

"With Objectivity, Not Indifference"

CONFLICTS NEGOTIATIONS

**Published by the International Center on
Conflict and Negotiation**



ICCN

Issue No. 5 (17), Autumn 1997

***This Publication is supported by
the John D. and Catherine T.
MacArthur Foundation.***

Conflicts & Negotiations are distributed free of charge with priority made for the subscribers. Subscription to C&N is possible through contacting the Eds at the addresses below.

ICCN is located at the following address:

**16 Chavchavadze Avenue, Entry 3, 1st Floor
Tbilisi 380079, Georgia.**

Mailing Address:

P.O.Box 38

Tbilisi 380079

Georgia

Phone: (995)-32-223618

Fax/Tel.: (995)-32-939178

**E-mail: iccn@access.sanet.ge
confpro@access.sanet.ge**

For Internet Users:

We are on the World Wide Web!

Explore Our Web Site at:

<http://members.tripod.com/~iccn>

<http://www.chat.ru/~iccn>

Where You Can Find

- **Latest Issus of Our Bulletin
Conflicts & Negotiations**
- **Calendar of Events with ICCN
Participation**
- **Map of the Conflict Zones in the
Caucasus Region**
- **The list of ICCN publications**
- **The Culturogram'97 Georgia**

Copyright © 1997 by ICCN. All rights reserved

SUMMARY

Help Yourself For Europe

To Help You 4

United Caucasus:

Reality And Prospect 7

State Begins With Borders 8

Caspian Oil:

Economics + Politics 11

NATO Today 13

“Nationalism Rules The World” 18

Conflict Resolution Training

Programme in Georgia 19

Georgian-Abkhazian

Meeting in Yerevan 21

“Lady Peace-Maker“:

Deborah Welsh 23

Johan Galtung:

**“Creative approach to
conflicts is necessary . . .” 24**

International Training Centre

KURVE-Wustrof 26

***Views expressed in the articles are
not necessarily shared by the editors.***

***Reprinting of materials only upon
written permission from Editor.***

• Conference

Help Yourself For Europe To Help You

George Khutsishvili answers C&N's questions

C&N: Why did the European Parliament convene such representative conference?

A series of important meetings and conferences took place in Brussels in the first half of October 1997. I was invited to the conference that was organised by the European Commission and European Parliament. The European Initiative for Democracy Conference was opened by Mrs. Hoff, Vice president of Vice President. Mr. Zurab Zhvania, Chairman of the Georgian Parliament made a keynote address at the conference. The report aroused great interest mostly because it summed up the experience of Georgia as a post-Soviet state building democratic society and focused on the main problems facing any post-Soviet state in building democracy and eliminating the legacy of the totalitarian system.

The purpose of the conference, which was held in the main building of the European Parliament on October 2-4, was to assess the efficiency of the TACIS and PHARE Democracy programmes. TACIS and PHARE are the European Commission's two major programmes designed to support works and projects aimed at building democratic institutions and promoting democratic reforms in the post-Soviet states and former communist countries of Eastern Europe. Delegations from the post-Soviet and East European countries participated in the conference, as well as representatives of West European states since both the TACIS and PHARE operation was being assessed (TACIS is designed for East European countries and former Soviet Union while PHARE embraces Western Europe). Despite criticism, the participants in the conference recognised the programmes' importance and capacity to render great assistance to non-governmental organisations. They believe that NGOs, which are not funded from state budgets, play an important, even key role in building democracy in the post-Soviet and post-communist states, so, financial and consulting support should be provided to them.

C&N: What other events took place in Brussels at that time?

Two important conferences were held in the NATO headquarters in Brussels and in the



The Georgian delegation (left to right: George Khutsishvili, Ghia Nodia, George Kobakhidze, Kakha Chitaia, Zurab Abashidze, Zurab Nogaideli)

Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) in Mons (thirty minutes' journey from Brussels). Besides me, Professor Alexander Rondeli, Director of the Centre for Foreign Policy Analysis at the Georgian Foreign Ministry, and Ms. Ada Marshania, Member of the Georgian parliament and a well-known figure in the field of the Abkhaz and other ethnic problems, participated in the conferences and a briefing.

The meetings at the NATO headquarters had two aspects: first, the concluding conference of the programme "Integration and Disintegration in the Former Soviet Union: Effect on Regional and Global Security" sponsored by Brown University (Providence, Rhode Island, USA) with its project based in the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies (named after the famous creator of IBM computers). This project lasted for two years and the post-Soviet security research programme came up with four scenarios of post-Soviet development: "Reintegration under Russian Domination", "Unregulated Disintegration", "Regulated Co-operative Integration" and "Co-operative Independence". The program studies popularity and probabilities of implementation of each of the said scenarios. The programme included five post-Soviet states (Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Ukraine and Georgia). I was the coordinator of the programme



At the entrance of the headquarter of NATO Program "Partnership for Peace" in Monse (Alexander Rondeli, Ada Marshania, Levan Sikharulidze, George Khutsishvili).

me in Georgia, and during those two years, we met with the other coordinators in one of the European countries or in the USA to exchange information collected in the course of the studies. The concluding conference held in the NATO headquarters was interesting because NATO invited the post-Soviet coordinators and representatives from the Brown University to jointly discuss the problems of post-Soviet security and thye results the programme

came up with. This fact indicates an importance attached to operation of the programme. The United States was represented at the conference by Professor Terry Hopmann, Director of the Project, and Professors Stephen Shenfield and Dominique Arel of the Watson Institute, as well as other representatives of Brown University. Ian Kalitski, Chief Adviser to the US Secretary of Trade, actively participated in the discussion.

At the end of the conference held jointly with Brown University, NATO organised for us a separate conference and a meeting with NATO political leadership. There were interesting meetings with the missions of Poland, Czechia and Hungary, the countries which are expected to become NATO members in 1999. The question which aroused general interest was how these countries were going to cover their membership costs. I liked their answer very much. They say because of lack of organisation and adequate economic management, any state loses so

much resources that it will be a good opportunity for the nations to mobilise their fo potential and thus show to the whole world that they can become equal members of the unified Europe. When the question of incorporartion of recently active Ukraine was raised, the answer was that it did not applied for NATO membership and NATO did not force its policy and membership on any country. There are some rich and developed countries in Europe, which are not going to enter this alliance. During the discussion of this question, the Georgian delegation noted that the post-Soviet states were not able to pay the required amount and so did not believe that their applications would be seriously considered and refrained from applying for membership in NATO. However, if such opportunity emerged, none of them would miss it. In response we were told that even if that was actually impossible, the existing political orientation was a very important factor. At the same time, the reason for non-participation of some small countries in the NATO military organisation may be that they want to show that their political orientation is neutral and they are guided by the principle of non-interference and non-alignment.

However, when our delegation raised the question of possible political levers to be used by NATO to support the countries participating in the Partnership for Peace program, we did not get a definite answer. Indeed, we are participating in the Partnership for Peace programme and even have an Individual Partnership Programme. What will happen if the situation aggravates, for instance, if aggression against Georgia is triggered or the low-intensity conflict in



George Khutishvili with Admiral Michael Gre-
tton, European Representative in SHAPE and chief NATO delegate at
the 1996 joint NATO-ICCN Workshop "Developing a Regional Security
Concept for the Caucasus" in Tbilisi

Abkhazia grows into a high-intensity conflict? May we expect that NATO will interfere? The answer was that such decision is problematic because of great organisational problems in achieving a consensus between NATO member countries. Additionally, sanction (request) by a major international organisation such as the UN or OSCE is required. Without such sanction, a country's direct statement on aggression against it, its request for help won't be considered by NATO. As to the NATO member countries, such request is to be considered by the NATO Council and a decision is passed very quickly since under the North Atlantic Treaty, aggression against one of the NATO member countries is regarded as aggression against all of the other member countries of this organisation. For instance, such process dragged on in Yugoslavia because the UN sanction was required and because of lack of consensus of all of the NATO 16

member countries. Bosnia's case is however unique, and a similar decision is hardly possible for the former Soviet Union.

In this case, noteworthy is the division of the world into the spheres of influence. Under some unofficial agreement, the former Soviet Union is regarded as Russia's sphere of influence and neither NATO nor the USA will interfere. It's understandable that their military interference should not be expected. At the same time, there should be some political levers of influence on the situation to show that a country has some support in the world. And do such levers exist at all? We did not get a definite answer to this question, which suggests a pitiful conclusion: we should rely only on ourselves.

