



The Global Coalition for
Conflict Transformation

Fourteenth GCCT Newsletter - December 2015

Introduction

TransConflict (www.transconflict.com) is pleased to present the fourteenth Global Coalition for Conflict Transformation (GCCT) newsletter, which provides a host of insights into the work of the GCCT and its members. The main purpose of this newsletter is to a) share information about the work of the GCCT and its members to a wider audience, and b) to strengthen co-operation and co-ordination between GCCT members themselves and with other interested parties.

- [Click here to learn more about the GCCT](#)
- [Click here for a complete list of GCCT members](#)

Index

- 1) **New members of the GCCT** – learn more about recent additions to the GCCT.
- 2) **GCCT Members in Focus** – Documenta – Center for Dealing with the Past from Croatia
- 3) **GCCT Insight and Analysis**
- 4) **GCCT Activities, Advocacy, Research and Requests**
 - ‘We want to show that healing is a very important need’
 - The role of women and youth in preventing violent extremism in Afghanistan
 - Empowering Afghan women to monitor and advocate for women's rights
 - In the wake of the Paris Attacks - a new security paradigm is needed
 - ‘Kill the Serb’, ‘Put gays in camps’ – did you notice this slogans?
- 5) **Follow the GCCT and TransConflict**

To contribute to the next edition of the GCCT newsletter – which will be published in mid-March 2016 – please contact TransConflict at - gcct@transconflict.com

1) New members of the GCCT

The GCCT was pleased to welcome several new members in the past several months, including (click on the links below for further information):

1. [The Community of Restorative Researchers \(UK\)](#) - an international, interdisciplinary and interprofession research network. Its purpose is twofold: firstly, to create a free and open medium through which those with a research interest in restorative theory and/or practice can connect, share and collaborate with others involved in similar lines of inquiry; secondly, to connect the worlds of policy and practice, as well as the public sphere, to that of research. Enhancing communication and collaboration between those involved in restorative practices in different capacities is essential, if we expect to maximise the benefits and minimise the risks of the growing use of restorative practices as a response to crime and conflict.
2. [Absolutely Justice and Peace - Democratic Republic of Congo](#) - AJP is a platform that aims to consolidate sustainable peace and reconciliation at all levels, gives emphasis to advocacy and creates spaces for inclusive dialogue. With a regional vocation and scope, it lays groundwork for participatory research and monitoring in order to make effective and sustainable policy recommendations aiming to enable societies at all levels to make informed decisions, based on the values of participation, leadership, inclusivity, accountability and good governance. AJP's main mission is to strengthen the link between Peace-Justice and population through monitoring the implementation of government programs, enhancing peace practical mechanisms and initiatives and improving understanding of reconciliation through community-based approaches implementation involving primarily responsible at any level whatsoever in the Region.

[Please click here for further information on how to join the Global Coalition for Conflict Transformation \(GCCT\)](#)



2) GCCT Members in Focus – Documenta – Center for Dealing with the Past from Croatia

TransConflict is pleased to showcase the work of [Documenta – Center for Dealing with the Past, from Croatia](#), a member of the [Global Coalition for Conflict Transformation](#).

Motivated by frustration with silence about, impunity for and falsification of war crimes from 1941 to 2000, Documenta was founded in 2004 by the Centre for Peace, Non-Violence and Human Rights Osijek, the Centre for Peace Studies, the Civic Committee for Human Rights and the Croatian Helsinki Committee.

Documenta's mission is to encourage "the process of dealing with the past in Croatia, documenting and investigating prewar, wartime and postwar events and works with organizations of civil society and government institutions, and similar centers abroad"; with a vision of moving Croatia "towards a sustainable peace by dealing with the past."

To this end, Documenta's programs focus on three specific dimensions - Public dialogue and public policies, Documenting, and Improvement of court practices and standards. Documenta has also [published a host of reports](#) on a variety of topics, such as "Prosecuting War Crimes – Guarantee of the Process of Dealing with the Past and Sustainability of Judicial Reforms in Croatia", "Rights of Civilian War Victims", "Dealing With the Past in Croatia – Attitudes and Opinions of Actors and Public in Postwar Time" and "Antiwar Campaign 1991 – 2011. Untold History"



Public dialogue and public policies

Documenta's work in the public sphere encompasses issues such as dealing with the past, the Coalition for Regional Commission, the culture of memory and history teaching. Documenta's approach to dealing with the past is grounded in the principles of the rights to know, to justice and to reparation, along with a guarantee of non-recurrence.

