clean-up as a first step to, we hope, later US Government involvement in clean-up.

3. **Regarding Vietnamese 'Missing in Action'** Somewhere between 100,000 and 300,000 Vietnamese are still missing. Since 1973, the US has spent \$75 million/year on some 2,000+ American MIAs but has not contributed to the Vietnamese effort to find their own MIAs. The April 30 issue of *Viet Nam News*, Viet Nam's national English-language newspaper, contained two translations done by VNIA of Vietnamese literary works raising this issue. "Bringing home those comrades" is an excerpt from *I Died; A World Alive Began*, which received first the 1997 B-level National Literary Prize. "An Altar for young Gion" is a short story.

Theme II: Demilitarization and Disarmament.

Objective: Work with appropriate Vietnamese colleagues on questions of national and regional security by providing information (and therefore, alternatives) not usually available.

1. I was able to take part in a day-long initial consultation in Boston in June for a curriculum building on the film, *Regret to Inform*. During the rest of 2000, I will continue to work by e-mail with Mediacom, the consulting firm handling development of the curriculum.
2. The US Embargo and Viet Nam's own system kept Viet Nam isolated from regional and global security information. VNIA regularly forwards (sometimes with a comment) Northern Asia Peace and Security Network (NAPSNet) daily briefings to a number of leaders in Ha Noi as well as articles of special interest forwarded from the US and Europe. We also seek out appropriate books, magazine articles, and web sites for Vietnamese colleagues interested in these issues.

Theme III: Eastern and Western Values.

Objective: Working in close cooperation with Vietnamese colleagues, continue to facilitate among Western partners the understanding of Vietnamese emphasis on community and consensus in contrast to Western emphasis on individualism.

1. VNIA and the Quaker Service Director conducted several orientation sessions for staff at the Danish Embassy and a CIDA consultant team as well as for many visitors to Ms. Chau's Quaker Service lunch table as a way of smoothing relations and modeling Vietnamese approaches to issues.
2. As follow-up to my 1993 article, "Learning to Work With Viet Nam," which has been widely photocopied for use by embassies staff members, businesses leaders, academics, and INGO staff, a new draft has been now prepared (in June). It incorporates new understandings and many suggestions from both Vietnamese and expatriate colleagues working in Viet Nam. The new version will be published in the "Close-Up" cover story on Viet Nam in the fall 2000 issue of *The Academy of Business Management EXECUTIVE*.

3. I spent much of a week on crisis intervention on the VUFO (Viet Nam Union of Friendship Organizations)-NGO Resource Center Ten-Year Evaluation and another week on helping an American INGO untangle a problematic relationship with Government officials. The representative is a member of the VUFO-NGO Resource Center Steering Committee and often serves a mediating role between the western INGO and the Vietnamese VUFO representatives.

Theme IV: Economic Transformation.

Objective: Building on Quaker Service Viet Nam's past work in this delicate area, look for ways to provide alternative viewpoints that might be of use to Vietnamese leaders as they continue to implement a market economy in the face of effects from the regional economic crisis.

1. Quaker Service has been working quietly and off-the-record for many years with key Vietnamese on issues surrounding international financial institutions, structural adjustment, WTO, and privatization. "Who's In Debt to Whom?" (attached) describes the process of this work. We work with INGO representatives in Ha Noi and contacts outside of Viet Nam to secure articles, case studies, interesting web sites, etc. that clearly state a range of points of view so that Vietnamese leaders can draw from a range of world experience on these issues.
2. **(Please note: HIGH Confidential Level)** Mr. Nguyen Van Thanh, retired executive vice-president of the Vietnam Union of Friendship Organizations, heads a small, informal "Working Group on Globalization." I am the expatriate coordinator. During the first six months of 2000, the National Political Publishing House, with support from International NGOs, brought out two books in Vietnamese (*Economic Sovereignty in a Globalizing World* and *The Battle in Seattle*). Both books contain translated articles reflecting differing points of view as well as original pieces. Both books were distributed to members of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Communist Party, members of the National Assembly and high-level Government administrators. Both books immediately "sold out." A group of more than a hundred leaders took part in a discussion *meeting*, "Economic Sovereignty in a Globalizing World," led by Mr. Thanh and sponsored by the National Political Publishing House. Although one can't be sure, it is reasonable to think these books affected the address to G-77 given by the President of Viet Nam, who happens to live next door to Mr. Thanh.

Theme V: Women's Increasing Economic Burden

Objective 1: Facilitate the increased role of women in decision-making, improved women's economic self-sufficiency and access to education and adequate health care through work with the Vietnam Women's Union, the National Committee for the Advancement of Women and other appropriate Vietnamese organizations

1. I have been working with the producers of *Regret to Inform* to facilitate the participation of Dr. Nguyen Thi My Hien, one of the interviewees in the film, in the month-long publicity tour before *Regret* aired nationally on Public Broadcasting Services, *Point of View* in January. The representative accompanied Dr. Hien to the States and traveled with the tour.
2. For several years, VNIA has been trying to arrange for translation into Vietnamese of *Where Women Have No Doctors*, published by Hesperian Foundation. The National Women's Publishing House in Ha Noi is excited to bring out the book, the Women's Union is keen to distribute it, funding was secured, and the most prominent Ha Noi professor/doctor OB/GYN and writer on women's health for the general public was ready both to edit the translation and write a special chapter on Vietnamese traditional medicine. VNIA has been waiting for more than two years for a draft translation that was to have been finished in October 1999. In October, VNIA learned that the

INGO handling the translation had not even begun. This project is on hold until it can become possible to arrange with Hesperian to shift translation to VNIA.

Objective 2: Continue work on Beijing + 5 and preparatory work towards the Fifth NGO Forum on Women in 2005

1. VNIA worked closely with the Viet Nam Women's Union for two years on the Vietnamese delegation to the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. A \$10,000 Dialogues and Exchanges grant for "seven Vietnamese (women or men) who otherwise would not go" made it possible to leverage more than \$300,000 in grants from 43 funders to send 23 Vietnamese to the Government Conference and more than 150 to the INGO Conference. VNIA has continued to work closely with the Viet Nam Women's Union in follow-up. The Women's Union, a People's Organization, exists on the national, provincial, district, and local levels. Viet Nam is the only country with a Strategy for Action in each province. In the spring of 1999, a group of about 25 Vietnamese participants from both the Government and NGO Beijing conferences and I met on a Sunday morning (the only time Vice President of Viet Nam Nguyen Thi Binh, Vice President of the National Assembly Truong My Hoa, and Ms. Ton Nu Thi Ninh, now ambassador to the European Union, were free) at the Women's Museum in Ha Noi, ostensibly to discuss memories of Beijing for the museum's then upcoming special exhibit. Mme. My Hoa, who had headed the Government delegation to Beijing, led off, saying, "The world has changed. We must change to meet Beijing + 5." At Mme. My Hoa's lead, the "memories" quickly turned into a fascinating rump organizing session for Beijing + 5. Within two hours, an informal structure for a Beijing + 5 "push" was in place.

However, as it turned out, major Vietnamese participation in Beijing + 5 was not possible, not because of a lack of ability or enthusiasm but because of the nature of the event and of the complementary organizing. The formal meetings in New York were to be only two days, not two weeks as in Beijing, and meeting space limited the numbers allowed. Significant Vietnamese participation would be cost effective only if interesting and important events occurred before and after the formal conference. In February, I made a scouting trip to New York, attending the "Conference on Women in Academia, the United Nations and International NGOs."

It was soon clear that organizing for Beijing + 5 was both very limited and extremely US-focused. It was a great disappointment to discover that organizers in New York had not seized on the opportunity to organize events that would be useful to non-Western delegations. As a result of this news, it seemed clear that it made sense to send a relatively small Vietnamese delegation from the Women's Union and not to try to open it out, as in 1995, to Vietnamese NGO initiatives.

2. VNIA worked with the Viet Nam Women's Union and Sun Fountain Productions of San Francisco to arrange Vietnamese participation in panels at Beijing + 5 following two screenings of *Regret to Inform*. About a third of *Regret to Inform* is interviews with women from Viet Nam, who speak on camera in Vietnamese. Care was taken to avoid publicity about Vietnamese participation so that we could be sure there would be no possibility of disruptions by Overseas Vietnamese. The showings and joint participation of both the Vietnamese and the Overseas Vietnamese woman who is the lead in the film were a great success, building the basis for showing *Regret to Inform* in Viet Nam in the spring of 2001.

Theme VI: Changing civil structures

Objective 1: Working under the guidance of Vietnamese leaders, seek appropriate ways to be helpful in facilitating the effectiveness of Vietnamese people's (mass) organizations and NGO initiatives.

1. In early June, Catholic Relief Services and Quaker Service cooperated to send three Vietnamese from the Committee on NGOs to New York to attend the UN Millennium NGO Conference. The

delegation was to have been four people: two from the People's Aid Coordinating Committee (PACCOM), which oversees International NGOs, and two from the Government Committee on Organizations and Personnel (GCOP), which is expected eventually to oversee Vietnamese NGOs. Unfortunately, despite support from the US ambassador's special assistant, the Consular Section (which operates as its own fiefdom in an embassy) refused to allow one of the four to go. An additional frustration was the loss of two days' participation in the conference while we tried to solve the visa problem. Nevertheless, the three Vietnamese who did attend the Millennium NGO Conference were most excited about their experience. At VNIA's suggestion, the delegation added on time for visits to INGO offices in the US and to engage in other program activities (See Anecdote Section below.)

2. Western-style NGOs are a concept virtually unheard of in Viet Nam ten years ago. For years, Quaker Service has been one of the lead organizations working quietly and off-the record with the Vietnamese to provide information about NGOs. This effort included working with the Vietnamese to send a sizable (150+) Vietnamese delegation from a wide range of People's Organizations and Vietnamese emerging NGO initiatives to the Beijing NGO Forum on Women. Beijing centered on women and health, women and development, women and education, women and aging, etc., thereby making it an appropriate setting for a wide range of Vietnamese institutions to learn about the worldwide NGO movement. Follow-up during this last six months for the Beijing + 5 meeting in New York in June appears in the Gender Section below.

Objective 2: Work with Vietnamese colleagues in ways determined as appropriate by them to facilitate exchanges between Vietnamese and Americans working in media.

1. The spring of 2000 was a heavy media season because of the 25th anniversary on April 30 of the end of the American War in Viet Nam. I did a number of interviews both for the Vietnamese and the Western press. I also worked for much of two months with the staff of *People Magazine* on their special issues. This was the first issue *People* had done on a foreign country since its issue featuring the former Soviet Union in 1989. As the managing editor of *People* said, VNIA "fingerprints were all over the issue."

People has some of the best journalists working as correspondents. They research thoroughly and write complete "files," which, as the correspondents say, are then turned into "*People*-ese" by a New York writer who never meets the interviewee or visits the locale. More than a dozen *People* journalists visited Viet Nam, and they were indeed a fine group. VNIA worked with the Foreign Press Department and the Foreign Press Center of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to set up meetings between the *People* writers and Vietnamese journalists in Ha Noi.

The first of these was a non-stop discussion about writing process and creative control over one of Chau's lunches. From that, VNIA set up a formal meeting between the *People* staff and Ha Noi journalists at the office of *Phu Nu Thu Do (Women of the Capitol)*. Subsequently two key Vietnamese women journalists visited the *People* office in Washington and then VNIA set up another meeting in Ha Noi when the *People* staff return to Ha Noi to do their final checking on details before the magazine went to press.

At the suggestion of VNIA, the United States Information Services sent two key women journalists on a month-long tour of the US. I met the journalists when they arrived in Washington, set up their meeting with *People* in DC and several other meetings as well, and joined them for meetings in Akron, Ohio. The Akron meeting was particularly interesting because the host had been head of a large paper and had gone out on her own as a one-person show. The conversation between her and her Vietnamese guest who handles more than a dozen publications was fascinating. The conversation kept returning to the difficulty of securing ads.

2. I taught and assisted with hosting a delegation from the Viet Nam Writers Union at the two-week writers' workshop organized by the Joiner Center for the Study of War and Social Consequences at the University of Massachusetts, Boston. This workshop provided a chance to connect

Vietnamese writers with a sensitive Vietnamese-American writer, who is interested in translating and also coach the Vietnamese-American writer. These two weeks bring together a startling number of international writers working on issues surrounding war and economic justice.

3. In 1997, Quaker Service sponsored the first exchange between Vietnamese and American professionals working in TV broadcast. The Vietnamese production, *Harassed by War*, shot in the US in the fall of 1998 aired on April 30, 1999. The American production, *Wandering Souls: Tet 1968 Remembered*, shot in Viet Nam in the fall and winter of 1998 aired on Public Broadcasting Service in the winter and spring of 2000. Both pieces were very well reviewed.
4. I also do quite a bit of English-language copy-editing for Vietnamese groups, in particular The Gioi (The World) Publishing House's *Vietnam Cultural Window*, for which she serves as senior editor. *Vietnam Cultural Window* is a break-through magazine for Vietnam as an experiment in a non-rhetoric voice given to adding quite direct criticism on social issues.
5. My book, *AFTER SORROW: An American Among the Vietnamese* was translated into Vietnamese several years ago. The spring of 2000 saw the passing of retired Prime Minister Pham Van Dong. The Vietnamese version of *AFTER SORROW* was on the prime minister's desk at the time of his desk. It is now on the top of a stack of four books on the family altar in Prime Minister Pham Van Dong's bedroom in Ha Noi.
6. The influx of American media for April 30 created considerable work in damage control. This included *People Magazine*. The editor-in-chief overrode the managing editor and all the correspondents and, at the last minute, broke *People's* verbal contract with the Foreign Press Center, and set up a story headlined "Enemy of the State," where, in fact, this is not true. This one action obviated two month's worth of VNIA work. I and Chuck Searcy, the representative from Viet Nam Veterans of American Foundation, visited the Foreign Ministry staff involved as well as the journalists who had met *People* staff to apologize and also to explain the entire story so that the progress in relationship between Vietnamese and American journalists would not be lost.
7. At the same time, it was important to work with Vietnamese on many, many levels about Senator John McCain's visit. John McCain made his sixth visit to Viet Nam on *Today Show* funds for a special broadcast on April 30. Although he had developed a reputation for reconciliation on Viet Nam, on April 30, he did a 180-degree spin. The spin was so decisive that an American businessman, who had made a special trip to Ho Chi Minh City in support of Senator McCain, called me on April 30 and talked for more than an hour. This phone call was extremely useful because he had the details and the analysis (complete with details of 2004 campaign signs), which Chuck Searcy and VNIA then took to key Vietnamese leaders in Ha Noi, helping them understand that, unlike a Vietnamese way of thinking, Senator McCain had spoken *only* as an individual and *not* for the US Government. Later, the special assistant to the US ambassador told Chuck that there was nothing the ambassador could do on damage control and that they had to rely on Chuck's and VNIA's assistance.

V. RELATIONSHIPS:

Viet Nameese Partner Agencies

- Committee on NGO Affairs (co-sponsor with Catholic Relief Services of delegation of three staff to the US)
- Foreign Press Center, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (meeting between American and Vietnamese journalists; damage control from April 30 journalist visits)
- Foreign Press Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (meeting between American and Vietnamese journalists; damage control from April 30 journalist visits)
- History Institute & *Xua va Nay* (State Department public record documents)
- Ho Chi Minh Museum (State Department public record documents)

- Institute of International Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (information on presidential election; globalization; attempt to access Internet-capable computers)
- National Committee for Population & Family Planning (enter-educate serial dramas for reproductive health education)
- National Economics University (initial discussion)
- of Corporate MBA concept)
- National Institute of Hygiene and Epidemiology (training opportunities for staff)
- National Political Publishing House (publication of two books on international economic issues for Vietnamese leaders)
- *Nguoi Tre* (Youth) Foundation (mental health materials for translation)
- Pasteur Institute, HCM City (attempt to find appropriate US research partners)
- People's Aid Coordinating Agency (PACCOM) (general working partner for any sensitive issues)
- *Phu Nu Thu Do* (*Women of the Capitol*) Newspaper (Vietnamese and American journalists meeting with *People Magazine* staff)
- *Phu Nu Viet Nam* (*Women of Viet Nam*) Magazine (Vietnamese and American journalists meeting with *People Magazine* staff)
- Research Center for Aging Support / Viet Nam Red Cross (research on aging; search for funding assistance)
- The Gioi (World) Publishing House (editing *Vietnam Cultural Window* and many other pieces)
- Viet Nam Agent Orange Victims' Assistance Fund / Viet Nam Red Cross (research; strategizing; effort to build program of assistance for "hot spot" areas)
- Viet Nam National Documentary and Scientific Film Company (English translation of two films, one on Agent Orange and one on unexploded bombs and mines left from the American war)
- Viet Nam National Theater (links for theater exchange of joint performances of Luu Quang Vu and Shakespeare's work in Viet Nam in the fall of 2000)
- *Viet Nam News* (one article, two translations and one article about a VNIR partnered project in the April 30 commemorative issue)
- Viet Nam Television (airing in the US of *Wandering Souls*, the US production from the first cooperative work between Vietnamese and Americans working in TV broadcast)
- Viet Nam Union of Friendship Organizations NGO Resource Center (crisis intervention)
- Viet Nam - US Friendship Committee (special issue of *Academy of Business Management Executive* on Viet Nam; work on the delegation of American business leaders; Professor Chris Appy's visit for book of interviews; Professor John Schermerhorn's visit for *Executive* special issue and Corporate MBA possibility)
- Viet Nam Women's Union (Beijing + 5 delegation to meeting New York; facilitated Vietnamese participation in and introduced panels following two showings of *Regret to Inform* at Beijing + 5)
- Viet Nam Writers' Union (delegation of American lawyers on copyright issues to Viet Nam; delegation of four Vietnamese writers to the US; *Vietnam Literature Review*) Voice of Viet Nam (meeting between VOV and National Public Radio staff visiting Viet Nam)
- Women's Publishing House (long-term effort to publish a Vietnamese version of Hesperian's *Where Women Have No Doctor*; work on anthology of Vietnamese Women's literature for Feminist Press of City University)
- Working Group on Globalization (publication of two books in Vietnamese for Vietnamese leaders)

International Partner Agencies in Viet Nam

- CIDSE (globalization; Yeoman's Key Lining for flood and drought control)
- Catholic Relief Services (co-sponsor of Committee on NGO Affairs Delegation visit to the US; Agent Orange; unexploded bombs and mines)
- Ford Foundation (Agent Orange; copyright; theater exchange)
- International Red Cross (Agent Orange)
- NGO Training Project (introduction to Quaker Service Lao PDR training initiative)
- OXFAM Great Britain / Ireland (globalization, WTO)
- OXFAM Hong Kong (unexploded bombs and mines)

- OXFAM Solidarite (Belgium) (globalization, WTO)
- PeaceTrees Viet Nam (unexploded bombs and mines)
- Population Council (enter-educate serial drama)
- Save the Children - UK (globalization, WTO)
- Viet Nam Veterans of America Foundation (chief partner for informal diplomacy work involving the US; Agent Orange; unexploded bombs and mines; co-facilitator of meetings in Washington for Committee on NGO Affairs delegation)

International Funding Agencies in Viet Nam

- CIDA (orientation & consultations for program in Thanh Hoa)
- DANIDA (presentation to staff)
- SIDA (evaluation of overall Viet Nam program)

Partner Agencies in the US

International Non-Governmental Organizations

- Ann Arbor Memorial Christian Church (training at U. of Michigan for staff from National Hygiene and Epidemeology Institute)
- Asia Pacific Center for Justice and Peace (clean-up of former US military bases)
- Fund for Reconciliation & Development (distribution of *Where War Has Passed* and *Deadly Debris*)
- Global Landmine Survey (set up and facilitated meeting with Committee on NGO Affairs, then the Vietnamese office designated to handle INGO involvement in UXO issues)
- Hesperian Foundation (publication of a Vietnamese edition of *Where Women Have No Doctor*)
- Indochina Arts Project (edited *HO CHI MINH: An Artist's Portrait* due out in September 2000; took the manuscript to key Vietnamese readers)
- International Voluntary Services (facilitated process for IVS Permit of Operations in Viet Nam and setting up of program in Viet Nam after 25 years)
- Santa Barbara International Film Festival (international film festival service Los Angeles; showing of *Where War Has Passed* and *Deadly Debris*)
- Viet Nam - American Theater Exchange (facilitated relationship with Viet Nam National Theater)
- Viet Nam Veterans Memorial Fund (facilitated and met with delegation of American business leaders)
- Vietnamese American Mutual Assistance Incorporated (Vietnamese-American group in southern California; met with leader on Agent Orange; scheduled two-day visit in California for August 2000)

Media

- *Academy of Business Management EXECUTIVE* special issue on Viet Nam for fall 2000)
- BBC Radio (special on Agent Orange)
- *Mother Jones* Magazine (cover story on Agent Orange)
- National Public Radio (facilitated series on Viet Nam)
- *People* Magazine ("fingerprints all over special issue on Viet Nam;" several meetings between Vietnamese journalists and *People* Magazine staff)
- *Pittsburgh Post Gazette* (facilitated special coverage on Viet Nam; introduced by former QIAR staff now foreign editor)
- *Regret to Inform*, Sun Fountain Productions (facilitated Vietnamese participation in month-long US publicity tour; joined tour in San Francisco, Baltimore, and Washington to facilitate and translate; day-long consultation on *Regret to Inform* Viet Nam History Project consultation in Boston; two-week consultation at Joiner Center Writers' Workshop; planning for showing of *Regret to Inform* on Viet Nam Television and visit by *Regret to Inform* director and "talent" to Viet Nam in early 2001)
- Reuters News Service (program on Agent Orange)

- *Sixty Minutes* (program on Agent Orange)

Academic

- City University of New York, Center for International Programs Staten Island Campus (Beijing + 5 organizing; exchanges with Viet Nam; classes on campus)
- City University of New York, Feminist Press ("Feminist Muse" series on Viet Nam)
- Earlham College (teaching classes; speech at model UN conference)
- Johns Hopkins University School of Public Health Center for Communications Programs (consultations on enter-educate serial drama; cooperation to send Vietnamese participants to international conference in fall 2000)
- Ohio University Center for Southeast Asian Studies (recruitment of scholarship students; meetings with current scholarship students) Ohio University School of Business (cooperation with Viet Nam - US Friendship Committee on special issue of *The Academy of Business Management EXECUTIVE* on Viet Nam; initial exploration of relevance Corporate MBA model for Viet Nam)
- Ohio University School of Telecommunications (airing on PBS of *Wandering Souls*, the US program resulting from the first cooperation between Americans and Vietnamese working in TV broadcasting; trips organized by VNIA in fall 1997 and winter 1998)
- Olney Friends School (commencement speech)
- Semester at Sea Program, University of Pittsburgh (follow-up to week-long participation in fall 1999)
- University of Massachusetts William Joiner Center for the Study of War and Social Consequences (facilitation of delegation of lawyers on copyright; facilitation of visit to US by Vietnamese writers; two-weeks teaching, including work with a manuscript about workers inside a Patriot missile plant during the Gulf War, one on growing up in a CIA family, one on the war in El Salvador, a memoir by the son of a Viet Nam veteran and a book the Peace Movement during the American War in Viet Nam.
- University of Michigan Unit for Laboratory Animal Medicine (facilitation of visit by Vietnamese in summer 2000)
- University of North Carolina School of Public Health, Department of Maternal and Child Health (facilitation of meeting with Vietnamese researchers and activists on women's health)

International Partner Agencies Outside the US & Viet Nam

- Hatfield Consultants, Ltd. (Agent Orange) International Campaign to Ban Landmines (exploration of possible quiet, off-the-record visit to Viet Nam)
- Japan International Environmental Film Festival (facilitation of showing of *Deadly Debris* and *Where War Has Passed* at film festival and participation by Vietnamese director in festival)
- Towards Ecological Recovery and Regional Alliance TERRA (consultation for Asian Development Bank meetings in Chiang Mai)
- University of Melbourne, International Conflict Resolution Centre (interviews on conflict management between expatriates and Vietnamese working in Viet Nam)

Within the International Affairs Network

- QUNO, Geneva (very useful materials for books in Vietnamese for Vietnamese leaders, *Economic Sovereignty in a Globalizing World* and *Battle at Seattle*)
- QUNO, New York (Beijing + 5 materials)
- Meeting with QIARs and QUNOs at Earlham College
- Globalization book with QIARs and QUNOs
- Former QIAR, now foreign editor at *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* for special coverage of Viet Nam
- Quaker Service-Lao PDR (hosted introductory visit with Viet Nam NGO Training Project)

VI. APPENDIX

- "Who's in Debt to Whom?"
- *Phu Nu Thu Do* (Vietnamese and American journalists meeting arranged by VNIA)
- *Phu Nu Thu Do* (Vietnamese women journalists visit to the US)
- "Bringing Home Those Comrades" from *I Died; A World Alive Began*, *Viet Nam News*, April 30, 2000
- "An Altar for Young Gion," translation, *Viet Nam News*, April 30, 2000
- "Memories of an American in Time," about the death of Quaker pacifist Norman Morrison, *Viet Nam News*, April 30, 2000.
- "Regret to Inform becomes a film with a message that is pleased to tell a story," about Dr. Nguyen Thi My Hien's trip to the US, organized by VNIA, *Viet Nam News*, April 30, 2000.
- *Where War Has Passed* (half-hour Vietnamese film in English on Agent Orange, English version translated and facilitated by VNIA)
- *Deadly Debris* (half-hour Vietnamese film in English on unexploded bombs and mines left from the American War in Viet Nam) unexploded bombs
- *Wandering Souls: Tet 1968 Remembered* (hour documentary produced by Ohio University Telecommunications Center, facilitated by VNIA)
- *Vietnam Cultural Window*, selected issues
- Corporate MBA Concept Paper, Prof. John Schermerhorn, worked out in concert with me

Andes QIAR
Amanda Romero Medina
Bogota, Colombia

I. FOCUS ISSUES

- Basic Rights, especially of minorities
- Peacebuilding and de-militarization
- Migration (migrants, refugees and internally displaced)
- Youth

II. ACHIEVEMENTS AND ASSESSMENT OF OVERALL PROGRESS

During this reporting period the Andean QIAR program has experienced a positive and largely smooth transition from the former to the present Andean QIAR team. Evidence of the good work to come is already apparent through the development of the Afro Andean document taken to the U.N. Preparatory conference, documentation and effective mobilization around Plan Colombia and its impact on Putumayo and Panama, the preparation of materials on a number of human rights issues and political analysis, etc.. Contacts have been made with nearly all of the major partners and a new area of work has opened in Panama. Staff are exploring ways to more fully monitor events in Venezuela and Bolivia, and have made some new contacts in both countries.

