

**PEACEKEEPING AND CIVILIAN PROTECTION:  
ASIA PACIFIC PERSPECTIVES  
JUNE 11, 2009**

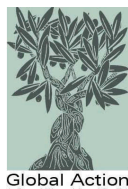
**WORKSHOP REPORT**

**Sponsored by Global Action to Prevent War  
Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies  
Centre for Strategic and International Studies  
The University of Sydney**

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**CENTRE FOR  
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**The University of Sydney**



**Centre for Peace  
and Conflict Studies**



## Report on Peacekeeping and Civilian Protection Convened in Jakarta, Indonesia - June 11 2009

Global Action to Prevent War (GAPW), the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Sydney (Australia) and the Center for Strategic and International Studies (Jakarta, Indonesia) recently conducted a regional workshop on “Peacekeeping and Civilian Protection” in Jakarta.

This workshop explored technical, political and cultural resources and obstacles to enhancing regional and UN peacekeeping and the protection of civilians in conflict.



The one-day workshop brought together over 45 academics, NGOs and UN representatives, senior bureaucrats and military officers from Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines, Australia and the USA. Participants took part in highlighting and assessing civilian protection/human security goals, regional conflict prevention and resolution strategies (including case studies focused on Aceh, Mindanao and Burma), and the feasibility of new peacekeeping capacities such as a UN Emergency Peace Service (UNEPS).

Participants represented different aspects of the civilian protection problem - from conflict prevention policy and peacekeeping operations to development assistance and crisis response. That such a group would give generously of their time and talent to reflect on this issue attests to the frustration caused by our often limited successes in preventing civilian atrocities. But it also signifies a hope that collaborative strategies embracing a full spectrum of preventive and active responses can offer viable solutions to civilians caught in severe violence, and to those who seek to protect and care for them.

While in Jakarta, GAPW presented its new publication, **“Standing for Change in Peacekeeping Operations.”** The publication aims to provide diverse regional perspectives on the need for a UN-based standing capacity such as UNEPS. Over 70 interviews were conducted in Latin America, Africa, North America and South East Asia with senior academics, current and former diplomats, UN and government officials, UN mission staff and experts from leading non-governmental organizations. Research work was undertaken by GAPW staff and by Annie Herro from the Center for Peace and Conflict Studies (CPACS).

## Workshop Summary

Participants argued that the Southeast Asia region has made significant progress towards achieving the goal of best practice peacekeeping and human security, citing examples such as the creation of national peacekeeping centers, human rights provisions in the ASEAN Charter and protection principles incorporated into natural disaster management. Several participants highlighted the importance of capitalizing on such progress to develop and operationalize the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) doctrine with conflict management policies and practices. However, because of political and practical obstacles, it was noted that there is a lack of concrete proposals for mechanisms that would strengthen timely and effective emergency responses to crises in Asia.

Participants made strong arguments that the R2P doctrine must be grounded in extant Asian language(s), values and institutions. While the principles of consensus and non-intervention - cornerstones of the “ASEAN Way” - are still cherished, notions of “common interest” and “coalitions of the willing” are gaining greater traction in the region. Some participants predicted that this evolving ASEAN political culture might consider a tougher stance on renegade member Myanmar and a greater commitment to the protection of civilians in peacekeeping operations.

Several participants were optimistic that ASEAN is moving towards strengthening the norms, practices and mechanisms that facilitate intrastate conflict prevention and resolution in the region via, for example, the ASEAN political and security community blueprint. There was a strong interest in strengthening regional mediation skills to avoid having to go outside the region for this service. One respondent highlighted the need to reform the ASEAN Regional Forum to better enable it to address intrastate conflicts and non-traditional security threats.

There was a consensus regarding the value of mediators in peace processes. The speakers elaborated on some of the desirable characteristics of mediators, such as credibility and sufficient resources to facilitate and implement peace agreements. It was also mentioned that mediators must be careful to avoid “bad tradecraft” including competing agendas among third parties, halfhearted interventions or the incompatibility of conflict prevention and resolution strategies with existing conflict dynamics. Speakers highlighted the importance of the timing of interventions, concluding that successful interventions occur when ideal circumstances are met with the political will to achieve peace. One speaker insisted that we should never think of failure in preventative diplomacy as anything but a temporary setback, as the process can always start again.



Some argued for the need to strengthen regional peacekeeping capacity to respond to conflicts and natural disasters in the region. While some agreed that this should be done through the creation of a regional peacekeeping force, others insisted that building and strengthening national peacekeeping centers and efforts to create a regional peacekeeping center would be more politically viable. As a means to develop a strong regional peacekeeping capacity, a few participants suggested conducting joint exercises on peacekeeping to address the problem of regional interoperability.

Some participants reminded the audience that in 2003, the Indonesian Foreign Ministry proposed an ASEAN regional peacekeeping force as part of the ASEAN security community blueprint. While problems of resources, interoperability and funding led to a premature stall in discussions, there seemed to be overall interest in such regional proposals. This led into a discussion of the practical, cultural and political feasibility of a UN Emergency Peace Service (UNEPS). There was some enthusiasm for the creation of a standing civilian service, though the appetite for a standing service that would have a military component was more tempered. An opening emerged to further explore ideas surrounding a UN-Regional hybrid standing peacekeeping arrangement. Regardless of the organizational framework (UN, regional or both) some argued that without the political will to move forward with such an initiative, the practical and financial questions cannot be successfully addressed. Strengthening prospects for standing peacekeeping tools in Southeast Asia requires champions (including states, organizations and individuals) that possess considerable political capital, and must be conducted in a participatory manner with due regard for the preferences of diverse global regions.