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Documenta has played a leading role in the Coalition for Regional Commission (RECOM), which brings together some 1,800 NGOs, associations and individuals lobbying for the establishment of a Regional Commission Tasked with Establishing the Facts about All Victims of War Crimes and Other Serious Human Rights Violations Committed on the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia in the period from 1991-2001 (RECOM).

According to its [draft statute](#), RECOM would work to establish not only the facts about war crimes and other gross violations of human rights in the former-Yugoslavia from January 1991 to December 2001, but also "the political and societal circumstances that decisively contributed to the outbreak of wars or other forms of armed conflict." RECOM would also provide acknowledgement to victims (thereby contributing to "a culture of compassion and solidarity"), help clarify the fate of missing persons and help build acceptance by political elites and societies of crimes-committed.

Documenta's focus on the culture of memory, meanwhile, is designed to "systematically educate about politics of remembrance, practices of marking sites of violence and commemorative culture in Croatia and the wider region". Projects in this area include ['Forgotten History of Zagreb - Sites of Memory, Sites of Forgetting'](#), ['Sharing Best Practices in Holocaust and War Crimes Remembrance: Raise Awareness and Promote Research into the causes of Holocaust'](#), and ['Study visits to Sights of Memory in Croatia and the Region'](#).



Documenting

Documenta's work in this domain focuses primarily on documenting human losses and collecting personal memories of war. 'Documenting Human Losses in Croatia during the War 1991 - 1995' has the goal of providing a verified and indisputable number of those killed or missing in Croatia, thereby helping to prevent political manipulation of victims. Documenta is producing through a rigorous scientific approach a list of all victims, including information about their ethnicity, the manner of their suffering and status (civilian or combatant), which will be accessible electronically. As Documenta note, "every

society has a responsibility to raise awareness of the fact that victims of war violence are not just numbers, but people with first and last names, with their family history."

Documenta's project, entitled "Unveiling Personal Memories on War and Detention", collates video-recorded oral testimonies of individual memories of particular traumatic events, from war veterans, victims, women and minorities, in particular. Such archives record and acknowledge the suffering and perspectives of those whose cases and circumstances will never be taken into consideration in a court of law. Documenta aims to record some 400 interviews, covering the period between 1941 and 1995. These personal memories can be accessed on two websites - www.osobnasjecanja.hr and www.croatianmemories.org.

Improvement of court practices and standards

To ensure effective transitional justice processes, Documenta monitors war crimes trials in Croatia, plus procedures for providing compensation and reparation, whilst also providing victim support. By monitoring war crimes trials, reporting on key trends and providing tangible recommendations, Documenta contributes to improving the systematic conduct of war crimes trials proceedings, especially where the rights of victims and witnesses are concerned, and where there are concerns about the right to a fair trial. Documenta also proposes measures for increasing efficiency and improving the legal framework for war crimes proceedings, whilst working to strengthen regional cooperation.

In parallel, Documenta also monitors proceedings related to compensation for damages, pursued by injured parties/victims of war crimes; whose rights to compensation have been subject to lengthy and contentious discussion. Claims were, in the majority of cases, rejected; with lawsuits in which criminal responsibility had been previously established proving slightly more successful. With the injured parties obliged to pay the costs of lost lawsuits, many have decided not to pursue their rightful claims.

Though Croatia became the twenty eighth member of the European Union on 1st July 2013, the country continues to grapple with the legacies not only of the wars of the early nineties which followed the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, but of the Second World War. In this regard, Documenta's work is vital for ensuring that Croatia continues to deal with its past and that all victims benefit from the processes of transitional justice. Acknowledging each and every victim, regardless of their nationality, and memorialising the personal testimonies of trauma provide an invaluable fountain of educational resources that will benefit all future generations eager to understand the crimes and tragedies of the past.