In a period of transition to new staff, it is important to reflect briefly on what has been accomplished during the stewardship of those who have finished their service with AFSC. A few areas where concrete products or events testify to achievements in which the former QIARs played significant roles include—the regional meeting of Afro Andean leaders in Lima, the completed study on migration of Bolivians and Peruvians, the evolution of the Plataforma Sudamericana into the Plataforma Interamericana and its ongoing communication with the Hemispheric Social Alliance, the reflections on the experience of Suyasun in addressing problems of reuniting communities following conflict, the development of strong women leaders in CONDECOREP, the ongoing border collaboration between Colombian and Venezuelan organizations and Colombian and Ecuadorian organizations and the role of Andean youth organizations in the preparation of the Escuela Latinoamericana.

III. UPDATES

Significant Events in the Region

In looking at the region as a whole, it is apparent that increasing levels of poverty, exacerbated by a recession, a lack of responsiveness of government, increasing violence - both politically driven or resulting from high levels of frustration and hopelessness, point to a potentially explosive situation in the entire region.

Political and economic instability in **Ecuador** A popular upheaval occurred on January 20, when indigenous organizations, counting on the support of middle ranking officials of the Armed Forces, produced a coup that ended with the ouster of President Jamil Mahuad. His successor, Gustavo Noboa, former vice- President decided to carry out the economic measures earlier approved by Mahuad. The imposition of the U.S. dollar as the national currency, rising fuel costs, higher taxes and the dramatic increase in the cost of living affect the poorest. There is increasing debate over the previously unchallenged U.S. military base established in the port of Manta (Manabi), 300 kilometers from the Colombian border. The inclusion of Ecuador in the \$1.3 billion for the "Colombia Plan",

recently approved by the U.S. Congress to combat drug trafficking, and the use or planned use of fungicides to fight drugs in the Putumayo region bordering Ecuador, are being debated.

Economic instability and a repressive government under President and former dictator Hugo Banzer mark **Bolivia**. The privatization of the water supply in Cochabamba, a measure required of the government by the World Bank, resulted in increases of 35 to 50% in the cost of water. Massive protests, first in January and then in April led to several deaths, numerous persons injured and the government declaring a state of siege. When protest organizers who had agreed to meet with the government, arrived to discuss the issue, they were arrested. Further deaths were linked to U.S. required coca eradication and protests. There is social mobilization through Jubilee 2000 that seeks alleviation of the external debt.

Economic crisis, election fraud and the collapse of democratic process in **Peru**: Alberto Fujimori was re-elected by using unconstitutional methods to run for a third term, illegal methods to restrict freedom of expression and government resources for campaigning, and voter fraud. An OAS commission as well as other international independent institutions including the Carter Center, reported that prior to the elections not even the minimum conditions for a fair election were present. Throughout the electoral process demonstrations occurred in different parts of the country to demand democracy. Not only students but trade unions and women's organizations have become key actors in the demonstrations and public debate.

Political and economic changes in **Venezuela**: With a new Constitution adopted in December 1999, Venezuelan human rights organizations are working to develop legislation which will implement gains in human rights protections and educate the population regarding their rights. The inclusion of the rights of minority groups, along with social, economic and cultural rights, provide natural links for AFSC. AFSC, along with human rights organizations are concerned about the increasing concentration of power in the presidency and will monitor the situation.

Venezuela, once considered a developing country, has experienced a dramatic decrease in its economic health in the last two years as purchasing power has decreased 43%, 53% of the workforce has been unemployed and nearly 80% of the population is living in poverty. Colombians, who for years were welcomed as part of the migrant population, are often turned back on the Venezuela - Colombia border.

The internal armed conflict in **Colombia** has deepened with more people expelled from their homelands, increasing the already large numbers of internally displaced peoples and asylum seekers. Afro Colombians and indigenous communities in the north are escaping in larger numbers into Panama. In June the U.S. Congress passed a law allocating \$1.3 billion for military assistance to Colombia (including Ecuador and Peru). Despite efforts by AFSC and many other NGOs and agencies to stop the aid, the vote went forward. Colombia's borders, especially with Peru and Ecuador have been militarized under U.S. pressure and are patrolled by U.S. trained troops.

Although **Panama** has not been an area of work for the Andean QIAR, the larger numbers of Colombians crossing into Panama and the prior experience of the QIAR in monitoring the situation have led AFSC to include Panama in the regional work, in relation to the situation of Colombians there. Preservation of autonomy and fear that the U.S. may use the arrival of Colombians in Panama as an excuse to return to "protect the Panama Canal" are concerns which make addressing the needs of Colombians more difficult. Fear of violence as guerrilla and paramilitary groups cross into Panama's southernmost region, the Darien, to seek respite, purchase supplies or even pursue opponents is creating greater security risks in this area.

Changes in Program Administration

Andean QIARs Rocío Romero and Luis Zúñiga completed their terms of service in the first months of 2000. Amanda Romero, Colombian, was appointed as the new QIAR in February. A visit to the region immediately afterward allowed for a brief overlap as part of the transition.

In response to program priorities, the main office was transferred to Bogota, Colombia. This office is staffed by the QIAR and a full time Program Assistant. Satellite offices, under the care of half time Program Assistants in both Lima and Quito were opened. This arrangement will provide for a minimum of attention to Peruvian and Ecuadorian partners and maintain AFSC's legal status in these countries.

In June and early July, there was a region-wide visit by the QIAR and Philadelphia-based staff. This was followed by an orientation meeting in Quito for the three program assistants.

The new Andean QIAR has met with ongoing partners and made some new contacts. Legalization of the AFSC in Colombia was carried out quickly and efficiently. The process of transfer of legal representation to the new QIAR has been cumbersome in both Peru and Ecuador, but is nearly complete.

The initial QIAR work plan for the transition period was implemented. A plan for the second semester, including the roles of the program assistants has been developed. A plan to assure optimum communication and coordination among the three offices and with Philadelphia was adopted.

Changes in the Program Plan

The first months of 2000 included several regionally significant events, a number of them the fruit of work over the last five years and already incorporated into ongoing work for the new QIAR. While the major thrust of the Andean QIAR work is expected to remain unchanged, changes in personnel always result in some adjustments to the balance among the priorities.

Given the transition to a base in Colombia and a longer than anticipated overlap period, some additional costs were incurred. Efforts have been made to keep administrative costs to a minimum, even while operating out of 3 locations. Security requirements for the Colombia office will result in some unanticipated costs.

IV. REPORT OF PROGRAM WORK

Although the last six months have been a period of transition of staff, program work has continued without a break. There were a number of activities and publications which were the culmination of earlier work and there were new initiatives, possible because of the experience and skills of new staff. The highlights of program work under the respective objectives of the Andean work follow.

Objective 1. Build Regional awareness of and strategies for addressing problems of violence and for promoting resolution of conflicts in the region.

1. The QIAR program continues to provide important support to the *Plataforma Interamericana para los Derechos Economicos, Sociales y Culturales*. The Plataforma has expanded beyond its South American origins. It is a dynamic coordination of efforts to address these problems on the national and regional level and to support one another's struggles and learn from each others successes and proposals. In its bulletin reporting on the international gathering of Plataforma, AFSC is publicly thanked along with the other institutions which have provided significant human and financial resources.
2. **Regional meeting on Prisons** Perhaps one of the most violent places in the region, and where skills in conflict resolution could have enormous impact is within the prisons of the region. The Andean QIAR program supported a very successful region-wide meeting on the conditions of prisons. The conference was organized by INREDH, with input from APRODEH. Participants came from Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Bolivia, Venezuela and Chile, bringing with them an analysis of conditions in their home countries. While in general conditions were considered appalling, the

experience of open prisons in Cochabamba, Bolivia was considered a model to be studied. A particular Quaker contribution to the meeting was a presentation on the Alternative to Violence Project (PAV), originally developed in a prison in Syracuse, New York. Ecuadorian Quaker, Jorge Arauz had worked with INREDH staff and prisoners in Quito to prepare trainers in the methodology during the previous year. INREDH asked him to do a presentation on PAV at the Conference. As a result organizations working in the prisons in Bolivia, Venezuela and Colombia have asked Jorge to prepare some of their staff and volunteers as PAV trainers. (See publications list)

Objective 2. Promote regional and national strategies from addressing internal displacement and international migration, and human mobility in frontier areas.

1. **Migrant workers and their families** — Although there is growing awareness of the conditions of internally displaced in the Andean Region, until recently little attention has been paid to the numbers of migrants moving south and the terribly precarious situation which they face. In February the Plataforma published the four studies funded by AFSC and carried out by organizations in Peru, Bolivia, Chile and Argentina in 1999. The studies which address the situation of Peruvians have been published in a separate volume as well, by CIDIAG. These studies may be the first comprehensive look at the issue in the region. Serious issues of exploitation, lack of legal protections, human rights abuses, lack of access to basic services, vulnerability because of their illegal status and other issues are documented. It is hoped that these publications will be a first step in addressing the rights of migrant workers and their families in the region. They may encourage organizations to work for ratification of the U.N. document on the rights of migrant workers and their families.
2. The QIAR program has continued to provide support to the communities and organizations of displaced in Peru, but the areas where the most dramatic impact has taken place in the last six months are in Putumayo, Colombia and in Panama. Putumayo is one of Colombia's southern provinces which borders on Ecuador (Sucumbios) and Peru. It is a coca growing region, targeted by the United States for U.S. antinarcotic training and for coca eradication programs. It is also an area where the guerrilla movements and the paramilitaries are fighting for control. Early in the year, reports began to surface regarding increasing human rights abuses and that the aerial spraying was not only destroying the coca, but also legitimate crops, fish, animals, was making children sick and perhaps was responsible for 3 deaths. The QIAR, who had worked for a number of months in Putumayo in 1999, organized with MINGA, the Defensoria del Pueblo and UNCHR a meeting with 40 leaders from Putumayo to look at the human rights violations and potential dangers from pesticides, herbicides and a fungus which reportedly was being used. The report of findings has been published and disseminated widely in Colombia and elsewhere. The governor, who opposes aerial spraying and fumigation went to Washington, D.C. to speak out against Plan Colombia and the fumigation plans in particular. Putumayo will continue to be a critical area to monitor.
3. The QIAR is working with organizations on the Ecuadorian side of the border, who fear that the escalating violence in Putumayo may mean a massive entry of asylum seekers or refugees coming into Sucumbios. Church, UNHCR and various human rights organizations are preparing for this possibility. There is great concern that Ecuador, which has been open to receive those fleeing the violence, might begin to change its policy.
4. In northern Colombia — the Choco and Antioquia regions -- there has also been a major increase in the level of violence. One result is that more Colombians are slipping into Panama through the dense jungle region, Darien. A consultancy carried out by the QIAR before beginning her work with AFSC, demonstrated the need for greater preparation of church and other grassroots leaders in the international protections available to those fleeing political violence. The QIAR recognized the need for networking between groups working on both sides of the border. The QIAR has been working with local Panamanian organizations, Colombian human rights organizations

working in northern Colombia, Project Counseling Services and UNHCR to prepare a workshop which will take place early in the second semester.

Objective 3: Promote the development of political power and the exercise of citizenship by indigenous, blacks and other ethnic groups living along the coasts and border areas of the region, in the Andes and in the Amazon.

1. AFSC believes that the next 18 months offer a unique opportunity to move forward an agenda to eliminate racism, to build appreciation for the contributions of ethnic minorities to the development of their societies and to develop not just tolerance, but an appreciation for diversity. It is the preparatory and follow-up period for the 2001 United Nations Conference on Racism that provides this opening. The work which AFSC has been promoting among Afro Andean communities over the last five years, and which put it in a position to facilitate excellent use of these 18 months, began to come together in the AFSC sponsored regional meeting "Afroamericanos Piden la Palabra" coordinated by the Peruvian Francisco Congo Movement and CEDET. The regional meeting took place in April with the participation of Afro Andean leaders from Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, the United States and Peru. The QIAR facilitated a meeting immediately following in which the document "*Declaración Conjunta de las Organizaciones de la Comunidad Negra de la Región Andina*", was developed. This document was taken to the Prep Com meeting in Geneva for the 2001 U.N. Conference on Racism, and was used as the basis for developing a South American document. The Afro-Peruvian who carried the document was a member of the AFSC-QUNO delegation to the Prep Conference. Coordination and support to Afro Andean work around the conference and in each country to assure long term benefit from the conference will continue as a priority at least for the next 18 months.
2. In the interest of supporting the rights of indigenous peoples of Colombia, who along with the Black communities, have been the most affected by the political violence, AFSC served as intermediary to present an invitation to ONIC from the National Congress of American Indians, to speak at their national convention and present a proposal for approval at their National Congress in November. AFSC will coordinate a speaking tour for the indigenous visitors, so that they will meet with a wide range of indigenous organizations and others working on themes of common interest.
3. **Zapara exchange** Seldom does an organization have the opportunity to support activities which may help assure the continued existence of a people. Yet such was the request which came to the QIAR program. In May, AFSC supported a visit by a small group of Zapara Indians living in Ecuador to Peru, to meet with relatives from whom they had been separated for more than fifty years. The continued existence of the Ecuadorian Zapara is threatened by their small numbers and the vitality of their culture is threatened following the death two years ago of their last shaman or religious leader and healer. The Zapara hope by re-discovering their lost relatives, their hopes for survival will be renewed. A second and larger delegation will visit Peru in the second semester and will bring back a shaman who will teach their young people for a few months. This visit has had the unexpected effect of beginning a parallel process of reunification of tribes separated by the Peruvian-Ecuadorian border and long time militarized zone.

Objective 4. Support bi-national and regional youth organizations and movements in their efforts to promote respect for basic rights, peace and demilitarization and exercise of citizenship.

1. **Youth Rights in relation to military service.** Work done by the QIAR in conjunction with CEAPAZ and IDL in 1999 on the issues of alternative military service, conscientious objectors, the rights of youth who are in the military, as well as the issue of child soldiers, continues to bear fruit. CEAPAZ has just published "*La Objeción de Conciencia: Un aporte a su comprensión y desarrollo en el Perú*".

2. The Andean region has provided substantial support to the Asamblea Ecuatoriana para los Derechos de los Jovenes during the first semester of 2000 since the Asamblea will be host in August to the Second Latin American Leadership School. CEAPAZ has been particularly supportive to the preparatory work.

V. RELATIONSHIPS

Within the International Affairs Network:

The Andean work depends heavily upon the involvement of James Matlack, Director of the Washington, D.C. office in monitoring U.S. policy in relation to the Andean Region and in meeting with religious organizations and other NGOs on a regular basis to strategize on ways to change that policy. Regular reports on these meetings keep the Philadelphia - Washington communication fluid.

Amanda Romero has been to New York twice to participate in luncheons at Quaker House. The first looked at humanitarian assistance and the second focused on Colombia. Also she was the guest speaker on Colombia at Davis House in Washington, D.C.

Another important area of collaboration has been in the development of AFSC Peace Mobilization Teams - in this case related to Colombia. The Andean QIAR has worked with staff in Philadelphia who coordinate this team. Materials developed by staff are used in the educational packets. It is expected that the Peace Mobilization Team will be an effective tool for organizing U.S. response to support the peace initiatives of the Colombian people and make U.S. policy a peace-building rather than conflict provoking one.

Prepared by: Amanda Romero Medina and Barbara Smith
Date: July 27, 2000

Central America QIAR
(new Quaker International Affairs Representatives appointed)
San Pedro Sula, Honduras

I. FOCUS ISSUES

- Active or imminent conflicts
- Global economic pressures on vulnerable groups
- Lack or abuse of civil structures

II. ASSESSMENT OF OVERALL IMPACT

The Quaker Consultation held in Honduras in 1999 as a way to begin facilitating communication between the different sectors involved in maquila issues in Honduras has continued to have important results. As mentioned above, CODEMUH has taken this experience and built on it, increasing its legitimacy in a potent way among the owners, government, and other NGO groups. Relationships with the unions are still a point that need to be worked on. SEDEPAC in Mexico, also a participant in the Consultation, is in the process of replicating that event in its own country, drawing on the methods used. QUNO Geneva, another participant in the consultation, has used that experience to further its work on labor codes and standards, most recently in an AFSC-sponsored meeting in Hong Kong organized by in conjunction with the East Asia QIARs.

III. UPDATES

(As this is a new program and staff are not yet in place, there are no program activities, as such, to report. However, the desk manager of AFSC Central America work has recently returned from a survey and evaluation mission. Following are excerpts from his report.)

Significant Patterns in the Region

Rather than focusing on specific events in the region in this update, this section takes a look at Central America from an analytical perspective of political structures, and the way those are conditioning the work of "civil society" actors in these societies. While this analysis is less than comprehensive, it helps give a sense of some important patterns and methods of action adopted by groups working for social change. This update concludes with a quick summary of the conditions for work with Export Processing Zones (maquila) workers, and on land issues, the two main focuses of the Central America QIAR program.

Governments as Powerful Actors. With all the talk of globalization, especially in the economic sense, there is a danger that the importance and the pivotal nature of governments in providing frameworks that make possible or limit action and change can be lost. There is no doubt that globalization has led to the development of new actors and methods of action. However, government is a crucial focus of attention of action by all. Governments are still the locus of power: they control the power to make and enforce laws, the power to protect or violate or allow the violation of rights, they have ultimate power over economic and development policies that includes the setting of conditions for business, and they are the source of funds for social policies such as those on education and health that are vital to their people's welfare.

The Culture of Politics. The way that people engage the political systems of which they are a part, and the extent they can make them work for them, depends very much on the nature of their access to these and the protections they are afforded by them. In Central America, the political parties and government officials have been beholden to or powerless in the face of the landed elite, business class, and military. There was little concern, and little capacity, for developing concrete platforms and national plans for advancement beyond those short-sighted ones which added to the wealth of the sectors with power. Government service has traditionally been a means for enrichment at all levels, with government institutions characterized by patronage and corruption instead of responding to the functions for which they were ostensibly set up. The enforcement of "rights" or contracts of any kind had little meaning in a context where judges were routinely bought off, government officials demanded and received bribes, and where those with the support of the military were able to act with impunity. This pattern or structure of attitudes and actions can be called, in short, a "culture of politics."

It is important to note here that by "government" I mean the state institutions at the national and local level, used frequently by powerful actors to further their own particular political and economic interests. Naturally there are a series of different actors with different ethics involved in government institutions, but it is fair to say that overall, there exists a culture of politics that favors impunity of the powerful who act corruptly and violate human rights.

Main Movements that Impact the Culture of Politics. What does this culture of politics mean in the face of movement towards the creation of societies that will address the huge problems of poverty in these countries? It means that government and its practice not only does not favor development, but is actually a strong barrier against progress. There have, however, been three main developments over the last 30 years that have had an impact on this culture of politics:

- The development of a deep organizational density in the societies as reflected in the tens of thousands of community organizations, membership associations, and various types of NGOs.
- The civil wars in the various countries and their resolution through the integration of the armed rebellions into the political structures.
- In a sense coming from and permeating the other two, is the increasing spread, pushed by a variety of international actors, of rights-based societies, of societies governed by the enforcement of laws and legislation and the concomitant push towards establishing governmental structures that will enshrine this.

The deep levels of organization in these societies is the product of many different facets of movement toward social change over the last decades. It has reached the point where there is a kind of culture of organizing to receive or seek funding for just about any kind of work. There are different methods in which the organized actors engage that help to understand the environment of social change work. Many times, any one group uses any or all of these, and more and more groups are diversifying their skills in all of these methods.

- Many groups have now include what can only be called types of legal aid offices in their programs. They are representing people who come to them with many different problems and channel them through state institutions such as the courts, Procuradurías, or ministries. The focus is on the rights the individuals, and groups, have. Alternative forms of conflict resolution are growing, but still incipient.
- There are groups creating policy proposals and advocating for their passage into legislation. These efforts include the use and commissioning of research, developing alliances with groups from which they have traditionally maintained a distance, and organizing grassroots groups to support the proposals.
- Other groups are engaging in somewhat more traditional work of building up bases and networks of social constituents, like campesinos/rural dwellers, unions, women's organizations, and others, usually under the umbrella of a collective purpose.
- Finally there are groups that are carrying out ongoing work of what can be called development. These are both in the rural and urban areas, and emphasize teaching people skills, providing opportunities and access to resources, and focus on physical and material needs-based

programs. These programs tend to be less rights-based, and more economically and educationally oriented, although the focus on building up local capacity, linking in with local government to put the issues and economic support on their agendas is crucial.

What seems to account for these methods, and for the relative predominance of one or the other in particular countries at this particular time? A quick answer to this is the type and amount of political space in each country, in other words the present structure and culture of politics, in which the resolution of the civil conflicts has had a significant impact. One key variable in the success, or lack thereof, of the civil conflicts in bringing about changes in the culture of politics is the extent to which a viable alternative political party emerged out of the armed groups. Another is the ongoing presence in these countries of international actors who played important roles in the ending of the civil conflicts, and have been pushing for the formation of government structures that will enshrine a protection of rights and fulfill commitments to social agendas.

As a general rule, in the countries in which a strong alternative political party has emerged, and at this time this is only the case of El Salvador, there is much more space to work at the national level, and there is correspondingly more work being done along the lines of "rights-based" advocacy. Where this is not the case, while the international community may help temper this some, there is little space for action at the national level, and most vibrant work is being carried out at the level of articulation of local government and civil society.

QIAR Issues of Focus: Maquila and Land. The Central America QIAR's program has two issues of focus: maquila and land. The issue of the conditions and rights of maquila workers is a tricky one. On the one hand, the workers in this sector have jobs that they sorely need, placing them at a level of income and benefits far beyond the majority of the rest of the population. On the other, there are problems in terms of their labor rights, safety and health. The traditional means of enhancing labor conditions has been through the organization of unions. Yet unions have suffered over the years in Central America, and elsewhere, from the image of being used for political ends, male-dominated, and corrupt. Levels of unionization are down all over the world, and employers and employees have sought other means to try to enhance working conditions and preventing the conflictive approach adopted by unions.

The main issues in the maquilas are worker compensation and benefits, conditions, discrimination, and organizing. It is important to keep in mind that there is a wide variety of policies in the maquilas that corresponds to the wide variety of owners and companies they supply. It is hard to generalize on the conditions of the sector as a whole, and much more information is needed to detect specific issues that occur with frequency and main offenders. There is, however, no doubt that there is an almost universal prejudice against allowing union organization.

The importance of government and its role in enforcing rights becomes even more important when talking about that epitome of globalization, the phenomenon of maquilas. Simply put, the fact that governments do not uphold labor's right to organize in the maquilas means that outside of Honduras there are virtually no unions in the maquilas. In El Salvador, as of the beginning of June, there were 2 out of 247 workplaces. In Guatemala, as of the middle of June, there were 0.

There are several reasons for this situation. The first is the attitude of the business people running the maquilas. It is hard to detect a general pattern or variables that explain the resistance to unionization, although it is interesting that Honduras, the society least polarized by social struggle, is viewed as the model of maquila union organizing in Central America by the popular sectors. In El Salvador, the Salvadoran owners have an ideological bitterness left over from the war, that extends to refusing to allow independent monitoring groups in that include Jesuit priests. In Guatemala, there is apparently a large enough body businesspeople willing to engage in reprisals against owners who step out of line so as to prevent any opening up to unionization. Unions like UNSITRAGUA that have in the past had unions in the maquila have seen massive firings of their people, and are now held at arms' length by the workers themselves.

Complicating this picture is the fact that unions in Central America suffer from the image that they are generally corrupt, male-dominated, and weak. This tends to be true at the top levels of the union federations and confederations, although there is much vibrancy in the rank and file and local leadership of the unions themselves and at some levels of the union federations. These committed and dedicated people are torn about what to do in the maquilas. They have seen the highly disastrous effects that organizing unions in the maquilas has had on the workers involved, and some have pushed for a cease to union organizing in this sector and debating alternative models of work. But they are torn in that they have experienced the huge benefits and successes of unionization in their own lives, and believe in that basic model of confrontation.

The difficulty of unionizing work in the maquilas has led to a gap that has been quickly filled by various NGOs working with the workers on a variety of fronts that tend to first be more along the lines of general education and services, and then as time goes on more in the rights area. These NGOs have started to develop services for the workers, and the ILO is including them as crucial partners in their educational programs, especially around women's issues. The unions tend to perceive them as competition, especially since NGOs form the basis for independent monitoring efforts that are agreements between the businesses and non-union groups, and see them as exacerbating an even more difficult situation of union organizing in the maquilas.

At the same time, it is clear that any and all positive outcomes in maquila issues were the result of pressure brought to bear from international sources. In each of the countries, there was an appreciation for international actors and the pressure they can bring to bear, even among the unions. All of the above does not mean that owners do not have interest in the issues: it is unionization they hate. In fact, in El Salvador and Guatemala, owners have begun their own educational efforts, and appear to be open to learning more. There appears, therefore, a lot of room for work at a variety of levels, but it is work that will require a process of discernment.