The desire of our state to join Europe is a logical and necessary process which should develop. Our country should emphasise in every way that it's a neutral and peaceful country, is not a member of any military group, but at the same time we should support the European processes and structures which should help us in their turn. Among such structures are those established by the North-Atlantic Treaty bloc.

Curious questions were also asked: May China join NATO? If NATO wants to expand its sphere of influence, the main player of the 21st century is going to be China. But it would change the spirit of NATO and turn this alliance into a world wide bloc (!).

A very interesting meeting took place in the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) on October 14. It was a briefing on operation of the NATO military machinery, which we were not permitted to record. Also interesting proved the meeting with Levan Sikharulidze, the first and, so far, only Georgian Liaison Officer in the NATO military organisation and the headquarters of the Partnership for Peace Program, whom we wished success in his work.

UNITED CAUCASUS: REALITY AND PROSPECT

The International conference "Post-Communist Democratic Transformation and Geopolitics in the Transcaucasus (Southern Caucasus)" was held in Tbilisi on October 17-18, under the auspices of the International Centre on East-West Studies Relations.

Representatives of governmental institutions and non-government organisations of the South Caucasian states and Russia, as well as international organisations participated in the conference. The purpose of the meeting was to intensify political and economic co-operation of the countries of the region. The necessity of development of concepts of national interests of these countries and a regional security strategy was noted. The idea of creation of the common Cuacasian Home dominated at the conference and was unanimously supported and

approved by the participants.

The idea of the unity of Caucasus peoples is not new. It existed throughout many centuries and is still alive, being reflected in the modern conceptions of creation of the Cuacasian Home, Transcaucasian Federation, Caucasian common market, etc. The initiative of creation of the united Caucasus was brought to the surface of the regional political life from time to time, and the present interest in it indicates that these states are looking for ways of its democratic implementation in the present-day

conditions. The participants in the conference believed that it is necessary to create a common Caucasian structure in the near future, though some experts mentioned some factors unfavourable for the implementation of this initiative. Among such factors are: ethnic conflicts hindering the peace process, establishment of stability in the region and economic integration; different political interests of the players. As to confessional differences, they are not the key factors in this region.

Economic co-operation and elaboration of a common regional security strategy are crucial in conditions of strong influence and pressure from outside. In this view, the idea of creation of a Parliament of the Caucasian Peoples to express the will of the Caucasus was suggested: the main areas of activities of such structure should be economic contacts and interests, restoration and expanding of cultural relations, inter-religious tolerance, non-violence, fighting crime and terrorism, etc.

The participants in the conference made a political and economic overview of their states and emphasised progress of reforms in all sectors of public life of the republics, which are on the way of democratic development and forming effective economic and political institutions. At the same time, political inactivity of the region and its increasing dependence on the strongest international players were noted. Strong statehood is necessary for building democracy and ensuring stable political

and economic development.

The current regional problems can be solved through strong, stable and effective political structures. The experts participating in the conference suggested that specific matters and prospects of the region be determined in view of the present realities and the capacity of the region. Such states as the South Caucasian ones have a minimum possibility to determine their foreign policy directions and priorities, affirm their conditions in the international systems because of the current realities (low economic indicator, political passivity), though some positive results can be achieved through a sound, manoeuvred policy. The Caucasian region is now in the focus of attention of many states. The reason for that is economic interest of foreign countries in the region, and, possibly, their desire to exercise political control. Many spoke about the importance of Caspian oil, which, according to the Azerbaijani side, will increase the Western political and economic interest in the region and ensure the stable future of the South Caucasian countries.

Development of the region is based on development of integration processes of the Caucasus, which may be the only way to protecting the region from external influence and pressure.

The idea of creation of the united Caucasus will be much discussed and this meeting was only the first step on the way to its implementation.

Tina Gogueliani

• Security issues:

State Begins With Borders

After the breakup of the Soviet Union, Georgia was faced with the problem of defining its foreign political interest and national security priorities. Like any new sovereign state, Georgia is currently going through political and economic transformation and the process of developing a new approach to its state interests and national security priorities. These matters are always extremely important to states which gained independence.

Development of scientifically substantiated and comprehensive national security concept is vitally important in forming internal and foreign policies.

Broad international experience has been accumulated in this field. Security problems were in the focus of attention of political scientists for the recent decades (the Cold War period). Some foreign countries have created their basic national security concept and developed the relevant legal base at the national level.

The changed political realities in the international community, imperial ambitions remaining in some states, the danger of new internal conflicts require a conceptual approach to national security problems from the new states in a new situation. At the same time, the present stage requires that some basic terms be specified. In particular, the term "Georgian security" should be differentiated from the term "national security". Such differentiation exists both in Russia and the USA. In the United States, for instance, the words "nation" and "country" have the same meaning. In Russia, Ukraine, Germany, Georgia and some other countries, where the term "nation" has the ethnic meaning for local residents, the term "national security" is often perceived as that related to the field of inter-ethnic relations.

The Georgian security concept is aimed, above all, at determining the Georgian security strategy and the main ways of activities of state and public organisations in this field, taking into account the situation in the country and the main trends of the state policy. The term "transitional period" is a general characteristic of the situation in the country.

The main trend of the Georgian state policy in the present conditions is to further strengthen Georgia's sovereignty, complete the formation of the Georgian statehood and to become an equal subject in the system of international relations. The main objectives in providing national security of Georgia in the transitional period should be as follows:

- to choose Georgia's strategic partners and accordingly develop foreign policy;
- to take non-standard measures to finish with separatism and restore the territorial integrity of the state;
- to overcome the economic crisis and ease social tension;
- to step up efforts to stabilise the internal situation and eliminate crime factors;
- to establish full and effective democratic (parliamentary) control over activities of the state Georgian security institutions, to create a legal basis for such control;
- to create appropriate conditions for effective operation of security bodies;
- to radically reform and improve management; to develop foreign political and foreign economic relations to the interest of Georgian security;
- to develop and improve the private sector structures to the interest of Georgian security.

Continuation of the independence process, completion of forming political and state structures and institutions, ensuring protection of human rights and liberties, democratic principles of organisation of society are required for successful fulfilment of the above-mentioned objectives. Various Georgian state institutions are engaged in developing Georgia's state security strategy, including the Georgian State Department for the Protection of State Borders. Today, we present an interview with **Major-General Valeri Chkheidze**, Head of the Georgian State Border Protection Department.

- Your Department presented a version of the Georgian national security concept. What principles were you guided by in developing it?

The main function of our Department is

to ensure security of the borders, but that's not a prerogative of our Department alone. First of all, this is a state policy. Both policy and national security concept based on it should be developed in

accordance with the Constitution and national interests. The concept presented by the Georgian State Borders Protection Department was developed on the basis of foreign experience. However, it cannot be but under permanent development. Its further perfection, taking into account objective threats, vital interests, changes in the way of development of the country, historical and socio-psychological traditions of Georgia, is a long process requiring active participation of scientists, wide political and public forces. State begins with borders and the primary task of the state is to guard them.

The problem of guarding borders is not the problem of one department, general or military leader. Many subjects are engaged in protection of the state borders: the Georgian State Borders Protection Department, Foreign Ministry, Defence Ministry, Security Ministry, Interior Ministry. The Customs Department is an economic, fiscal body operating in the single security system, as well as environmental protection structures and others. However, the prerogatives of the departments are clearly divided. I must say that, unfortunately, many departments have not fully realised that we are an independent state. The inertia of free travelling across the territory of the former USSR still persists. When every Georgian citizen realises that he is on his own territory, then the whole Georgian population will be actively involved in ensuring security of the state borders.

- There is the notion of protection of state border. What does it mean today, when the internal and external conditions have changed?

The previously used term "protection of state border" has acquired a new meaning, which is legally substantiated and provides a systems approach, that is protection of national interests on the state border. The main object of protection by the Security System is human being, human rights and civil liberties. The subject refers to all elements of the social structure: state, public organisations,

social groups, citizens. All subjects of security are simultaneously its objects, i.e. they need protection. Every subject of society has the right of security. All state structures, public organisations and citizens must be engaged in providing security. The main areas of activities of the Security System are economic, political, law-enforcement, military, international, ecological, informational and other activities. In my view, the necessity of developing concepts of various fields has emerged today: ecological concept, concepts of agricultural development, financial development, etc. After concepts of various fields have been developed, it will be possible to define state security priorities.

It is important to know who "orders" development of national security strategy (government, parliament, etc.), or if such strategy is developed in accordance with the national ideology, geopolitical situation. A department cannot order development of such concept to itself. At present, we have tasks set by the government, parliament, but they are based on everyday interests and purposes. The concept should provide clear definition of priorities for five or ten years.