***Please click here to learn more about
Documenta from Croatia!***

3) GCCT Insight and Analysis

This section provides an overview of the insight and analysis produced and published by members of the GCCT on a variety of conflict and conflict transformation related topics (click on the links below to read the entire article):

1. [UMAM Documentation and Research – he who lies once lies again](#) - [UMAM Documentation and Research](#), a member of the [Global Coalition for Conflict Transformation](#), responds to recent statements by the Syrian Ambassador to Lebanon, Ali Abdul Karim Ali, in which he asserted yet again that no Lebanese are being held in in Syrian prisons.
2. [Conflict and intervention – the role of multilateralism](#) - Gerard M. Gallucci - There are five good reasons for the major powers – especially the US – to commit themselves to consensus decisions on multilateral intervention achieved through the Security Council in cases of communal conflict, such as Syria.
3. [Sri Lanka – a strong report, let’s make it count](#) - the [Sri Lanka Campaign for Peace and Justice](#) - The UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights’ long awaited report into human rights violations in Sri Lanka 2002-2011 establishes that War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity were likely committed by both the government, the LTTE and paramilitary groups, and that there is sufficient evidence to warrant criminal investigations against specific individuals.
4. [Rebuilding higher education after war](#) - Dr. Savo Heleta - In today’s globalised world, where knowledge is a key driver of growth, socio-economic development and livelihood improvements, countries emerging from violent conflict need immediate, substantial and long-term support for (re)building and reforming their higher education systems and institutions.
5. [America’s default setting](#) - Gerard M. Gallucci - When the US doesn’t know what else to do but politics seems to require some form of action, the US defaults to its military and intelligence capabilities. This is really not a substitute for actual policy and without fitting into a comprehensive, sustained strategic framework usually makes things worse.
6. [America’s default setting – part two](#) - Gerard M. Gallucci - Berlin and Brussels should be spearheading efforts to pull together a diplomatic approach – to accompany US/Russian military actions – to gaining some level of stability in the Mideast. They should drag Washington into doing more both on the diplomatic side and with receiving refugees.
7. [A conducive geopolitical environment for Israeli-Palestinian peace](#) - Dr. Alon Ben-Meir - Due to unfolding regional events, the shifting geopolitical dynamics within the Arab states, the changing nature of the bilateral relations between Israel and the Palestinians, and the strong Western desire to bring an end to the conflict, the conditions are ripe to reach a comprehensive Arab-Israeli peace.
8. [UN Security Council Resolution 1325 fifteen years on](#) - Kirthi Jayakumar - Resolution 1325 was the first time that the UN Security Council had looked at the experiences of women in war and post-war situations, and their critical role in the process of reconstructing societies after war. As its 15th Anniversary approaches, however, there remain a number of loopholes within the Resolution that require immediate review.

9. [Peace education and peacebuilding efforts in Afghanistan](#) - TransConflict is pleased to present research into peace education and peacebuilding efforts in Afghanistan, undertaken by the [Peace and Human Rights Organization \(PHRO\)](#) from [Afghanistan](#).
10. [Peace education and peacebuilding efforts in Afghanistan – part 2](#) - TransConflict is pleased to present the second part of research into peace education and peacebuilding efforts in Afghanistan, undertaken by the [Peace and Human Rights Organization \(PHRO\)](#).
11. [The Genocide Convention – an unused but not forgotten standard of world law](#) - Rene Wadlow - On the anniversary of the 1948 Convention on Genocide, it is imperative to identify a relevant existing body – such as the Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) – to strengthen in order to be able to deal with the first signs of tensions, especially “direct and public incitement to commit genocide.”
12. [Coercive Utopia](#) - David B. Kanin - The European Union is an obstacle to Balkan Development. The desire to get into the European Union is an even bigger obstacle.
13. [Sri Lanka – political prisoners, something must be done](#) - the [Sri Lanka Campaign for Peace and Justice](#) - On Monday, over 200 Tamil prisoners began a nationwide hunger strike. They are pressing for release, and protesting against the draconian Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) under which many of them are held.
14. [25th November – silent violence against women](#) - Rene Wadlow - Inequality and the walls built around the informal sector are the marks of the “silent violence” against women. On 25th November, this day for the elimination of violence against women, we need to look closely at the social, cultural and economic walls that imprison.
15. [Palmyra – ISIS-wanton destruction](#) - Rene Wadlow - Syria and Iraq are home to some of the world’s first cities, a complex and unique meeting of states, empires, and faiths. Leadership must come from non-governmental organizations and the cultural sector to work unitedly and creatively to prevent the wanton destruction of humanity’s cultural heritage.
16. [Broken states never heal themselves](#) - Gerard M. Gallucci - Broken states never heal themselves and can only be put back together with the prolonged involvement of outsiders working together to end the violence, impose peace and rebuild societies and states.
17. [What is the OISL report? The story of the UN process so far](#) - TransConflict hereby presents an overview of the UN Investigation Report on Sri Lanka (OISL), prepared by the [Sri Lanka Campaign for Peace and Justice](#).
18. [Can community mediation inform conflict resolution approaches in Burundi?](#) - Karoline Caesar - This overview of community mediation in Burundi teaches mediators about the functioning models for local conflict resolution led by Burundians themselves, raises awareness about the importance of cultural and context-related conditions, identifies types of solutions and success criteria and promotes a harmonisation of complementary conflict resolution approaches in order to provide a network of multiple service offers to Burundians in conflict.