The signing of the Peace Accords in El Salvador and Guatemala set up a situation where there was provision made for the assigning of land to various groups. As a result, there is significant activity on the land front. The processes by which the lands are assigned is one that furthers the concept of land market: funds are made available for the purchase of land, and the interested parties negotiate with the owners and then receive the land titles from the government agencies.

At the same time, there are many land conflicts that exist. In general, these are due to conflicts over land titles and registries, borders, and are between many different actors: between communities, landlords and communities, and between individuals and groups. The resolution of these land conflicts cannot be simply legal, since politics play a large part, yet there is need for legal technical assistance and for surveying assistance. Land, therefore, is a complicated and technical issue, but continues being one that is absolutely crucial. Working in this area also requires a process of intense discernment on the ground.

Changes in Program Administration

Tom Loudon and Jennifer Atlee-Loudon have been appointed as the Central American QIARs, and begin orientation August 1, in Philadelphia. They will begin living in San Pedro Sula, Honduras, in early October. An evaluation of the QIAR work over the last two years and a planning process for the work plan for the next six months will take place during their orientation.

Changes in Program Plan

The program plan has not, as of yet, undergone any changes. Nevertheless, the program plan as written up was a tentative suggestive guideline that will be subject to revision as a result of consultations carried out over the next six months by the QIARs

REPORT OF PROGRAM WORK

Planned Work

The implementation of the program work was delayed by the longer-than-expected process of hiring the new QIARs. Therefore, other than the hiring of the new QIARs, there were no planned activities carried out. The Philadelphia desk did keep up the contacts with the partners involved in the work in order to set the stage for the arrival of the QIARs and their assumption of responsibilities. At the same time, these partner organizations, one of which receives funding support from AFSC, continued building on the work done with AFSC. Of particular note is the work done by CODEMUH (Colectiva de Mujeres Hondureñas) in Honduras and SEDEPAC (Servicio, Desarrollo y Paz) in Mexico in following up contacts made during the Quaker Consultation in Honduras in October of 1999. CODEMUH has begun a series of meetings with business and government representatives around the issue of occupational health and safety, and SEDEPAC is in the process of replicating the methods used in the Quaker Consultation to convene a similar event in Mexico.

Unplanned Work

QIAR work that was not included in the planned QIAR activities was carried out around the Jubilee 2000 campaign by AFSC's Reconstruction Office in Honduras. Ana Lucía Restrepo, Reconstruction Program Coordinator, traveled to the United States in April at the invitation of the US chapter of Jubilee 2000 to take part in presentations, talks, and demonstrations. At the same time, AFSC has continued giving financial support to the development of the Jubilee 2000 campaign in Honduras and participated in presentations on the issue through a variety of media. AFSC has also supported Honduras' coordinating role at the level of Latin America and made it possible for the Honduran chapter to participate in world-wide Jubilee 2000 coordination meetings. The granting to Honduras of debt relief under the HIPC initiative was, in part, a result of these efforts.

Prepared by: David Bronkema
Date: August 2, 2000

Cuba/Caribbean QIAR

Richard Erstad
Philadelphia, US

I. FOCUS ISSUES:

- Reconciliation
- General Economic Pressure on Vulnerable Groups
- Building Civil Society

II. ACHIEVEMENTS AND OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF IMPACT

The boost given to the work inside Cuba on bioethics is notable, as is the enhanced possibility of work on values formation among the newly forming business class on the Island.

The situation in Cuba for civil society remains precarious, in light of increasing controls put on the NGO sector in the last 18 months. Nonetheless, the work inside Cuba of the Centro Felix Varela moves forward with nurturance of a wide range of educational, research and other activities among professionals. The QIAR work has contributed substantially to this.

The strategy undertaken four years previously for work in a bi-partisan manner to break through US Congressional blocks against normalization of relations with Cuba has been very successful and could lead soon to a major legislative victory. The Cuba QIAR program has contributed to this.

III. UPDATES

Significant Events in the Region

Focusing on Cuba, there were three major, interconnected events in the period that bear mention.

The first stemmed from the arrival in late November 1999 in the United States of 6 year-old Elián González, clinging to an inner tube after the unseaworthy craft in which he was taken from Cuba with his mother, stepfather and others broke apart and most on Board, including his mother, drowned. The boy's tragic situation was immediately overshadowed by the mirror-image political storm on both sides of the Florida Straits, as the boy became a symbol of the 40-year conflict between the United States and Cuba. His father and grandparents wanted the boy returned to Cuba, a point with which the INS agreed, while the boy's Miami relatives to whom he was entrusted were vehement about keeping him in Miami. In Cuba, the heart-felt concern of many over the plight of the boy was escalated into a powerful indictment of what they see as the "Cuban-American Mafia" in Miami, with constant barrages in the media, mass mobilizations, and wide-spread disruptions.

As the Miami family of the little boy became increasingly intransigent about keeping the boy and gaining through the courts legal support for him to stay, the media attention, and political punditry escalated. However, as the likely course of litigation became clear—that the INS would prevail on grounds that the Father's rights to speak for Elián are paramount, political figures began to distance themselves from earlier strident pronouncements backing the family. Threatened Congressional investigations were shelved, and politicians drew back. When an INS raid on the home resulted in the boy being returned to his father, provocative pictures of gun-holding agents seizing Elián brought protests and passions to the forefront. In the battle of images and for public opinion, however, the clear losers were those in the Cuban-American community and its institutions, such as the Cuban-American National Foundation whose harsh pro-embargo stance and intransigent position on the boy

in denial of the father resonated poorly outside Miami. This diminishing the power and prestige tilts politics more in favor of re-assessment of US-Cuba relations and softening of the embargo.

Second, the Elián case served as a focus of Cuban government mobilization of mass protest against the US for holding the boy, against the immigration policy that grants asylum automatically to Cubans who arrive, and in favor of Cuba and its identity and values. The period of mobilizations also served as cover for a wide crackdown against individuals and groups labeled dissident by the regime. A law was enacted in early 1999 defining subversion more broadly than before, even including words that might someday be used against Cuba. The regime argued on grounds of national security that more restrictions needed to be placed on rights of speech and assembly of Cubans. These justifications were used to directly and indirectly intimidate deviations from the official line. Many European and Latin American governments and Canada were in agreement with Cuba about Elián González, so muted criticism about the new wave of repression.. After the triumphant return of the boy to Cuba, strategy changed and the regime focused more on mobilizing people against the US embargo, and against the preferential treatment for Cubans arriving in the US seeking asylum.

Meanwhile, in Cuba the internal economic stresses grow and greater numbers of Cubans flout the rules as they seek to make ends meet. The government has also been moving assertively to improve relations with countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, including in June a first-ever agreement on trade with CARICOM, the Caribbean regional trade group. Relations with Venezuela have been especially strengthened, with the rise of Hugo Chavez to that country's Presidency, a factor which could prove very important in the evolution of US-Latin American relations.

The third significant development during the first half of 2000 was a growing sense in both houses of the US Congress that US policy on Cuba, with its focus on the embargo and economic strangulation of Cuba, has failed and that a new approach is needed. The move to enact legislation to exclude food and medicine from US imposed unilateral sanctions on Cuba and several other countries (which originated from a collaborative project of AFSC and several other NGOs four years ago) has gained momentum. Farm state Members of Congress from both parties are pushing for the legislation and now have solid majorities backing such legislation. They are blocked by the House and Senate Republican leadership, in alliance with right-wing Cuban-American members of Congress, but a showdown is due in September 2000 which may result in legislation that eases sanctions. It is also possible that legislation opening general travel to Cuba for US citizens will result from this major shift in Congressional attitudes.

Changes in Program Administration

Because of budget limitations, the program continues to be staffed on a part-time basis by Richard Erstad, Director of the Latin America and Caribbean Region, who devotes approximately 30-40 per cent of his time to that work. Consideration of the larger proposed Cuba/Caribbean QIAR program has been postponed pending Regional program planning and budget processes. A decision will be made in late 2000 about how to proceed.

IV. REPORT OF PROGRAM WORK

The overarching goal of the Cuba QIAR program is the normalization of relations between the Governments of the United States and Cuba. This includes broad reconciliation between the peoples of the two countries and also the opportunity for full, open and reciprocal diplomatic, economic, political and cultural relations between Cuba and the other nations of the world and its multilateral institutions. This broad goal is pursued through a variety of projects and activities in Cuba, internationally and in the US. One organizational objective of this three year period is the exploration for a Caribbean-based Quaker International Affairs Program; action on this has been postponed for the year 2000 pending planning and budget discussions for the Regional work as a whole.

Theme I: Reconciliation

Objective 1: As follow-up to the June 1998 Conference on Sustainable Economy, provide assistance to the Centro Felix Varela, an independent NGO, to expand its base of international contacts and the reach and effectiveness of its Cuba-based working committee on sustainable economy

1. **Consultation on "Sustainable Society", held in May 2000.** The major activity of the period was organizing a small, off the record workshop for a group of Cubans distinguished in their fields to meet and discuss notions of sustainable society, as these can be applied in the case of Cuba. The meeting was held at a quiet resort hotel in Mexico. This was called a "Workshop Consultation on Sustainable Societies" and on one level it was a follow-up to the meeting held in Cuba in June 1998, "Ethics and the Culture of Development: Building the Sustainable Economy," with some 300 people in attendance, including 150 from 26 different countries around the world. In contrast to that meeting which was public and in which participants came from many countries, this small off-the-record meeting was intended to focus on Cuba itself, but within the context of Latin America and the Caribbean. From the AFSC standpoint it was analogous to many past instances of Quaker-inspired quiet diplomacy, in which participants have been enabled to meet in an atmosphere of trust and to explore with others, including their adversaries, approaches to establishing or building peace.

Participating were nine Cubans (three of the dozen who had agreed to come, including two from Cuba, were unable to do so at the last moment) and three Latin Americans from other countries. The Cuban participants were intellectuals, social scientists, and activists, all of whom are at the moment living outside of Cuba, some of whom travel regularly to Cuba, and some of whom cannot return at this time. None were current residents of Cuba (all participants regretted the absence of such people), although at least one will return soon from studies abroad. All participants were to one degree or another critical of the current direction of Cuba, and they could generally be said to be sympathetic to the moderate opposition on the island. Although none supported the U.S. embargo and general policy, this was not a major topic of the discussion, which remained focused on Cuba itself, and in relation to experiences in Latin America and the Caribbean.

AFSC International Program staff opened the gathering with some remarks on the history, spirit, and methods of the AFSC, and in particular the tradition of quiet confidential diplomacy. As a "consultation," the meeting would help the AFSC plan strategically for the next several years. It would also be an effort to explore approaches to resolving conflicts. All participants were present as individuals, not as representatives of groups or movements.

One of the underlying assumptions of the meeting was that Cubans could benefit from considering their situation in the light of other Latin American experiences. Each of the first three days had a broad theme (Nation, Geopolitics, and Globalization; Democracy, Civil Society and Human Rights; Economics and Culture of a Sustainable Society), and each day began with an initial presentation (Puerto Rico, Mexico, Chile) followed by responses prepared in advance by Cubans in keeping with the day's theme. The morning of the fourth day was devoted to considering further steps.

Since most of the major themes were at least broached on the first day, the process was not a linear progression but perhaps a self-reinforcing discussion, with participants delving deeper into the main themes as they became more confident and open with one another. One theme running through the meeting was the need to take a fresh look at Cuban history (Bishop Desmond Tutu "the past has imprisoned us"). Both partisans of the revolutionary government and its opponents have simplified versions of history for their political purposes, e.g., either exaggerating the poverty and oppression of the 1950s, or claiming that all was well at that time. A re-examination of the past can point to missed opportunities and can also present the history of post-1959 Cuba as part of its longer story.

Common to the presentations on Puerto Rico, Mexico and Chile was the sense that each is in a "transition" as is Cuba, which can therefore learn from them. Puerto Rico was a colony of Spain for four hundred years, and had outbreaks of independence movements in the 1860s and 1890s, practically simultaneously with those in Cuba. One of the points most discussed was a proposal that the status debate or stalemate in Puerto Rico (statehood in the United States, independence, or continuation of commonwealth) is really over three things desired by virtually all Puerto Ricans: cultural identity, self-government, and access to the United States. If that is the case, the solution is not the victory of one of the political currents over the others, but rather a negotiation process around the three coordinates, aimed at achieving a maximum common ground, and in which each party achieves a necessary minimum, of those aspects that it desires. This seemed to suggest a promising way of focusing on Cuban issues, but attempts to do so were not very successful.

The presentation on Mexico was a review of the last thirty years of grassroots citizen movements, their interplay with political movements and parties, their gains and losses. The speaker ended suggesting that besides ending the monopoly of the PRI party, at some point a constituent assembly will have to prepare a new constitution. The Mexico case led to interesting discussions on the pluses and minuses of intellectuals and civil society/grassroots leaders engaging in party/state roles.

The presentation on Chile described a process whereby local groups in Chile have systematically prepared diagnoses of regional needs and have prepared a regional and national sustainable development agenda in the form of twenty detailed books with proposals. The effort is one of building citizenship and working toward a more equitable nation. The work is driven by the realization that the *Concertación* coalition, now in its third term after the end of the Pinochet government, is largely devoted to administering the neoliberal economic system established during the dictatorship. Each of these presentations led very naturally into discussion of Cuban issues.

Cuba is said to be *de facto* in a kind of transition process. The Communist Party has rebounded since its weakness in the early 1990s; it no longer commands wide belief, but is an apparatus serving to power through repression when necessary. One reason why Cuba must make at least some changes is its negotiations with creditors through the Club of Paris (governments) and the Club of London (private banks). There are many disquieting signs: wages have 57% of their 1989 buying power. Thirty percent of people between age 20 and 30 neither work nor go to school. Productivity remains low, partly for lack of investment. Yet there is greater pluralism, and new actors on the scene. The army now carries out many key functions, including in the economy. Some said Cubans live in fear, whereas others described the situation more as one of indifference or that people are pursuing their ends more individualistically. A true transition is seen as unlikely as long as Fidel Castro remains in power. Cubans in Miami, who were not represented in the meeting, should not be regarded as a monolith represented by those most publicly visible.

Numerous statements were made about what might be done: separate the party from the state, establish the rule of law, legalize the opposition, establish a climate of tolerance for different viewpoints, and at some point hold a constituent assembly and draft a new constitution.

In the evaluation, the group appreciated the atmosphere of trust, and the fact that in organizing and facilitating the meeting the AFSC did not impose its own agenda but allowed the group to discuss matters freely. It was agreed that the participants will maintain some kind of contact, sharing information, particularly through e-mail and that it is a kind of network alongside others. There was general agreement that follow up discussions would be desirable, particularly involving people living in Cuba, as well as perhaps some more moderate exiles.

Objective 2. Improve chances for legislative success in the US Congress, and moves by the Clinton Administration, in easing or eliminating sanctions against Cuba

1. **Work on US Congress and policy change:** The QIAR program put considerable effort in the period into the collaboration with a coalition of groups based mainly in Washington DC to push legislation in the Congress for easing the US embargo on food and medicines. Work included participation in strategy sessions, contacts with congressional Offices, visits with Senators and Representatives, letter to all members of Congress and mobilizing AFSC offices to urge favorable votes. This work of many groups is nearing a key point in Fall 2000, where a tremendous symbolic victory may be won—the first break in the US Congressional lock on US Cuba policy.
2. Close collaboration of the Cuba QIAR staff with partners in Washington DC continued throughout the period. Several letters to members of Congress were sent by AFSC at key points in the political process to get legislation eliminating sanctions on food and medicines. The AFSC staff visited Senate and House staff and Members of Congress to discuss strategy and express support on humanitarian grounds for the change in law.

Theme II: Economic Pressure on Vulnerable Groups

Objective 1: As part of the support for the development of Cuban civil society, initiate Cuban-led processes of dialogue about the future of Cuba, in a Latin American and Caribbean context that helps re-frame the question of Cuban transition and reconciliation.

1. In 1999 AFSC arranged for a group representing “social enterprise” in several countries to make initial contact with a group forming to promote ideas and practices of “socially and environmentally responsible business” in Latin America and the Caribbean. That initial contact opened the EMPRESA movement to including grass-roots oriented groups promoting a different kind of business model, based on solidarity, cooperative enterprise, and innovation. As follow-up, AFSC Co-Field Representative in Central America, Trinidad Sanchez, who is also Director of COMAL, the AFSC project for alternative marketing in Honduras, went to the EMPRESA annual meeting in Mexico May 12-14, 2000. He was a featured speaker in a session set up as a result of the first participation in Brazil in 1999. Mercedes Guerra Salazar, a collaborator of the Centro Felix Varela in its Sustainable Development work, and head of information for the National Association of Economists of Cuba attended as well. The aim is for the Centro Felix Varela to take the lead in Cuba in disseminating an ethical and “socially responsible” framework for the practice of business in Cuba. Cuba, in moving from centrally planned state enterprises to one in which there are both mixed enterprises and state enterprises cut loose from state subsidies, mean there is a rapidly changing culture of business and enterprise practice in the country. The question of values formation among the new business sector is of concern, as the problems of corruption and flouting of regulations rise in the new environment. The connection with EMPRESA, could be very important as this program develops over the next year. A lengthy report on the event to be prepared by Ms. Guerra will be useful in Cuba in exposing people to the new ideas and methods of this just-beginning movement in the Region.
2. **Cuban to International Society of Bioethics Meeting in Giron, Spain June 20-24, 2000** The Felix Varela Center has continued to work toward the building of the practice of bioethics in Cuban society, among other ethical concerns. (They compiled, edited, and published the first bioethics text in Cuba and distributed it free to all libraries, medical schools and major hospitals in Cuba). In consultation with the CFV, AFSC provided the means for the fledgling Cuban bioethicist community to participate in one of the major professional associations, the International Society of Bioethics. Daniel Piedra Herrera, a CFV advisory committee member, and a researcher in the Academy of Sciences, was selected by CFV to attend the International Society of Bioethics meeting in Girón, Spain.

The meeting was significant, in part, for the statement issued by its Scientific Committee on June 24 calling for a variety of ethical measures to deal with to the "enormous progress in biology and medicine" and the "imperative need to assure respect for human rights and the danger that abusing this progress could entail for human rights." The content of the meeting, as well as the contacts made with bioethicists holds promise for the strengthening of bioethics practice in Cuba, which, if practiced well, can influence other applications of ethics in disparate sectors of Cuban society.

3. Paul Hawken, Keynote speaker at the June 1998 conference and author of The Ecology of Commerce and other works, offered the publishing rights to the book to the CFV for printing and distribution in Spanish throughout Cuba. The AFSC QIAR obtained the Spanish version of the book printed in Spain, which has been printed in an edition of 2000 copies for distribution to libraries, schools and organizations across the island. In a new development, Paul Hawken has offered publishing rights in Cuba to his new book, Natural Capital, an influential look at energy and eco-efficiency co-authored with Amory Lovins. Paul Hawken will travel to Cuba in Fall 2000 for a series of lectures and meetings sponsored by the CFV.
4. AFSC in July 1999, facilitated the training in Canada (with logistical assistance from the Canadian Friends Service Committee), of a staff member of the Felix Varela Center (CFV) in web site design, in order to help the CFV set up an international web site based in Canada for its work on sustainable economy, civil society, and creative solutions to the problems Cuba faces. With AFSC support, the preparatory work was completed by year's end, and the web site was up and running in late March 2000. This is important because Cuban NGOs do not have the possibility ordinarily to have web sites, or even have access to the world wide web. What the CFV has done is to establish an e-mail network in Cuba to send reports, information, research, announcements, etc. germane to the CFV's program areas, to the Center's advisory group and associates across the island. This is functioning very well, and once the web site is operating, the Cubans will have outlets for making their work more widely known and for entering into information exchanges with kindred spirits across the globe.

V. RELATIONSHIPS

Partner Agencies

In Cuba

- Centro Felix Varela
- Centro Memorial Martin Luther King
- Cuban Quaker Churches
- Cuban Ecumenical Council
- Center for European Studies
- Society of Pediatrics
- Diplomats and international NGOs
- PCCC-Section of the Americas

Internationally

- Institute for Political Ecology-Chile
- International Institute for Ecological Economics
- EMPRESA-Latin America network for Socially Responsible Business
- ALOP-Asociación Latinoamericana de Organizaciones Populares.
- CEAAL- Consejo de Educación de Adultos de América Latina
- Projects in the AFSC-Latin America Network—Peru/Ecuador ANDIAR, Comité Chileno, SEDEPAC (Mexico), EQUIP- NE Brazil, COMAL (Honduras), RELAAC (Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, Central America)
- Oxfam -Belgium
- Terres des Hommes (France)

- ACSUR-Las Segovias (Spain)
- Canadian Friends Service Committee
- Human Rights Internet
- Oxfam-Canada

In the US

- OXFAM-America
- Unitarian Universalist Service Committee
- InterAction Cuba Working Group (AFSC chairs this group)
- Latin America Working Group (15 organizations)
- Cuba Steering Committee (12 organizations)
- Global Health Council
- Washington Office on Latin America
- Latin America Studies Association -Cuba Group
- Cuban Interests Section, Washington DCD.C.

Within the International Affairs Network

The AFSC Washington Office follows legislation and advocacy work in Washington, collecting and forwarding information regarding Cuba to the QIAR program. The Director collaborated in scheduling Cuban visitors to meet with legislators and aides on Capitol Hill.

VI. ASSESSMENT

In addition to the overall assessment noted above, staff have recently conducted an Assessment of a 1999 Activity—Cubans to Global Health Council Meeting. The results are as follows:

The summer of 1999 the AFSC partner organization Centro Felix Varela chose two leading medical specialists who are part of their advisory committee to go to the annual meeting of the Global Health Council in Washington, DC. They were Dr. Gilberto Fleites, a surgeon at the National Oncology Institute and one of Cuba's leading bioethicists, Dr. Ramón Acosta. In monitoring, one year out, the results of the exchange, Dr. Fleites replied to a request for his assessment with the following:

Global Health Council Annual Meeting. From the meeting we gained: Better understanding of health systems in the world and in Cuba; What works and what doesn't; What is sustainable; An (ongoing) critical appraisal of the direction to move to make things even better in Cuba in this regard. I think we grew as persons, politically speaking, by learning from the achievements and problems in other areas of the world. Through our personal exchange with other persons in Cuba, including our work within Cuban NGOs, we have been able to further disseminate these ideas. Also, the meeting allowed us to meet several persons with whom we have kept in touch, exchanging ideas and information, for instance in the area of health care systems, environmental issues, diet in the prevention of diseases. My personal brainstorming, and information I obtained from the meeting helped me very much in my work in the two NGOs to which I belong (Centro Felix Varela and the Cuban Medical Committee for Global Survival (the Cuban chapter of IPPNW and PSR). My personal "niche" in these two is precisely sustainable health / personal health and planetary health (meaning lifestyle issues in the prevention of diseases, and appropriate agricultural / environmental practices in the prevention of the destruction of the planet). A result of this was also the report "SALUD SOSTENIBLE", (SUSTAINABLE HEALTH) written by Dr. Mercedes Guerra, my wife Teresa Quintana, and myself, as part of Felix Varela's outreach and educational work on building a sustainable society.

Meetings with NGOs in the United States The exchanges we had with persons / groups (AFSC, WOLA, Cuban Committee for Democracy) who have a progressive / balanced attitude towards Cuba, helped us better understand the strength and possibilities of civil society and NGOs to address socio-

political issues in countries. We have tried to make known in Cuba the good work these organizations are doing. We wrote a detailed report (including the results of meetings with congresspersons) that we gave to the Ministry of Health and the Cuban government (not that they would give us an official answer, but it is another grain of sand towards building normal / friendly relations between our two countries). We have also discussed these experiences within Felix Varela and the Cuban Medical Committee for Global Survival.

Meetings with Bioethicists. Particularly important were meetings AFSC set up with doctors Edmund Pellegrino and Roberto Dell'Oro. This, though a "side effect" of the trip, was very important to us, as Acosta and I are both very much involved in developing the discipline of bioethics in Cuba (something that is "in diapers" here). This is an issue that has to do very much with civil society and human rights. I think our meeting with these two important personalities at Georgetown University helped me grow personally in this direction (I had been member of the ethics committee of my hospital for 5 years, and shortly after that trip I became its president). We have kept exchanging messages and ideas, and hey have kept sending me many books, so the Ethics Committee of the National Cancer Institute in Havana (my hospital) has now probably the most complete medical ethics library in Cuba! That, and the inspiration they (those two persons) have provided, have helped very much develop a "revolution" in ethics in Cuba: making more perfect and updated the work of the ethics committee at my hospital. (I have already written the first comprehensive "structure and function" manual on these matters, that we hope to pass in the future as national guidelines on ethics in oncology in Cuba). Dr. Acosta is teaching the first national fellowship course (we call it in Spanish "diplomado") in bioethics. I am myself a professor at this fellowship, on the subjects of communication of the diagnosis to cancer patients, informed consent, and the work of an ethics committee for clinical research. We have just finished a national training course (4 days long) in bioethics. In brief, I see the results of the trip both as personal growth facilitating follow-up and developments in many other areas beneficial to Cuba. It was an important milestone in my life and for my work as a physician, as an ethicist, as a member of NGOs, and as one of the million grains of sand that form Cuba's civil society.

Prepared by: Richard Erstad
Date: August 2, 2000

Middle East QIAR

Lillian Peters
Amman, Jordan

I. FOCUS ISSUES

- **Building Foundations for Regional Peace:** Israel-Palestine Peace Process: Jerusalem, Refugees, Settlements, Regional Security
- **Status of Women in the Middle East:** Discovering Regional and Local Initiatives Regarding Violence Against Women

II. ACHIEVEMENTS AND ASSESSMENT OF IMPACT

After a period of absence of four years, I have been able to:

- establish a presence in Jordan;
- reconnect with a number of old Quaker contacts in Israel and Palestine.

