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“I took a cab back to my hotel in West Berlin. On the way, the cab driver — and Berlin cab drivers are great conversationalists — asked me if I had heard that the Wall was going to open at midnight. I was taken aback and asked who had said that, and he answered that everybody knew because the SED boss in East Berlin (a high party official by the name of Günther Schabowsky) had announced it during a press briefing for the international press in East Berlin. I was at that briefing and Schabowsky didn’t exactly say that. He said something to the effect that East German citizens with the proper documents could go directly to West Berlin and West Germany through the existing crossing points, rather than through third countries such as Hungary and then Czechoslovakia. But be that as it may (and this is how history is made sometimes), people believed the Wall would be opened and that is what’s important”.

These words were written by an American reporter, now retired, who stood at Checkpoint Charlie, a military-controlled crossing of the Berlin Wall, just before midnight, on November 9, 1989. Shortly after Schabowsky’s announcement, thousands of Berliners began gathering near several of the crossing points to witness the crumbling of the wall, which marked the beginning of the end of the Iron Curtain’s era.

Erected in the night of August 13, 1961, the Berlin Wall sealed the border between East and West Germany for more than 28 years. Over this period, between 136 and 206 people died - or were killed - in the attempt to cross to West Berlin.

In that autumn day of 1989, East Germans could eventually access those simple rights that, still today, are not granted to many people in the world: the ability to be what they wanted to be, to say what they wanted to say.

We dedicate this issue of F3 to that historic moment, which reminds us once more of the importance of rejecting the ideologies and forces that raise barriers to freedom in the first place. Among these, we must confront today the modern threats of terrorist groups and the smuggling of chemical, radiological, nuclear material, which could be used to assemble weapons of mass destruction, as well as the challenge of energy security.

Today, like yesterday, the international community needs to take action in order to grant a humane future to the next generations. The collapse of the Berlin Wall reminds us of the importance of believing in change and the willingness to act upon it, not only from the actors involved. The power of collective consciousness can make things happen when it is the people themselves who demand an effective action to ensure their freedom from fear.

Sandro Calvani
UNICRI Director

Hans-Joerg Albrecht
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Promoting the rule of law at national and international level is at the very heart of the global mission of the United Nations. The rule of law is fundamental to achieving a durable peace in the aftermath of conflict, to the protection of human rights, and to economic progress and development. The basic concept that drives our work is the principle that everyone – from the ordinary citizen to the State and its leaders – is accountable to laws that are publicly promulgated, equally enforced and independently adjudicated, and which are consistent with international human rights norms and standards. As a lawyer and a former professor of law, I retain a deep personal interest in this area of UN engagement.

Since its founding, the United Nations has played a leading role in building the capacity of Member States to implement international law. This support has encompassed treaty law as well as laws covering international trade, human rights and disarmament. A major and expanding area of work is operational and programmatic support at the national level involving peacemaking, peacekeeping, peacebuilding, crisis and post-crisis situations, and long-term development. The United Nations’ rule of law programming extends to more than 120 Member States in every region of the world. In at least 50 countries, at least three UN entities are carrying out rule of law activities. Twenty-two of those countries host UN peace operations engaged in peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding with mandates related to the rule of law.

In recent years, the United Nations has sought to strengthen its work and knowledge base in this vital area. Forty UN entities have undertaken activities in this field, giving us a wealth of expertise. Yet we can and must be more strategic and coherent, and better coordinated. To this end, the Secretary-General has established new, system-wide arrangements, consisting of the Rule of Law Coordination and Resource Group, which brings together, under my leadership, the heads of the nine UN departments and agencies most engaged on the issue; the Rule of Law Unit; and a system of lead entities for various rule of law sub-sectors.
The foremost task of the Group is to improve overall coordination and to provide policy direction to the UN system. Toward that end, last year, the Secretary-General issued a guidance note on the UN approach to rule of law assistance. The note provides a framework for strengthening the rule of law based on international norms and standards, and sets out the key principles of UN engagement, such as national ownership and accountability. The Group has developed a result-based Joint Strategic Plan for the period 2009-2011, the first collective roadmap of its kind on the rule of law at the United Nations.

The second critical responsibility of the Group is to develop strong partnerships and align our approach with those of other stakeholders. In many countries, the United Nations is one rule of law actor among many, including bilateral donors, regional and non-governmental organizations and other international organizations. UN efforts will be effective only if they complement similar initiatives within the broader international community. Research institutes and social scientists are important additional partners, given their ability to help us evaluate and measure the impact of UN assistance.

Third, the United Nations is committed to placing the perspectives of national government and civil society stakeholders in recipient countries at the centre of our efforts to make rule of law activities more strategic and effective. Such perspectives are vital for understanding national dynamics and for policy-making, and can enrich the debate at the international level, too.

Our overarching goal is to improve the effectiveness of the rule of law assistance provided to Member States at their request. While the United Nations has made significant progress, we still face challenges in realizing the benefit that international norms and standards hold for people throughout the world. In partnership with all stakeholders, we will continue to do our utmost to enhance the capacity of Member States and their populations to build a just, secure and peaceful national and international order governed by the rule of law.

* Dr. Asha-Rose Migiro of Tanzania took office as Deputy Secretary-General of the United Nations on 1 February 2007. She is the third Deputy Secretary-General to be appointed since the post was established in 1997.