[*To contribute analysis and insight to TransConflict.com, please contact us by clicking here!*](#)

4) GCCT Activities, Advocacy, Research and Requests

‘We want to show that healing is a very important need’

[Never Again Rwanda \(NAR\)](#), a member of the [Global Coalition for Conflict Transformation](#), has published a new study, entitled ‘Societal Healing in Rwanda: A mapping of actors and approaches’, and launched a four-year Societal Healing and Participatory Governance program.

While there has been great progress made in recovering from the devastating 1994 genocide against Tutsis, a new study from one of Rwanda’s leading peacebuilding organizations found that the country is still in need of more societal healing initiatives to help citizens deal with a painful past and to build a sustainable peace for the future.

The NAR study, entitled Societal Healing in Rwanda: A mapping of actors and approaches, plots out the initiatives of 45 government, international and national organizations that carry out healing work across the country, as well as work in the fields of reconciliation and peacebuilding. The study found that with regard to societal healing in particular, there is a need for more initiatives to address psychological wounds that resulted from the 1994 genocide perpetrated against Tutsis and its consequences, as well as wounds that occurred as a result of discriminatory government policies and structural violence in Rwanda prior to 1994.

Prof. Naasson Munyandamutsa, Country Director of NAR, said that the report aims to shed light on the existing healing, reconciliation and peacebuilding initiatives that have taken place in Rwanda since the 1994 genocide perpetrated against Tutsis and to provoke discussion and debate about healing practices in the country. “All societies that have emerged from extreme violence have no choice but to find adequate strategies to tend to both the visible and invisible wounds caused by atrocities,” Prof. Munyandamutsa said, adding that because genocide is a crime that affects the society as a whole, it is very important for Rwandan society to examine how it will continue to fulfill its social responsibility to tend to invisible wounds. “The report will give a snapshot of this reality and will open the doors for new perspectives.”

Of Rwandans in need of healing, the report notes that women and youth are groups that are often difficult to reach through healing interventions – whether in governmental or non-governmental efforts – because of societal stigma that prevent them from disclosing their pain. For instance, rape survivors and children born of rape were cited in the report as groups that are stigmatized and are prevented from accessing help due to the shame that they feel about the trauma they endured, or negative stereotypes associated with their identity.

The NAR report also found that time is a key element in healing, and that while some Rwandans have been able to recover from psychological wounds, the time it takes can greatly vary from one person to the next, with some people requiring a lifetime to heal. One of the experts interviewed for the study

remarked: “We must understand that healing is a process that takes time. Do not be discouraged by the magnitude of the tragedy that befell Rwanda. In each human being there is light that never dies.”



Despite these challenges, the study also contains reason for optimism. Group dialogue was found to be a commonly used and appropriate technique for Rwanda’s unique post-genocide context: when effective facilitation of these groups is conducted in spaces where Rwandans feel safe to discuss their problems, they can be a transformative technique in healing work. Dialogue groups were found to help to address challenges to peace, by building understanding between people of diverse backgrounds and fostering the development of healthy relationships, even among survivors and former perpetrators of genocide. The report notes that a key element in making these dialogue groups successful was the use of a trained facilitator, with strong analytical and leadership skills.

Never Again Rwanda launches four-year Societal Healing and Participatory Governance program

NAR officially launched a four-year program that will address healing needs in Rwanda, as well as enhance citizen participation in government. Over 150 stakeholders from government, civil society organizations, including peacebuilding actors involved in healing and reconciliation, government institutions and mental health experts, joined NAR to celebrate the launch of the program and to learn about how it will empower Rwandan citizens to address challenges to peace in their communities.