I have made two intensive trips to Palestine/Israel and am glad that I can say that almost everybody that I contacted expressed his or her willingness to cooperate with AFSC in general and with me personally as a QIAR.

Different than in Israel/Palestine, the Quakers are hardly known in Jordan. As a Western and Christian organization they are perceived with suspicion by a significant part of society, especially by those groups and individuals that are against normalization or contact with the Western World and Israel.

It is also a problem that there is hardly an NGO-culture in Jordan. This created problems with my registration as a journalist at the Ministry of Information and the registration of the Regional Office at the Ministry of Social Development.

III. UPDATES

Significant Events in the Region

In February the Peace process between Israel and the Palestinians and Israel and Syria came to a hold. On March 7, President Yasser Arafat met in secret with Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak. On March 8, the two men met openly at the Grand Park Hotel in Ramallah, reaffirming their intentions to complete the framework agreement of the permanent settlement in May. The final settlement agreement is supposed to be signed on September 13, 2000, the remaining details should be worked out by the end of the year 2000.

In Ramallah the parties agreed to:

- Resume the negotiations in Washington at working level teams;

* Points to be debated are, among others, borders, the status of Israeli settlements, Israeli security, the status of Jerusalem, the plight of the Palestinian refugees and access to natural resources, especially water.

- Complete the second redeployment by Israel with the hand over of 6.1% of the West Bank. The Palestinians will be able to choose the areas they want from an Israeli map, covering about 10% of the West Bank, excluding areas around Jerusalem;
- A third redeployment of 1% of the West Bank, by the end of June;
- Implement the two open issues from the Sharm al Sheikh accord: the northern safe passage route and the reimbursement of purchase tax by Israel to the Palestinian Authorities.

There was strong pressure from the Israeli public on the Israeli government to withdraw from South Lebanon, with or without an agreement with Syria. This public call, initiated by four mothers of soldiers serving in South Lebanon, was "answered" by the government with a decision to pull out of Lebanon by July 2000. Under pressure of the deteriorating health of Syrian president Hafez al Assad, Barak decided to a surprising and sudden pull out at the end of May. The pull out has been perceived as a victory of Hizbollah and inspired many Arab opposition groups, including the Palestinians. Hizbollah is now faced with the challenge of transformation in a political party and take part in the upcoming Lebanese elections in August.

In Syria, President Hafez Assad launched a campaign against corruption under the leadership of his son and proposed heir, Bashar, and changed almost the entire cabinet. Mr. Farouk al-Shara remained as Foreign Minister and contact person in negotiations with Israel, which practically came to a stand still after a meeting with President Clinton in Geneva.

The political situation in Palestine at the beginning of June was quite depressing. There was a general fear that Arafat, with the help of the U.S., would "sell the Palestinian cause out" to Israel.

In Israel, a major government coalition crisis emerged when not less than six out of 29 ministers in the Barak government voted on June 7 in favor of a Bill—presented by opposition party, Likud—calling for early elections. The ministers of coalition partner Shas were among those who voted against Barak's policy. Their main complaint, however, was not directed towards the peace process but towards Minister of Education, Yossi Sarid (Meretz), who refused to give in to Shas' demands for financial compensation for their bankrupt educational system. The Shas ministers threatened to resign but withdrew their letters of resignation at the last moment, after receiving the requested financial compensation and the resignation of the three Meretz ministers in the government.

Another determining factor in the first two weeks of June was the -more or less expected- death on June 10 of Syrian president Hafez al Assad and the succession by his son Bashar al Assad.

Arafat openly declared that if the Palestinian conditions for a final agreement should not be met, he would call himself free from the Oslo agreement and return into exile.

Changes in Program Administration

An interim Regional Programs Coordinator was appointed and the recruitment for a permanent Regional Coordinator was begun with an appointment planned for late September or Early October. The RC and the Middle East International Affairs Representative will share a regional office in Amman. The Middle East Regional Coordinator will be directly responsible for supporting the AFSC development and relief programs in the region, but there will on-going close coordination between the MERC and the ME-QIAR.

Changes in the Program Plan

This first six months of the new Middle East QIAR's appointment has helped to set the stage for the next two years of her appointment. In September, 2000 the Middle East QIAR and Philadelphia-based staff will meet and develop a plan of action for the coming period.

IV. REPORT OF PROGRAM WORK

My first half-year as ME-QIAR can be described as getting oriented and settled. A significant part of my time was occupied with practicalities like obtaining a work permit and a residency registration in Jordan; finding a suitable apartment and moving in; introducing the Quakers and myself to people and institutions in Jordan; reconnecting with old Quaker contacts in Palestine/Israel; and a two months Arabic language course. It also has been a period of assessment, trying to define what our role could be at a time with several political significant developments in the region and many active organizations trying to support the Middle East Peace Process.

I attended the following meetings and conferences:

- National Demonstration to end the practice of Crimes of Honor in Jordan
- March 2000: The Human Dimension of Refugees, organized by the Jordan Institute of Diplomacy under the patronage of Prince Hassan Bin Talal of Jordan;
- April 2000: SOFEX: the first Jordanian military fair attended by representatives from almost 40 countries;
- May 2000: 103rd session of the International Parliamentary Union, Amman
- June 2000: International LAW Conference on "Culture and Community in Jerusalem: Strategies to protect and promote Human Rights", Jerusalem
- June 2000, Private Status Law in Islamic Societies: organized by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the Jordanian Women Union, under the patronage of Princess Basma Bint Talal of Jordan.

A German Intern conducted a study for us on the political debate on article 340 and 98 of the Jordanian Penal Code, excusing crimes committed "in the fit of fury" or for the "defense of the families honor". These two articles are the basis of the mild sentences given to male perpetrators who murdered their female relatives, or attempted to do so. Two draft bills to end this practice, presented by the Jordanian government under pressure of the Jordanian Royal Family, have been rejected by the parliament. The debate received a lot of attention within Jordan, as well as outside the country. A prominent Jordanian human rights activist, speaking out against the practice of honor crimes was threatened by the Islamist president of the Jordan Bar association to be expelled from the bar for her activities.

I made two extended trips to Israel-Palestine and wrote a situation analyses after the death of Syrian president Hafez al Assad on June 10 2000 and on the political crisis in Israel in June 2000, when the government coalition began to collapse.

It was too soon for bridge building and mediation.

V. RELATIONSHIPS

Partner Agencies

- Jordan Institute of Diplomacy – Jordan
- Konrad Adenauer Foundation – Jordan
- Middle East Council of Churches - Jordan
- Mennonite Central Committee – Jordan
- Sisterhood Is Global Institute (SIGI) – Jordan
- Coalition against Crimes of Honor - Jordan
- Search for Common Grounds – Jordan
- UNHCR – Jordan
- UNWRA - Jordan
- International Commission of the Red Cross – Jordan
- The NGO network in Jordan

- The Coalition against House Demolition – Israel
- LAW Society for Human Rights and the Protection of the Environment – Palestine
- Jerusalem Media and Communication Center – Palestine
- Sabeel: Ecumenical Liberation Theology Center – Palestine
- Panorama, the Palestinian Center for the Dissemination of Democracy & Community Development – Palestine
- PECDAR – Palestine
- The Jerusalem Institute – Palestine
- BADIL: resource center for refugees – Palestine
- Mennonite Central Committee – Palestine

Within the International Affairs Network

In January 2000, I attended for the first time, the International Affairs meeting in the US and was introduced to my colleagues working as QIARs, at the QUNO-offices in Geneva and New York, and members of the International Affairs staff of QPS London. In February 2000, I attended a Middle East Task Force⁵ meeting in San Francisco and met with Jim Matlack of the Washington office.

With the QUNO office in Geneva and New York I am exploring the possibility of working on:

- The use of children in armed conflict / Regional conference on Child-soldiers (With the coalition against child-soldiers (QUNO-Geneva) & the Jordan Institute of Diplomacy)
- The role of the Middle East in the illegal trade of diamonds and small arms (With QUNO-NY)
- Disarmament and land mines in the Middle East (With QUNO-NY)

In May, I traveled to Jerusalem to meet with a delegation of the American Churches for Peace in the Middle East, including the AFSC Washington Office Director, who were visiting Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Palestine, and Israel. They shared their experiences with me and I briefed them on the situation in Syria, just a few weeks after the launching of an extensive anti-corruption campaign by Bashar Assad, the son of the President. A few weeks later the President died and Bashar was elected as president and head of the Ba'ath party and chief of the army.

Prepared by: Lilian Peters
Date: August 6, 2000

⁵ The Task Force is made up of AFSC staff responsible for Middle East peace education programs in several AFSC U.S. regional offices.

Quaker United Nations Office - Geneva

David Atwood
Rachel Brett
Brewster Grace
Geneva, Switzerland

QUNO-Geneva: Sub-Program on Peace and Disarmament

I. FOCUS ISSUES

- small arms and light weapons
- anti-personnel landmines
- weapons of mass destruction (nuclear/biological)
- peacebuilding processes

II. ACHIEVEMENTS AND OVERALL ASSESSMENT

The program over the first six months has managed to stay largely on course with the "work plan" for the year. Work on the landmines issue has taken more program time than anticipated. With the intersessional work program in its infancy and the Second Meeting of States Parties rapidly approaching (September 2000), this should perhaps have been better anticipated. The small arms work has developed in satisfactory ways, although one would always hope to do more. It has been somewhat disappointing that the two QUNOs did not manage the anticipated engagement in the two settings of participants from the Durban "Shrinking Small Arms" seminar in this period and plans for a follow-up seminar in 2000 and a further residential event for diplomats on the small arms issue are somewhat behind schedule. All in all, however, the two offices are currently seen as key players in the international small arms efforts, particularly in relation to the 2001 Conference. There is clear evidence that the "humanitarian intervention" work is seen to be valuable and that this will be an important element in our future activities. David Atwood continues to feel rather disappointed that disarmament-related activities have a tendency to push out other peacebuilding developments, in particular additional work in reference to ex-combatants, work so successfully begun in 1998.

At a recent reception to say goodbye to a diplomat from a key state in the realm of disarmament, the departing diplomat took David Atwood aside to thank QUNO for the contribution it was making in the disarmament area in Geneva, work which he described as "brave" and "important".

III. UPDATES

Significant Events at the United Nations

- Conference on Disarmament 2000 session (Part I: 17 Jan - 24 Mar; Part II: 22 May - 7 July)
- Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference (New York) (24 Apr - 17 May)
- Preparatory Committee (1st meeting), 2001 UN Conference on Illegal Trade in Small Arms in All Its Aspects (New York) (28 Feb - 3 Mar)
- Ad Hoc Group of the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention (17 Jan - 4 Feb; 13 - 31 March) (Geneva)
- International Standing Committees of Experts (AP Mine Ban Convention): (10 - 11 Jan; 27 - 31 Mar; 22 - 26, 28 - 30 May)

Changes in Program Administration

No changes to report at this time.

Changes in the Program Plan

The only shift in objectives of note is the evolution of QUNO work on "non-violent alternatives to humanitarian intervention" project, a direction which evolves from overall peacebuilding orientation of the Disarmament and Peace program, but was not foreseen in the current terms. This period has also seen the advancement of the Geneva Forum project on "Catalysts and Synergies: Building Multilateral Peace and Security Partnerships in Geneva". The Geneva Forum is a partnership between QUNO, the UN Institute for Disarmament Research, and the Programme for Strategic and International Security Studies of the Graduate Institute for International Studies. Heretofore, this partnership has organized seminars for diplomats, primarily in the area of small arms. The new phase, which will hopefully begin in October 2000, will allow this work to expand and enable a greater range of security-related activities to take place. This work is intended to build links in Geneva between the disarmament/security and the humanitarian communities of organizations in Geneva.

IV. REPORT OF PROGRAM WORK

Objective 1: Support "breakthrough" initiatives in the Conference on Disarmament

The Conference on Disarmament has continued its stalemate in the first two parts of its 2000 Session. QUNO's work in relation to the CD directly has consisted mainly of monitoring the debates since January. Despite the discouraging state of the CD, it is important to remember that the presence in Geneva of the CD and therefore the dedication to its work of specialists in Geneva missions means that this disarmament "community" enables other weapons-related work to happen. With regard to weapons of mass destruction (the principal focus so far of the Conference on Disarmament), the Disarmament and Peace program undertook the following activities:

1. QUNO continued its work with the University of Bradford Department of Peace Studies in its "Strengthening the Biological Weapons Convention" project. This involved support for Bradford presentation (27 January) in the session of the Ad Hoc Group in January and for the Bradford presentation and ambassadorial luncheon (14 March) in the March session of the Ad Hoc Group. The latter included the presentation of the Bradford "vision" text for consideration by negotiators at this stage of the Verification Protocol negotiations.
2. QUNO co-organized with other groups a range of activities designed to support preparation for the 2000 Review Conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (24 Apr - 17 May in New York City). These activities included the following:
 - On 10 February QUNO hosted at Quaker House an off-the-record luncheon for key mission representatives as part of the preparation of delegations for the Review Conference; this event was co-organized with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the Acronym Institute.
 - David Atwood was much involved, as President of the NGO Committee for Disarmament, in the preparation of the spring conference of the Committee, held on 17 March. This Conference, entitled "Nuclear Disarmament at the Crossroads", looked at the current state of the nuclear weapons issue in the Conference on Disarmament and looked forward to the NPT Review Conference; experts and diplomats, including 3 ambassadors to the CD, addressed the Conference participants, which included NGOs and diplomats.

- QUNO co-hosted a day conference on 20 March, organized principally by the Centre for European Security and Disarmament (Brussels), for Geneva missions as part of the preparation of delegations to the NPT Review Conference.
- QUNO facilitated the participation of the disarmament officer at Quaker Peace and Service in London (David Gee) in the NPT Review Conference.
- QUNO distributed 100 copies of the publication *Security and Survival* (outlining a draft nuclear weapons convention and prepared jointly by IALANA, IPPNW, and INESAP) to Geneva missions prior to the NPT Review Conference.

Objective 2: Promote regional and international prevention and reduction measures that lessen the impact of small arms and light weapons in conflict-affected and conflict-prone regions.

QUNO small arms-related work increased in this period as global interest begins to develop with regard to the UN Conference on Illicit Trade in Small Arms in All Its Aspects, scheduled for mid-year 2001, possibly in Geneva. QUNO activities included:

1. Co-organization and co-leading (with David Jackman of QUNO-NY) of the Mohonk colloquium on small arms, 25 - 27 February, involving a range of government representatives and NGO experts, as preparation for the first meeting of the Preparatory Committee for the 2001 Conference, held in New York, 28 Feb - 3 March.
2. Organization and chairing of a briefing session for diplomats to launch in Geneva the guide to "Small Arms Collection and Destruction" of the Monterey Institute for International Studies and the Bonn International Center for Conversion, 18 April. Featured Ed Laurance of Monterey and Sami Faltas of BICC.
3. Publication of "Working where it hurts: Perspectives from the field on small arms demand", summary findings of the joint-QUNO "Shrinking Small Arms" colloquium in Durban, South Africa, November 1999, in UNIDIR *Disarmament Forum* (No. 2, 2000). Co-authors: David Atwood and David Jackman.
4. Organization and chairing of *Geneva Forum* seminar for diplomats on "Regulating the activities of arms brokering and shipping agents: issues and proposals," featuring Brian Wood, Johan Peleman and Brian Johnson Thomas, 30 June.
5. David Atwood took part in the "International Consultation on the Illicit Proliferation, Circulation and Trafficking in Small Arms and Light Weapons," in Addis Ababa, 22-23 June, where he helped to introduce the session on "The Role of Civil Society in the Prevention, Management and Reduction of Small Arms Proliferation and Illicit Trade in Africa."
6. QUNO-Geneva and QUNO-NY have each assisted in the work of the International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA) in seeking adequate modalities for NGO participation in the UN 2001 Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in all its Aspects, its Preparatory Committee sessions and intersessional meetings. Both Atwood and Jackman have contributed in a variety of ways to the evolution of IANSA strategy vis-à-vis the 2001 Conference. QUNO-Geneva has also been active in the development of a Geneva NGO grouping, the Geneva Action Network on Small Arms, as a sub-group of the NGO Committee for Disarmament, to strengthen NGO engagement on small arms issues in Geneva.
7. Editorial work has been undertaken toward the publication in late July of summaries of the 8 *Geneva Forum* seminars on small arms held between May 1998 and November 1999.
8. QUNO has also been involved in an informal, ad hoc series of NGO/government discussions related to the evolution internationally of the small arms agenda, with particular reference over this period to the 2001 UN Conference.

Objective 3: Further the implementation of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and On Their Destruction.

During this period, QUNO was involved in a range of activities as part of this implementation phase:

1. QUNO hosted four further meetings of its off-the-record consultations between key governments and NGOs, a series that has been ongoing since February 1998.
2. QUNO monitored the work of the Intersessional Standing Committees of Experts on General Status and Operation of the Convention, Victim Assistance, Stockpile Destruction, Mine Clearance, and Mine Technology. Atwood, as chair of the ICBL Advisory Group on the intersessional process, has worked closely with the ICBL staff person in its work in relation to this Geneva-based process.
3. Atwood helped organize and chaired an ICBL-sponsored review/evaluation meeting of the 20 co-chairs and co-rapporteurs of the Intersessional Standing Committees of Experts, on the first year of this new process, 28 May.
4. Atwood has been part of a small planning committee hosted by the Swiss government to organize "side events" for the Second Meeting of the States Parties of the Convention, to be held in Geneva in September 2000.
5. Atwood, as a member of the Advisory Board of the Geneva International Center for Humanitarian Demining, participated in its semi-annual meeting on 23 March.
6. Atwood lectured (with General Paddy Blagden of the GICHD) on the AP Mine Ban Convention to the International Training Course of the Geneva Centre for Security Policy, 21 March.
7. Atwood prepared a paper entitled "Promoting Compliance: Observations on the AP Mine Ban Convention", which will be part of a volume prepared for the International Security Forum, to be held in November 2000 in Geneva. This paper was presented on 21 March to the "Geneva Cluster on Arms Control and Disarmament" workshop.
8. QUNO, as one of the key organizations in the Geneva NGO Working Group on Landmines, helped to organize a "briefing" on 20 June for Geneva delegations, to review the current status of the AP Mine Ban Convention and to give attention to plans and issues for the Second Meeting of States Parties.

Objective 4: Provide opportunities for enhancing the understanding of conflict transformation and peacebuilding perspectives and practices into UN and other international humanitarian agencies work.

The principal activities in this general area have been the early steps which have been taken in the evolution of a new QUNO project on "non-military alternatives to 'humanitarian intervention'". This is a joint piece of work between two QUNO programs, the Disarmament and Peace program and the Human Rights and Refugees program. Two consultations with a small group of representatives from a cross-regional group of states have been held, with a third planned for the end of August. Work on a similar theme is being undertaken by QUNO-NY, the Friends Committee on National Legislation, and Quaker Peace and Service in London. This common work can be expected in the period ahead to be increasingly collaborative.

Objective 5: Facilitate dialogue and networking among NGOs, governments, UN agencies and other experts with those who are less powerful or are in violence-affected regions.

This is a general orientation of the Disarmament and Peace program. It underpins the work particularly in the small arms and landmines areas, but also particularly the peacebuilding work. The "Shrinking Small Arms" seminar had as one of its key purposes the bringing of its results into Geneva, New York and other policy settings. Although these results have been distributed in written form, the two QUNO programs have did not succeed in this period in bringing people from the affected regions to Geneva and New York to introduce the findings, something which remains a goal for later this year.

V. RELATIONSHIPS

Partner Agencies

This program has worked in this period with a broad range of organizations. Key partnerships have included: United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, Programme for Strategic and International Security Studies, International Peace Bureau, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, World Council of Churches, Lutheran World Federation, the organizations of the International Action Network for Small Arms, the Institute for Security Studies (South Africa), the Bonn International Center for Conversion, the Monterey Institute for International Studies, the organizations of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, the Acronym Institute, the Center for European Security and Disarmament (Brussels), the Geneva Centre for Security Policy, the Geneva Center for Humanitarian Demining, the Small Arms Survey, the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, Bradford University Department of Peace Studies, Life and Peace Institute (Uppsala), Handicap International (Switzerland).

Within the International Affairs Network

The QUNO-Geneva Disarmament and Peace program has worked during this period extensively with QUNO-NY, principally in the area of small arms. This work has also included links with the QIAR for Southern Africa.

QUNO-Geneva: Sub-Program on Human Rights and Refugees

I. FOCAL ISSUES

- child soldiers
- fundamental standards of humanity
- internally displaced persons
- conscientious objectors

IV. REPORT ON PROGRAM WORK

Theme I: Child Soldiers

Objective #1: to establish legal rules and practices that would prevent children—defined in accordance with the Convention on the Rights of the Child and other international standards as all those up to the age of 18 years—from becoming active participants in armed conflicts.

QUNO's work on this issue began in 1979. Most of this work is currently undertaken with the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, of which QUNO was one of its co-founders as well as through the NGO Sub-Group on Refugee Children and Children in Armed Conflict and independently.

Optional Protocol The Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on involvement of children in armed conflict was adopted by the UN Commission on Human Rights, UN Economic and Social Council and, on 25 May 2000, by the UN General Assembly. It is no longer a draft and was opened for signature on 5 June. At the Commission, QUNO/FWCC made the joint oral statement on behalf of the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers and the NGO Sub-Group on Refugee Children and Children in Armed Conflict. QUNO will continue to work for the signature, ratification, implementation and submission of information on this protocol. There is also a need to develop a consistent practice by governments, UN bodies and agencies and others involved in monitoring and acting on under-age recruitment practices.

1. At the Commission, QUNO worked to get the issue of child soldiers better addressed in the general (omnibus) resolution on children, with some success - making much use of having access to the negotiations on this resolution for the first time - and incorporated into relevant country specific resolutions.
2. QUNO's programme assistant, Jonathan Hepburn, has compiled an impressive dossier of references to child soldiers in the documents and resolutions of the Commission, which not only serves as a useful reference, but also will be the background for some of our future analysis and submissions.
3. QUNO also made a first step in closing a lacuna in international law whereby there is no minimum age below which children can be sentenced to forced labour, by including a reference to this in the omnibus resolution on children.
4. QUNO's presentations at the Institute of Security Studies (Pretoria, South Africa) and World Vision Christian Forum (London) enabled us to reach new audiences on the issue of child soldiers and develop some useful contacts.
5. The Coalition's latest regional conference on child soldiers (following Africa, Latin America and Europe last year) was for Asia-Pacific (Kathmandu, Nepal, May 2000) and brought together many participants unfamiliar with the topic because there is little regional experience to draw on. Nevertheless, the Declaration is remarkably strong, and as with the previous conferences, the

particular concerns of the region (especially root causes of conflicts) came through strongly in the discussions and the Declaration. The governmental participation has been followed up both internationally and regionally by the NGOs and it is hoped to include this issue in the next ASEAN meeting as well as the G8 Summit in Japan.

6. A year of intermittent work has resulted in QUNO being asked by the World Health Organisation to contribute a section on the child soldiers for the chapter on "Children and Political Violence" in their *Global Report on Violence* which is due out next year.

The new ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour. The Convention contains an explicit prohibition of "forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict." This was the first time that an 18 year old minimum age had been set for soldiering in an international treaty and the first legal acceptance of child soldiering as a form of child labour, thereby giving the ILO a mandate to work on this issue.

1. QUNO produced a briefing paper to encourage governments to ratify and implement this Convention, which will enter into force in November 2000, and the ILO is becoming active on the issue.

Theme II: Fundamental Standards of Humanity

Objective: to strengthen the effective protection of human rights in internal violence and armed conflicts.

QUNO has been involved with this issue since it first came before the UN Commission on Human Rights. QUNO participated in the expert seminar on this subject organized by the Swedish Government, and in planning for the Commission on Human Rights. In 2000 the Commission adopted a resolution calling for a further study on fundamental standards of humanity. QUNO hopes, this time, it will be possible to pull together and analyze the developing international and regional case law related to this area, specifically the case law of the 2 Ad Hoc Tribunals (Rwanda and Former Yugoslavia) and the Inter-American and European Human rights bodies, and is working with the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and others on this.

1. QUNO is a member of the International Advisory Group for the International Council on Human Rights Policy's research project on holding armed opposition groups to international standards.
2. QUNO, in conjunction with QPS, organized a one-day workshop in London bringing together members of the mediation/conciliation community to consider the Consultation Document on "Holding Armed Groups Accountable" and to feed in comments on it from this perspective. QUNO reviewed and commented on the draft Final Report which is due out in the summer.

Theme III: Conscientious Objection to Military Service

Objective: To obtain recognition for the right to refuse to do military service on the grounds of conscience, there is a need to raise this issue regularly and in depth by the various UN procedures and to what extent other NGOs and individuals are using this established UN mechanism.

1. A joint QUNO and War Resisters International publication: "*A Conscientious Objector's Guide to the UN Human Rights System*" by Emily Miles was launched on 15 May 2000. Emily is a former QUNO programme assistant who was commissioned and supervised by QUNO to write this booklet. It has already created considerable interest and should be an invaluable resource for COs themselves and those working with them. Plans are under way for different language versions.

2. At this year's UN Commission on Human Rights, QUNO worked for and achieved another resolution (2000/34) adopted without a vote, which calls on the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights to prepare a compilation and analysis of best practice in the recognition of the right of conscientious objection to military service and the provision of alternative service. This report is to be presented to the Commission in 2002. The only government to mention the subject of conscientious objection (other than Finland who introduced the resolution) was Singapore. It is a matter of concern that there is so little interest or commitment to this issue by other governments. QUNO is considering how more governments can be persuaded to take this issue seriously, as well as how best the proposed compilation and analysis can be undertaken.