## Opening Addresses

Dr. Robert Zuber, Director of Global Action to Prevent War, highlighted the five key shortcomings of the UN peacekeeping system which, in part, provided the rationale for this workshop: first, the increasing number of operations of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) exacerbated by a growing dependence on expensive, late-arriving, inadequately-trained peacekeepers who are too often used as a substitute for resolute political engagement; second, the failure of governments and the international community to fulfill their responsibility to protect civilian populations from crimes against humanity and other humanitarian disasters; third, the continued lack of early warning and preventive tools that can be mobilized before the onset of severe violence; fourth, the development of new conflict prevention and peacekeeping capacities that fail to take the security needs and expectations of emerging global regions into account; finally, a global public that is growing weary of promises that the UN and regional organizations can provide effective, multilateral security structures that can prevent and halt severe violence against civilian populations.



Dr. Robert Zuber

Dr. Zuber explained that the UNEPS proposal is a potential tool to prevent conflict and respond to gross human rights violations. The UNEPS project is being designed by an international team of experts as a standing capacity under a UN-unified command that could respond rapidly and effectively to crimes against humanity and other complex humanitarian emergencies. It is intended to be a “first in, first out” capacity that could work alongside existing UN and regional peacekeeping operations to stop violence at its earliest stages when diplomatic and preventive efforts have proven unsuccessful.

It would be individually recruited (not burdened by limitations of the troop contributing model) with military, police and civilians to enable peacekeeping and some peace building activities. Dr. Zuber pointed out that although the UNEPS proposal continues to evolve based on political, economic and cultural requirements of emerging global regions, the concerns that motivate and inspire GAPW's global partners remain constant in their civilian protection work.

Dr. Rizal Sukma, the Director of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), opened the workshop by invoking the ASEAN political and security community blueprint as a potential instrument to advance conflict prevention measures and the protection of civilian in peacekeeping.

He referred to a number of provisions within the blueprint that might facilitate this. First, Conflict Prevention Confidence Building Measures, especially the agreement to promote greater transparency among states in the region through, for example, the commitment to develop a so-called Asian Early Warning System to prevent conflict; second, the commitment to Conflict Resolution calls on Asian countries to establish a network of peacekeeping centers to undertake joint planning, training and sharing experience.



Dr. Rizal Sukma

Finally, he noted the continuing absence of concrete ideas for mechanisms to strengthen timely and effective emergency response to crises in Asia

#### **PANEL I: Civilian Protection and Human Security**

**Dr. Mely Cabarelllo-Anthony (Nanyang Technological University), Sarah Teitt (Asia-Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect), Dr. Robert Zuber (Global Action to Prevent War)**

This session addressed the legal and philosophical issues surrounding the protection of civilians (PoC) and human security from a Southeast Asian perspective.

Citing recent statistics on the devastating impact of war on vulnerable groups in Aceh, Mindanao, Southern Thailand, Kashmir and Sri Lanka, Mely Cabarelllo-Anthony, Associate Professor and Head of the Centre for Non-Traditional Security at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore, argued that, despite contrary claims, R2P is germane to Asia.

Sarah Teitt, Director of Advocacy and Outreach at the Asia Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect in Brisbane, Australia, challenged the perception that Southeast Asian states are R2P spoilers by highlighting situations in which the region has supported the R2P agenda, including the region's contribution to civilian protection worldwide. Also noted was Southeast Asian states' tendency to welcome cooperative initiatives, such as capacity-building, that reinforces the clear linkages between building the capacity of states and societies to prevent mass atrocities and supporting economic development.

A representative from the Department of International Relations in University of Bandung echoed recommendations that the R2P agenda should be more focused on freedom from want rather than



freedom from fear (described as “militro-humanitarianism”).

Ambassador Wirjono Sastrohandoyo suggested that the problem with implementing R2P is that it is perceived as the first world scrutinizing the third world. This comes across as lecturing from an allegedly “higher” position and may offend many third world countries. He maintained that sovereignty is all that third world countries have left to ward off unwanted Western influences.

Professor Cabarello-Anthony clarified that when R2P is perceived as an instrument for the strong to use against the weak or as a Trojan horse, it is necessary to clarify what R2P is all about - something scholars in the region have been struggling to convey. She highlighted that R2P encompasses prevention, reaction and rebuilding. The prevention element focuses on human security concerns such as displaced persons and malnutrition. She also noted that the plight of women and children and the abhorrent use of sexual violence as a ‘tactic of war’ are the major challenges in protecting this vulnerable group. Professor Anthony further highlighted new opportunities to advance the human security agenda in the region and pointed out that the debate surrounding the creation of regional peacekeeping forces and regional peace-keeping centers provides a platform on which to advance R2P.



Dr. Mely Cabarello-Anthony,

Ms. Teitt recommended five key areas in which the principle should be conceptualized and applied: one, limiting R2P to the four crimes identified by the World Summit Outcome Document; two, disassociating R2P from any potential expansion of the international community’s scope for coercive interference in the domestic affairs of states beyond the UN Charter; three, international engagement to operationalize R2P should be predicated on the cooperation and consent of the state as far as possible; four, such engagement should proceed with due regard for the attitudes and preferences of relevant regional and sub-regional organizations such as ASEAN and the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) to broaden ownership of the principle; five, in Southeast Asia, this means that R2P should be applied in a manner consistent with the principle of non-interference.

Ong Keng Yong, Ambassador-at-Large, Singapore and former Secretary-General of ASEAN until 2008, highlighted potential policy and linguistic considerations for advancing the R2P agenda in Asia. First, instead of forcing sovereign states to abide by what the developed countries demand (the concept of R2P), Ambassador Ong suggested that it would be more effective to use the provisions of good governance and the rule of law enshrined in the ASEAN Charter, which both older and newer ASEAN members negotiated and agreed upon.



Dr. Mely Cabarello-Anthony, Dr. Rizal Sukma, Sarah Teitt, Dr Robert Zuber

Second, the January 2005 agreement of leaders in Jakarta on disaster management and emergency relief might be extended to cover protection of civilians during conflict. He suggested that the civil-

ian protection norm is facilitated by transnational cooperation and coordination. He used the recent example of ASEAN successfully persuading Myanmar to accept a humanitarian task force after the devastation of Cyclone Nargis to illustrate the ripple effect this had on regional post-disaster management.