After the disintegration of the USSR, the situation has changed in the field of border protection. If earlier guarding the borders with the NATO member countries was in the focus of attention and little attention was given to protection of the borders within the socialist system, the situation has changed now. I would like to touch on the question of anxiety over the movement of Russian border checkpoint in the Darial Gorge. I'd like to stress that the border was not changed. The problem was the area where Georgian and Russian border-guards were operating. The movement of the checkpoint should have been agreed with the Georgian side, but the Russian side did not do that.

In conclusion, I want to note that the questions of guarding the state borders and development of the national security concept should be soberly considered and weighed.

• geopolitics

Caspian Oil: Economics + Politics

Azerbaijan has been known for its rich oil reserves since the ancient times. Oil was exported to Persia, India. 50 oil wells were functioning in the Apsheron Peninsular in 1806, and early in the 20th century, the volume of oil produced in Azerbaijan made up half of the world oil supply. Early in the 20th century, Azeri oil producers were successfully competing with European and North American oil companies on the international market. At the same time, foreign investors, such as Rothschild and Nobel, contributed to development of the Azerbaijan oil reserves, transport communications. In the Soviet

times, the Caspian oil was neglected. Preference was given to the Russian oil resources and oil pipelines connecting Russia's oil regions with the Western market were constructed. As a result, the South Caucasian oil resources were not used. Today, the region has a potential for becoming a new world energy resource, along with the key resources of the 21st century (Middle East, Siberia, Far East).

The present increased attention to the region is caused both by economic and political interests.

According to estimates of experts, the reserves of the South Caspian basin alone are 17.5 billion barrels, with the possibility to double the oil production in future, though some experts believe this figure is overestimated. At present, the total oil production volume of Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Russia and Georgia is less than 50 million tons per year, which is 10 percent less than that of Arabia. One of the main differences of the Caucasian oil from the Middle Eastern is its cost. The Canadian oil reserves are larger than those of whole Arabia, with the oil production cost amounting to USD 30 per barrel, whereas the Arabian oil production cost

is less than USD 1 per barrel. The average cost of one barrel of the Caspian oil is USD 7, while the cost of the West Siberian oil is USD 12 per barrel.

Four consortiums are currently operating in Azerbaijan:

1. AIOC: The consortium of Western oil companies and SOCAR headed by AMOCO (USA) and British Petroleum (Great Britain) is developing the Shirak, Azeri and Guneshli oil fields.

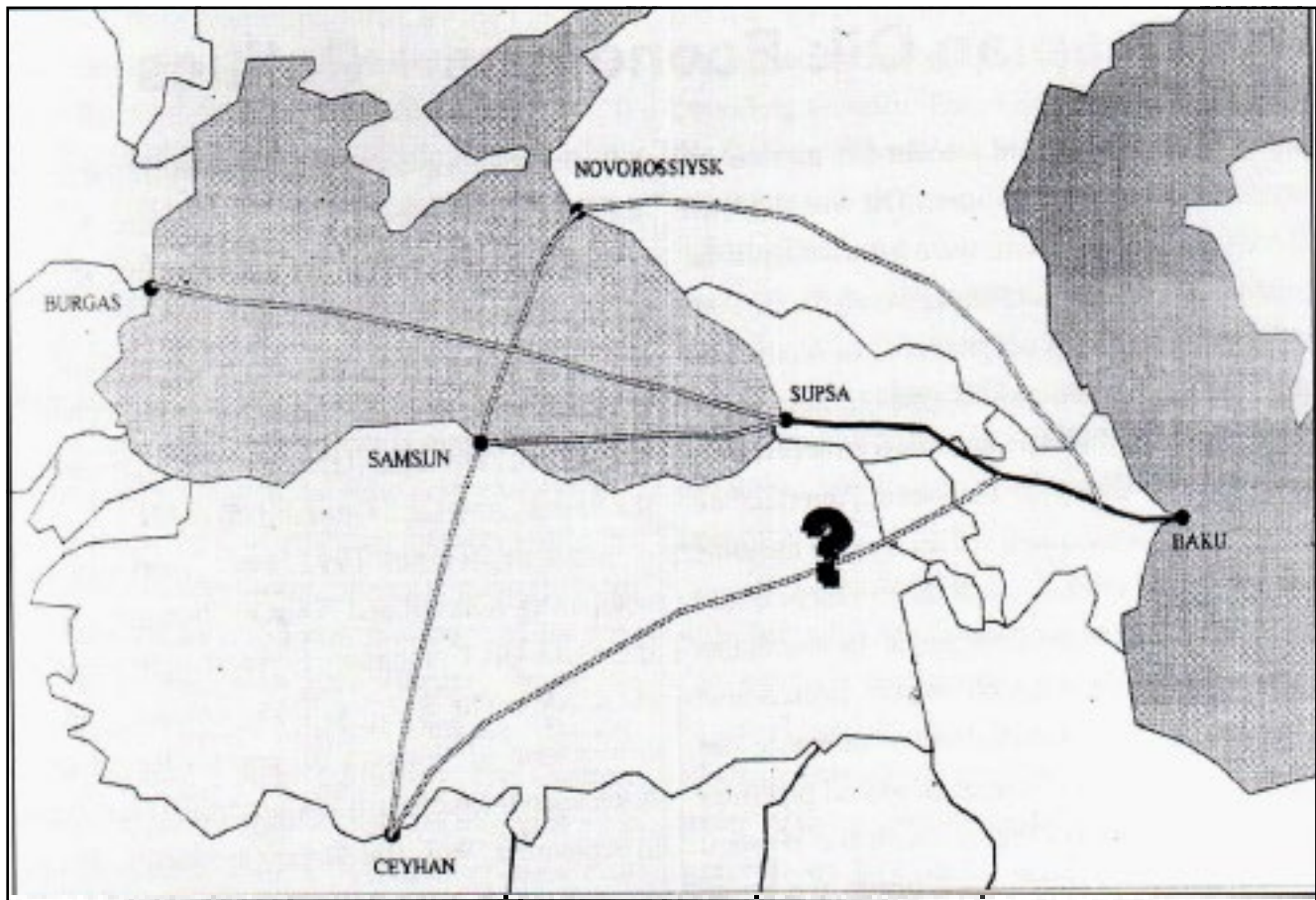
In September 1992, two Azerbaijan oil companies AzerOil and AzerOilChemistry set up the State Oil Company of Azerbaijan Republic (SOCAR). The \$ 7.5 billion contract with the consortium of Western oil companies (AIOC - Azerbaijan International Oil Consortium) was signed in September 1994. The 30-year Production Sharing Agreement provides for \$ 81 billion profit for the Consortium participants. The USA has the biggest share in the Consortium - 39%, Great Britain has 19%, Russia - 10%, Azerbaijan - 10% and Norway - 8.6%. The Consortium is headed by Terry Adams (British Petroleum).

2. CIPCO: The \$ 1.7 billion agreement on operation and further development of the Karabakh oil field was signed in November 1995. The CIPCO President is Jim Tilly.

3. Shakh Deniz: The \$ 4 billion agreement on operation of the Shakh Deniz oil field. The Iranians are not participating in AIOC while the Americans are not participating in the Shakh Deniz consortium.

4. Ashrafi/Dan Ulduzu: The contract on development of two similar oil wells in the south of the Apsheron Peninsular.

5. The agreement involving the French oil company ElfAquitance and SOCAR was signed in



January 1997. Oil will be exported along the two following routes: the North route, from Baku to Novorossiysk via the Chechen Republic, and the West route, from Baku to the Mediterranean Sea via Supsa and Turkey. Russia gives preference to the West route, while Turkey criticises it.

The following question arises: What problems will the investors interested in oil production and exportation through one of these routes be faced with?

Above all, the US oil policy. At present, the US energy policy is seeking the possibilities of increasing oil supplies from regions located far from the Persian Gulf. This policy further increases the US dependence on oil importation, but, according to the Americans, the US economy will get billions of dollars in profit through importation of comparatively low-cost oil, which is more than in case of use of domestic resources.