Publications

Rachel Brett wrote a Chapter on child soldiers in:

- Amnesty International UK, "In the Firing Line";
- Save the Children Alliance, "Children's Rights: Reality or Rhetoric?"
- Elizabeth Bennett, Virginia Gamba & Deirdré van der Merwe, Institute for Security Studies, "ACT Against Child Soldiers in Africa: A Reader."

A German edition of "Children: the Invisible Soldiers" is in preparation

QUNO-Geneva: Sub-Program on Trade, Finance, and Development

I. FOCUS ISSUES

- "Post Seattle" NGO – WTO dialogue on trade liberalization and environmental and labour standards and developing critical analysis of trade and labour linkages
- Codes of conduct and export processing zones (EPZs)
- WTO TRIPs agreement and the Convention on Biological Diversity and the Food and Agricultural Organisation International Undertaking on Farmers Rights

II. ACHIEVEMENTS AND OVERALL ASSESSMENT

After six years of work on trade, labour and environment linkages, QUNO is focusing on two issues 1) of trade and labour standards in the contexts of ILO – NGO relationships and ILO – WTO collaboration, and 2) of assuring that the TRIPs agreement does lead to extensive patenting of developing country plant genetic resources. Both pieces of work have benefited from persistence combined with establishing QUNO credibility in the eyes of negotiators and secretariats that it does not have a hidden or hostile agenda, is open to work with all points of view, and is well-informed both with the policy issues and the policy making machinery. This has and will lead not so much to new avenues of work, but to adapting current, well-founded work to meet new opportunities. QUNO is on the right track of illustrating how NGOs can work effectively with these institutions without having any special or formal status in their proceedings. The work of the last six months is evidence that QUNO enjoys long-term support by a wide range of policy makers.

In the process of writing the In-Focus Policy Brief on the "WTO: Trade and Labour Standards," a delegate from a South Asian mission in Geneva was asked to give a peer review. His government has been under severe criticism for its labour policies in export processing zones. In the course of discussing the paper, a number of reciprocities were examined that would balance developed and developing countries trade and labour interests. Agreement on a balance was reached that indicates possible ways forward in both the ILO and WTO to take up the debate in their respective fora.

III. UPDATES

Significant Events at the United Nations

The failure of the WTO Ministerial Conference in Seattle in December 1999 to launch a new round of multilateral trade negotiations has opened up a deeper dialogue among NGOs and between NGOs and the WTO on a number of issues important to civil society. From a QUNO perspective, the most notable of these are developing country problems with the WTO TRIPs Agreement and WTO relations with civil society.

The ILO Governing Body has agreed to continue and strengthen its Working Party on the Social Dimensions of the Liberalisation of International Trade. Its mandate will expand to include investment and the World Bank, the IMF and the WTO will participate in its debates. This will act as a forum for substantive dialogue on the relationship between labour standards and globalisation.

Changes in Program Administration

No changes to report at this time.

Changes in the Program Plan

The objectives set out in the Comprehensive Proposal consisted of 1) inform interested parties (governments, civil society and multilateral agencies) on current WTO trade policies that may assist them in finding grounds for agreement, 2) look at private voluntary initiatives, codes of conduct and social labeling schemes, 3) commission studies on the impact of trade liberalisation, and 4) facilitate dialogue between the ILO and WTO.

A fifth objective was established in 1999: To support developing country WTO delegations efforts to sustain their interests in their plant genetic resources during the 1999 review of Article 27.3(b) of the WTO Trade Related Intellectual property Agreement.

Work activities were undertaken the first, second and fourth objectives. No work was undertaken on the third because the ILO began producing substantive country studies that drew on much wider resources than available to QUNO. Activities were adapted to meet the significant events in the WTO and ILO as described above.

IV. REPORT OF PROGRAM WORK

Objective 1 – to inform interested parties (governments, civil society and multilateral agencies) on current WTO trade policies that may assist them in finding grounds for agreement

1. In the post-Seattle trade policy debate, a number of NGOs have continued to denounce the WTO and efforts to reform it as ineffective and/or to criticize initiatives to enhance WTO consideration of trade related labour and environmental issues as protectionist. In order to strengthen a more constructive post-Seattle process of dialogue on labour and environmental trade relatedness issues, QUNO organised as a main activity in this period a three day "consultation" from May 10 to 13 for NGOs from both developing and developed countries and delegates and staff from the WTO, ILO, UNCTAD and UN Environmental Programme. The first day was devoted to briefings and dialogues with delegates and staff. The second two days were devoted to NGO exploration of their different perspectives and initiatives on trade, labour and environmental policies.

Participants represented environmental, development, and labour NGOs from all major regions of the world and were equally divided between developed and developing countries. On the first day, they engaged the policy makers positively and with well-informed opinions. All NGO participants agreed that these were among the most fruitful discussions they have ever had with trade policy makers. On the second and third day, the group engaged in deep sharing and listening. As expected, sharp differences emerged on whether the WTO should address labour issues at all and on the direction of the WTO negotiations on services. The former disagreement, however, revealed some significant, broader awareness of the need to persist in dialogue on the part of several key developing country participants. The latter disagreement was largely due to the absence of any NGO actively working on services.

The group consolidated its identity by the end of the three days and were unanimous on the importance of keeping this level of dialogue with policy makers and within itself. All hoped that further consultations would be possible. And a number expressed an important need to look in more depth, perhaps in a smaller sub-group, at the critical relationships between trade, labour standards and development. Having achieved almost all of its goals, this consultative process will be continued with the next meeting scheduled for late 2000 or early 2001.

Objective 2 – to look at private voluntary initiatives, codes of conduct and social labeling schemes

1. Following the October 1999 meeting in Honduras jointly organised in October by QUNO and the AFSC Honduras representative, the East Asia QIAR programme and QUNO organised a

roundtable in Hong Kong on 24 and 25 May on codes of conduct and export processing zones. The objectives of the roundtable itself was to explore the value and effectiveness of codes of conduct in East Asian EPZs and to consider the usefulness of the Ethical Trading Initiative, of which QPS is a member, in the context of other fair trade and social auditing schemes. The participants included QPS and Christian Aid members of the Ethical Trading Initiative Board, labour activists, and the senior ILO expert on EPZs, professional social auditors and economists.

The seminar discussion was largely set in the context of the extensive labour problems in China's export processing zones and the difficulties of applying codes of conduct in these. The main achievement of the roundtable was the sheer learning from sharing a wide variety of information and experiences. Within this sharing was a much greater breadth of mutual appreciation between the "multi-stakeholder" approach to establishing codes of conduct, and the more technical social audits used by such schemes as SA8000 designed by the Council of Economic Priorities.

For the East Asia QIARs, the roundtable provided a useful opportunity to gather Asia activists, labour unions and academics to discuss issues of special significance to Asian economic integration. For QUNO, it not only provided much greater understanding of the potentials and limitations of codes of conduct in dealing with EPZs, a major issue in international trade policy, it also allowed for more collaboration with the ILO. QUNO views this collaboration as an important ingredient in efforts to link ILO work with trade policy.

For both QUNO and the QIAR programme, the seminar reaffirmed the importance of more collaboration between regional and international Quaker work. Its success warrants more joint efforts with QIARs in the future on codes and EPZ issues that connect the interests of both parts of Quaker work.

Objective 4 – to facilitate dialogue between the ILO and WTO

1. A substantive briefing paper on "WTO: Trade and Labour Standards" was published in April 2000 by the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington as an *In-Focus Policy Brief*. This was intended to better inform civil society and concerned policy makers on trade and labour linkages in the context of ILO and WTO mandates and activities. It explores policy conflicts and options for developed and developing countries in finding great policy coherence in the WTO and ILO to cope with the impact of trade liberalisation on labour standards.

This briefing paper has stimulated substantive one-to-one dialogue with a few developed and developing country delegations and with representatives of international trade union confederations on identifying areas of developed – developing country common understanding on how to move the trade and labour standards forward. These dialogues are intended to lead to informal discussions at Quaker House in Geneva on the contentious issues before the ILO Working Party on the Social Dimensions of the Liberalisation of International Trade.

Objective 5 – To support developing country WTO delegations efforts to sustain their interests in their plant genetic resources during the 1999 review of Article 27.3(b) of the WTO Trade Related Intellectual property Agreement. (New objective as of this report.)

1. Following two seminars in 1999 for developing country WTO delegations on Article 27.3(b) of the WTO Trade Related Intellectual Property Agreement (TRIPs), two seminars were held at Quaker House (on June 23 and July 6) for WTO developing and, for the first time, like minded developed country delegations to explore continued activities on TRIPs, but expanding their in several ways:
 - To facilitate discussion on the relationship between TRIPs and "farmers rights," as dealt with in the Food and Agricultural Organisation and traditional knowledge of indigenous people as dealt with in the World Intellectual Property Organisation. In both instances, there is an increasing problem of the TRIPs agreements being used to undermine the rights of both farmers and indigenous people to their knowledge and access to genetic resources.

- To expand the participation in these discussions to include developed country governments with established sympathies to promoting these rights.
- To work towards the next WTO Ministerial Conference in 2001 when broader interpretations of the TRIPs agreement to address these issues could be negotiated.

V. RELATIONSHIPS:

Partner Agencies

- International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Brussels
- Solidar, Brussels
- International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development, Geneva
- South Centre, Geneva
- Centre for International Environmental Law, Geneva
- Christian Aid, London
- Oxfam, London
- Worldwide Fund for Nature, Gland, Switzerland
- World Trade Organisation, Geneva
- International Labour Organisation, Geneva
- International Monetary Fund, Representative Office, Geneva
- Institute for Overseas Agriculture, Rome

Within the International Affairs Network:

As a result of discussions at QUNG meetings in 1999 and 2000, especially collaborative planning with the East Asia QIARs was possible in organising the Hong Kong roundtable on codes of conduct in May 2000. This collaboration allowed for QUNO to involve ILO staff in Geneva to join with labour activists and social accountants in the roundtable.

Also as a result of discussions at QUNG meetings and with QPS staff in London, the two QUNOs, AFSC and QPS are planning a consultation on Quaker work and concerns and pursuing these with the Bretton Woods institutions in Washington.

Prepared by: David C. Atwood, Rachael Brett, and Brewster Grace
Date: July 31, 2000

Quaker United Nations Office - New York

Lori Heninger, Human Rights and Development Finance
David Jackman, Small Weapons and Peacebuilding
Jack Patterson, Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding
New York City, USA

QUNO-NY: General Program

I. UPDATES

Significant Events at the United Nations

Issues that were new or developing in the early 90's are now more mature and better articulated, yet capacity and political will are lagging or down. Capacity for follow-up is lacking. With this growing gap, there is a danger the UN itself will be seen to have failed. This is no more evident than in the current preoccupation with so-called "Humanitarian intervention" which often serves as a code word for military intervention for presumably humanitarian objectives. While this debate occupies much time in the Security Council and while there is much concern expressed, particularly by the US and other permanent members for increased readiness to intervene in situations of gross violations of human rights, there is little readiness on the part of the same countries to commit their own human and financial resources to those ends. In addition there is little concrete support from many developing countries who fear any opening of doors to intervention by more powerful permanent members. During the past year two major reports commissioned by the UN to evaluate its' own actions in Srebrenica and Rwanda, show the need to redevelop the UN's peacekeeping concept and implementation, but again, the UN is faced with shrinking staff and resources to do so. There is marked and growing attention to African issues thematically, yet action on ground is generally not forthcoming. Africa is the area of the world now experiencing continent-wide conflicts. Many are linked, all are multi-dimensional, few if any are receiving the concrete attention they require (even though up to 60% of the Security Council agenda is now focused on African conflicts. The Thematic Area of "prevention", both in relation to "natural" disasters as well as humanitarian crises has been strengthened in the 54th General Assembly and in the Security Council where open meetings have been held. These discussions suggest that while much of what the world needs to maintain peace and to promote development is known, it simply is not present in one situation after another. The emergence of "prevention" and "governance" as operative Thematic Areas have made new connections/crossovers possible between UN agencies and among non-governmental organizations, e.g. the obvious connections between economic development and pre/post-conflict situations. In addition there are gaps in the dialogue among and between UN institutions and other very relevant parties, e.g. International Financial Institutions and other UN agencies, but private enterprise and civil society are not largely absent.

Changes in Program Administration

- Nissa Puffer will join the QUNO staff as a full-time temporary staffperson for 18 months beginning August 1, 2000. Her salary will be paid by the AFSC Board Funds for the "Global Voices" project. Nissa has served as a QUNO intern since Sept. 1, 1999.
- Graziella Reis-Trani worked as a 2-month intern and followed ECOSOC for QUNO. Her months of work were June 1—July 30. We hope to have her back next summer.

- QUNO and Bridget Moix were jointly awarded a two year "New Voices" Fellowship in May 2000 to begin August 1, 2000. The Fellowship, administered by the Academy for Educational Development in Washington, DC, was granted to only 30 out of 420 applications and represents a significant QUNO staff capacity to address issues of "conflict prevention" in the UN. Bridget Moix is a former FCNL staff person and recent graduate of Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs masters program. Her salary will be covered for two years as part of a mentorship agreement.
- Two interns for CY 2000-2001 have been selected. They are Rachel Madenyenka and Kevin Joseph. Both will begin in early September.

Changes in the Program Plan

- Full funding of \$192,896 over 24 months for research project "The Lived Experience of Female Child Soldiers", funding sources from DfID, the Norwegian Government and UNICEF
- Full funding of Bridget Moix by the "New Voices" fellowship for two years, \$85,000 covering salary, benefits, travel, computer, educational experiences and student loans.
- Funding of \$77,311 over 12 months for work on the World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance. Funding source: AFSC Board Funds

Publications

Regular QUNO publication:

- In and Around May, 2000 issue with lead article "A Remarkable Month on Africa", with articles on the new focus in UNDP, child soldiers, and small arms. A July issue is at the printers and includes a focus on Security Council reform, the Conference on Racism and Financing for Development. Circulation: 5,000+
- QUNO Sampler: The Sampler reviews work of the Fall General Assembly and included a lead article on "Envisioning Development" and also on the "conundrum" of militarized humanitarian intervention, small arms, and the upcoming Conference on Racism.
- QUNO Briefing Papers: An April, 2000 briefing paper, No. 1/00 entitled "Battling Global Racism" reviewed UN work on racism and racism conference, including a preview of the upcoming World Conference on Racism, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance in South Africa in Fall 2000.

Other publications, articles, booklets:

- "Building a Common Future: UN Work On Financing for Development": translated into Spanish and posted on the QUNO website.
- Quaker Service Bulletin, Spring 2000: Article on current QUNO work
- Friends World News, 2000/1, No. 154, p. 12, QUNO-NY Report
- Friends Journal, 75th Anniversary of Friends General Conference Issue, April 2000 – ½ page QUNO ad.
- Friends Journal, April 2000, Book Review by Jack Patterson of Global Citizen, the story of the Leverings' campaign on behalf of a Convention on the Law of the Sea grounded in the concept of "Common heritage."

QUNO-NY: Sub-Program on Peacemaking and Peace-building

I. FOCAL ISSUES

- Control of small arms and light weapons
- Child soldiers, children in armed conflict, children and guns

II. ACHIEVEMENTS

Iraq Sanctions: The Open Letter to the Security Council (described below) did provide a vehicle for Malaysia and several other countries to make reference in their comments during the debate to the growing concerns of NGOs with experience on the ground in Iraq with the situation there and the need for supporting the panel recommendations for easing the effects on civilians.

Girl Soldiers: Colleen MacNeil of the Office of the Special Representative to the Secretary General for Children and Armed Conflict requested any and all information we obtain, stating, "any information you could give us would be very helpful as I have completed a paper concerning issues of girls in armed conflict, minus the data on girl soldiers as it is nowhere to be found. We feel this is a very important study and commend you for taking the initiative".

Given that this project has yet to begin formally, I believe that we have accomplished a great deal in developing the proposal and obtaining funding, and in building a strong working relationship between the QUNOs and the Arsenal Center. The project has been slow in getting off the ground due to the workload commitments of all participants and the vacation of the DfID staffperson reviewing the proposal who went on leave for three weeks.

Small Arms: QUNO has been essential to the process of engaging and supporting NGOs so they can participate effectively in the 2001 Conference on Illicit Weapons. This central role, which is recognized and valued by the coordinating agency, IANSA, will continue through the full process leading to the Conference itself. The network is still quite loose and greater efforts will need to be made to encourage more coherent policy development and to bring a more diverse range of NGOs to the Preparatory Committee sessions and to the Conference itself. QUNO and IANSA will organize a series of events for the diplomatic community in New York and Geneva during autumn 2000. Also, along with QUNO-Geneva, QUNO will organize a third residential colloquium for diplomats and NGOs. This event will be used to enhance the NGO-governmental relationship and to promote a range of policy steps at the 2001 Conference.

Regional Conflicts: This work is ongoing as we can establish and develop effective partnerships with outside actors with a presence in the field. Each of our current involvement's is at a preliminary stage. The Angolan civil society organizations, the Burundi Trauma Healing Project and the Rwandan reconciliation project are only in their planning and initial action stages. QUNO's involvement with the Angolan program is likely to be the most far reaching as there is considerable scope for developing activity on this issue in New York where the UN Security Council is heavily committed to peacemaking, maintenance of sanctions against UNITA, humanitarian relief and development assistance. It is likely that QUNO will host another Angolan delegation in New York during the next six months. Regarding all these projects the major difficulty is in keeping up sufficient continuity of contact to enable QUNO to be an active and informed partner.

Conflict Prevention: QUNO's promotion of new ways to look at the civilian role in peacemaking and peacekeeping, whether through the lens of women's roles or that of a nonviolent civilian peace force, is valued by members of the UN community as a contribution to new thinking on the subject of peacemaking. But the sessions we and our partners organized were under-attended, despite their

pertinence and novelty. To gain a wider audience at the UN we will need to find better structures through which to disseminate our information and establish contacts. This will likely lead us to searching for strategic partners among Member States and to utilizing their support to further legitimize the concepts we are promoting.

An Angolan delegation representing civil society and led by Daniel Ntoni-Nzinga, AFSC Southern African QIAR, himself and Angolan, arrived in New York January 18, 2000 to present perspectives from civil society to Missions involved in Security Council debates and from neighboring governments.

The month of January had been declared "Africa Month" by US Ambassador Richard Holbrook, president of the Scrutiny Council for that month. Four open or public sessions of the SC were announced, including one on Angola on the 18th and others to follow on Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

During the open session on Angola, I (Jack Patterson) sat with the five members of the delegation in the public area of the SC chamber. We were the only ones watching the debate below in an area with 300 seats! The next day the open session on Burundi was held with President (former) Mandela of South Africa as the featured speaker. This too was a precedent as no president had ever spoken to a formal session of the SC before! This time the chamber was packed! We obtained tickets for the Angolan delegation and took our seats in the now crowded third level, when who walks down the stairs into the journalists' section below us but Whoopi Goldberg! There is only one person in the world who looks quite like her. I turned to Lori and said, "I wonder if Whoopi would be willing to meet with the Angolan delegation?" She said, "Why don't you ask her?" So I made my way over to the central stairway and down the stairs only to be blocked by a UN guard preventing my way down to the section where Whoopi now sat. Seeing a member of the US Mission who we have befriended, I asked, "Would you ask Whoopi if she wants to meet with the Angolan delegation?" A minute later she gave the thumbs up and motioned to the back, i.e. take the delegation to the back hallway and she'll come there.

I told Daniel and the delegation that Whoopi Goldberg was going to come back to meet them. That's when I realized – they don't know who she is! I explained that she was immensely popular in movies and Hollywood, a top level actress, etc. They went to the back. Meanwhile I escorted Whoopi up the stairs explaining who the delegation represented and that they were a "peace" delegation anxious for all the warring parties to stop fighting and reach for an agreement. She said, "That's what I like." She met Daniel and each of the delegation. They responded as though they had seen every movie she had ever made! She asked, "Could I come to Angola?" They said, "Yes." She said, "Would you introduce me to the people I'd need to meet to understand the real situation on the ground (or words to that effect)" and they said, "Yes!" She then gave Daniel her personal telephone number and asked him to call her when she returned from a trip to discuss the matter of a visit further. Daniel is pursuing that now.

Malaak Shabazz #6, one of the daughters of Malcolm X, accompanied Whoopi,. I spoke with her later in the hallway and she explained that her sister "was a Quaker". She said their mother told them when they became 21 that they were adults now and could make their own decisions about what they "were going to be." Her sister apparently became a Quaker, or at least felt close to Friends.

Pictures are available.

III. REPORT ON PROGRAM WORK

Objective 1: Supporting the process leading to the UN Conference in 2001 on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects.

QUNO staff undertook six specific kinds of action to ensure that the 2001 Conference would be: open to civil society, seriously supported by governments, accurate in its assessment of priority issues, and able to focus on effective control measures.

1. **Information Gathering and Sharing:** Along with a representative from Human Rights Watch, QUNO staff organized and participated in more than two days of intensive individual meetings with 7 UN Member States that represented a variety of attitudes toward small arms control. The conversations were aimed at gaining new information about: diplomatic initiatives leading to the conference, attitudes toward involvement of civil society and likely areas of cooperation with non-governmental organizations (NGOs). This information was shared with other members of the International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA), the principal NGO network focusing on control of small arms. QUNO is a founding member of IANSA. (January 13-14, 2000.)
2. **Promoting Interest in the Conference Process:** A QUNO representative took part in a panel organized by the Small Arms Working Group in Washington, DC. QUNO's presentation outlined the role of the UN in a variety of initiatives focused on the control of small arms. The audience was made up of representatives from Washington-based NGOs who focus on security matters, but who were unfamiliar with the depth of UN involvement in small arms issues and the prospects for an effective conference in 2001. (February 4, 2000.)
3. **Dialogue with the UN Conference organizers:** In order to keep close tabs on conference developments and to better understand the dynamics between Member States, a QUNO representative interviewed both Ambassador Carlos Dos Santos of Mozambique, the Chairman of the Conference Preparatory Committee (Prepcom), and also interviewed Agnes Marcaillou, the UN staff person who would serve as the Secretary of the preparatory process. QUNO presented the Ambassador with the request by interested NGOs for full participation in the conference process and suggested the ways that NGOs could contribute to the success of the Conference. The meeting with Ms. Marcaillou led to an ongoing dialogue and informal partnership between NGOs and interested UN staff members, which will be very useful as the conference process continues. (February 22, 2000 and onward.)
4. **Quaker Colloquium 2 on Control of Small Weapons:** Noting the still uncertain relationship between NGOs and Member states regarding conference participation, QUNO staff from New York and Geneva organized and led a three-day, residential colloquium for 20 invited participants representing Member States and NGO experts. The governmental participants were carefully selected on the basis of geographic representation, varieties of approaches to the small arms problem, and different levels of support for the 2001 Conference. The NGOs invited had all recently completed significant new research reports on small arms. The agenda of this informal, off-the-record event, held at a hotel outside New York, focused on providing new research results and analysis from NGOs and on promoting more effective contact and communication among NGOs and governments. The governmental participants were pleased with the high level of information presented and the NGOs appreciated the open access to state representatives provided by the informal atmosphere. The colloquium was timed to precede immediately the opening of the first preparatory Committee session for the 2001 Conference and the relationships established at the event continued to develop in and around the formal conference deliberations. This second Quaker colloquium on small arms built on an earlier event outside Geneva in 1998. At least one more such event, probably with a different content focus, will be organized during the months leading up to the Conference. (February 25-27, 2000.)
5. **Direct Facilitation of NGO Participation and Conference Participation:** QUNO staff acted as central facilitators in New York in order to enable NGO members of IANSA and other members of civil society to be accredited to the Conference's first Prepcom. QUNO worked with UN staff to make sure there was adequate provision of services and information to NGOs, provided direct administrative support, monitored formal governmental deliberations, offered analysis of and orientation to UN conference processes and took part in direct meetings with governments at luncheons reception and other events where conference issues were discussed. (February 28 - March 3, 2000.)
6. **Support for NGO Access to the 2001 Conference:** QUNO staff chaired the NGO group which focused on assuring that there would be adequate NGO access to the 2001 conference process.

Specifically, QUNO continued to monitor Member State opinion on the subject of access and assisted with the drafting of a letter which justified and described the level of access that NGOs thought was appropriate and effective. QUNO staff printed and distributed the letter to 150 UN delegations in New York and to a similar number in Geneva. A decision on the subject will be taken by the UN General Assembly in November 2000 and the NGO letter is an important element in this decision process. (April-June, 2000.)

Objective 2: To respond to and end the phenomenon of child soldiers, children in armed conflict, and children affected by arms.

QUNO staff participated as invited representatives of IANSA to present information and analysis on how the unrestricted availability of small arms has contributed to the phenomenon of :child soldiers.

1. First, QUNO staff (accompanied by a Quaker researcher involved in child soldier issues) participated in a three day Consultation on Children and Armed Conflict organized by World Vision and hosted by UNICEF in New York. As well as participating in the small working groups and plenary which formulated NGO views to be presented to a special session of the UN Security Council, QUNO also addressed the consultation plenary on the subject of effective organizing processes in the context of the UN system. (March 29-31, 2000.)
2. QUNO staff were invited to take part in a Roundtable organized by the UN Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict. This one-day dialogue, which involved participants from NGOs, UN agencies and academic think tanks, was aimed at generating new ideas to present to the UN Security Council on implementation of the Council's Resolution 1261 on Children and Armed Conflict. (May 8, 2000)

(The final reports from these meetings were presented to members of the UN Security Council at a briefing on July 25, 2000. With assistance from QUNO, the Center for Defense Information, represented IANSA, at this briefing.)

A sub-theme was developed (along with QUNO-Geneva and the Arsenal Family and Children's Center) and funded which aims to determine the demobilization and reintegration needs of adolescent girls who have participated in combat situations.