Third, Ambassador Ong suggested avoiding the term R2P because it “might be jarring to some people's ears.” He said, “in many Southeast Asian countries, we do many things that you do in the West, but we call it by different names. So we don't have to call it R2P. It can be some other name, but that is our R2P.”

Mr. Kavi Chongkittavorn from the Thai National Commission for UNESCO, said that ASEAN is moving from consensus towards a coalition of the willing, human rights, collective responsibility and decisions that enhance common interests. Similarly, Ambassador Ong argued that the coalition of the willing in ASEAN should begin to change decision-making at the national level in accordance with what is required by the ASEAN Charter. Professor Cabarello-Anthony announced that “we have gone beyond the ASEAN Way,” lending optimism to possibilities that the region might take more concerted efforts with other global partners to enhance human security.

## **PANEL 2: Regional Conflict Prevention & Resolution Strategies**

**Dr. Rizal Panggabean (Peace and Conflict Resolution, UGM), Ambassador Ong Keng Yong (Institute of Policy Studies), Jaime B. Naval (University of the Philippines), Ambassador Wirjono Sastrohandoyo (Center for Strategic and International Studies)**

This session examined norms, practices and mechanisms that hinder or facilitate successful conflict prevention and resolution in the Southeast Asia region.

Senior Fellow at CSIS and former Chief Negotiator for the Indonesian Government with the Aceh autonomy movement, Ambassador Sastrohandoyo Wirjono, observed that conflicting parties seldom talk or negotiate directly; they need a mediator/facilitator to guide the process. Rodzeni Oledan from Initiatives for International Dialogue based in Southern Philippines, acknowledged the importance of mediators but emphasized that there are indigenous ways to settle conflict. Third party mediators, he insisted, should take their cues from local people to solve local conflict.



Dr. Rizal Panggabean, Amb. Ong Keng Yong, Jaime B. Naval, Amb. Wirjono Sastrohandoyo

Mr. Jaime Naval, Professor of Political Science at the University of the Philippines, noted the importance of sincerity in peacemaking efforts, suggesting that initiatives to settle a conflict must be meaningful, relevant and substantive. Building credibility, he insisted, is crucial to the process of



addressing actual or potential conflicts.

Dr. Rizal Panggabean, Head of the Postgraduate Program in Peace and Conflict Resolution at UGM, cautioned that it is especially important, in a region with a strong norm of non-interference, to avoid “bad tradecraft,” including flawed third-party intervention strategies, that may jeopardize conflict resolution. Bad tradecraft may result from competing agendas among third parties, half-hearted intervention, or the incompatibility of conflict prevention and resolution strategies with the conflict dynamics.

Dr. Panggabean further noted that ASEAN must understand at which stage in a conflict a particular third party should be involved. He believes the peace process was successful in Aceh because third parties had the capacity to facilitate and implement the peace agreement and provide safe corridors for humanitarian aid workers to assist civilians. He articulated the importance of developing regional mediation skills to avoid having to go outside the region for this service.

Both Ambassador Wirjono and Mr. Naval noted the effect that natural calamities can have on the



Johann Aufderlamm, Leena Ghosh, Amb. Wirjono Sastrohandoyo

quality of responses to conflict, particularly on the leading protagonists. Naval pointed out that “disaster diplomacy” has its limits, but it also provides openings to compel contending parties to reconsider staunchly ideological positions and allow degrees of accommodation. While the tsunami of December 2004 seemed to have expedited the peace process in Aceh, last year’s Cyclone Nargis laid bare the predispositions of the Myanmar government to consent to a regional intervention. The situation in Myanmar has not developed into a very

hopeful one, despite its natural crisis, noted Naval. But Myanmar can still be compelled to bend its policies.

Ambassador Wirjono expressed his frustration with the ARF’s failure to move beyond confidence-building (albeit a crucial ingredient in conflict management) and into the practice of Preventive Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution. He suggested the ARF should develop new approaches that can effectively address intrastate conflicts affecting the stability of the Asia-Pacific region. According to Ambassador Wirjono, the processes of the Forum have not built sufficient trust between and among participants to levels envisioned at its inception.

The ARF is perfectly capable of adapting to new situations, as has been demonstrated by its response to such non-traditional threats to regional security as transnational crime and outbreaks of contagious diseases like SARS and Avian Influenza. He specifically suggested that the ARF needs a liaison between its negotiating bodies and its field operations to guarantee full implementation and execution of its decisions.

Mr. Naval called attention to the fact that while international pressure can wield considerable im-

pact on the protagonists, it normally does so only after the problem has reached a disastrous state and prevention can no longer be considered an option. He advised that a very important aspect of prevention is to draw on lessons learned from situations beyond our region: asking what went wrong, what went right, what could have been improved, etc. As an example Naval referred to the still unsettled dispute in the South China Sea (Spratlys issue), where claimant states continue to assert their positions. Contrasting it with Myanmar, Naval wants us to study why this dispute has not reached the level of violent conflict. Ambassador Wirjono added that it is also important for those involved in preventative diplomacy not to get discouraged. He insisted that we should never think of failure in preventative diplomacy as final, as the process can always start again. There is no perfect peace agreement, Ambassador Wirjono tells us, so we must be willing to achieve the imperfect. From there, at least, we can create a better situation still.

In response to a question about the most important norm in the region, the speakers gave different answers: Mr Naval suggested the avoidance of conflict and settling disputes by peaceful means enshrined in the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation; Dr. Panggabean suggested that while the norm of non-intervention is the most important and most discussed, other norms are developing - such as refraining from using or developing nuclear weapons, providing humanitarian assistance, and understanding sovereignty as involving a responsibility to protect; and Ambassador Wirjono suggested the agreement made by ASEAN members on managing disasters reflects a responsibility of ASEAN members to their populations and bears the potential to be taken to the next level—the protection of civilians in conflict.