The program, entitled Societal Healing and Participatory Governance for Peace in Rwanda (SHPG), is funded by the Embassy of Sweden in Rwanda, and implemented by NAR with support from its partner Interpeace. With the aim of contributing to the consolidation of a peaceful and inclusive Rwandan society, the program uses participatory action research to foster homegrown solutions to the country’s challenges to sustainable peace. NAR’s Chairperson, Dr. Joseph Nkurunziza said that the program is designed to involve actors in Rwanda to ensure that it is as inclusive and transparent as possible to all stakeholders.

“To meet the challenge of ensuring sustainable peace in Rwanda, collaboration and partnerships between actors in government, civil society, faith-based organizations, development and the public at large are needed,” said Dr. Nkurunziza. “With the right mindset and by making use of the collaborative opportunities provided by the SHPG program – such as this very meeting – much can be done to unlock people’s potential to cooperate and innovate for societal healing and citizen-centred governance in this country.”

Prof. Munyandamutsa said that the most important part of the societal healing component of the program is the message that it will send in Rwandan Society. “Never Again Rwanda will not be able to cover the whole society with its program, but we want to testify that it is possible, talking from experience,” Munyandamutsa said. “We want to show that healing is a need, a very important need, and we want to show that it links to different phenomenon in the society – notably peace and stability.”

The Societal Healing aspect of the program seeks to enable Rwandans to overcome the wounds of the past and to peacefully manage conflicts and diversity through participant-driven dialogue groups: Youth Peace Dialogues, for people between the ages of 15-35, and Spaces for Peace for adults. The Participatory Governance aspect of the program also uses participant-driven dialogue groups, called Citizen Forums, to empower Rwandans to influence policy and programs responsive to citizen priorities and to minimize the space between citizens and the decision-makers who represent them.

A pilot phase of both Youth Peace Dialogues and Citizen Forums have already been rolled out in Huye, Gasabo, Karongi, Bugesera and Musanze. Beneficiaries of these dialogues attended the launch and spoke about how the dialogue groups had already had a positive impact on them, and on their communities.

Never Again Rwanda is a peacebuilding and human rights organization that was founded in response to the 1994 genocide perpetrated against Tutsis. Never Again Rwanda is guided by a vision of a nation where citizens are agents of positive change and work together towards sustainable peace and development. Based in Kigali, but with projects going on all around Rwanda and the Great Lakes Region, Never Again Rwanda’s mission is to enhance citizens’ capacity to analyze the root causes of conflict and to facilitate dialogue among peers in order to generate ideas and activities that work towards sustainable peace and socio-economic development. With 13 years of experience, Never Again Rwanda is one of the leading national peacebuilding organizations in the country.

[Please click here to learn more about the work of](#)

[Never Again Rwanda!](#)



The role of women and youth in preventing violent extremism in Afghanistan
TransConflict is pleased to present insights into the work of [Cooperation for Peace and Unity \(CPAU\)](#), a member of the [Global Coalition for Conflict Transformation](#), focusing on the role of women and youth in preventing violent extremism in Laghman and Kabul province, respectively; plus efforts to enhance access to mainstream religious knowledge as a means of countering violent extremism in Logar Province.

Unemployed, marginalized, and impoverished young men are more vulnerable to recruitment into violent extremism in Afghanistan and the wider region. However, we have also seen radicalization of young individuals that are seemingly well-integrated, coming from comfortable backgrounds, and succeeding in education and other programs, including our higher education institutions. Youth may join these violent extremist groups because they offer economic incentives, a sense of belonging; as well as empowerment, a sense of adventure and a sense of helping others. Providing youth with opportunities to build positive identities through community engagement, civic participation and livelihoods can provide alternatives to violent extremism.



In Afghanistan women are partners in the prevention of conflict, as well as agents of change. They play a crucial role in understanding early signs of radicalization, in and around their household and family. They can help prevent radicalization. Since civil society organizations have an essential role to play in preventing and countering violent extremism, Cooperation for Peace and Unity (CPAU), as part of its countering violent extremism initiatives, organized in November a series of engagements around the role of women and youth in preventing violent extremism both in Laghman and Kabul provinces.

The two-day conference held towards the end of these series of engagements - where a renowned international Islamic scholar was invited - offered venues for exchanges and other discussion on social, religious, economic, and political issues, including providing platforms where peaceful narratives to violent extremism can develop and take root and bring a degree of accountability to the actions of law enforcement and other security forces, thereby helping to prevent human rights violations that can be a driver of violent extremism.