Russia is the most important factor with

respect to the Caspian oil. Russia is seeking to preserve its influence in the region, if not to increase it, above all through participation of Russia's oil corporations in joint projects of developing the Caspian oil resources. What's the most important here is strengthening the Russian presence and control in the Caucasus, not percent of shares belonging to the Russian companies. Moscow will possibly be in the dilemma: money or domination. If Russia exerts pressure on Georgia and Azerbaijan through use of force and triggering conflicts, it will have to forget about petrodollars and in return, it will have short-term loyalty (at best) or animosity on the part of Tbilisi and Baku. On the other hand, Russia's position as the main trade partner of the region is obviously less strong than that of the West. The domination of the Western capital in the development of the Caspian oil fields and continuing large investment in the economies of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Georgia make the USA and Europe include the

Caspian region and the Caucasus in the sphere of their economic and strategic interests, which was impossible to imagine five years ago. However, the remoteness of the region makes it difficult for the Western countries to actively oppose the Russian ambitions and forces them to pursue an extremely cautious foreign policy.

Without declaration of their political interests and with the emphasis placed on penetration into the South Caucasian states, partially through Turkey, the USA and Europe are seeking to achieve their presence in the region, without confrontation with Russia. Turkey's interest in the West route is indicated by its readiness for fund in full the oil pipeline in Georgia. As to the implementation of the project,

safety of the oil pipeline is very important from the standpoint of commercial benefit. True, politics can have influence in this, but such influence alone cannot solve the problem. Control over the oil pipeline will be the most important factor of geopolitical influence on the Transcaucasus and Central Asia in the next century. Future US and Russian policies in the region are also important. However, to expect that the oil pipeline will provide stability in the region is not realistic. Co-ordination of political and economic interests should solve the problem. Co-operation of all companies, the participants in the big oil game, is important and seems to be the only way to solution of the problem to the interest of all of the countries.

Tina Gogueliani

• international organizations



NATO - OTAN

NATO TODAY

The breakup of the Soviet Union, reunification of Germany and radical changes throughout Central and Eastern Europe in the late 1980s and early 1990s, marked the end of the Cold War period. As a result, a new political situation developed in Europe, which radically changed the security requirements of the North Atlantic Alliance.

In accordance with the decisions passed by the heads of state and government of the NATO member countries at their July 1990 London, November 1991 Rome and January 1994 Brussels Summits, the North Atlantic Alliance has brought its general strategy in conformity with the changed strategic and political situation.

The following three areas of activities should be noted in particular: the institutional political structure created for development of relations between NATO and its partners in Central and Eastern Europe; development of co-operation in the defence and other military fields; NATO's role in overcoming crises and in peace-keeping processes.

NORTH ATLANTIC CO-OPERATION COUNCIL (NACC)

At the Rome summit, the heads of state and government of the NATO member countries set up the North Atlantic Co-operation Council (NACC). The NACC was set up following a series of steps taken by the Alliance members in connection with the radical changes in the Central and East European countries. At the November 1991 London meeting, NATO proposed that the governments of the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria and Rumania establish permanent diplomatic relations with NATO. Further steps were taken to develop such partnership. At the November 1991 Rome Summit, the heads of state and government passed a decision to activate and broaden this dynamic process. In December 1991, the NACC held its constituent session at the level of the foreign ministers or representatives of 16 NATO member countries, as well as Central and East European countries and the Baltic states which NATO established diplomatic relations with in 1990 and in 1991. After the breakup of the Soviet Union and the following creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the NACC membership increased to include all of the CIS member countries. Georgia and Albania joined NACC in April and June 1992.

NACC regular sessions are held at least once a year, and extraordinary sessions are held if necessary. Consultations and co-operation within the framework of the NACC mainly address political and security related issues on which the allies may share experience and knowledge.

The NACC membership grew from 25 countries in 1991 up to 40 in 1997.

At present, the NACC includes 44 countries such as 16 NATO member states and all former Warsaw Treaty member countries, including those of the former USSR. Austria, Finland, Sweden and Switzerland participate in the NACC as observers.

PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE

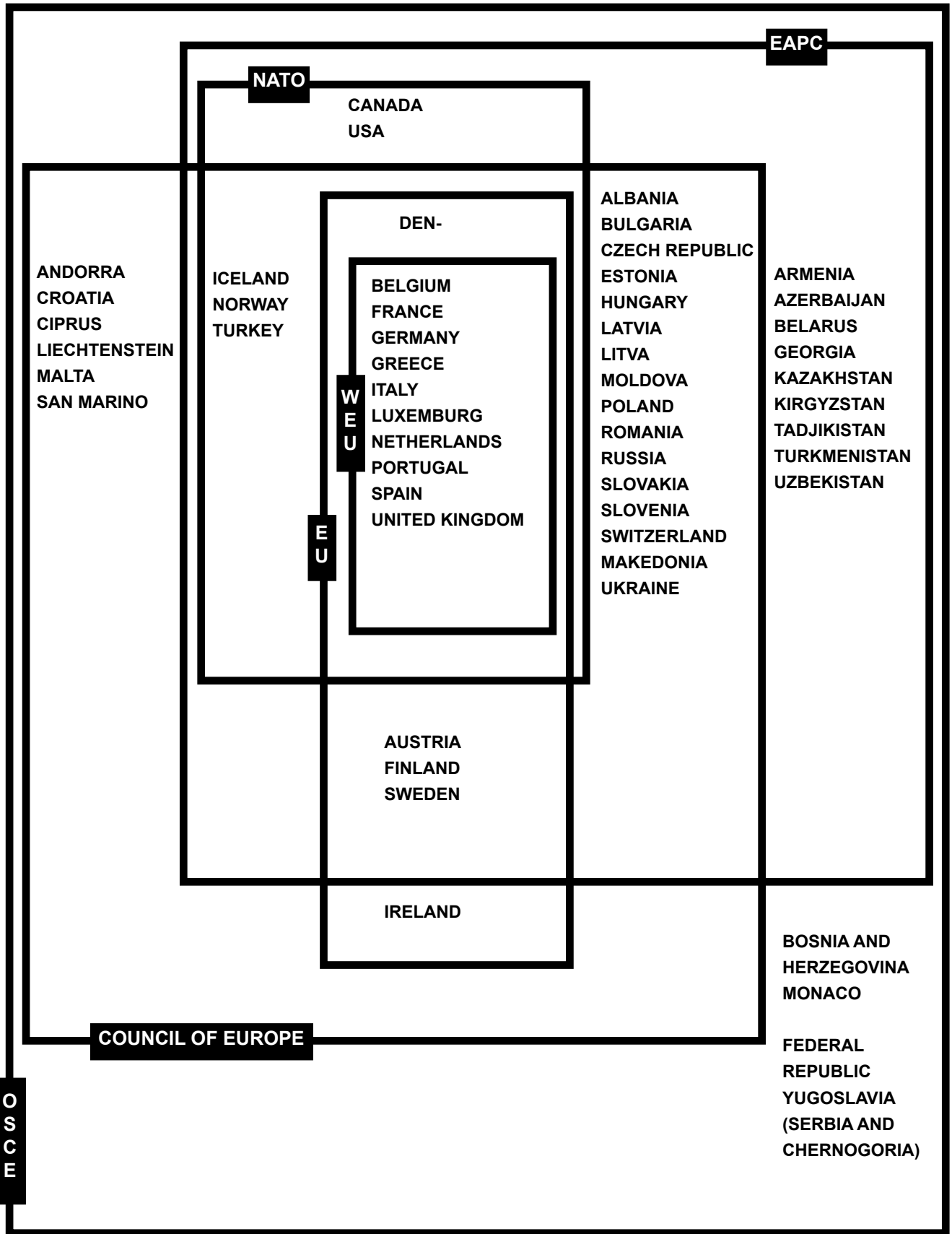
At the January 1994 Brussels Summit, NATO introduced the Partnership for Peace programme. This new program is more than dialogue and co-operation and is aimed at true partnership, Partnership for Peace.

The states participating in the North Atlantic Co-operation Council (NACC) and other member countries of the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) able and willing to contribute, were invited to join the NATO member states in this Partnership.

Concrete objectives of the Partnership include:

- facilitating transparency in national defence planning and budgeting processes;
 - ensuring democratic control of defence forces;
 - maintaining the capability and readiness to contribute to operations under the authority of the UN and
-

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE EUROPEAN SECURITY



/or the

- responsibility of the OSCE, taking into account the national constitutions;
- developing co-operative military relations for the purpose of joint planning, training and exercises in order to strengthen the ability of the Partnership for Peace participants to undertake missions in the field of peace-keeping;
- developing, over the longer term, forces that are better able to operate with those of the members of the Alliance.

Countries wishing to participate in the Partnership for Peace (PFP) sign the Framework Document in which they affirm their commitment to the preservation of democratic societies and the maintenance of the principles of international law.