### **Panel 3: Prospects of Regional Peacekeeping: UN, Regional Organizations and States' Perspectives**

**Kavitha Suthanthiraraj (Global Action to Prevent War), Prof. Dr. Dewi Fortuna Anwar (Indonesian Institute of Science, LIPI), Lt. Col. Rodon Pedrason (Indonesia National Defense Forces), Fikry Cassidy (Dept. of Foreign Affairs)**

This session examined some of the challenges and opportunities facing the regionalization of peacekeeping and the UN Emergency Peace Service proposal.

A regional peacekeeping force might be one way to prevent and resolve conflicts in Southeast Asia and strengthen the protection of civilians in conflict. Prof. Dr. Dewi Fortuna Anwar, Deputy Chairman for Social Sciences and Humanities, LIPI, argued that the December 2004 Tsunami highlighted the region's lack of response capacity, which raised questions among members about the utility of ASEAN. She argued the need to change the paradigm whereby members are resistant to conducting ASEAN-wide exercises.

Professor Anwar reminded the audience that in 2003, the Indonesian Foreign Ministry proposed an ASEAN regional peacekeeping force as part of the ASEAN security community blueprint. While former Indonesian President Habibie attempted to generate a regional intervention force in East Timor, neighboring states were eager to assist but lacked the capacity to do so. This resulted in a nationalistic backlash against the introduction of the Australian-led multinational



Prof. Dr. Dewi Fortuna Anwar

forces in East Timor and generated renewed interest in creating an indigenous ASEAN regional peacekeeping capacity.

Professor Anwar noted that the proposal for a regional peacekeeping force was considered premature because of technical concerns such as leadership issues, funding and basing. Dr. Sukma responded that until there is strong agreement to create a regional peacekeeping force, it will be difficult to overcome the problem of resources, interoperability, equipment and skills. Similarly, Dr. Zuber mentioned that his consultations with military officers from the UN revealed that there would be no impossible logistical issues that would prevent developing and operating a tool like UNEPS, provided there is the potential will to resolve them.

Mr. Johana Aufderklamen, from the International Committee of the Red Cross, Malaysia, highlighted the blurring of lines between the work that humanitarian organizations do and the work that the military does in a disaster zone. Mr. Fikry Cassidy, Deputy Director for International Security and Disarmament, Department of Foreign Affairs, noted that the creation of a national peacekeeping centre with military, police and civilian components would create a more coordinated approach in this regard. Professor Anthony argued that the importance of civil society organizations in responding to conflict cannot be overstated. In Southeast Asia, civil society groups are actively involved in the management of conflict, providing prompt and effective protection when states are unable to do so. Dr. Sukma noted the need to maximize the role NGOs play in ASEAN in mediating conflict.

Lt. Col. Rodon Pedrason, Head of Sub-Directorate for Analysis and Evaluation, Peacekeeping Centre, Indonesia National Defense Forces, explored from an Indonesian perspective the financial and operational obstacles facing the creation of a regional peacekeeping service. He stated that such a service would require a mission leader operating under a robust mandate and with strong political support, good civil-military coordination/cooperation with a common language that civilians can understand, and training for logisticians and planners that is consistent with UN standards.



Kavitha Suthanthiraraj, Prof. Dr. Dewi Fortuna Anwar, Lt. Col. Rodon Pedrason, Fikry Cassidy

He noted, however, that some essential components in Indonesia are lacking: interoperability between ASEAN members' respective militaries; competent personnel, adequate facilities and equipment at the Peacekeeping Centre; and effective civilian-military coordination. Dr. Sukma noted that the absence of ASEAN-wide joint exercises on peacekeeping and the gap in defense capabilities among ASEAN members presents further difficulties to the creation of a regional peacekeeping force. To respond to some of the problems facing peacekeeping, Lt. Col. Pedrason encouraged the development of a Peacekeeping Centre Network that shares information and personnel among ASEAN peacekeeping centres. He also recommended developing a "soft loan" policy to help certain countries with limited capacities to join a proposed regional peacekeeping service.

Despite the obstacles, Mr. Cassidy argued that the significant contributions of ASEAN members—especially Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand—already made to international peacekeeping operations provide an opportunity to embrace the concept of an ASEAN peacekeeping capacity, including a regional peacekeeping center. He also noted that there are several examples of ASEAN countries inviting other states in Southeast Asia to assist in managing internal unrest, which reveals an interest in, and comfort surrounding, regional responses to conflict.

Based on a joint international study on the development of a UNEPS proposal, Kavitha Suthanthiraraj, the International Coordinator from Global Action to Prevent War in New York, noted that her research has revealed some respondents' concerns over regional responses to a conflict due to the fear that regional players often have mixed motivations for involvement in peacekeeping operations. Ms. Suthanthiraraj noted that there are roles for both regional and UN mechanisms to prevent conflict and that both options for limited standing peacekeeping capacities should be explored.

Ms. Suthanthiraraj explained that the greatest impediment to establishing rapid response standing capacity is the difficulty of mobilizing sufficient political will. Second, there is a fear of neo-imperialist influence of a reform proposal dominated by the US or another developed nation. Third, there are concerns regarding the Security Council as the potential authorization body for a UNEPS. The issue of political will interlinks with concerns about the Security Council and its role as the central authorizing body. She highlighted secondary authorization options (General Assembly, Secretary General and regional bodies), yet still placed primary responsibility on the Security Council. Fourth, the language used to describe standing capacities such as UNEPS emerged as another key consideration, with many affirming the view of situating UNEPS on the prevention end of the security spectrum rather than on the reactive end.