Objective 3: Assisting the UN to respond effectively and efficiently to regional conflicts:

1. **Angola, Southern Africa.** QUNO staff organized five days of meetings for a 5-person delegation of civil society organizations from Angola. The delegation, organized by AFSC's Southern Africa International Affairs Representative, spoke for those organizations seeking a cease-fire in the Angolan civil war and the beginning of a comprehensive peace dialogue among the warring parties, one which would include the wider population of Angola. The aim of this week of events was to familiarize the delegation members with the peace processes being discussed in the UN, to build relationships with specific UN and Member State representatives who are active on Angolan issues, and to promote the awareness around the UN community of the need for a wider peace dialogue that involved more than the main combatant groups: the Angolan Government and UNITA. QUNO staff organized five meetings with UN ambassadors who lead delegation son the Security Council, and two meetings with interested states not presently on the Council. In addition QUNO set up meetings with the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative for Africa and with members of the UN Department of Political Affairs with responsibility for African and Angolan issues.

In order to familiarize the delegation with current UN deliberations on Africa, the delegation attended two open sessions of the UN Security Council: one on Angola (January 18) and one on the peacemaking process in Burundi (January 19). The second meeting was addressed by Nelson Mandela former president of South Africa and Chairman of the UN's peace process for

held a two-day workshop on ethnic conflict resolution with people from the Balkans region in June 2000 and plans future theater performances with multi-ethnic casts.

8. **Sri Lanka.** On June 13, 2000, Jack Patterson served as a panelist in an all-day Symposium on Sri Lanka entitled "Lessons from Sri Lanka: Communities and Conflict." Sponsored by the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, the audience included representatives from the groups in conflict, current and past US State Department officials, former ambassadors to Sri Lanka as well as academics. Patterson spoke on "The Role of the International Community" and advised the organizers from the inception of the event on appropriate speakers to create a balanced and useful meeting. An unexpected 60 participated.

Objective 4: Assist the UN in prevention of violent conflicts by supporting alternatives such as non-military humanitarian intervention, women as peacemakers, and civilian peacekeepers

Working toward the implementation of peacemaking in regional conflicts, QUNO-NY has joined with QUNO-Geneva in formulating joint work over the next three years focused on so-called "Humanitarian Intervention" and the need to shift from crisis orientations to early preventative action.

1. QUNO-NY is currently engaged in a series of luncheons with missions, secretariat staff, and NGOs for the purpose of identifying the concerns of each stake-holder in the debate. This included a luncheon with AFSC South Asia QIARs on February 14 with a focus on growing tensions in Indonesia, and on April 13 with Joel McClellan, former Quaker Representative in Geneva and currently Coordinator of the Geneva-based Standing Committee on Humanitarian Response.
2. In addition, QUNO-NY has joined with the World Council of Churches (WCC), the Lutheran World Federation Office at the UN, and QUNO-Geneva in a WCC initiated project to get input from UN diplomats, particularly from members of the Security Council, on the issue of so-called "Humanitarian Intervention" (WCC is developing a major statement of this issue scheduled for release to member churches in Fall 2000). Two off-the-record meetings were scheduled here in New York to complement similar meetings in Geneva: First, a luncheon at the Church Center on May 18 with four current or recent members of the Council, and second, a luncheon at Quaker House on May 19 with eight diplomats from developing countries, i.e. those most likely to be intervened upon. Beth Ferris, a former member of the QUNO Committee in New York and currently Executive Secretary for International Relations of the WCC, posed a set of questions to each group and took the responses back to Geneva for submission to the WCC statement drafters.
3. In cooperation with the London-based NGO International Alert, QUNO staff organized a luncheon that presented a panel of three NGO speakers who addressed different dimensions of women's work as peacemakers. This event took place during the Beijing +5 Review of the Platform for Women, and the presenters commented on aspects of the Platform, approved at the 1995 World Conference on Women, that referred to women and peace. The diplomats attending the luncheon responded actively to the speakers and noted progress in current deliberations and the topics which were best addressed in processes outside the UN arena. (May 16, 2000)
4. QUNO has searched for opportunities over a number of years to promote the wider inclusion of civilian expertise and participation in peace operations, particularly for the purposes of adding more conflict *prevention* capacity to the world system. In cooperation with the US-based NGO Peaceworkers, QUNO held two sessions in 2000 as a follow-up to a session in fall 1999. Using the occasion of the Millennium Forum which brought thousands of NGOs to New York, QUNO hosted two meetings focused on the development and promotion of a proposal for the Global Peace Force, a nonviolent international standing peace force which could be inserted into disputes in sufficient numbers at early stages of conflict. The proposal had been developed by Peaceworkers staff after an extensive consultation process. The meetings in New York had different goals. The first was a gathering at Quaker House of more than 25 NGO representatives,

QUNO-NY: Sub-Program on Human Rights and Development

I. FOCAL ISSUES

- Racism
- Sustainable Development
- Youth

II. ACHIEVEMENTS & ASSESSMENT OF IMPACT

Racism Conference At the first Prepcom in Geneva, Lori Heninger, was appointed as an alternate representative of the International NGO Coordinating Committee for the US because of her affiliation with AFSC. She was also appointed to the International NGO Coordinating Committee for international organizations (a different subgroup) because of her affiliation with AFSC and FWCC (they recognized international organizing potential and credibility). QUNO, AFSC and the other members of the US organizing group hosted a successful first meeting for US NGOs around the World Conference at AFSC on June 17, to begin the coalition building process and share information with interested NGOs. Given that this is the first time that most of these NGOs have worked together, it is an exciting time for movement building.

The program is moving forward as scheduled in the Racism Steering Committee meeting. Having the proposal for work approved by the AFSC board is the linchpin in allowing us to go ahead with this work. All staff at QUNO and staff within TWC and AACEP have worked diligently and consistently to bring the proposal to life, to participate in the life of the conference and all that it entails, and to continue the fine work for which they had been hired. Lori's appointment as an interim alternate member of the International NGO Coordinating Committee for the US region has been difficult since QUNO's traditional role is not to lobby governments directly. The racism steering committee has also been struggling to spread the word within AFSC, and maintain transparency.

QUNO's role is currently stronger among NGOs than governments, which is unusual. Given that the secretariat for the World Conference is in Geneva, QUNO has had to re-think its role, and has come up with some interesting and needed pieces of work. We have high hopes for cultivating a network of NGOs to work on racism and discrimination issues internationally (similar to those developed around the Beijing women's Conference.) QUNO will be developing a training "The UN and You", a seminar on what UN policy means to countries and civil society, and how civil society can participate in the policy-making process, both at the UN and through national and local governments. We would like to have a webpage on our site with continually updated information on the World Conference.

International Forum on Forests QUNO-NY work on forests issues over the past represents a significant investment of time and resources in our small office. With so much contentious behavior in UN programs and agencies, QUNO felt it was important to work with this process to maximize the potential for collaborative thinking and eventually decisions that truly represented a genuine consensus. With the establishment of the UNFF as a permanent institution within the UN system, we can validly claim our strategy worked and that QUNO contributed to a successful outcome with potentially good results both in its own right, that forest issues will get the attention they deserve, and as a model for other similar debates around resource issues.

UN Conference on Financing for Development The work has moved along this half-year. Because of the additional work of preparing the proposal for the World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, there was not as much attention focused on this work as I would have liked. The member-states and other stakeholders as described by the UN (the World Bank, the IMF, the WTO, NGOs and private enterprise) have been very slow in coming to

decisions around the conference; this has been somewhat frustrating and has limited the work we are able to do.

We have made many valuable connections during the past 6 months, and, I believe, are considered a valuable resource in the conference development process. Our growing relationship with NGLS (given their interest in Financing for Development and their excellent relationship with the Secretariat) provides us with an opportunity for growth and connection in ways that may be new for QUNO, but are clearly within both organizations' mandates. Connections with the IMF and the World Bank have been invaluable in helping us to understand the difficulties in bringing the institutions into a working relationship.

Concerns in the area of Financing for Development: first, this is a new area of work for QUNO, and the building of relationships is (as one can predict) taking a long time. The institutions in the development process are huge, and we have not yet had enough time to meet regularly enough with participants to establish our niche. I have had a difficult time explaining our methodology to Friends who believe that we are not taking a strong enough position on the global economy. This is a concern to me, but is not the chief problem that we are currently experiencing.

Future: QUNO and NGLS are planning a program of work for the upcoming year around the conference. This work will include:

- the participation of NGOs in the prepcoms, the regional meetings, and the final conference,
- dissemination of information in both written and electronic form
- a week-long program of events around the November "hearings" from NGOs
- luncheons and potentially a residential event between NGOs, secretariat and diplomats
- We are hoping to raise enough funds to print a revised version of the handbook; we now have the funds for a French translation.

QUNO-NY work on forests represents a significant investment of time and resources in our small office. With so much contentious behavior in UN programs and agencies, QUNO felt it was important to work with this process to maximize the potential for collaborative thinking and eventually decisions that truly represented a genuine consensus. With the establishment of the UNFF as a permanent institution within the UN system, we can validly claim our strategy worked and that QUNO contributed to a successful outcome with potentially good results both in its own right, that forest issues will get the attention they deserve, and as a model for other similar debates around resource issues.

Jag Maini, Coordinator and Head of the Secretariat of the Intergovernmental Forum on Forests, of the Division of Sustainable Development, DESA, UN, said in a note following the event:

"Thank you and your colleagues...for organizing the Colloquium on Forests. (This) required considerable planning, both in terms of substance and logistics. The latter posed additional challenges when the meeting is held in another country. The Colloquium dealt with a politically, very sensitive issue and at a critical time in the IPF/IFF process. From all the feedback I have received, all the participants found the exchange of views extremely valuable in preparation for a more informed decision at IFFIV (the meeting in February 2000). The three Colloquia organized by the QUNO have been very helpful in building consensus during the IPF/IFF process."

Pictures of the Quaker Colloquium on Forests III are available.

Global Compact It is clear that the Secretariat staffperson in charge of the Global Compact has a strong need (and perhaps obligation) to keep the process very much in his control. When we were asked if we would be willing to host a dinner, we asked if we could attend the sessions so that we would know the participants and the issues, and were told that we would be able to. We were also told that funding would be provided for the dinner. Three days before the dinner, a UN staffperson called us to let us know that they had not yet secured funding and were thinking about canceling. This would have incurred a substantial debt for QUNO with the caterer, and was not acceptable. After much conversation, it was resolved that the dinner would proceed, but the QUNO staff would not be able to attend the two days of meetings. The dinner was held and 25 people attended. At this point, I

believe that we will drop pursuing work on the Global Compact unless we are invited to be part of the meetings; even then, discussion will need to be had around QUNO participation.

Although the dinner was difficult in preparation, everyone was extremely happy with the results. Representatives from labor, NGOs, corporations, and the secretariat ate, got to know one another, and discusses issues for over three hours.

UN Conference on Financing for Development I believe, at this time, QUNO is considered one of the NGOs at the center of the Financing for Development process. This has been through a lot of labor-intensive work, meetings, luncheons, repeated phone calls, and just showing up (often we are the only ones at sessions, however this is changing as the conference nears).

When the Secretariat asked QUNO to host the luncheon for Andrew Crockett, I knew, that on some scorecard, we had arrived. This luncheon was a chance for NGOs to speak with the man in charge of the central bank for central banks. I believe that we did an excellent job, were able to draw knowledgeable NGO representatives from the US and Europe. Everyone stated that they were very pleased with the results.

Having 12 of 15 members of the Bureau attend a luncheon on short notice was a great success. Diplomats were able to put names to faces, and to get to know one another informally over lunch before embarking on a discussion around the agenda after lunch was over. Having the Fredrich Ebert Stiftung come to QUNO requesting our help and partnership was really exciting, whether we will be able to work with them or not given our mandate of neutrality.

QUNO Summer School The school went very well. Although the recruitment and funding processes started later than would be ideal, QUNO recruited 16 young people for the Programme, through nominations from colleges, AFSC youth programs, CFSC, and the East Asia QIARs. Sufficient funding was found to cover the entire budget of the school, and to assist a number of the participants financially. QUNO staff also enjoyed the Programme, and have decided to continue it in future years. During the Programme itself, the participants were very engaged with all the sessions and activities, and with one another. Conversation rarely slowed, and one of the highlights of the week for participants and staff alike was the diversity of the group and the different experiences and perspectives which they brought to one another.

The problems that we encountered were fairly minor. One participant from Africa was unable to attend due to visa complications, we missed his perspectives, and fortunately no money was lost. Another participant was distracted by friends in New York City, and despite a couple of conversations about her behavior, remained 'unengaged'. This impacted in a minor way on the group.

The Programme was very full, with insufficient travel and changeover time planned, which became more of a problem as the week progressed. As participants got more tired as the week went by, attention waned, but not to problematic levels. There was a glitch with accommodation, as the size of the group expanded, we had to use an additional hostel to the one planned. This second hostel proved to be difficult to work with, there were misunderstandings about the booking and the hostel checked the four participants out without warning. They were able to stay at Quaker House, and the disruption was minor.

The Programme was evaluated by staff and deemed a success and beneficial to QUNO's work. Provided that funding can be found in future years, the international summer school will continue, and possibly extended to ten days in duration, starting 2001. Conversations with Quakers in various places demonstrate interest and enthusiasm for this Programme, and the need to the type of opportunity for young Quakers that it provides

III. REPORT ON PROGRAM WORK

Theme: Racism

Objective 1: Reduce global racism and intolerance through formation of a broad international coalition generated through the "United Nations World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance"

1. Assisted in preparations for the World Conference scheduled for September 2001 in South Africa.
2. Developed, in conjunction with AFSC, a statement which was presented to all delegations and NGOs participating in the first Preparatory session of the World Conference. The document was translated into the official languages of the UN.
3. Attended the first Preparatory session of World Conference, May 1-5, 2000.
4. Organized, with 5 partner organizations, the first US NGO preparatory meeting for World Conference, June 17, 2000. TWC of AFSC arranged logistics for the meeting. QUNO prepared packets, worked on and distributed the invitations, and participated in the facilitation of the meeting. 45 representatives of Civil Society organizations participated.
5. Organized, with five partner organizations, the second US NGO preparatory meeting for the World Conference in Oakland, CA. Responsibilities were similar to the first meeting, but without facilitation. Meeting to be held July 22, 00.
6. Organized, in conjunction with TWC and AACEP, the AFSC steering committee working on the World Conference, and participated in all meetings.
7. Developed, in conjunction with TWC and AACEP, a proposal for work on the World Conference which was approved in full by the AFSC Board. Report to the Board is attached.
8. Attended multiple NGO meetings, government briefings, and made multiple presentations on the Conference to Quakers and other NGO groups.
9. Wrote and distributed "Battling Global Racism", a QUNO briefing paper

Theme: Development

Objective 1: Encourage a collaborative and consensual approach to the management of the worlds forests on a sustainable basis.

1. **Follow-up to Quaker Colloquium on Forests** The third Quaker Colloquium on Forests held in December 1999 in Ottawa, was followed in late February by a two-week UN session of the Intergovernmental Forum on Forests IV which, building on progress made at our colloquium, determined for the first time to establish a permanent institutional "home for the forests" in the UN system. Later meetings of the Commission on Sustainable Development approved the establishment of the United Nations Forum on Forests and substantive discussions are underway to determine where the UNFF will be located in the UN system. In most respects, this represents a successful conclusion to Quaker work on the forests issue that began in 1993 following the Rio Conference.

Objective 2: Support the UN in finding ways to achieve economic equity and foundations for peace through the UN Conference on Financing for Development

1. Arranged and participated in at least 20 formal meetings with diplomats, NGO representatives, secretariat staff to discuss the conference
2. Planned, recruited staff and moderated a panel for interested parties on the relationship between the World Summit for Social Development (WSSD) and the Financing for Development (FfD) conference. Four speakers including the head of the secretariat for FfD, the head of the EU, the person directly under the UN director of the WSSD, and a representative from Latin American trade unions participated, along with approximately 60 NGOs, diplomats and secretariat staff.
3. **Luncheon for Bureau members.** Bureau members for world conferences are elected from their geographic region, and act as the central member-state body for the planning of the conference. We developed and hosted a luncheon for the bureau members so that they could meet and get to know one another prior to their first official meeting. QUNO organized this luncheon, which was attended by 12 of the 15 members (Asia had not yet made its selection) plus secretariat staff, and proved to be more than a social lunch, soon after the main course was served, discussion began around the agenda for the event.
4. **Luncheon for NGOs.** QUNO organized a gathering with the Non-governmental Liaison Service to update representatives on the FfD work. 8 NGOs attended, and Barbara Adams spoke. Harris Gleckman of the secretariat was scheduled to speak but, due to a death in his family, was not able to attend
5. **Luncheon with Andrew Crockett, the head of the Bank for International Settlements.** The secretariat of the FfD conference contacted QUNO and asked if we would be willing to host a luncheon for NGOs with Andrew Crockett. Mr. Crockett wanted to hear from NGOs on their views of globalization and the international financial architecture. This luncheon was attended by about 20 NGOs, four of whom prepared presentations of approx. 8 minutes each. This was followed by a question and answer session of about 1 hour.
6. **Meetings with IMF and World Bank.** On April 26, a representative from QUNO met with three representatives from the IMF and two from the Group of 24. These meetings were arranged for QUNO staff to learn about the interest or lack of interest of the IMF in the FfD process.
7. Quaker International Affairs representatives from Quaker service programs around the world gathered at a Quaker college (Earlham) in Indiana for their annual meeting. An interest group on international finance for development and delineated, in table form, work being done on economics. A chart of work was developed from that session.
8. An ad-hoc open-ended working group on international economics was developed at the March QUNO-Geneva committee meeting. It is hoped that members of the QUNO-NY committee interested will participate.

Objective 3: Participation in the preparation for the Global Compact

1. Two meetings with Georg Kjell, secretariat staffperson in charge of the development of the Global Compact;
2. Development of a dinner between the two days of the first informal and closed meeting on the Global Compact.

Theme: Youth

Objective 1: To introduce young adults to the multilateral and international nature of social problems as seen by Quaker service organizations.

1. QUNO organized and conducted a "Summer School" which provided in-depth opportunities for young adults to experience the links between global and local social problems. This involved a seven-day residential gathering in New York City for 15 young adult participants from June 2 to 9, 2000. It involved seminars, discussions, tours and dialogues in and around the UN system in a mix of facilitated and non-facilitated sessions. The participants produced a self-chosen project/report during the week.
2. QUNO also organized a one day local service activity, facilitated by Youth Service Opportunities Programme (YSOP), that focuses on homelessness and hunger in NYC to draw the connection between Third World and First World experiences.
3. The Chicago African-American Community Empowerment Program's (AA CEP) Worldview Institute Annual UN Tour was held May 21-28, 2000 with 40 participants representing an age range from 12 to 25. They met with mission staff from South Africa and the US, as well as with Secretariat staff from the Youth Unit, on work with youth around the world. For a second year they met at the US Mission with Ambassador Betty King in a question and answer exchange. She challenged the youth present to study international relations, languages, and economics, and to consider graduate programs in politics and international affairs. An addition to the schedule this year involved organizing a Youth Forum on the United Nations on the last day, May 26th, with a panel of eight representing the primary UN agencies the tour met with through the week for the purpose of helping the participants put the whole experience together. The forum was held in the Fifteenth Street Meetinghouse and involved 65 participants.
4. On January 22, Jack Patterson and Lori Heninger attended the "Worldview 2000: Building Tomorrow's International Leadership Today" Banquet in the Illinois Room of the University of Illinois—Chicago. Over 400 Participants in the mentorship program of AA CEP, their families and friends of the program attended. Jack spoke about the partnership in the past and future.
5. QUNO-NY continues its UN Internship Program in collaboration with AA CEP. We have agreed to undertake a joint internship program to increase the exposure of youth and young adults to the UN. Continuing the practice begun in Fall 1999, in February 2000 two interns from Chicago were selected to continue work in the Department for Economic and Social Affairs on planning for the upcoming World Youth Forum to be held in Senegal in 2001.
6. QUNO has provided presentations for a number of youth groups during the past 6 months:
 - New Garden Friends School, North Carolina, April 19th. A groups of 12 students and four chaperones met with QUNO staff at Quaker House to discuss the work of QUNO.
 - The Dispute Resolution Center of Chenango and Delaware Counties, June 19. 40 Students gathered at Quaker House to hear a presentation on the UN, conflict resolution and mediation.
 - Brooklyn First Day School, March 9 and April 16. QUNO staff met with a total of 16 first-day schoolers to talk about the UN. Exercises were provided, and questions were answered.
 - Western Quarterly Meeting,
 - Doylestown Friends Meeting, March 31.
 - Wilmington Friends Meeting, May 22. 55 students from a Friends school met with QUNO staff in the Chapel at the Church Center.
 - Short-Course Week at Pendle Hill: Pendle Hill provided QUNO staff and 13 Quakers an opportunity to dialogue on the work of the UN for one week. This short course included descriptions of the program areas of QUNO, methodologies, a tour of the UN and a day at

Quaker House, conversation with a diplomat in New York. Nissa Puffer spent the entire week at Pendle Hill as a resource person.

- Women's International Leadership Conference, Quaker House, about 15 participants.
- April 18, 2000, Conflict Resolution Career Panel sponsored by the Conflict Resolution Working Group of Columbia University. Jack Patterson described the experience of working with UN diplomats to 35 career oriented graduate students.

IV. RELATIONSHIPS

Partnerships

Racism Conference:

- Quaker organizations (so far New York Yearly meeting, FWCC, CFSC)
- US Department of State and the White House Task Force working on the World Conference.
- UN Secretariat (NY Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights), UN Secretariat staff and NGO Liaison assigned to the World Conference in Geneva, Switzerland.
- QUNO has become an integral part of the US NGO network forming around the World Conference, and is a clearing house for Conference related information to AFSC and a fledgling NGO coalition. Organizations working closely with QUNO in this coalition include: WILD for Human Rights, North/South 21, the National Congress of American Indians, and International Possibilities Unlimited.

International Forum on Forests:

- The Intergovernmental Forum on Forests (soon to be called the UN Forum on Forests) and approximately 35 member states with an interest in forest issues.

UN Conference on Financing for Development

- The UN Secretariat, with whom we have excellent relationships with all of the members working on the conference.
- The Danish Ambassador who is one of the co-chairs of the conference and with many of the state members of the Bureau, the planning body for the conference.
- UN Non-Governmental Liaison Service
- NGOs, such as the Franciscans, the Sisters of Mercy, the World Council of Churches, Juan Antonio Blanco of Human Rights Internet.

Global Compact

- the Secretary-General's office
- ICFTU

Within the International Affairs Network

Racism Conference:

- Andean QIAR and Regional desk
- North Asia QIAR
- South and East Africa QIARs and regional desk
- QUNO-Geneva
- TWC
- Regions: Great Lakes, Pacific Northwest, Pacific Central, Mid-Atlantic

Financing

- nearly all QIARs, particularly in January at the IA meeting in Earlham.

Prepared by: Jack Patterson, Lori Heninger, David Jackman, Lu Ecclestone and Nissa Puffer
Date: July 23, 2000

AFSC Washington Office

James Matlack
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I. FOCAL ISSUES

No short list of issues conveys the role and coverage provided by staff in the AFSC Washington office. Literally every program and setting in which AFSC is at work becomes part of the array to which we give our attention and each one may, when appropriate, become a focal point for arranging meetings and scheduled events in Washington.

II. ACHIEVEMENTS AND ASSESSMENT OF OVERALL IMPACT

A highlight in my ongoing work on Global Economic Justice issues, was a seminar that I arranged along with Robin Robison of QPS/London, in April at the time of the World Bank/IMF meetings, that included high-level officials from the World Bank, the I.M.F., the U.S. Treasury Department, and others at Davis House/AFSC.

A gathering, such as this, should be seen against the background of year-round work on related issues through such coalitions as the Alliance for Responsible Trade, the Religious Working Group on the World Bank and the I.M.F., and JUBILEE 2000/USA (the campaign for debt relief for the poorest countries). I participate regularly in meetings, briefings, and forums on these concerns. For example, a group of religious leaders met with President James Wolfensohn of the World Bank. I also helped to plan and took part in the annual "Economic Stations of the Cross" on Good Friday as well as the large rally on the Mall in April staged on behalf of JUBILEE 2000.

I have worked extensively on the effects of U.S. Sanctions against such countries as Iraq, Cuba, North Korea, and Serbia. In many settings and in conversations with high-level policy-makers in the State Department and the National Security Council, I have emphasized changes in the sanctions to alleviate human suffering and to minimize the use of force and larger scale violence. I have also spoken at and taken part in many forums and press events to advance these views as well as strategy sessions with faith-based colleagues and peace groups. We have seen real shifts on the Cuba embargo, with more to come.

A positive feature of the present Washington scene is the emergence of the Conflict Prevention and Resolution Forum. I take part in the monthly meetings of this new coalition which brings together experts, academics, and current State Department personnel for discussion of preventive approaches to various crisis areas in the world. These informative meetings are modeled upon the long-standing Great Lakes (Africa) Policy Forum where candid discussions are held with the broadest range of U.S. government, U.N., diplomatic, academic, and private agency personnel in off-the-record exchanges.

Throughout the year I monitor developments and policy responses to many conflict situations and disaster settings so as to inform and facilitate the work of my QIAR colleagues. In some cases the situation may have had intense violence and bloodshed, with the potential for renewed conflict, as in Kosovo, Central Africa, East Timor, the Middle East, Central America, and especially in Colombia. I have attended many meetings, forums, and planning sessions on this newest, most rapidly expanding U.S. intervention in a conflict setting. I have given attention to and reported upon both the indigenous peace efforts in Colombia as well as the sufferings of increasing numbers of civilians and refugees. In similar though less intensive ways, I have covered such regional developments in the past year as the

election in Mexico, the Truth Commission in Guatemala, and the aftermath of the Peace Accords in El Salvador.