To facilitate co-operation activities, NACC partner countries and other PFP participating states were invited to send permanent liaison officers to NATO Headquarters and to a separate Partnership Co-ordination Cell at Mons (Belgium), where the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) is located. The Cell is responsible, under the authority of the North Atlantic Council, for co-ordinating joint military activities within the Partnership for Peace and for carrying out the military planning necessary to implement the Partnership Programmes.

The Partnership for Peace has become an important component of the European security providing the possibility for NATO and its partners to establish mutual relations and lay the foundation for co-operation in solving common security problems. At the 1997 spring meeting, the foreign and defence ministers of the Alliance member countries considered the issue of further enlargement of the Partnership for Peace as an important element of the European security architecture.

NATO's enlargement is a process which continues. At the July 1997 Madrid Summit, the heads of state and government of the NATO member countries called on Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic to start negotiations on their joining the Alliance. The Protocol on admitting these states to the North Atlantic Alliance will be signed at the December 1997 Brussels meeting and the ratification process will begin in the NATO member countries in January 1998 and be completed by the 50th anniversary of NATO (April 1999). The negotiations on joining NATO in future were held with the countries willing to enter the Alliance, such as Albania, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Rumania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Estonia, the former Yugoslavia Republic.

PARTNERSHIP WITH RUSSIA

In new Europe, with its fundamentally changed security environment, it's natural that Russia and NATO have become partners. The document signed in Paris on May 27, 1997 at the level of the heads of state and government established permanent close partnership in the field of security. The signing of the Founding Act on Partnership and Co-operation does not eliminate the all differences between NATO and Russia, it's only a result of the process of development of relations between them. The signed document established the framework of consultations, co-operation and co-ordination through the Permanent Joint Council NATO-Russia. The Permanent Joint

Council regularly meets at different levels and in different configurations (twice a year at the level of foreign and defence ministers, and every month at the level of ambassadors and heads of state and government). Russia has approved the proposal on establishing its Mission to NATO headed by a representative at the rank of Ambassador. The same possibility was provided to NATO by Moscow. The Act on Partnership confirms that NATO poses no threat to Russia either at present nor in future. NATO and Russia established that no provision of the document restricts independence in decision-making or practical activities. The document does not give NATO and Russia the right to veto each other's actions.

DEVELOPMENT OF PARTNERSHIP WITH UKRAINE

All of the European institutions, including NATO, regard independent, stable and democratic Ukraine as a state of strategic importance for development of the continent as a whole. At the Madrid Summit, July 9, 1997, the heads of state and government and Ukrainian President Kuchma signed a Charter on Distinctive Partnership between NATO and Ukraine. This document confirms NATO's recognition of Ukraine's capacity to play an important role in the European security. In the Charter, the NATO member countries reaffirmed their support of the Ukrainian sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. Co-operation of NATO and Ukraine will include defence, budget and national security strategy planning. NATO and Ukraine will co-operate in the fields of armament, military training, including NATO's support of the Polish-Ukrainian peace-keeping battalion.

MEDITERRANEAN DIALOGUE

At the June 1993 meeting of the North Atlantic Council held at the level of ministers and at the January 1994 Brussels Summit, the heads of the NATO member countries reaffirmed their belief that the European security depends to a great extent on the Mediterranean security. The beneficial effect of the agreements recently reached with respect to the peace process in Bosnia were a great step forward and created the possibility for further development of dialogue, mutual understanding and strengthening trust in this region.

In December 1994, the ministers expressed their readiness for establishing relations between NATO and the non-NATO member countries of the Mediterranean region on a case-by-case bases for the purpose of increasing stability in this region. At its regular session held on February 8, 1995, the North Atlantic Council passed the decision to begin direct dialogue with the non-NATO countries of the Mediterranean area. The purpose of the dialogue is to contribute to the strengthening of security and stability in the Mediterranean area on the whole and to achieve greater mutual understanding. NATO has already started preliminary discussion with five states, which are not NATO members (Egypt, Morocco, Tunis, Israel and Mauritania).

NATO is permanently improving its operation. The Alliance looks for and finds new ways to ensure security. The work at some issues has not been completed so far, but at present, the Alliance fully and effectively meets the requirements of the new century and responses to the changes.

"NATIONALISM RULES THE WORLD"

The international conference "Understanding Nationalism" was held in Princeton, USA, on December 4-6, 1997. Professor George Khutsishvili, Director of ICCN and Editor of C&N, was invited to the conference with a panel presentation. In this issue of our bulletin, he tells about the conference in more detail.

The international "Understanding Nationalism" conference was held in Princeton, NJ (one hour's journey from New York City) on December 4-6, 1997. The conference was organised by the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton and the New York based Association for the Study of Nationalities. The Institute is based in Princeton, but not at the Princeton University: contrary to a wide spread opinion, the famous Princeton University has no relation to this Institute.

The Institute for Advanced Study was established in 1930, allegedly, specially for Albert Einstein, since a few years later, the great scientist started working at the Institute and continued working there till his death in 1955. This Institute is often called "the university of all universities" because of its extremely high standards of research work.

The initiator of the conference was former US ambassador to the Soviet Union Dr. Jack Matlock, who not so long ago published his comprehensive research work on causes of the breakup of the USSR, "Autopsy on an Empire". In this work, he sums up his memories of the period when he was ambassador and gives an assessment to the political and economic events which took place in the Soviet Union during the last years of its existence and after. Dr. Matlock is currently Head of the Chair at the Institute. His partner on the ASN side in organizing the December event was Dr. Ian Bremmer, then President of ASN.

Reknowned researchers of nationalism were invited to the conference, such as famous anthropologist Clifford Geertz, the author of a well-known book on nationalism Liah Greenfeld, Professor Michael Rywkin, former US ambassador to Georgia Bill Courtney, now President Clinton's adviser for Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union, and other representatives of the Washington official quarters. The former Soviet Union was represented by Galina Starovoytova, member of the Russian State Duma, and me. Interesting was to meet Nikita Khrushchev's granddaughter Nina Khrushcheva, who is engaged in research work at the Institute for Advanced Study.

The conference participants discussed the forms of nationalism at the end of the decade/century/millennium. At the beginning of the



At the Conference in Princeton

decade, the situation was absolutely different, and it has qualitatively changed towards the end of it. The transformation of nationalism is reflected in Roger Brubaker's well-known book "Nationalism Reframed". This topic may be considered the main theme of the conference: what nationalism leads to, how it changes, what of existing forms of nationalism the mankind will bring into the 21st century. The question arises: What kind of conflicts will prevail in future? Will they be religious (alias for civilizational) conflicts, as Samuel Huntington forecasts, or local wars, or redivision of territory? To answer this question, it's necessary to find out what nationalism means at present stage, since many things, phenomena of different nature are described as nationalism, though they may be of purely political or even psychological character. The dynamics of nationalism and various forms of its manifestation have radically changed for the past two centuries. But has its impact changed for the better indeed? All we can say for certain is that nationalism, which has both creative and destructive power in the world history, remains one of the main elements of international politics.

One conference cannot solve the problem of nationalism, but it may mark the beginning of the process. The Institute for Advanced Study intends to hold a series of conferences and create collective works studying this problem. The participants in the conference expressed the desire that Georgian scholars take a more active part in this work, which, I believe, will be done.

• ICCN Chronicle

CONFLICT RESOLUTION TRAINING PROGRAMME IN GEORGIA

The International Center on Conflict and Negotiation is implementing the Conflict Resolution Training Programme in Georgia since the autumn of 1996. The programme's major funding comes from the Norwegian Refugee Council. The Programme implementation has already been assessed as a success.

* * *

Conflicts are an integral part of human existence. The whole history is a history of conflicts. Conflicts are different, ranging from small, everyday ones to global wars bringing numerous victims. Not all conflicts should be regarded as destructive. Nothing new can establish itself

without struggle with the old. However, there are also other kinds of conflicts, which are senseless and bring more harm than benefit, even to winners. Yet such conflicts took place in the past and they will continue to break out in future, since it's human to act against reason. Ambitions, thirst for revenge and other similar emotions too often blind people, pushing them into the abyss of endless conflicts, which are difficult to stop, even with great desire to do that.

Investigation of conflicts is an important field of the modern science. The conflict science has just appeared, but it can already boast some achievements.

Along with theoretical studies of conflicts, scholars have developed a number of practical methods allowing conflicting parties to look for and find constructive ways of settling disputes and overcoming conflict to mutual benefit or, at the worst, with minimal losses. One of such methods is the Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR), which is being developed by J. and M. Creightons in the USA. It is this method, which is politically neutral and successfully tested in many conflict zones, that is used by our group. The method is being adapted to the local conditions. Elements of the methods of the Conflict Management Group (the head is Harvard University Professor Roger Fisher) is also used.