Annie Herro, of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, explained that her research into the political and cultural feasibility of a UNEPS revealed an interest in the creation of a standing UN-regional hybrid arrangement. This model would consist of, and be led by, a coalition of states from the Asia-Pacific region. It would also enjoy the support of the UN through best practice peacekeeping training, and enjoy the legitimacy and legality of the organization's endorsement of peace operations. There were various perspectives on funding such an arrangement, with some arguing it should come from a pivotal state in the region and others insisting that it should be the responsibility of a regional organization like ASEAN. Mr. Cassidy in particular expressed an interest in exploring UN-regional partnerships in peacekeeping.



Annie Herro



Ms. Suthanthiraraj's research suggests that while concerns regarding the appropriate role of military remain, most of her respondents acknowledged that marrying civilian capacity with highly trained, gender-mainstreamed military components is critical for the credibility and effectiveness of any standing tool such as UNEPS. Professor Anwar raised a legal question about what would happen if members of the Indonesian military serve in a supra-national organization like the UN, since Indonesian soldiers would currently be forced to forfeit citizenship if they served in the military of another country.

Mr. Cassidy also noted that there could be support among countries in the Peacebuilding Commission to create a standing capacity for civilian protection. Ms. Suthanthiraraj revealed that her interviews show that given the reluctance to empower the UN with a standing peacekeeping service with military capabilities, other models that are less militaristic and place great control of armed forces in the hands of member states should also be considered.

Ambassador Ong pointed out that the nature of international diplomacy requires that we make time to talk and consult. While ASEAN was not constructed to deal with peacekeeping issues, the world has changed. Some members will support a change in direction on peacekeeping, some will be reluctant, and some will be absolutely opposed to it. He suggested that we must proceed using the ASEAN Way—not to be “in your face.” But he wondered: how many people will die before changes in civilian protection actually happen?

## **Conclusion**

As part of the multiple expressions of gratitude extended to organizers and participants at the end of the workshop, Dr. Zuber reminded everyone of the diverse but complementary locations and contexts they represented within this broad examination of civilian protection issues and strategies. From journalists who cover war zones and relief workers who provide humanitarian aid, to skilled negotiators in conflict-torn regions and soldiers sorting out and separating combatants within limited and often unclear mandates, the task of protecting civilians is challenging and multi-dimensional.

More than ever, there is a need for people on all ends of the civilian protection issue to 'tithe' some of their personal and organizational resources to the larger movement for civilian protection, to do more to promote bonds of solidarity and understanding with other civilian protection stakeholders. That development, conflict resolution and relief professionals took the time to come and listen to panels made up largely of military and foreign affairs experts is a compliment that should be returned in kind. Strategies and practices aimed at protecting women, children and other non-combatants can succeed best when all parts of the civilian protection spectrum are working together.

Global Action will be conducting further workshops on Peacekeeping and Civilian Protection in Latin America and Africa and will consolidate outcomes into a longer working paper. Global Action and the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies will also continue our dialogue with partners in Asia through interviews, workshops and other regional consultations to continue the important work on civilian protection and the development of tools such as a UN standing peacekeeping capacity.





## PROGRAM

*Registration, 9:30 am*

### **Welcome and Opening Address (10:00 am)**

**Welcome: Dr. Rizal Sukma**, Executive Director CSIS

**Introduction: Dr. Robert Zuber**, Director of the UNEPS Initiative

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### **Panel One: Civilian Protection and Human Security (10:45 am – 12:00 pm)**

This session addresses the legal and philosophical issues surrounding the protection of civilians (PoC) and human security from both an international and Southeast Asian perspective.

- To what extent are international standards for civilian protection, including R2P, in harmony with regional security needs and expectations?
- What is the most effective language we should use to communicate ideas about strengthening civilian protection and human security in international and regional forums?

**Chair:** **Dr. Robert Zuber**, Director of the UNEPS Initiative

**Panelists:** **Dr. Mely Cabarelo-Anthony**, Associate Professor and Head, Centre for NTS Studies, Secretary-General, NTS-Asia, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

**Ms. Sarah Teitt**, Director of Advocacy and Outreach, Program Leader - China, Asia-Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, Australia

### **Lunch (12:00—1 pm)**

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### **Panel Two: Regional Conflict Prevention and Resolution Strategies (1 pm – 2:30 pm)**

This session examines norms, practices and mechanisms that hinder or facilitate successful conflict prevention and resolution in the Southeast Asia region.

- What are examples of effective regional norms and mechanisms to prevent conflict?
- What are examples of effective regional norms and mechanisms to resolve conflict?
- How would you assess efforts to foster peace and security in the region (eg. Aceh, Myanmar, Philippines)? What have we learned from these efforts?

**Chair:** **Amb. Ong Keng Yong**, Director, Institute of Policy Studies, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National and Former Secretary General of ASEAN

**Panelists:** **Amb. Wirjono Sastrohandoyo**, Former Indonesia's Permanent Rep. to the United Nations and Senior Fellow of CSIS

**Mr. Jaime B. Naval**, Assistant Professor at the Political Science Department, University of the Philippines, Philippines

**Dr. Rizal Panggabean**, Head of Postgraduate Program in Peace and Conflict Resolution, UGM

*Break, 2:30 pm - 3pm*

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**Panel Three: Prospects for New Peacekeeping Capacities: Perspectives from the UN, Regional Organizations and States (3pm – 5pm)**

This session addresses the regionalization of peacekeeping and efforts at the UN and regional levels to create standing, rapid-response peacekeeping capacity.

- Explore the challenges and opportunities of creating a regional peacekeeping service.
- What are some of the reactions of regional and global diplomats and policymakers to the idea of developing standing, rapid-response peacekeeping based at the UN?