Enhancing access to mainstream religious knowledge as a means of countering violent extremism in Logar Province

Extremist organization's target groups for recruitment and indoctrination in Afghanistan often have little to no grounding in mainstream religious knowledge, and are able to convince young people of their high abilities and knowledge of religious teachings. There is, therefore, a need to increase access to mainstream religious knowledge that counteracts the distortions and violent extremist interpretations circulating in the hands of radical groups.

As part of CPAU's work to count violent extremism in Logar province, a series of engagement programs between international scholars, provincial leadership and local communities, including women groups were held. To conclude this engagement and develop a long-term plan of action, a two-day conference on "Enhancing access to mainstream religious knowledge" was held in Logar province on 11th and 12th October 2015.

Local officials, scholars, civil society activist and central government officials, as well as international scholars participated and supported this initiative and joined the conference. This conference also paid particular attention on the role of civil society organizations, academic institutions, foundations, and other non-governmental groups to significantly raise the profile and presence of voices that represent mainstream religious knowledge. The event was covered by Milli TV Logar, Shamshad TV, AsanasBakhtar TV, Radio Mili, Radio Paiwand, Radio Zeenat, Radio Salam-o-Tanzar and Radio Tawan.

[Please click here to learn more about the work of Cooperation for Peace and Unity \(CPAU\) from Afghanistan!](#)



Empowering Afghan women to monitor and advocate for women's rights

TransConflict is pleased to present insights into the [Bureau for Reconstruction and Development's](#) work to empower Afghan women to monitor and advocate for women's rights, and to promote women in business in Afghanistan.

With the support of Afghan Women Empowerment (AWE) program of the Us Embassy in Afghanistan, BRD will enhance the capacity of 45 women-lead organizations to promote and protect women human rights at the local level in Afghanistan. The overall objective is to enhance the capacity of women-led civil society organizations (CSOs) in leadership, women's rights monitoring and advocacy. The project will raise broader awareness of women rights and enhance CSOs ability to advocate for legislative change. These elements will help to improve women's rights and develop the leadership, networking, and advocacy skills of women-led CSOs in the target provinces.

Women CSOs will be trained and supported in order to link their advocacy work with the international human rights mechanisms, and they will be provided with necessary skills to utilize the UN system of human rights. The latter will be carried out through shadow reports, alternative reports on womens' issues including monitoring of the recommendations of the Geneva-Based UN mechanism by the Afghan Government, which will help systemize the advocacy process by women-led civil society in Afghanistan. The project will also facilitate networking and partnership building among CSOs to ensure their collective strength, which will be the key for the effective promotion of women human rights and policy advocacy.

Promotion of women business in Afghanistan – an exhibition of women entrepreneurs

BRD stated a new initiative aimed at the promotion of women in Afghan society through the exhibition of women's entrepreneurship projects. The event, which took place in Gahnzi earlier this year, involved 30 women entrepreneurs, the representatives of concerned government departments, NGO's and CSO's members as well as ordinary citizens interested in the project. The goal was to promote women entrepreneurship and highlight its importance in Afghanistan. Thirty participants exhibited diverse projects with different products such as clothing, embroidery, paper flowers and dolls. The exhibition was inaugurated by Mr Mahmud Ali Ahmadi, the deputy governor of Ghazni province, who emphasized the importance of promoting women's commerce in order to build women's position on business.

The director of Women Affairs emphasised the initiative's contribution to building women businesses and encouraging small-scale commerce to provide sustainable incomes, which is essential for their economic development. The exhibition was a successful initiative in terms of female participation and the interest of visitors in women's development-related issues. Women were also provided with business and marketing skills, which are crucial in building effective commerce.

[Please click here to learn more about the Bureau for Reconstruction and Development!](#)

In the wake of the Paris Attacks - a new security paradigm is needed

TransConflict is pleased to present some initial thoughts on the recent Paris attacks, produced by the [Institute for the Study of Asymmetric Conflict from Israel](#), a member of the [Global Coalition for Conflict Transformation](#).