* * *

A series of stress factors exists in the present-day post-Soviet reality: the ruined economy, collapse of the social security system, changes in the everyday life style, etc. The hard economic and political situation was further aggravated by armed conflicts, which entailed, besides victims and destruction, dozens of thousands of refugees and internally displaced persons from the conflict-stricken regions.

Naturally, the said negative factors cause frustration, raise the anxiety and aggression level

among the population. So the training is conducted in those categories of the population who have to directly face conflict situations: internally displaced persons, law-enforcers, journalists, military and governmental officials.

Since special emphasis was placed on internally displaced persons from Abkhazia, the training seminars were held not only in Tbilisi but also in other towns and cities where they are residing compactly.

First of all, we tried to attract formal and informal leaders of groups and communities to the seminars because, being actively involved in various social activities, they could effectively use the knowledge obtained and spread it among those they have influence on.

The training seminars which last five full working days are aimed at:

- a) providing a certain knowledge of conflict resolution techniques;
- b) training in effective communication allowing to avoid aggravation of conflict situations;
- c) changing the general attitude to conflicts; expanding the range of possible patterns of behaviour in concrete situations; developing a tolerant attitude toward different opinions and flexibility in solving problems; increasing activity of a person through realising his/her share of responsibility.



The team consists of two main groups. The group of professional facilitators (Sofiko Shubladze, Tina Asatiani, Maya Razmadze) conducts team training, in which the Programme coordinator George Khutsishvili is also participating. The group of psychologists (George Nizharadze, Dali Berekashvili, Gocha Goshadze) monitor the training, testing of the trainees, and do socio-psychological

research work. Upon completion of each training seminar, certificates of attendance are given to successful trainees. The most successful are involved in the team activities and trained to become co-trainers in future seminars.

The program publishes a bulletin "The Alternative" (editor Ephemina Loria) containing materials on conflict studies and the chronicle of the programme.

Up to date, over 300 people, mostly internally displaced persons living in Tbilisi, Mtskheta, Batumi, Kutaisi, Zugdidi, Poti, Tskhneti, have

undergone the training. The group has successfully conducted the latest training with a large group of South-Osset NGO leaders and social workers in Tskhinvali. The overwhelming majority of the trainees enthusiastically participate in a team work, express content with the training and wish to continue it. They say they have developed a new view of things after the training, which is confirmed by the results of tests/polls held at the beginning and at the end of each training course. Very interesting and valuable results were obtained in the course of the research work. They will be published as a book.

• Back to summer 1997

GEORGIAN-ABKHAZ MEETING IN YEREVAN

A meeting of representatives of the Abkhaz and Georgian non-governmental organisations took place in Yerevan on July 1-4, 1997. The purpose of the meeting was to identify the stereotypes of Abkhazians and Georgians existing in either of the communities, and to jointly look for the ways to their elimination/transformation.

The meeting was held thanks to the development of partnership between the British organisation *International Alert* and the International Center on Conflict and Negotiation. The meeting was conducted by Clem McCartney, facilitator for social development conflicts and an independent consultant from Northern Ireland.

The Abkhaz side was represented by:

Natela Akaba - director of the Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Support in Abkhazia;

Izida Chania - head of the information department of the Abkhaz Press Agency;

Nerses Nersesian - chemistry engineer;

Mikael Nersesian - student of the Abkhaz State University (unrelated to the other Nersesian);

The Georgian side was represented by:

George Khutsishvili - the director of the International Center on Conflict and Negotiation;

George Nizharadze - social psychologist, head of the group of psychologists in the ICCN's Conflict Resolution Training Programme in Georgia;

Manana Darjania - radio journalist, an IDP from Abkhazia;

Tina Asatiani - facilitator- psychologist, ICCN.

The following questions were discussed at the meeting:

- identification of the mutual past and present stereotypes of the Abkhazians and Georgians;
- dynamics of the stereotypes;
- desire to change the stereotypes, if possible;

- development of practical ways to improve the existing images of each other.

Despite some tension, the meeting was interesting and fruitful. The participants in the meeting unanimously recognised the importance of work at the stereotypes and problems connected with it. It was noted that such work would promote the dialogue between the sides and search for solutions of the existing problems.

Several interesting points were identified. For instance, the Abkhaz society has more clear-cut and persistent stereotypes with regard to the Georgians than the Georgian society has with regard to the Abkhazians. The Georgians have a number of stereotypes of the Russians though, which affect Abkhaz-Georgian relations.

It was important to understand that the stereotypes existing in society are closely connected with painful problems of society. Moreover, the persistence of stereotypes and their emotional load have an effect, in no small measure, on the search for solution of the problems in no small measure.

For example, the Abkhaz side emphasised in every way its ethnic difference from the Georgians, their right to self-determination and independence, the desire to fully control their problems. Proceeding from the stereotypes existing in the Abkhaz society, the Georgians are seeking their assimilation and destruction. They seem to perceive any desire or action of Georgian side through such stereotypes, and, according to the Georgians' perception, it's these stereotypes that prevent the Abkhaz side to agree to constructive proposals acceptable for both sides and the ways to real solution of the problem.

The participants in the meeting repeatedly pointed to the problems existing on the way to overcoming such stereotypes.

The Georgian delegation has the impression that the present self-identity of the Abkhazians is mostly of the negative character: "We are not Georgians and we don't want to have anything in common with them". As to the stereotypes existing among the Georgians (the attitude of the Georgia society as a whole, not the attitude of the members of the delegation), some haughtiness, feeling of supremacy are most intractable elements. The most difficult problems are mutual intolerance, desire for revenge (among the Georgians) and fear (among the Abkhazians).



The
m o -
ment of Georgian-Abkhazian Dialogue in Yerevan (left to right:
The Abkhazian participants: Natela Akaba, Nerses Nersesyan, Izida

Thus, we are faced with serious problems in attempts to settle relations with each other. However, we do not think that the situation is hopeless. Positive steps are quite possible, if desired. But at present, neither Abkhazians nor most of Georgians show such desire. The Georgian side noted that the feeling of ethnic hatred is not typical of the Georgians. The history of Georgia knows neither anti-Semitism nor

aggressive attitude toward any other nation. The Georgians were rather indifferent toward other peoples compactly living on their territory and actually did not interfere in their affairs. Tolerance toward other peoples is also a constituent part of the national pride. However, indifference can be hardly called tolerance in the full sense of the word, since it continues until an ethnic minority claims that Georgia is its original homeland too and begins to speak about its national interests. Such behaviour makes the Georgian society feel offended and then indignant. The Georgians become convinced that this “impudence” is inspired by evil-minded neighbours, most often by Russia. Self-style historians rush to paper and begin to write... However, due to the “sound ethnic policy of the Soviet Union”, the opposite side has had such historians too. A silly conflict breaks out and may even lead to a bloodshed. That was the way how i.e. the Ossetian conflict could have been developed.

In a word, we may say that the Georgian delegation had the impression that if the bilateral constructive dialogue becomes broader, the Abkhazians will have more problems with their public opinion, than the Georgians will have.

George Nizharadze, Ph.D. (Psychology)

“LADY PEACE-MAKER“: DEBORAH WELSH

Deborah Welsh



A conflict resolution training course was conducted in the Tbilisi State University on June 22-July 3. It was conducted by Mrs. Deborah Welsh and her daughter Rebecca Chase. Mrs Deborah Welsh works with the Washington based Peace Institute Foundation and her office deals with conflicts and their resolution. Her visit to Georgia and the training seminar, in which Armenian and Azeri students and teachers participated, became possible thanks to this Institute. Irakli Kakabadze, our compatriot who lives now in Washington and works at one of the major centres on conflicts (George Mason University), was accompanying the American guest. He was responsible for organisation of the work.

The training course was conducted in the State University in full work days. The Georgian side was represented by students of the faculty of international relations. The Armenian and Azeri stu-

dents came to Tbilisi to participate in the training seminars and showed great interest in the training. They were accompanied by their teachers who work with various organisations dealing with conflicts. Georgia was not chosen as the venue of the meeting by chance. It is now becoming the centre of peace-making developments in the Caucasus region. In this case, Georgia was considered the best place for a meeting of the Armenian and Azeri young people. The purpose of the training course was to find the ways out

of various conflict situations, each of which was conducted as a game. The groups were mixed and all participants were involved in the training.