**Chair:** **Prof.Dr. Dewi Fortuna Anwar**, Deputy Director for Social Sciences and Humanities, LIPI

**Panelists:** **Mr. Fikry Cassidy**, Deputy Director for Int. Security and Disarmament, Dept. of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia

**Lt. Col. Rodon Pedrason, M.A.**, Head of Sub-Directorate for Analysis and Evaluation, Peacekeeping Centre, Indonesia National Defense Forces

**Ms. Kavitha Suthanthiraraj**, International Coordinator, Global Action to Prevent War

**Closing Remarks, 5pm**

## SPEAKER AND MODERATOR BIOGRAPHY

**Rizal Sukma** is currently Executive Director at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Jakarta. He received a Ph.D. degree in International Relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), United Kingdom, in 1997. He is also the Chairman of International Relations Division, Central Executive Board of Muhammadiyah (second largest Islamic organisation in Indonesia with approximately 25 millions members); member of the board at Syafii Maarif Institute for Culture and Humanity; and visiting lecturer at Department of International Relations, Muhammadiyah University at Malang. He has also served as a member of the National Committee on Strategic Defense Review, Indonesia's Ministry of Defence, and member of the Drafting Committee on National Defense Bill (2000-2002). Dr. Sukma has worked extensively on Southeast Asia's Security Issues, ASEAN, Indonesia's Defence and Foreign Policy, and Domestic Political Changes in Indonesia. In July 2005, he was awarded the Nakasone Award for his contribution in promoting international security cooperation, the first Indonesian to receive the Award.

**Robert Zuber** is based in Harlem, New York City and currently serves as director of the project for a United Nations Emergency Peace Service and director of organizational development for Global Action to Prevent War. Educated at Yale and Columbia universities, Dr. Zuber has served as an instructor, fundraiser, organizational consultant, director or board member for dozens of educational, peace, human rights, media, environmental and religious non-profit organizations, including Green Map System, the Center for International Media Action, the Polluted Places initiative, the Center for the Study of Science and Religion at Columbia University, the World Order Models Project, and New York Theological Seminary. He has organized conferences, produced articles and other materials, and made presentations in many countries on peacekeeping, human rights, educational and environmental themes.

**Mely Caballero-Anthony** is an Associate Professor at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Singapore and Head of the RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies. Her research interests include regionalism and regional security in Asia Pacific, multilateral security cooperation, politics and international relations in ASEAN, conflict prevention and management, as well as human security. She has published extensively on a broad-range of security issues in Asia Pacific which appeared in peer-reviewed journals such as *Journal of International Affairs*, *Asian Survey*, *Asian Security*, *Asian Perspective*, *International Peacekeeping*, *Pacific Review*, *Southeast Asian Affairs*, and *Contemporary Southeast Asia*; as well as a number of book chapters on non-traditional security issues, human security, think-tanks and civil society. Dr Anthony is also on the editorial board of the *Pacific Review* as well as the newly established journal *Global Responsibility to Protect* (GR2P).

**Sarah Teitt** is a PhD candidate at the University of Queensland researching China's position on matters related to the Responsibility to Protect. She has an MA in Peace and Conflict Resolution (University of Queensland, 2006) and a BA in International Relations with a concentration in East Asian Studies (Roanoke College, 2002). Sarah has lived in and traveled extensively through China, and has studied at Zhejiang University, Hangzhou and Beijing Language and Culture University, Beijing. Her research interests include China's foreign policy in relation to conflict and humanitarian crises in the Asia-Pacific region and Africa, as well as China's contribution to UN peacekeeping and role in the Security Council. She is currently the Director of Advocacy and Outreach/ Program Leader for China in Asia-Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, Australia.



## SPEAKER AND MODERATOR BIOGRAPHY

**Ong Keng Yong** is Director of the Institute of Policy Studies in the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore. He is concurrently Ambassador-At-Large in the Singapore Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Singapore's Non-Resident Ambassador to Iran. He was Secretary-General of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) from January 2003 to January 2008. His diplomatic postings took him to Saudi Arabia, Malaysia and the USA. He was Singapore's Ambassador to India and Nepal from 1996-1998. He was appointed Press Secretary to the Prime Minister of Singapore and concurrently held senior positions in the Ministry of Information, Communications and the Arts, and the People's Association in Singapore from 1998-2002. He is a graduate of the University of Singapore and Georgetown University (Washington DC, USA).

**Wirjono Sastrohandoyo** was Director-General of Political Affairs in Indonesia's Department of Foreign Affairs from 1990-1993. He has served as Indonesia's Ambassador to Australia, France and Austria, and as Permanent Representative to the United Nations Office in Vienna. He was the Chief Negotiator for the Indonesian Government with the Aceh autonomy movement, and served on the Board of Governors for the IAEA. Ambassador Wirjono is currently a Senior Fellow at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Jakarta, Governor for Indonesia in the Asia-Europe Foundation, and a Governor for the Indonesian Institute for Peace and Democracy.

**Jaime B. Naval** is a tenured faculty member at the Department of Political Science, University of the Philippines-Diliman. Prior to his stint at UP, Jaime was career officer at the National Security Council-Office of the Philippine President. Jaime has represented the country in a number of conferences on matters relating to public policy, international affairs and strategic studies. At UP Diliman, Jaime teaches introductory social sciences, citizenship and volunteerism, policy and political dynamics courses, and comparative government and politics courses. He earned his undergraduate degree from UP Diliman and his master's in public policy under a Temasek scholarship from the National University of Singapore-Harvard Institute for International Development. He was one of the 18 Fulbright fellows in the competitive 2006 winter cycle on national security and decisionmaking in the United States. In May 2008, he was invited to participate as a fellow in the East-West Center's Asian Studies Development Program.