1. The ISIS claim of responsibility mentioned "eight brothers equipped with explosive belts and assault rifles". However, the fact that the attack teams consisted of three groups, it's reasonable to assume that there were nine attackers in all. The fact that the car used in the attacks was recovered outside the city makes means that at least one attacker left the scene alive. It would appear that this ninth attacker was in touch with his handlers, since otherwise, those who wrote the claim of responsibility could not know that he was still alive. The claim that there were only eight attackers was clearly disinformation, meant to aid his continued evasion of security forces.
2. The fact that the attackers used TATP explosives (assuming this is being reported accurately) means that the suicide vests were likely assembled somewhere in Paris, since the stuff is very volatile. This means the bomb maker was in the city soon before the attacks. Did he leave beforehand (which would have been prudent)? Or is he still in place to carry out more attacks?
3. The attack on the stadium could have been far more lethal. Had the two attackers managed to get into the stadium there would have been many fatalities, likely exacerbated by a stampede. The fact that they didn't get in means that they did not know what the security would be like at the stadium. Either they couldn't or didn't do a proper dry run, or the security was considerably greater for this game than it normally is. The fact that the game was attended by the President of France and many dignitaries from both France and Germany makes this last highly likely.
4. The attackers at the stadium did not have a plan B. One would have expected them to have continued to a different target when they saw security guards at the stadium. That they didn't do so may mean that they were not given any initiative in carrying out the attacks. If the precision of the other attacks did not already rule out "homegrown" jihadis, this lack of initiative would alone point toward external control over the attack.
5. The suicide bombings were a failure, except insofar as they allowed the terrorists to escape capture. If ISIS has the same organizational intelligence as its predecessor Al Qaida, we can expect its operational wing to carry out an exhaustive postmortem on the attacks. The failure of the suicide bombings may mean that shooting attacks, rather than bombings, will be the preferred modus operandi for future attacks.
6. If this is correct, a very different strategy will be needed for security. Up until now, the modus operandi of the various groups in Europe has been heavily slanted towards bombings, rather than automatic weapons. That is likely to change.

**[Please click here to learn more about
the Institute for the Study of
Asymmetric Conflict from Israel!](#)**

‘Kill the Serb’, ‘Put gays in camps’ – did you notice this slogans?

On the eve of the International Day against Fascism and Antisemitism (in the memory of the Crystal Night 1938), the Croatian youth network (MMH) and the Centre for Peace Studies (CMS) organised a number of activities with their partner organizations from other cities.

“It is important to respond to the 'hate speech' or the incitement of hatred and violence against others. We can report it to the police or to the competent institutions (ombudspersons, utilities etc.), but also react in our personal circles - among acquaintances, family, friends, at work...It's not about the censorship of such statements but the responsibility of each of us (as citizens) to react to the actions or speech which is directed to our fellow citizens and which is creating intolerant, insulting or humiliating environment for them, based on some of the their characteristics and often on national, ethnic or other affiliation to minority groups. All this is very important in times of arrival of refugees to Croatia, since they are also vulnerable groups, and we – as good hosts and fellow citizens - have the responsibility to wish them welcome”, said Cvijeta Senta from CMS.

MMH and CMS invited citizens to report fascist characteristics in their city that they have noticed on their way to school or work. Images could be pasted on the wall of the events Facebook page, in order to make their contribution to a healthier, more tolerant and a cleaner environment.

"Despite the election silence, we should never be silent about hate speech and fascism! In fact, every time when we are ignoring it or when we pretend that it does not exist, we tacitly approve it. So today, on the day of election silence, we are celebrating antifascism, for which we think that it should never be questioned as one of the fundamental values of this society”, said Marin Živković (MMH).

An educational walk in Zagreb was also organized: it started at the Victims of Fascism Square (in the immediate vicinity of the former headquarters of the Ustasha Surveillance Service as well as the prison where numerous prominent anti-fascists were held). The walk was led by curator Petra Braun, and it ended in the Street of Prague (where the Zagreb synagogue stood until the Second World War).

The Centre for Peace Studies grew out of various direct forms of peace-building in Western Slavonia, such as the Voluntary Project Pakrac, from 1993 to 1997). CPS aims at promoting the values of non-violence, social justice, respect for human rights, tolerance, and accepting differences through participative methods such as peace education, research, and through publicly advocating peacebuilding.

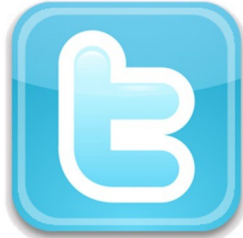
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[Global Coalition for Conflict Transformation \(GCCT\)](#)

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