Noteworthy is that during the training, complicated conflict situations were staged by the patterns of the well-known situations in Abkhazia and Karabakh. Solution of these problems seemed to be difficult to find for politicians, but the students “peacefully” shared the disputable areas, oil and other mineral resources, determined the borders of the states without wars.

Though it was a game and the approach to the problems could not be serious, effective decisions were made when the groups consciously refused to discuss the problems from the historical standpoint. When a problem was the right of some state to some territory, negotiations deadlocked, but when problems were discussed from the economic standpoint, problems were solved. In such case, the sides in negotiations unanimously chose peaceful ways.

Of course it was a game, but it would be useful to think about it in the real life.

At the end of the training, Ms. Deborah Welsh celebrated her birthday in the Caucasian Home

and invited all of the participants in the training. All of them became friends and had a very good time. Later, we learned that Ms. Deborah Welsh gives her birthday parties at the end of each training course. This noble deception can be understood: Deborah Welsh is a Lady Peace-Maker.

The whole training process was taped with a video camera. With the mediation of the ICCN, the US Embassy allocated the required amount of money for shooting the film, which has been recently shown by Baku television.

Teo Kandelaki



The trainees and the trainers

Johan Galtung:

“Creative approach to conflicts is necessary...”

A celebrated Norwegian Johan Galtung, one of the founders of the world peace-making movement and peace-making science and a professor of five leading universities of the world, has been dealing with conflicts for 45 years. “My experience”, the professor says, “may be summed up in two

sentences. People face violence because they cannot see a way out of conflict, and a creative approach is required here. The problem is that they think about the past too much and too little about the future”. Johan Galtung spent 10 days in South Caucasus, met in Tbilisi with representatives of the Unification and

Transformation of the Caucasus into a Peace Zone. That visit was the first step toward the implementation of this project in the Caucasus region.

The guest of the ICCN expressed willingness to co-operate with us and asked to participate in a festival he intends to arrange next summer. He attaches great importance to public diplomacy. In

his view, meetings held at the level of public diplomacy (unofficial meetings, peace actions, demonstrations, sports competitions or festivals), along with efforts taken by political forces, are very effective in conflict resolution and management. The Peace Festival will provide one more possibility for meeting of young people of the Transcaucasian republics and all those who want it.

Mr. Galtung says that the venue of the festival is of great importance to him. The festival is planned to be held in the area of the

Red Bridge, which is the most acceptable place for all of the three Transcaucasian republics. In his view, it is the place where the three republics meet, without any geographic obstacles (mountains, cliffs or lakes). The Peace Zone is expected to be created there. The Norwegian guest intends to do the following in this zone: to build a regional airport, to set up joint manufacturing firms, institutes, to create a basis for a free economic zone.

All this will significantly strengthen the infrastructure in the Caucasus. Such zone should be demilitarised, politically neutral, conferences and international meetings will be held there.

Johan Haltung also noted some aspects in creating the Two-Chamber All-Caucasian Parliament. One of the Chambers should include representatives of the states and the other, representatives of the nationalities. Its purpose should be holding conferences and meetings on security and co-operation in the Caucasus. He believes that

they should be united on the basis of equality and represent all nationalities living in the three states. The borders should be crossed without visas, a common Caucasian passport should be used, etc.

The idea about women's role in political life is also interesting. Despite the growing role of women in political processes, some scepticism still remains. Mr. Galtung is convinced that women can positively influence politics since women are less aggressive than men.

Forms of violence typical of men are internally unacceptable for women. That's why a state should be interested in having women in its government bodies. Mr. Galtung met with Georgian women's organisations and was satisfied with their work.

Almost all ideas and projects offered by John Galtung seem to be hard to implement, but what is clear is that any successful action is preceded by creative ideas, one out of which may be effective and possible to be embodied. All the more so since his proposals include various options and offer the possibility to broaden their range.



Johan Galtung and Naira Gelashvili
(on the T-shirt of the Norwegian is a Japanese hieroglyphic meaning "peace")

KURVE-WUSTROF: INTERNATIONAL TRAINING CENTRE

Dali Berekashvili, Ph.D. (psychology) and a team member in the Conflict Resolution Training Programme in Georgia implemented by the International Center on Conflict and Negotiation and funded by the Norwegian Refugee Council, was invited to take part in the international training “Non-Violence in the Context of War and Armed Conflicts” held in the International Training Centre of the KURVE Institute in Wustrof, northern Germany, on May 24-June 15, 1997.

Dali Berekashvili: The invitation materials first seemed odd to me - field conditions, self-cooked food, outdoors training. However, it turned out that it's such conditions that create the atmosphere especially important for training. Facilitators (trainers) from Germany, the USA, Palestine and Nepal participated in the training. The participants were invited from different places of the world. They were people who had an experience of non-violent actions. The participating countries were Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, India, Rwanda, Palestine, Egypt, Macedonia, Serbia, Germany, Philippines and the USA.

The training included several forms of work: seminars, game-playing, field work, work in small groups, meetings with experts, and discussions. The training addressed the following:

1) understanding of the essence of conflict and transformation of conflict (role-playing, factors and causes of conflicts, escalation and de-escalation, suffering, cross-cultural approaches, improvement of listening skills, leadership, deci-

on-making process).

2) Refugees (post-traumatic stress, work at overcoming depression, violence cycles, justice).

3) Non-violent intervention in conflict (different types and levels, third party, solidarity, examples, history, etc.)

4) Human rights (definition, exercises, integration, phases of reconciliation).

5) Reconciliation in the cross-cultural and ethnic context (rehabilitation process, role playing, forgiveness, time, justice, forgive and forget, how to learn to sympathise with troubles of the opposite side, integration, phases of reconciliation).

6) Direct violence, horror and stress, role playing, feeling of security, emotional expressiveness, transformation to non-violence).

That was the official scheme of the training. The training was very interesting, everyone was obsessed in work which was the purpose of our staying there. General enthusiasm and staying in one place contributed to that. Most

of the participants were members of non-violent movements in hot spots. The training was aimed at improving their qualification.

Everybody were friendly disposed toward one another. Kurve-Wustrof has been the venue of training and meetings for several decades and this place was not chosen by chance. It's a small, green town. The Training Centre is located in a two-storey building of the 17th century. Participants and trainers work and live in it. All is simple there, both the style of work and life. The cuisine is vegetarian. But if somebody wants meat, he can cook any dish by himself.

Hagen Berndt who received our group was a very interesting person. He is a German who adopted Islam. His wife comes from Shri Lanka, she is a Buddhist. They have three children. The Berndt family lives in the Training Centre. They were part of our life and created a lively atmosphere. What was the most important to me is that I got a non-violent outlook, and the style of life there greatly contributed to that. For example, bread was not thrown out. It's a principle too - we do not think about bread while so many people are starving. Stale bread is usually used in some cooking or roasted. The remainders of food are not thrown out either. The themes of the training were divided into blocks. At the beginning of the course, we were informed about the blocks of work and the theme was selected on the basis of consensus. The group was divided into small working groups and later all groups met for discussion and developing a common opinion. Every participant was responsible for his choice. Nobody was

forced to make any decision.

It was very interesting to communicate with people from different countries. Despite differences, the atmosphere was very warm and friendly. I'd like to say a few words about a participant from Rwanda, a country with two million refugees, where one tribe is annihilating the other. The participant was half Tutsi and half Hutu (the rivalling tribes) She was a refugee with her three own children and one child adopted, she lost her husband. She is a member of an organisation aiding refugee children and women. All those troubles have not embittered her.

Teo Kandelaki, ICCN, asked Dali Bere-kashvili several questions:

T.K. : How was your day divided?

D.B.: We got up at 7 a.m. Those who wanted it could meditate or do Yoga exercises. Free choice was the tenor of our whole work. During breaks, we played games allowing us to rest or, for example, to simulate a conflict situation. For example, when we were trained to be attentive to a partner. The essence of the game was to remember the appearance of some selected participant and, after changing some details in the appearance, to identify such changes. Another example is our choice of action in a conflict situation. An imaginary line divides partners; the purpose is to bring the other partner to one's own side through persuasion or use of force. There were various options in this game, but the ideal option is exchange of places by the sides and thus to achieve the aim (one partner is brought to the opposite side).