III. UPDATES

Significant events

An experience I had, at an exhibit of the National Geographic Society, seems to epitomize the situation we are in now. The exhibit featured Ernest Shackleton, a brave but unlucky explorer whose ship, aptly name the *Endurance*, was caught and crushed in the South Polar ice pack in 1915. For a year and a half Shackleton kept his crew alive as they hunkered down in polar darkness, then traversed the ice flows and open seas to reach a desolate island. With no chance of rescue, Shackleton then set upon a desperate course - an 850 mile voyage across the stormy Antarctic Ocean in a small boat to reach the nearest whaling station. It was an epic of courage, seamanship, and survival - one of the triumphs of the human spirit in the Twentieth Century. I walked through the Shackleton exhibit to reach its centerpiece - the 22-foot whaleboat in which that incredible final voyage was taken. I laid my hands on the planks of the *James Caird* and felt humbled, yet inspired. I reflected upon times when I have felt discouraged, over-matched by the power behind bad policies, up against impossible odds. If ever there was a dramatic example of endurance, persistence in the work, and never-extinguished hope, I was literally in touch with it. I drew strength from Shackleton and the *James Caird* for all the Washington tomorrows that I would face.

In these opening summary comments upon the Washington scene, I find scant basis on which to alter the sad assessments of previous years. Although we are in an era of outward prosperity in many respects, these continue to be tough and frustrating years for AFSC and Quaker witness in Washington. Our views, our values, our direct field experience were never more urgently needed, nor less heeded in the policy process. As I noted a year ago, decision-making and government bureaucracy are dominated by large, complex, powerful forces that compete and interlock beyond the effective control of ordinary citizens or faith-based advocacy. We continue to learn marginal cogs in this giant machinery that functions primarily on behalf of those who have block votes, money powers, and political preferment. We can but stand by the authenticity of our experience, the steadfastness of our values. Despite many frustrations, integrity still counts and finds recognition, even from those who deal with power players with vastly more clout.

Beyond the discouraging panorama of many decisions and actions that have been wrong or unresponsive to real needs or to the imperatives of justice, a more dismaying perception underlies any survey of the year in Washington - a profound disease that unparalleled opportunities are begin missed, chances of a lifetime are being squandered in petty and partisan clashes.

Our nation continues into a ninth year of economic growth and general prosperity (for most Americans) as well as a world scene freed from the fearful threats and divisions that dominated the Cold War Era. The way is open for profound change, for giant steps toward a world order capable of averting war and reducing violence and toward an American society more truly based upon inclusion and equity for all its citizens. Progress on tough issues should be made in good time. Hard times bring dissension, scapegoating, and self-protection. Yet this remarkable window of opportunity that we now have for deeper change toward economic, political, social, and ecological justice seems to engender instead indulgence and small-scale thinking (e.g. tax cuts). Selfish and parochial interests continue to assert themselves over moral claims and the common good.

The central political reality in Washington is the impending end of the Clinton Presidency amid all-out election year competition for political advantage in the next cycle. What Clinton may or can do in his remaining months in office matters less week by week. All energies (and anxieties) turn to who will hold the seats of power after November. The second and persistent them in Washington is the closely-divided, partisan-driven gridlock between Congress and the President, between Democrats and Republicans. This condition of stalemate and constant jousting may not be alleviated by

whatever outcome the elections bring. The third familiar theme is the drift of a strong, smug United States away from global engagement toward self-satisfied superpower isolation, too dependent upon military force rather than multi-lateral diplomacy. I will discuss each of these themes in turn.

The Congress has a lamentable record at mid-summer. Few of the necessary spending bills have been passed into law. Instead a flurry of tax cuts and other "gadget" bills catering to Republican constituencies have gone through but face almost certain veto by the President which will avert their actual and damaging implementation. This dismal panorama is brightened only rarely, as in recent votes in the House (over the determined obstruction of Republican leaders) to give more funds for AIDS programs in Africa and for Debt Relief to the poorest countries. A more accurate summary was given in a recent editorial of the Washington Post. "A weak, deeply divided, short-sighted, showboating legislative branch has become dysfunctional.

In shaping Federal budget priorities, the Congress persists in excessive military spending. Pentagon programs are never scrutinized as skeptically as spending for the poor. Politicians still accuse each other of not supporting a strong military, of cutting defense spending so low as to endanger national security. By any reasonable evaluation, these claims are bogus. Yet they continue to dominate the budget/political debate.

This potent irrationality leads the Congress year after year to vote more funds than the Pentagon asks for (and they are not bashful about asking). No actual threat assessment can justify this excess spending, often for weapons that the Pentagon in fact does not want, but the pay-offs to home districts, corporations, and labor unions are self-evident. In the current cycle the House voted \$289.6 billion for Defense Appropriations. The Administration had already asked for an increase over last year of \$15.9 billion to which the House added an extra \$5.1 billion. Such proliferate add-on spending stands in sharp contrast to the uphill struggle for adequate funding in such areas as school construction, housing, legal services, and foreign aid. In fact, the increase in military spending this year is larger than the total foreign aid appropriation.

Congress has embraced a more dangerous goal than merely spending too much on the military: construction of a ballistic missile defense system. After the folly and grave damage resulting from the Senate's rejection on the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty last Fall, this BMD boondoggle is a tragic step toward reviving the nuclear arms race.

For some years President Clinton correctly opposed deployment of a missile defense scheme and held the program to a mere \$3-4 billion a year for research. Then he bowed to the cumulative pressure, the potential political risk (especially for Al Gore) from being seen to block a move to "defend America." Clinton accepted deployment of a partial system when technically feasible. The floodgates were opened. Having spent \$60 billion already with nothing to show for it, momentum in Congress is sweeping toward a decision to spend at least another \$60 billion to pay for a flawed system that has failed its (rigged) tests to defend against a non-existent threat. Reason and logic are helpless before this revival of Cold War thinking and the financial pay-offs that energize this costly charade. The real effects will likely make us less safe when Russia, China, and others turn to building more armed rockets to counter our illusory "defense" scheme.

The full danger of "nuclear madness" is upon us again. Both the Administration and especially leaders in Congress are thinking and acting as if in a time warp back to the 1950s when it seemed possible to achieve nuclear "superiority" on the global stage. Rather than pursue and protect the arms control regime now in place along with its key treaties and then seek to curb the proliferation of these dread weapons, ultimately to reduce drastically the number of warheads in the world, Republican leaders speak of putting up a "defense shield," dominating space with weapons systems, and renewed nuclear tests to improve warhead design. This lunatic prescription would undermine whatever stability we have gained in the global nuclear stand-off, would trigger a new race to build up arsenals on all sides, and would doom forever the quest for reduction and ultimate abolition of nuclear weapons. Clinton and the Democrats mostly play along with this scenario as "enablers." Many

Republicans see it as a winning position, both in the elections and in the "robust" policies of a new Bush Administration.

Men and women of good with moral principles, and commitment to public service can be found in both the House and the Senate. Neither body is bereft of capable and compassionate legislators (although we have lost crucial veteran progressives through retirement). Yet the patterns of authority, the pressures of partisan loyalty, and the quest for power tend to put such decency on the sidelines and to elevate more dogmatic and strident figures to leadership, especially on the Republican side. All the intramural squabbling that besets the legislative endeavor is further crippled by the profound enmity against President Clinton among Republican leaders and zealots.

In last year's report I discussed at length the trend toward isolationism - a haughty disengagement from global responsibilities backed by the threat to use force when we do not get our way in the world. This dangerous drift toward a smug, high-handed unilateralism continues, although not without counter trends at work.

The most stunning and indefensible gesture embodying the New Isolationism was the Senate's defeat of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Republicans in the Senate made clear that they wanted to kill the treaty and thus assure the right of the United States to renew nuclear testing, both to enhance our weapons and, quite bluntly, to dominate the world. Their view of U.S. security rests upon a singular and unchallenged right to a massive nuclear arsenal with which to put all other nations at risk. Pushing to deploy a Ballistic Missile Defense in defiance of our closest allies meshes perfectly with this mindset. This triumphalist posture also results in the U.S. failure to pay our arrearages at the United Nations, our refusal to engage in other cooperative and collaborative approaches to world problems. In this view we should not be partners in international endeavors but always in charge, or else we should spurn the engagement. Put in religious terms, this is idolatry of a single nation-state. This concept of national security is a profanation and a sacrilege - and should be denounced as such.

One of the mottoes that echoes down the years of American jingoism is: "My Country, Right or Wrong." It has been invoked in defense of misdeeds and military excesses. (long ago Samuel Johnson said that "patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel" - e.g. Richard Nixon.) Yet the actual history of this phrase is instructive, and an antidote to mindless nationalism. The original context was the return of Stephen Decatur in 1816 from subduing the Barbary Pirates. At a victory banquet he toasted: "Our Country! May she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong." Simplistic repetition of the tag line created the effect of endorsing whatever actions America might undertake.

Then a crucial amendment was made by Carl Schurz, a German immigrant who was by turns a journalist, diplomat, Civil War General, U.S. Senator, statesman, and editor. As one who came to this country after the failed uprising in 1848, Schurz expressed both his idealism and his patriotism when he altered the toast:

My country right or wrong -
When Right to be kept Right;
When Wrong, to be put Right.

Among the problems that we must seek to "put Right," the imperial attitudes of the government, especially the Congress, loom large. Global power and pretensions are not matched by any willingness to pay for global involvement in the community of nations. The Pentagon budget surges while the State Department budget shrinks. As National Security Advisor Sandy Berger observes: "Billions for defense, but hardly a penny for prevention." With a diminished capacity for diplomacy, the United States too often falls back on the threat or use of military force as our primary response to world tensions and crises, as in Iraq, Serbia, and Colombia. Most of the critical international issues - drugs, disease, terrorism, migration, population growth, ecological damage - do not lend themselves to military solutions. They require multilateral cooperation.

The Congress has largely abandoned shared approaches and collaboration with international institutions. They favor instead what Senator Arlen Spectre has decried as a "Fortress America" concept. Build up our forces but shortchange the very institutions such as the U.N. and related agencies that might defuse crises before they explode into conflict. Senator Richard Lugar, one of the few Republican internationalists, laments that his colleagues insist upon keeping open obsolete military bases while at the same time refusing to pay for U.S. embassies around the world.

Another keynote for hope comes from Nelson Mandela's 1994 Inaugural Speech as the President of South Africa, where he spoke of universal capacities to be awakened in each of us:

Our deepest fear is not that we are inadequate. Our deepest fear is that we are powerful beyond measure. It is our light, not our darkness, that most frightens us. . . We are born to make manifest the glory of God that is within us . . . As we let our own light shine, we give other people permission to do the same; as we are liberated from our own fear, our presence automatically liberates others.

Changes in Program Administration

None to report.

Changes in Program Plan

None to report.

IV. REPORT OF PROGRAM WORK

Arms control and conflict resolution continue to be at the heart of my work. I attend (and periodically preside over) weekly meetings of the Arms Control Caucus involving some 35 offices. On the model of similar coalition meetings, these regular sessions provide crucial information, timely documents, advance notices of pending developments, and shared my plans for public education and outreach. As with other coalitions, I share information and insights promptly with AFSC staff and wider Quaker circles. Special efforts continue to ban landmines and to pass a binding Code of Conduct on Arms Sales. Both of these endeavors emerged out of the Arms Transfer Working Group along with focused efforts to block specific arms sales (e.g. Indonesia, Turkey) and to curb the world traffic in "small arms." I also work at times on related issues of gun control and gun violence in the United States and took part in the annual planning retreat of the arms control community in Coolfront, West Virginia.

As noted in my opening essay, our ongoing peril from Nuclear Weapons has escalated over the past year. The defeat of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in the Senate was the most damaging step. In the effort to win the Senate vote, I joined in strategy discussions including a meeting with National Security Advisor Sandy Berger at the White House. Now all the remaining nuclear treaties are at risk, especially with the drive to deploy a missile defense. While education and lobbying on BMD continue, there is little doubt that such a system will be funded (long before it can be shown to work).

The broader goals of CONFLICT RESOLUTION and PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY remain elusive despite valiant efforts by many in and out of government. While the Congress has voted (after energetic lobbying) for partial payment of our arrearages owed to the United Nations, there is no guarantee that those funds will be in the bill when it finally becomes law. The United States continues to face the real prospect that it could lose its vote in the U.N. General Assembly.

Among events held at Davis House/AFSC related to conflict resolution were talks by Amanda Romero, AFSC staff from Colombia and Oswaldo Bilbao, an Afro-Peruvian leader of a beleaguered minority in his country. Longtime AFSC staffer Bill Sutherland spoke at the U.S. Institute of Peace on his political autobiography, Guns and Gandhi in Africa. I also emphasize peace-seeking approaches

in the many talks that I give to visiting students, seminarians, Quaker groups, foreign delegations, and religious leaders on AFSC's advocacy and nonviolent alternatives.

Throughout the year I monitor developments in and policy responses to many conflict situations and disaster settings. Where possible, I add in the views of AFSC and Quaker staff directly involved on the ground. In turn, I keep AFSC colleagues in the National Office and in overseas posts informed by drawing upon special briefings, public meetings and forums, invited consultations, Congressional hearings, and appointments with officials in the State Department, the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance, United Nations staff, and other agencies or working groups. This complex tracking endeavor is aided by Interaction - the coordinating office in D.C. for private voluntary agencies that operate abroad - so as to provide my colleagues with the latest estimates from diplomats and officials directly involved in crises all over the world.

The goal of Peace with Justice in the Middle East is a steady priority for my work. In May I took a three-week trip to the region, visiting Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, West Bank, Israel, and Gaza. I traveled with colleagues from Churches for Middle East Peace (a coalition of fifteen denominational offices with a full-time staff director) with whom I regularly work in Washington. The journey was filled with memorable experiences and people. We focused upon the plight of Palestinian refugees and the status of Jerusalem in order to bolster our education and advocacy endeavors throughout the year. (A trip report is available upon request).

This year I am once again the Chairman of Churches for Middle East Peace. We are engaged in a major "Shared Jerusalem" campaign through the churches and public events along with our other efforts to encourage a just peace, to highlight the role of Christians in the region, and to promote better understanding of Islam and inter-religious relations. I also hosted AFSC's special staffer for the Middle East, Lillian Peters, and helped to arrange an AFSC speakers' tour in which an Israeli and a Palestinian described the continued house demolitions carried out by Israeli authorities.

Through the year I attend many meetings and briefings on the Middle East with policy-makers, experts, and regional leaders - e.g. Faisal Husseini, Hanan Ashrawi, Palestinian parliamentarians. These sessions became more frequent as the Camp David talks opened. It was a period of intense discussion and analysis on all sides. The concept of a "shared Jerusalem" became the lynch-pin of any possible accord. Agreement was not reached although the effort goes on. President Clinton's suggestion that the U.S. Embassy be moved to Jerusalem (as the Congress regularly insists) is quite unhelpful and may end his usefulness as a fair broker in the negotiation process.

At the writing of this report, Iraq has endured ten years under economic sanctions. While Iraq is ruled by a brutal elite whose access to weapons of mass destruction would be curbed - preferably through a regional disarmament scheme - the people of Iraq have suffered a downward spiral of malnutrition, collapsed health standards, and a devastated economy that cannot provide jobs or social services. AFSC has been in the forefront of the effort to lift economic sanctions and redress this deep suffering.

Over the past year I met with and have taken delegations to meet with top policy-makers who supervise U.S. positions on Iraq (including groups who just returned from Iraq). I joined efforts to raise voices in Congress in opposition to current U.S. policy. Former U.N. officials in Baghdad - Dennis Halliday (an Irish Quaker) and Hans von Sponeck - have spoken in D.C. about the efforts of the sanctions upon the Iraqi people. I helped to facilitate the Washington visit of Mike Nahhal, the staffer for the Middle East Council of Churches who has supervised the delivery of donated aid into Iraq for the last nine years.

Over forty days in mid-summer, peace activists have carried out a campaign of daily presence and public advocacy on behalf of nuclear abolition and lifting the economic sanctions on Iraq. AFSC co-sponsored this sustained public witness. I coordinated the first major event in the sequence in Lafayette Park on July 3rd. I also spoke at the last large protest rally on August 7th, standing in front of the Treasury Building and holding a water purification unit that will be sent to Iraq through the Campaign of Conscience for the Iraqi People.

The Kosovo crisis was the occasion for a NATO air war in 1999, smashing the economy of Serbia, and then for the difficult but impressive return flow of Kosovars going home under U.N. auspices. I attended briefings, symposia, and hearings devoted to analysis of the whole tragic episode and the lessons learned. Violence persists between ethnic groups in the struggle to restore social and economic life in Kosovo. As so often, after massive expense to wage the war, recovery efforts are short-funded, making the return of conflict more likely. This point was emphasized in an off-the-record briefing by a former UNHCR official just returned from Kosovo. Recently attention and anxiety have turned to Montenegro as the likely scene of the next Balkan war, so long as Milosevic remains in power. In August I gave orientation to the new AFSC staff for Central Europe to be posted in Budapest with coverage of the Balkans.

After years of oppression and a great spasm of violence, East Timor gained independence from Indonesia. Yet many refugees are unable to return and the whole society must be re-built. Meetings and reports on the struggles in East Timor were a regular part of my agenda. In addition, Bob and Helen Clarke who are AFSC staff for South East Asia came to Washington for discussion not only on East Timor but also about the sever communal violence in other parts of Indonesia.

Although Korea has had a lower profile on my schedule after the visit of a delegation of North Korean Doctors last summer, I continue to monitor policy and aid responses to food shortages in the North and to assess developments in political-military-nuclear issues involving both Koreas - e.g. former Secretary of Defense William Perry issued his special report on U.S. policy options toward North Korea. Surprising progress has recently been made toward rapprochement between Seoul and Pyongyang. Late in the year John Feffer and Karin Lee visited Washington from their post as Quaker International Affairs Representatives who cover East Asia and the Korean Peninsula.

The most important and ominous development with regard to Latin America has been the rapidly escalating U.S. intervention in Colombia. Through the year I have attended many events focused upon the painful situation in Colombia - the roles of the various combatants, the local peace movement, human rights abuses, and the suffering of increasing numbers of civilians and refugees. Efforts to block large U.S. military aid to Colombia failed. We are likely to be sucked deeper into this vexing quagmire. I also arranged the visit in D.C. for an African-American journalist associated with the St. Louis AFSC Office who was just back from a journey to report on racial minorities in combat zones in Colombia.

I regularly attend the Latin America Working Group as well as sub-groups on Colombia and Mexico from time to time. In October I arranged a delegation visit by the *Comite Fronterizo de Obreras*, a group of women workers from factories on the US/Mexico border who spoke about the effects of NAFTA and "free trade" upon their situation. Other events dealing with human rights and political developments in Mexico led up to the remarkable presidential election in which the PRI party was dislodged from power. At one meeting amid the flurry of pre- and post-election events I heard the eventual winner, Vicente Fox, outline his views and plans.

I gave attention to such other regional issues ascending the U.S. Embargo Against Cuba, on which some progress has been made in the wake of the Elian Gonzalez case; the election in Peru where Fujimori forced a third term as President but unrest deepens; the Truth Commission in Guatemala; the aftermath of Peace Accords in El Salvador; Panama after the hand-over of the canal (and the U.S. invasion); protests against the School of the Americas; and the extent of direct U.S. military training throughout Latin America.

My work on Africa involves monthly meetings of the Advocacy Network on Africa where information is shared and responses are coordinated. The Great Lake Policy Forum remains crucial for understanding the travails of Rwanda-Burundi-Congo and other regional participants in their conflicts. Daniel Ntoni-Nzinga, key Quaker staffer for Southern Africa, came to town for meetings and consultations, especially on his efforts to advance a peace plan for Angola. I also hosted Ahmed Shariff, AFSC staff for Central and East Africa. Other topic of concern included: the Ethiopia-Eritrea

war and its many refugees; child soldiers in Mozambique; the vicious war and mutilations in Sierra Leone; overall U.S. Aid to Africa, especially taking on the specter of H.I.V./AIDS which will devastate whole societies across the continent.

I now spend more time working on Global Economic Justice issues than I do addressing specific scenes of conflict. My efforts at self-education about international economics and trade continue. Arcane policies have become part of routine discourse. My regular venues for working on these concerns are the Religious Working Group on the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund as well as the Alliance for Responsible Trade. More time now goes to Jubilee 2000/USA - the U.S. portion of the worldwide campaign for Debt Relief for the poorest nations. The coalitions engage in public education and organizing along with periodic meetings and running dialogue with high-ranking officials in the World Bank, I.M.F., and the Treasury Department (including meetings with James Wolfensohn at the World Bank and Secretary of the Treasury Summers).

This whole topic area was energized by public protest at the Seattle meetings of the World Trade Organization. Intense consultations, especially among faith-based offices in D.C., followed those dramatic days of witness and turmoil. Focus shifted to Washington in April when the World Bank and the I.M.F. held meetings. In addition to seeking ways to educate and to witness nonviolently during the expected mass protests, I hosted a variety of AFSC and Quaker visitors over that weekend. In the same week but quite separately organized, I helped with a major rally on the Mall for Debt Relief long-planned over preceding months and staged by Jubilee 2000/USA as well as the annual procession through downtown Washington for the Economic Stations of the Cross.

Specific AFSC projects devoted to global economic justice issues include two seminars for Quaker Staff held at Davis House. In September a staff group drawn from the U.S., Canada, Britain, and Geneva met for three days of mutual education and for conversations with officials from the World Bank, I.M.F., Treasury Department, and the Ambassador of Honduras. Another group gathered in April for an economics seminar led by Robin Robison from QPS/London. In December I also facilitated a Davis House briefing for Linda Lotz (AFSC staff) and the National Interfaith Committee for Worker Justice to review recent initiatives and priorities of the AFS-CIO in Latin America. Linda and I also attended a forum with Secretary of Labor Alexis Herman. When the topic was hotly debated, I helped set up presentations by Joe Gerson from AFSC/NERO on U.S. Trade Relations with China.

V. RELATIONSHIPS

Partner Agencies

Staff have ongoing relationships and coalitional links to countless agencies and groups in Washington working on humanitarian, conflict resolution, arms control, human rights, global economic justice, debt relief, and other relevant concerns.

Within the International Affairs Network

My closest ties are to AFSC desk staff in Philadelphia and with the QIAR/QUNO staff in their respective posts.

In addition to being in direct communication with the QIAR/QUNO network, I have arranged Washington schedules/meetings for the following in the year under review:

- Lillian Peters, QIAR for Middle East
- Comite Fronterizo de Obreras, Mexican women workers in factories on the border
- Oswaldo Bilbao, Afro-Peruvian
- Ahmed Shariff, QIAR for Central and East Africa
- Daniel Ntoni-Nzinga, QIAR for Southern Africa
- Bob and Helen Clarke, QIARs for South East Asia

- Amanda Romero, QIAR for the Andean Region
- Joe Gerson, AFSC/NERO staff on China Trade Relations
- Richard Seebohm, QPS staff for E.U. at Brussels, Belgium
- John Feffer/Karin Lee, QIARs for N.E. Asia
- Vladimir Momcilovic and Tatjana Zeljkovic, QIARs for Central Europe

In addition, I took part in the extended Quaker International Affairs Meetings with U.S. and British staff held at Earlham College in Richmond, IN last February.

Prepared by: Jim Matlack
Date: July, 2000

Part III: Attachments

Angolan Civil Society Delegation

Meetings in New York with Members of the UN Community
Monday January 17 through Friday January 21, 2000

Delegation Members

Reverend Jose Abias, President of the Assembly of the Evangelical Alliance of Angola; Ms. Marta Gourgel, President of Women for Peace and Development; Dr. Carlinhos Zassala, General Secretary of the University Teachers' Trade Union; and Francisco Alberto Tunga, Forum for Angola NGOs. (FONGA)

The group was accompanied by Daniel Ntoni-Nzinga, Southern Africa International Affairs Representative, American Friends Service Committee.

Contacts with the UN community in New York were organized by David Jackman, Jack Patterson and Lu Ecclestone of the Quaker UN Office staff. At least one of these organizers accompanied the delegation to each of its meetings or other events while in New York.

Goals

The aim of the delegation was to present the views of their coalition of Angolan civil society organizations to decision makers in the UN Security Council, the delegations of other UN Member States and the UN Secretariat and UN agencies. In particular the delegation emphasized the need for an immediate cease-fire in the war in Angola and the need for a long-term peacebuilding program based on a broad dialogue in Angola that would involve all sectors of civil society as well as representatives of the two warring parties – the Government of Angola and UNITA. The delegation chose to be at the UN during the one month period when the Security Council was concentrating on conflict issues in Africa.

Activities

The delegation met with the Ambassadors and related staff from seven Member States. Five of these states were current members of the Security Council (Netherlands, Malaysia, Namibia, United States of America, and Canada). Two other Ambassadors represented countries with a special interest in the Angolan situation, one as a prominent development donor (Sweden) and the other as a former colonial ruler and current member of the *troika* of interested states (Portugal). Each of these meetings were approximately one hour in length and consisted of a presentation by the delegation, and a response and questions from the diplomats.

Originally the organizers had asked sympathetic members of the Security Council to host an informal meeting for the delegation with other Council Members. This is a method used successfully in the past by QUNO to bring NGO views before the Council. Two states were approached. Though they seriously considered the request, they were not prepared to be perceived by others as prominent supporters of the specific views expressed by the civil society delegation. As a consequence they both declined the opportunity to host such a meeting.