**Rizal Panggabean** previously worked with the WHO in implementing Health as a Bridge for Peace (HBP) programs in Indonesia, namely in Maluku and North Maluku (2000-2002) and Aceh (2002-2003). He also worked with teachers and communities in post-tsunami Aceh (2005-2007) in the education sector. In addition, he worked with regional police in Indonesia, including Papua, Maluku, Central Sulawesi, and Aceh (2001-2008). Now he is working on a multi-year research project (funded by the Ford Foundation) on ethnic conflict and peace in six cities of Indonesia (Solo, Yogyakarta, Ambon, Manado, Poso and Palu). In cooperation with the Asia Foundation, he directed a multiyear project on protecting religious freedom in Indonesia (2008-2011). He graduated from Gadjah Mada University, undertook his Masters at George Mason University and his doctoral program at Gadjah Mada University. He is also a director of the Master Program in Peace and Conflict Resolution, Gadjah Mada University.



## SPEAKER AND MODERATOR BIOGRAPHY

**Dewi Fortuna Anwar** is the Director for Program and Research at The Habibie Center, Research Professor and Deputy Chairman for Social Sciences and Humanities at The Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), and a member of the Board of Directors of CIDES (Center for Information and Development Studies). She was C.V. Starr Distinguished Visiting Professor in Southeast Asian Studies at the SAIS (Johns Hopkins University) in Washington D.C. from January to May 2007. Dr Anwar briefly held the position of Assistant to the Vice President for Global Affairs (May-July 1998) and that of Assistant Minister/State Secretary for Foreign Affairs (August 1998-November 1999), during the Habibie administration. Dr Anwar had worked as a Research Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore (1989) and as a Congressional Fellow at the US Congress in Washington D.C. (1990-1991). Dr Anwar is a Member of the International Council, the Asia Society, New York, a Board Member of The Asia Australia Institute in Sydney, a member of the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission (WMDC), based in Stockholm, and a member of the International Advisory Board of the Asia-Pacific College of Diplomacy, ANU, Australia.

**Fikry Cassidy** is the Deputy Director for International Security and Disarmament, Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

**Rodon Pedrason** currently serves as the Head of Sub-Directorate for Analysis and Evaluation, Peacekeeping Centre, Indonesian National Defense Forces (INDF). He has worked as an Analyst for Peacekeeping Operation in INDF since 2007 until present. He served as Lecturer in INDF Peacekeeping Centre in preparing personnel, equipment and formatting the Organisation for Peacekeeping Operation (2008) and Peace Support Operation Instructor Course and Lecturer in Code of Conduct in UN Mission (2009). In 2001-2002, he was the Operation International Relation Officer for Opposite Parties in JMC for the UN Mission in Congo (MONUC). He graduated with a diploma from the Military Academy in 1989 and then later received his Masters degree in Security and Strategies Studies, Department of Politics, University of Hull, United Kingdom in 1998.

**Kavitha Suthanthiraraj** currently serves as the International Coordinator for Global Action to Prevent War (GAPW). She has undertaken research and advocacy work in GAPW program areas including: women, peace and security and most recently on UN Peacekeeping with a publication “Standing for Change in Peacekeeping Operations”. Kavitha is an executive and founding board member of an NGO focusing its work in the South Asian Region; she also undertook extensive field work and research in India and Sri-Lanka. Kavitha also has experience working at corporate foundations and collaborating with non profits on fundraising/advocacy and sponsorship programs. Further, she has worked in media/PR/Marketing in the profit and non profit sector. Kavitha is also a performing artist who through the expression of dance has been involved in extensive community and grass root programs.

**Annie Herro** started at the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (CPACS) in July 2007 as a researcher on the United Nations Emergency Peace Service research and advocacy project. Before joining CPACS, she worked as consultant in the Global Policy Section of UNICEF in New York. Annie has also worked on human rights-related projects for local and international NGOs in Sydney, New York and Madras. She holds Masters Degrees in human rights from Columbia University and peace and conflict studies from the University of Sydney. Annie is a PhD candidate at CPACS. Her PhD examines the development of the United Nations Emergency Peace Service proposal across cultural, political and historical differences in Southeast Asia.

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## ASIA-GLOBAL ACTION ACTIVITIES

### Philippines and Japan

One of the benefits of working within a broad mandate and with an even broader range of partner interests is that we are involved in diverse conversations that link more traditional disarmament concerns with expertise in sustainable community development, conflict prevention, women's leadership and other issues. These linkages make us better able both to represent the social dimensions of disarmament and to support diverse activities not necessarily related directly to our program priorities but that help improve prospects for a more peaceful world.

This diversity was very much in evidence during our Asia trip. In Japan, key UNEPS partners Senator Tadashi Inuzuka and Mr. Takahiro Katsumi held a dinner for select members of the Japanese Diet to discuss strategies for pushing UNEPS forward within the Japanese government. The conversation highlighted many opportunities but also raised objections to our proposal related to budgeting, authorization, basing and more, with a general sense by meeting's end that UNEPS is necessary, cost effective and politically viable.

We also had a good session with directors and senior staff at Soka Gakkai International where we explored opportunities for further collaboration (on women's leadership, climate and conflict, and youth development) both with SGI in Tokyo and with Hiro Sakurai and SGI's office at the United Nations. We had an especially fruitful discussion with the young directors of SGI's Youth Peace Conference about ways to motivate more youth involvement in and leadership of global disarmament efforts. Finally, we held a hopeful exchange with Rie Nakamura and her partners at Crossfit (Tokyo) about their asset mapping and community organizing project in Yokohama City focused on education and child care, health care facilities, environmental health and other key 'culture of peace' indicators.

In the Philippines, we were greatly assisted by our colleagues Susan May Granada with the Initiatives for International Dialogue and Professors Toh, Swee-Hin and Virginia Floresca Cawagas, now with the University for Peace in Costa Rica, who introduced us to an array of conflict prevention, mediation and sustainability advocates. Among the highlights were a meeting at the Gaston Z. Ortigas Peace Institute at Ateneo University in Manila with a group of academics and activists who are deeply involved in supporting peace negotiations in Mindanao between the Philippines government, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, and other stakeholders.