We also had the so-called unofficial time when

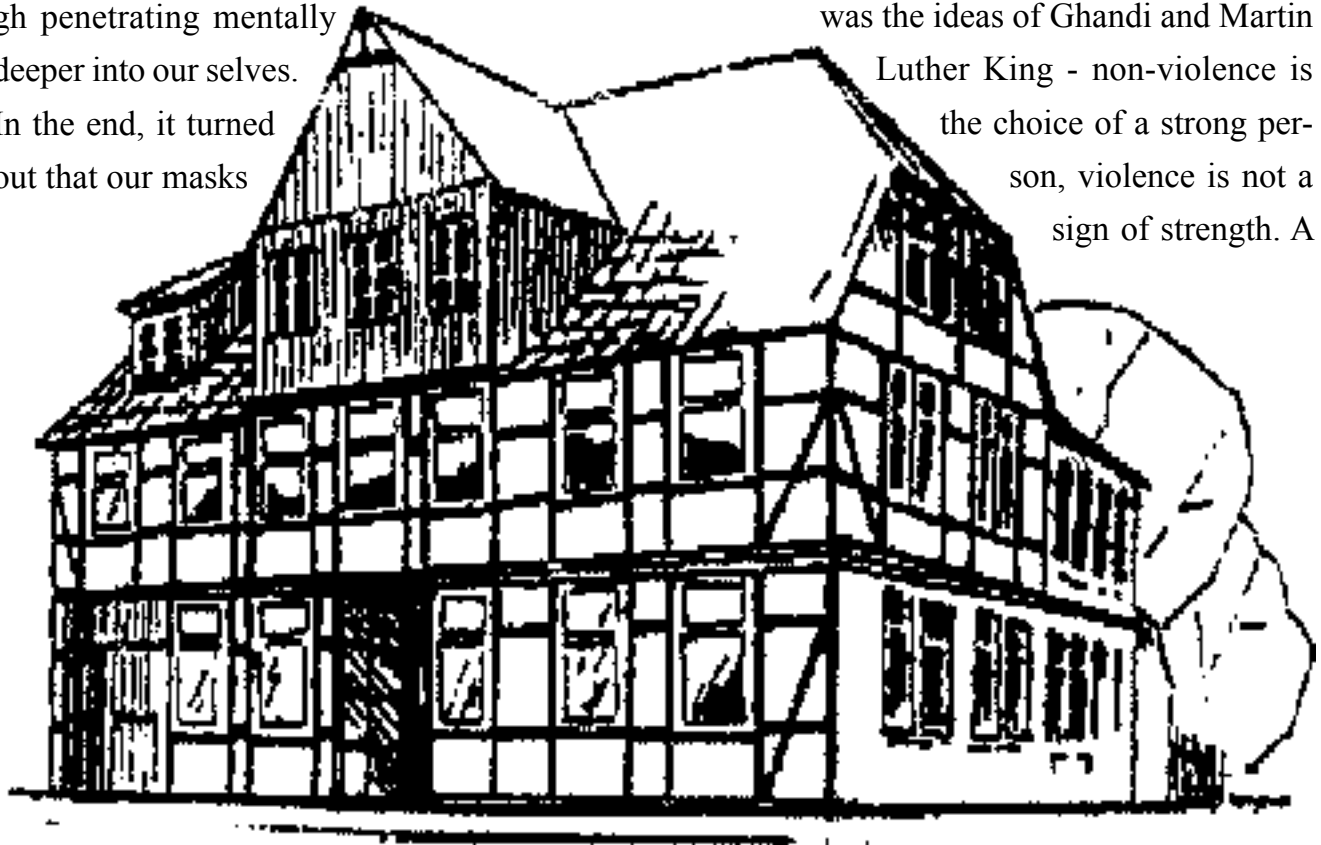
all of us could do anything he or she wanted to (or do nothing). It's at that time that we joined a small group making masks. We made masks out of special strong paper under the guidance of an invited specialist and painted them at our own choice (even decorated them with feathers, twigs, straw, a mushroom). Before that, we meditated and wakened creative abilities through penetrating mentally deeper into our selves.

In the end, it turned out that our masks

psychologist?

D.B.: I was a professional psychologist having certain theoretical knowledge. The participants had the experience of work with the Peace Team, participated in conflicts, were propagating non-violent resolution of them. We studied effective ways of influence on conflicts in such cases. The starting point of the training

was the ideas of Ghandi and Martin Luther King - non-violence is the choice of a strong person, violence is not a sign of strength. A



International Training Centre KURVE-Wustrof

were done on a good artistic level. The participants in the training also staged a show using masks and folk musical instruments (African and Indian), which was generally recognised as very impressive.

At the beginning of the training we gathered and defined standards of behaviour. All the activities were based on the principle of free choice.

T.K.: What do you think about the essence of the training as a professional

person is strong when he does not response to violence with violence.

It should be noted that there was some tension between the population of the region hosting us and the German government, over radioactive wastes in this region. The Training Centre participated in the protest movement. This protest has a long history. To stop an increase in hazardous radioactive wastes, the protesters took various measures: blocked roa-

ds along which the deadly cargo was expected to be transported, built the settlement Free Wedland near the storage facilities, which was later destroyed by the police.

The protesters wanted to change the state policy and make the government stop using technologies with radioactive wastes. The purpose was to make such production processes maximally waste-free and persuade the government to introduce less ecologically harmful production processes. Application of the non-violence principle to the environment is one of the key issues of the present day.

T.K.: What's the benefit of the experience gained at the training and where it could be used?

D.B.: The problems of the participants and ways of their solution were discussed. We found solutions to different problems. We met with people having the experience of work and good results of application of non-violence methods. For example, Heike Mankel worked in Columbia, where kidnapping is very frequent and the overall situation could be described as chaos. There are many armed groups there. The question arises: What could be done by the International Peace Group in such situation?. The local non-government organisation Human Rights Protection is operating there and it faces the threat of being attacked. However, if an international observer is present there, the threat of attack is diminished. The presence of international observers is widely informed about and thus security of the organisation is provided. Maybe, it's often the reason for the presence of representatives of international organisations in conflict zones.

The training showed that ways out of conflict situations should be looked for on site, taking into account the peculiarities and traditions of each people. At the same time, some common features were identified during the training. For example, I have become free from many prejudices, and I think that the same happened to the other participants. I have learnt to compare my abilities with the reality... The possibility of non-violence is limited, but it still exist. It's worse not to know or realise it.

All skills I got at the training in Germany and at the training conducted by our group of psychologists with refugees from Abkhazia, power structures and journalists in Georgia proved practically useful. It would be better to start learning them from childhood. The earlier a person starts resolving life conflicts without violence and learns to manage them, the fewer problems he faces in his adult life. In our society, such skills should be studied both in school and at higher learning establishments; workers of state institutes should learn them too.

I'd like to emphasise that the interest in the Caucasus has greatly increased. Representatives of the three Transcaucasian republics were specially invited to Kurve-Wustrof. The conflicts existing in the region has increased interests in it.

At the end of the training, all of the participants expressed the desire to meet again, and Georgia will possibly be the place of the next meeting. A German participant said: "It turned out that you are Europeans too, and we did not know anything about you".

დღეს ნომერშია:

დაეხმარე შენს თავს და
ევროპაც დაეხმარება 4

ერთიანი კავკასია: რეალობა და
პერსპექტივები 7

სახელმწიფო საზღვრებიდან
იწყება 8

კასპის ნავთობი:
ეკონომიკა + პოლიტიკა 11

ჩრდილოატლანტიკური კავშირი
(ნატო) 13

“ნაციონალიზმი მართავს
მსოფლიოს” 18

კონფლიქტების მოგვარების სწავლების
პროგრამა საქართველოში 19

ქართულ - აფხაზური შეხვედრა
ერევანში 21

„მშვიდობის ქალბატონი“
დებორა უელში 23

იოჰან გალგუნგი:
„კონფლიქტებისადმი აუცილებელია
შემოქმედებითი მიდგომა“ 24

საერთაშორისო გრენინგ - ცენტრი
კურვე - ვუსგროფი 26

ობიექტურად, არა გულგრილად

**კონფლიქტები
და
მოლაპარაკებები**

იჯაშდება კონფლიქტოლოგიისა და
მოლაპარაკებათა სტრატეგიის
საერთაშორისო ცენტრის მიერ

"With Objectivity, Not Indifference"

***Conflicts
&
Negotiations***

*Published by the International Center
on Conflict and Negotiation*

Editorial Staff:

George Khutsishvili /Editor-in-chief/
Tina Gogueliani /Political Analyst/
Teo Kandelaki /Responsible Secre-
tary/

***Reprinting only with permission
of the editor-in chief. Opinions ex-
pressed in the publications do not
necessarily reflect the opinions of
the editors or ICCN.***