The delegation also met with several members of the UN Secretariat with special responsibility for Africa and particularly for Angola. These included: Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari, Under-Secretary-General, Special Advisor on Africa; Margaret Vogt, Special Advisor to the Assistant Secretary-General supervising the Africa Divisions of the UN Department of Political Affairs; and Rehana Ahmad-Haque,

Angola desk officer at the same department. This meeting was well timed as Ambassador Gambari was preparing himself for involvement in Angolan issues and was very interested in receiving views from all actors including civil society. He expressed interest in attending the forum in March in Angola planned by civil society organizations.

The delegation, whose visit was timed to coincide with the Security Council's January 18 open meeting on Angola, were able to observe both this event and a similar one the following day on the peacemaking process in Burundi. In both cases the delegation found it very useful to have direct access to the information being shared by speakers, including, in the case of the Angola topic, a presentation by Angola's Deputy Foreign minister and a video presentation presented by the Security Council committee that oversees the UN embargo against UNITA.

With assistance from AFSC's Media Relations Director Daniel Ntoni-Nzinga was interviewed by the New York Times and some of his comments were included in an article on the Security Council open meeting on Angola.

The delegation were able to follow up the open meeting of the Security Council in their conversation with Ambassador Fowler of Canada, who chairs the sanctions committee. The ambassador was very forthright in his comments and gave a clear sense of the political situation in Angola as viewed through a Security Council lens.

The delegation's final meeting was with a seven staff members of the UN Development Program. The meeting was hosted by Jean-Nicholas Marchal, Deputy Director for West and Central Africa, and by Bruce Namakando Special Advisor to the Assistant Administrator and Director. Others present were part of UNDP's Special Team on African Recovery and other related groupings. The delegation's presentation was similar to others they had provided but with much more emphasis this time on development priorities and direct services from UN agencies.

Follow-up Activity

The delegation intends to return to New York and the UN later in 2000 for another round of meetings similar to those conducted in January. In particular they would like QUNO's assistance to prepare them better to speak with delegations and to be better prepared themselves to identify critical decision makers. The many UN contacts expressed a strong interest in receiving more information from civil society actors and were very interested in hearing new ways of approaching peace negotiations in Angola. The information that the delegation carried about how the UN presence and activities are perceived in Angola was very useful to the UN community at headquarters in New York.

Women in Armed Conflict Luncheon

Quaker House
May 16, 2000

Presentations

Sanam Naraghi Anderlini (International Alert) outlined the eight crucial issue areas and related recommendations from a summary paper prepared for the NGO caucus on Women and Armed Conflict at the Beijing +5 Review. She noted that government statements at the review have been positive on peace issues, but the designation of actors is left too general, which will make it hard to hold governments accountable.

Isha Difan (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom) made observations on women and peacekeeping based on her experience in Sierra Leone. The training of peacekeepers allows little time to emphasize gender issues. The experience and knowledge of local women is included very minimally. (Only one local woman was involved in the in-country training for peacekeepers in Sierra Leone.) Very few women are included in the peacekeeping operation.

The NGO caucus on Women and Armed Conflict issued a set of recommendations on peacekeeping issues, but so far none are included in the Beijing +5 draft outcomes. The recommendations include: setting a quota for women's participation in all aspects of peacekeeping, military and civilian; enhancing security at refugee camps by including women in decision making; including knowledge of informal and traditional forms of peacemaking in peacekeeping training; and encouraging more documentation by researchers, refugees and conflict practitioners.

Widney Brown (Human Rights Watch) described the role of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in protecting women involved in armed conflict. She noted that women experience violence before, during and after armed conflict so the narrower focus of the ICC must be supplemented by other national and international protection mechanisms. Nevertheless, the ICC is crucial and its list of crimes specifically includes crimes against women. In any case the ICC will rely on a base of legal actions taken by national courts. The ICC may not be able to deal with situations involving large numbers of perpetrators, but it will be essential for receiving reparation claims made by victims. There is still much to be done to improve the situation of women involved in armed conflict. Currently most post-war funding goes to males as ex-combatants, with women receiving only partial assistance at best. Also women are still pressed to be silent regarding the crimes they experience.

Discussion

A government representative noted that the G-77 has been examining the role of women in reconciliation, and the subject has been made a part of recent negotiations among governments. Government negotiators have just completed an important paragraph focused on women and peacemaking.

NGOs replied that it is essential that women be included in more than the theoretical discussions; they should be included in the 'action points' of resulting documents. Since women do a great deal of work for peace and they are 'reaching up' to the international process, it is important that the international process 'reach down' to meet them. It is also important that more women be included in peacekeeping contingents.

A western government representative noted that the Beijing Platform for Action set a very high standard. If all the recommendations in the platform for action were followed there would no longer be a gender problem. Now it is important to create more complete recommendations (quotas, target dates etc.). It is also important to note that the Secretariat is currently working on a study about gender mainstreaming. When it is completed it will be a concrete resource that will assist women's groups to move forward. For this kind of work to be effective it must be conducted outside the Beijing process and its results will not be included in the Beijing +5 documents. It is also important to note that, while a DPKO manual on gender sensitivity training would be useful, it does not currently fit under Beijing+5. We can hope for a thorough study of peacekeeping that could recommend a manual which might be better than a watered down paragraph in the final Beijing +5 document.

An NGO representative said that they are concerned about peace work being further militarized. The question is wider than just peacekeeping. Humanitarian aid and peacekeeping tend to be male dominated and focused on men. Operations frequently enter post-conflict situations without a framework for the involvement of local community members.

A donor government representative noted that measurable targets are what is missing. She also mentioned that globalization, the Asian economic crises, increasing poverty and the changing nature of conflict are all trends that need to be addressed. She noted that ECOSOC is planning to focus on internally displaced persons and information technology this summer. How useful is this to people on the ground? She also asked for a concrete example of women playing a reconciliation role.

One NGO representative said that information technology is of limited use in post-conflict situations where there is no infrastructure available to support it. It is exceedingly expensive to maintain electronic equipment that is not developed for Africa's heat, humidity, dust etc., though email has been very useful to groups on the ground. She also offered examples of women as peacemakers in Liberia and Sierra Leone. She said women's innovations in the domestic setting can spread later to the public realm. (Israeli and Palestinian women have worked together, as have Hutu and Tutsi women.)

Finally an Asian government representative noted that he hoped governments and NGOs could learn to work together more effectively. Both sides need to make a bigger effort to understand each other's constraints and concerns. It would be good if NGOs could help governments recognize what they CAN do.

It is also important to remember that when a government has been destroyed by war it is essential that women's organizations act to empower the local community.

Civilian International Peace Force - Luncheon

Quaker House,
May 25, 2000

After listening to the presentation from Mel Duncan and David Hartsough of the NGO Peaceworkers, participants voiced the following concerns and questions.

A diplomat asked whether the peaceforce would deploy earlier or in parallel with military forces? Would the Security Council dispatch it? What sources will it have for early warning? If a peaceforce was a part of the UN, the bureaucratic system would slow down decisions and make it ineffective. If multiple parties were in conflict on the ground, would armed force be necessary to create a space for dialogue between them?

The Civilian Force is being developed as an NGO, it might have the blessing of the UN system, but it would not be a part of it. The purpose is to create safety for the peace process to move forward. The Peace force would bear witness to the negotiations and the peace process to discourage extremists. Peaceforces would cost government \$7-8 million to establish, and may later be found to be as cost effective as other forms of intervention.

If conflicts escalate would the UN have to evacuate the peaceforce? Or would the peaceforce then arm itself? Who is responsible for the safety of the peaceforce?

Just because a conflict escalates does not mean the peaceforce would be withdrawn. Their presence could help to focus international attention on what is happening. The participants on the peace force would not arm themselves, they would be pledged to non-violent action during their term of employment. (The UN would not be responsible for their evacuation). The peaceforce would stay to protect civilians. For example, NGOs stayed in Haiti even when the US military refused to land, saving hundreds of lives (by estimation). A peace force would disengage when it is no longer needed or wanted, e.g., when local groups working for peace can stand alone. Nevertheless, we must remember that the peaceforce can not be a solution to every conflict problem.

Another diplomat asked how the organizers would ensure that the peaceforce remained international? Could they insure that it would be deployed in conflict areas regardless of geographic location? If "peace imperialism" is to be avoided, who will fund the project? The poorer regions that need help most won't be able to afford to contribute. Will the force be sent to Africa? Right now the Security Council sends peacekeeping forces poorly equipped and too late, if at all. Sierra Leone is a case in point.

We are planning for an international governing board that will not be dominated by northern countries. Unlike the Security Council we do not foresee giving anyone veto authority over deployments. We would certainly be deployed in southern countries. We are hoping for a UN "blessing," which would assist in applying for funds from Ted Turner. Also, there are sympathetic governments who are already interested in our concept. We want peaceforce to be an independent resource free from superpower politics. The concern about imperialism is valid. The peaceforce will have a civilian based decision making structure. The teams deployed will be multinational, and loyal to the people to in the communities where they are deployed (because they would be invited by NGOs on the ground). It is true that most of the money will come from the north. There will be a need for diversification of funding sources from individuals, and foundations.

What if only one party to a conflict invites the peaceforce?

The peaceforce would be invited by NGOs working for peace. The peaceforce would be non-partisan, though they would need governmental permission to enter the country. If a government resists an entry by peaceforce teams we would consider approaching other governments to argue our case with the resisting government. This will be an evolutionary process. We expect that governments will grow to respect the peaceforce as an effective part of the international community. This growing understanding will encourage them to invite the peaceforce at an early stage instead of waiting until it is too late.

A diplomat noted that the proposal for a peace force does not replace military action. At what stage would the peaceforce intervene? Clearly it should be able to intervene at an earlier stage than military peacekeepers.

An NGO participant wanted to know what would happen if the US government were to be hostile to a peaceforce intervention due to possible negative media attention, which may damage relations with other governments? Would the US government be worried about the peaceforce creating incidents that would require a US response? How strategic would the peaceforce be in selecting specific nationals for its teams?

The US government is not dominating this effort. It has not expressed support, or opposition to the concept. The EU parliament is currently looking into a rapid response force, and the US did not like that either. Some members of the US Congress have expressed early interest in the project. The peaceforce would be very strategic about its selection of nationals for each region. Deployment of the peaceforce would require analysis of what is the best make up for each situation.

A diplomat from a Northern country noted that governments have to justify their spending. His country is currently developing a pool of civilian experts for deployment as administrators, police, judiciary, etc. in peace operations. Seven hundred individuals are now identified and the goal is 1,000. A peaceforce will require a significant expenditure. Governments would want to know who mandates you? What is your comparative advantage (in monitoring cease-fires, borders, etc.) as compared to OSCE or other civilian observers. In addition, the ICRC is already engaged in similar tasks, have you talked with them? Civilian and military forces are very different tools, its all about timing to end a problem.

We have shared this work with a former ICRC staff member who supports the proposal. We are currently lobbying the ICRC to support this kind of work, to safeguard their workers and contribute to peace. We do want to work with them. We have no desire to be in competition with them. The advantage of peaceforce over the OSCE is that the peaceforce could be deployed much faster, and have much more connection with local NGOs on the ground. In summary the peaceforce would be 1) civilian based, 2) capable of early intervention, 3) flexible in types of conflict response and 4) projecting no specific nation's interest.

The presenters ended by thanking the participants and encouraging them to keep in touch, so the proposal can be continually improved.

Specifically, QUNO continued to monitor Member State opinion on the subject of access and assisted with the drafting of a letter which justified and described the level of access that NGOs thought was appropriate and effective. QUNO staff printed and distributed the letter to 150 UN delegations in New York and to a similar number in Geneva. A decision on the subject will be taken by the UN General Assembly in November 2000 and the NGO letter is an important element in this decision process. (April-June, 2000.)

Objective 2: To respond to and end the phenomenon of child soldiers, children in armed conflict, and children affected by arms.

QUNO staff participated as invited representatives of IANSA to present information and analysis on how the unrestricted availability of small arms has contributed to the phenomenon of child soldiers.

1. First, QUNO staff (accompanied by a Quaker researcher involved in child soldier issues) participated in a three day Consultation on Children and Armed Conflict organized by World Vision and hosted by UNICEF in New York. As well as participating in the small working groups and plenary which formulated NGO views to be presented to a special session of the UN Security Council, QUNO also addressed the consultation plenary on the subject of effective organizing processes in the context of the UN system. (March 29-31, 2000.)
2. QUNO staff were invited to take part in a Roundtable organized by the UN Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict. This one-day dialogue, which involved participants from NGOs, UN agencies and academic think tanks, was aimed at generating new ideas to present to the UN Security Council on implementation of the Council's Resolution 1261 on Children and Armed Conflict. (May 8, 2000)

(The final reports from these meetings were presented to members of the UN Security Council at a briefing on July 25, 2000. With assistance from QUNO, the Center for Defense Information, represented IANSA, at this briefing.)

A sub-theme was developed (along with QUNO-Geneva and the Arsenal Family and Children's Center) and funded which aims to determine the demobilization and reintegration needs of adolescent girls who have participated in combat situations.

Objective 3: Assisting the UN to respond effectively and efficiently to regional conflicts:

1. **Angola, Southern Africa.** QUNO staff organized five days of meetings for a 5-person delegation of civil society organizations from Angola. The delegation, organized by AFSC's Southern Africa International Affairs Representative, spoke for those organizations seeking a cease-fire in the Angolan civil war and the beginning of a comprehensive peace dialogue among the warring parties, one which would include the wider population of Angola. The aim of this week of events was to familiarize the delegation members with the peace processes being discussed in the UN, to build relationships with specific UN and Member State representatives who are active on Angolan issues, and to promote the awareness around the UN community of the need for a wider peace dialogue that involved more than the main combatant groups: the Angolan Government and UNITA. QUNO staff organized five meetings with UN ambassadors who lead delegation on the Security Council, and two meetings with interested states not presently on the Council. In addition QUNO set up meetings with the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative for Africa and with members of the UN Department of Political Affairs with responsibility for African and Angolan issues.

In order to familiarize the delegation with current UN deliberations on Africa, the delegation attended two open sessions of the UN Security Council: one on Angola (January 18) and one on the peacemaking process in Burundi (January 19). The second meeting was addressed by Nelson Mandela former president of South Africa and Chairman of the UN's peace process for

Burundi. The week of activities ended with a long afternoon session with staff from the UN Development Programme. This meeting focused on the special opportunities for UNDP to support development activity that can have a positive impact on the prospects for peacebuilding in Angola. (January 17-21, 2000.)

2. **Burundi, Great Lakes Region, Africa.** QUNO accepted an invitation to provide a person to participate in the management committee of a small Trauma Healing Project organized by Friends Peace Teams, a US-based conflict intervention organization, and Burundi Yearly Meeting, the governing body of Quakers in that country. The four-person team will arrive in Burundi in late 2000 to begin two years of work in trauma healing, community training and reconciliation. QUNO's expertise was sought because of its staff's involvement in monitoring conflicts in Africa's Great Lakes Region and also because of expertise in following issues related to armed violence and reconciliation more widely in Africa and elsewhere. (March 2000 and ongoing.)
3. **Rwanda, Great Lakes Region, Africa.** At the request of a Rwandan Quaker pastor now resident in the USA, QUNO staff provided advice, contacts and financing information regarding a proposed reconciliation program involving members of the Rwandan refugee communities in Africa and Europe. This project was developed over several years and this year gained the valuable support of the Council on Foreign Relations and the International Conflict Resolution Program at Columbia University. The first stage of the project will be conducted in Amsterdam in August 2000, funding permitting. (May 2000 and ongoing)
4. **Iraq.** QUNO participated in an ad hoc Iraq Sanctions Working Group initially convened by the Mennonite Central Committee Office (MCC) at the UN in January 2000 at the time of the Report of the second panel established by the Security Council to review the humanitarian situation in Iraq. Several NGOs, including MCC, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Global Policy Forum, Peace Action International, and Save the Children (UK) held a series of strategy meetings for the purpose of supporting the general thrust of the panel's recommendation to the Council and to build momentum for an easing of the sanctions regime when next reviewed in March, 2000. In addition to meetings with staff of UNICEF and the Oil for Food Program, we issued an "Open Letter to the Security Council Concerning the Humanitarian Situation in Iraq" on March 20, 2000 two days before the beginning of Council debate. The letter provided a vehicle for Council members to make reference in their own comments should they wish to do so. To encourage members of the Council to address the issues during council debate, a Quaker House Luncheon on Iraq Sanctions was held on March 14, 2000, with 9 Missions participating in a frank discussion of the prospects for lifting or changing the existing sanctions regime then being reviewed by the Security Council.
5. **Burma.** QUNO continues to extend its good offices as sponsor of the Burma Service Office at the UN (representatives of the government of Burma in exile) which enables it to maintain an office in the Church Center and to host meetings and briefings at the Church Center and Quaker House. We facilitated BSO being allowed to stay in the building and to secure a three year lease with expanded space. We co-sponsored an Annual Conference on "Landmines in the Burma/Thailand Border Region" held at the Church Center, June 2000 with 75 participants from UN Missions and NGOs.
6. **Northern Ireland.** Jack Patterson continues to serve on the Board of Bridges to Peace, an American-based funding effort for grass-roots reconciliation in Northern Ireland and as of July 1, 2000, serves as Board Chair. He will visit Northern Ireland in that capacity in August.
7. **The Balkans.** The Balkan Dialogue Group of New York Metropolitan Regional Office of AFSC continued to meet on a monthly basis in response to the tragic events in Kosovo and the subsequent air war. Since October 1998, Jack Patterson, former co-director of the Conflict Resolution Program and now QUNO staff, has been serving as a facilitator. He resigned this role in March 2000. Staff from the Balkans region were hired to continue the work. The Dialogue

held a two-day workshop on ethnic conflict resolution with people from the Balkans region in June 2000 and plans future theater performances with multi-ethnic casts.

8. **Sri Lanka.** On June 13, 2000, Jack Patterson served as a panelist in an all-day Symposium on Sri Lanka entitled "Lessons from Sri Lanka: Communities and Conflict." Sponsored by the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, the audience included representatives from the groups in conflict, current and past US State Department officials, former ambassadors to Sri Lanka as well as academics. Patterson spoke on "The Role of the International Community" and advised the organizers from the inception of the event on appropriate speakers to create a balanced and useful meeting. An unexpected 60 participated.

Objective 4: Assist the UN in prevention of violent conflicts by supporting alternatives such as non-military humanitarian intervention, women as peacemakers, and civilian peacekeepers

Working toward the implementation of peacemaking in regional conflicts, QUNO-NY has joined with QUNO-Geneva in formulating joint work over the next three years focused on so-called "Humanitarian Intervention" and the need to shift from crisis orientations to early preventative action.

1. QUNO-NY is currently engaged in a series of luncheons with missions, secretariat staff, and NGOs for the purpose of identifying the concerns of each stake-holder in the debate. This included a luncheon with AFSC South Asia QIARs on February 14 with a focus on growing tensions in Indonesia, and on April 13 with Joel McClellan, former Quaker Representative in Geneva and currently Coordinator of the Geneva-based Standing Committee on Humanitarian Response.
2. In addition, QUNO-NY has joined with the World Council of Churches (WCC), the Lutheran World Federation Office at the UN, and QUNO-Geneva in a WCC initiated project to get input from UN diplomats, particularly from members of the Security Council, on the issue of so-called "Humanitarian Intervention" (WCC is developing a major statement of this issue scheduled for release to member churches in Fall 2000). Two off-the-record meetings were scheduled here in New York to complement similar meetings in Geneva: First, a luncheon at the Church Center on May 18 with four current or recent members of the Council, and second, a luncheon at Quaker House on May 19 with eight diplomats from developing countries, i.e. those most likely to be intervened upon. Beth Ferris, a former member of the QUNO Committee in New York and currently Executive Secretary for International Relations of the WCC, posed a set of questions to each group and took the responses back to Geneva for submission to the WCC statement drafters.
3. In cooperation with the London-based NGO International Alert, QUNO staff organized a luncheon that presented a panel of three NGO speakers who addressed different dimensions of women's work as peacemakers. This event took place during the Beijing +5 Review of the Platform for Women, and the presenters commented on aspects of the Platform, approved at the 1995 World Conference on Women, that referred to women and peace. The diplomats attending the luncheon responded actively to the speakers and noted progress in current deliberations and the topics which were best addressed in processes outside the UN arena. (May 16, 2000)
4. QUNO has searched for opportunities over a number of years to promote the wider inclusion of civilian expertise and participation in peace operations, particularly for the purposes of adding more conflict *prevention* capacity to the world system. In cooperation with the US-based NGO Peaceworkers, QUNO held two sessions in 2000 as a follow-up to a session in fall 1999. Using the occasion of the Millennium Forum which brought thousands of NGOs to New York, QUNO hosted two meetings focused on the development and promotion of a proposal for the Global Peace Force, a nonviolent international standing peace force which could be inserted into disputes in sufficient numbers at early stages of conflict. The proposal had been developed by Peaceworkers staff after an extensive consultation process. The meetings in New York had different goals. The first was a gathering at Quaker House of more than 25 NGO representatives,

including a substantial number of experienced conflict intervenors, non-violence trainers and peace organizers. This one-day meeting focused on bringing the NGOs up to date on recent developments in the proposal, informing them about recent indications of support, and searching out ways to further improve and detail the proposal. The session added greatly to support and ongoing organizing capacity for the project. Several organizations formed a New York-UN node for further communication and lobbying. (May 24, 2000)

5. The following day QUNO invited a number of Military Advisors from interested UN Member States to study the Global Peace Force proposal and to offer their critical assessment and questions. Nine participants met to hear the proposal at Quaker House. The very lively discussion began informally even before the luncheon program started and continued on after the presentations were over. African participants were eager to explore the possibility for effective early conflict intervention. Representatives from northern donor countries were helpful in noting critical questions that would need to be addressed by a more detailed proposal. (May 25, 2000)

IV. RELATIONSHIPS

Partner Agencies

- **Small Arms preparation for 2001 Conference:** IANSA (an international network of 200 NGOs focused on small arms control) and in particular, Human Rights Watch, Small Arms Working Group, NGO Committee on Disarmament, BASIC, Saferworld. QUNOs, QIARs.
- **Child Soldiers and Small Arms:** World Vision, Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, Office of the UN Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict, IANSA, Center for Defense Information.
- **Girl Soldiers:** Arsenal Family and Children's Center, Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, UNICEF.
- **Burundi Trauma Project:** Friends Peace teams, Burundi Yearly Meeting (Quakers).
- **Rwanda Reconciliation Project:** Council on Foreign Relations, International Conflict Resolution Program at Columbia University.
- **Women and Peacebuilding:** International Alert.
- **Civilian Peace Force:** Peaceworkers, Mennonite Central Committee.
- **Burma:** Burma Service Office
- **Iraq Sanctions:** Mennonite Central Committee, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Global Policy Forum, Peace Action International, and Save the Children (UK)
- **"Humanitarian Intervention" issues:** Partner agencies: The World Council of Churches The Lutheran World Federation Office at the UN, FCNL. QUNOs and QIARs: QUNO-Geneva.

Within the International Affairs Network

The project on Girl Soldiers has been a wonderful collaboration with Rachel Brett of QUNO-Geneva, and Von Keairns of the QUNO-NY Committee.

Regional Conflict, Angola: AFSC Southern Africa International Affairs Representative, AFSC Africa Programs staff.

QUNO-NY: Sub-Program on Human Rights and Development

I. FOCAL ISSUES

- Racism
- Sustainable Development
- Youth

II. ACHIEVEMENTS & ASSESSMENT OF IMPACT

Racism Conference At the first Prepcom in Geneva, Lori Heninger, was appointed as an alternate representative of the International NGO Coordinating Committee for the US because of her affiliation with AFSC. She was also appointed to the International NGO Coordinating Committee for international organizations (a different subgroup) because of her affiliation with AFSC and FWCC (they recognized international organizing potential and credibility). QUNO, AFSC and the other members of the US organizing group hosted a successful first meeting for US NGOs around the World Conference at AFSC on June 17, to begin the coalition building process and share information with interested NGOs. Given that this is the first time that most of these NGOs have worked together, it is an exciting time for movement building.

The program is moving forward as scheduled in the Racism Steering Committee meeting. Having the proposal for work approved by the AFSC board is the linchpin in allowing us to go ahead with this work. All staff at QUNO and staff within TWC and AACEP have worked diligently and consistently to bring the proposal to life, to participate in the life of the conference and all that it entails, and to continue the fine work for which they had been hired. Lori's appointment as an interim alternate member of the International NGO Coordinating Committee for the US region has been difficult since QUNO's traditional role is not to lobby governments directly. The racism steering committee has also been struggling to spread the word within AFSC, and maintain transparency.

QUNO's role is currently stronger among NGOs than governments, which is unusual. Given that the secretariat for the World Conference is in Geneva, QUNO has had to re-think its role, and has come up with some interesting and needed pieces of work. We have high hopes for cultivating a network of NGOs to work on racism and discrimination issues internationally (similar to those developed around the Beijing women's Conference.) QUNO will be developing a training "The UN and You", a seminar on what UN policy means to countries and civil society, and how civil society can participate in the policy-making process, both at the UN and through national and local governments. We would like to have a webpage on our site with continually updated information on the World Conference.

International Forum on Forests QUNO-NY work on forests issues over the past represents a significant investment of time and resources in our small office. With so much contentious behavior in UN programs and agencies, QUNO felt it was important to work with this process to maximize the potential for collaborative thinking and eventually decisions that truly represented a genuine consensus. With the establishment of the UNFF as a permanent institution within the UN system, we can validly claim our strategy worked and that QUNO contributed to a successful outcome with potentially good results both in its own right, that forest issues will get the attention they deserve, and as a model for other similar debates around resource issues.

UN Conference on Financing for Development The work has moved along this half-year. Because of the additional work of preparing the proposal for the World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, there was not as much attention focused on this work as I would have liked. The member-states and other stakeholders as described by the UN (the World Bank, the IMF, the WTO, NGOs and private enterprise) have been very slow in coming to