We also met with a priest and others who had recently escaped from the Jaffna region during the recent humanitarian emergency in Sri Lanka. This gave us an opportunity to hear more about the human tragedies that were unfolding during that time but also to share our own advocacy work on Sri Lanka and to discuss ways to build more effective partnerships between UN-based policy advocates and people situated in the midst of compelling human need.

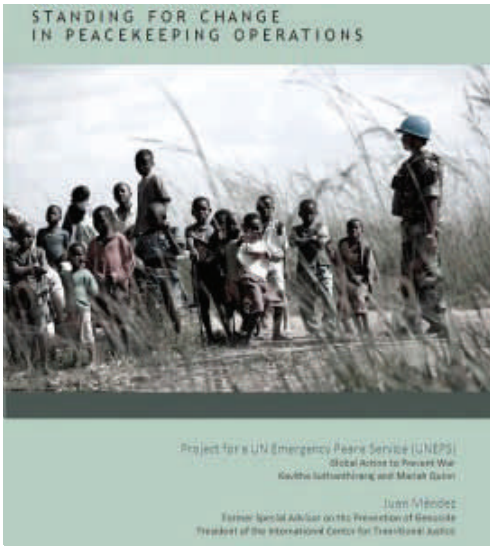
Our Asian visits provided further insight into the hopeful activities taking place in many parts of the world, activities that are linking issues and concerns, building and sharing skills, and inspiring meaningful change. There is indeed a 'global action' to prevent war and build a culture of peace from which we can learn much and to which we can continually contribute.

## STANDING FOR CHANGE IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

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### Standing for Change in Peacekeeping Operations

Global Action presented its new publication during the workshop on Peacekeeping and Civilians Protection in Jakarta, Indonesia in June 2009.



The aim of this publication is to provide diverse regional perspectives on the need for UN-based standing capacity such as UNEPS. Over 70 interviews were conducted in Latin America, Africa, North America and South East Asia with senior academics, current and former diplomats, UN and government officials, UN mission staff and experts from leading non-governmental organizations. Research work was undertaken by GAPW staff and by Annie Herro from the Center for Peace and Conflict Studies (CPACS) at the University of Sydney.

Juan Mendes, former Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide, made an important contribution to the publication, providing an analysis of challenges to the prevention of genocide based on his 32 months of experience inside the UN.

This volume represents a new stage in the evolution of the United Nations Emergency Peace Service (UNEPS) project. Focusing on diverse regional perspectives, key recommendations have been incorporated to help refine the UNEPS proposal, push forward the standing capacity agenda and ensure that UN peacekeeping can respond effectively to the humanitarian and security emergencies for which it is ultimately held accountable.

To obtain a copy of this publication visit [www.globalactionpw.org](http://www.globalactionpw.org) or contact Global Action at [www.coordinator@globalactionpw.org](mailto:www.coordinator@globalactionpw.org)



### Global Action to Prevent War

Global Action to Prevent War (GAPW) is a transnational network dedicated to reducing global levels of conflict and to removing impediments to preventing armed conflict and human rights violations.

The organization focuses on three programmatic areas towards achieving this goal:

*Promotion of Standing Peacekeeping Capacity – UN Emergency Peace Service (UNEPS)* - the need for timely, effective and responsive peacekeeping to protect civilians led GAPW with a group of international experts to develop the UNEPS proposal. UNEPS would be a standing, service-integrated, complementary capacity, under a unified command structure, that can respond rapidly and effectively to gross human rights violations. UNEPS is intended as a 'first-in, first-out' service that works in tandem with existing UN and regional peacekeeping operations. Its individually-recruited personnel would receive the highest levels of training, including respect for human rights and sensitivity to gender perspectives and cultural differences.

*Women, Peace and Security* – Global Action, in partnership with the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, works to ensure the full and rapid implementation of Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 and advocates for the participation of women in all aspects peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peace-building.

*Conventional Disarmament* - Global Action works with the UN Office of Disarmament Affairs and key NGO leaders in advocating for negotiation of deep cuts in conventional (non-nuclear) forces and in conventional arms production.

The organizational head office is based in New York, with a majority of its advocacy and policy positions targeted at the UN and government missions. For more program details visit [www.globalactionpw.org](http://www.globalactionpw.org)

### Center for Peace and Conflict Studies (CPACS) –University of Sydney

The Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies was established in May 1988 as a specialist research and teaching centre within The University of Sydney.

CPACS promotes interdisciplinary research and teaching on the causes of conflict and the conditions that affect conflict resolution and peace. Research projects and other activities focus on conflict resolution with a view to attaining peace with justice.

The Centre aims to facilitate dialogue between individuals, groups or communities who are concerned with conditions of positive peace, whether in interpersonal relationships, community relations, within organisations and nations, or with reference to international relations.

## ORGANIZATIONAL DETAILS

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### The Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

The Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Jakarta is an independent, non-profit organization focusing on policy-oriented studies on domestic and international issues. It was established in 1971.

CSIS's mission is to contribute to improved policy making through policy-oriented research, dialogue, and public debate. This is based on the belief that long-term planning and vision for Indonesia and the region must be based on an in-depth understanding of economic, political and social issues including regional and international developments. CSIS research and studies are channeled in various forms as independent input to government, universities and research institutions, civil society organizations, media, and business.

CSIS undertakes research in economics, politics and social change, and international relations, with topics selected on the basis of their relevance to public policy. Inter-disciplinary studies are encouraged. In the area of foreign policy CSIS's research is complemented and strengthened by its relations with an extensive network of research, academic, and other organizations worldwide.

Special thanks to the following individuals for contributing to the development and execution of this workshop: Annie Herro, Bob Zuber, Kavitha Suthanthiraraj, Lina Alexandra, Dr Rizal Sukma, Stuart Rees, Brendan Doneghy, Caroline Pradier and Mariah Quinn

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Workshop report compiled by Annie Herro, Brendan Doneghy, Kavitha Suthanthiraraj, Muireann Mageras and Robert Zuber.