1 Principal documents in this process include the 2000 Millennium Declaration (A/RES/55/2); the 2004 report of the Secretary-General on the rule of law and transitional justice in conflict and post-conflict societies (S/2004/616); the 2005 World Summit Outcome (A/RES/60/1); the 2006 report of the Secretary-General entitled “Uniting our strengths: enhancing United Nations support for the rule of law” (A/61/636-S/2006/980 and Corr.1); and the 2008 report of the Secretary-General entitled “Strengthening and coordinating UN rule of law activities” (A/63/226).

2 The membership of the Group consists of the Department of Political Affairs, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), the Office of Legal Affairs, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC).

The rule of law is fundamental to achieving a durable peace in the aftermath of conflict, to the protection of human rights, and to economic progress and development.
Though hardly a new phenomenon, terrorism has assumed greater political saliency since the events of 9/11. Unfortunately, this greater saliency has not resulted in more effective strategies to counter the terrorist threat, the nature of which is often poorly understood. This essay describes terrorism as a method, then develops a model of what terrorist organizations look like and how they function, focusing on their evolution from hierarchical insurgent groups of the pre 9/11 era to network-like structures of today, such as al-Qaeda. Mao Zedong’s dictum about insurgency says, “The guerrilla must move amongst the people as a fish swims in the sea.” Counterinsurgent strategy has often attempted to “drain the sea” - i.e., separate the guerrilla from his support base in the population. By implication, this essay will point out that counterterrorist strategies against contemporary terrorist networks must adapt this drain-the-sea principle to the network model if effective policies are to be developed.
Terrorism as a Method

Terrorism uses or threatens violence for political objectives. Terrorist acts are also meant to have a psychological effect that is felt beyond the immediate victims. Terrorism is conducted by a non-state entity such as al-Qaeda, an organization or individuals who see themselves as acting on behalf of a broader movement.

Terrorists, being weak, must use their enemy’s strength against it. At least initially, terrorists are little known and largely ignored. Acts of terrorism alter this fact. The message is simple: the state is not as strong as it appears; it cannot defend itself. On the other hand, the terrorist seems powerful, able to strike out at its enemy at will. The terrorist also wants to appear to be on the side of right and justice while his victims represent the forces of injustice and evil. This message is addressed to neutrals and the terrorist’s would-be constituency. The terrorist relies on the active and passive support of elements within these communities to change the basic correlation of forces. A terrorist attack advertises the terrorist’s power and his cause, gaining sympathy from his constituents and creating terror among the enemy. The enemy reacts, striking at the terrorist in an unfocused and ineffective manner that fails to destroy him and actually angers the terrorist’s would-be constituents. This reaction causes the constituents’ support for the terrorist to increase, allowing him easier access to intelligence as well as moral and material support.

The Development of Post-9/11 Islamist Terrorism

Islamist terrorism dates from the mid-twentieth century. Islamism (i.e., a strict and politicized version of Islam) became a major force in the Muslim world with the Iranian Revolution of the late 1970s. The success of the Islamic Revolution in Iran and the bankruptcy of secular radicalism in the Muslim world propelled Islamist radicals into the forefront of revolutionary change. The struggle against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan (1979-89) intensified their fervor and rallied tens of thousands of Muslim fighters (mujahidin) to the Afghan cause. The obligation to take up jihad was seen as incumbent upon all individuals who were physically able to answer the call, since no organized state was in a position to defend the Muslim community in Afghanistan.

After the victory of the mujahidin over the Soviets, the jihadis looked for new missions. Many returned to their homelands, most of which were ruled by secular nationalist governments. The jihadis considered these secular governments to be apostate regimes that had abandoned their religion. The jihadis fought these regimes, characterizing these regimes as the “near enemy.” By the close of the decade, however, Islamist threats to the near enemy were on the wane, especially in Egypt and Algeria, where mainstream Muslims had grown weary of the brutal tactics of the jihadis, and state repression had proven effective against them. The radical Islamist movement seemed to be heading for a dead end.

At this point, al-Qaeda stepped forward. Al-Qaeda and its founder Osama bin Laden focused on the United States and the western world, “the far enemy.” In effect, repression in the Muslim world displaced much terrorism and many terrorists into the West. Al-Qaeda’s actual operation started small, even while its recruitment and ideology were in full swing. Beginning in 1992, al-Qaeda affiliates committed a string of attacks, culminating in the attacks of September 11, 2001, which took al-Qaeda and bin Laden to a new level. The deaths of some 3,000 people set up a chain reaction, which al-Qaeda had only partly anticipated. Bin Laden attempted to incite a global jihad against the United States. It appeared he would succeed. The

Mao Zedong:
“The guerrilla must move amongst the people as a fish swims in the sea.”
United States angered Muslims by invading Afghanistan when negotiations with the Taliban regime failed to deliver bin Laden and his aides. Bin Laden hoped for a reprise of the struggle against the Soviet occupation that had so badly bled the Red Army. Instead, the U.S. effort met initial success. The fall of the Taliban deprived al-Qaeda of a state sponsor that was able to provide security and the ability to operate openly. This loss caused the organization to become more network-like and less like a traditional hierarchical organization. Its organizational structure, or lack of it, has had a profound effect on al-Qaeda’s strengths and vulnerabilities and how it operates. Traditional hierarchical organizations have a chain of command and a staff organized into sections. These staff sections assist the leadership in acquiring resources and information, vet and train personnel, prepare directives to subordinates, communicate with those subordinates and the public, and plan operations. Such organizations are centrally directed and able to marshal resources in a consistent manner. When organized thusly, insurgent or terrorist organizations have to pay close attention to security of communication and safety of membership. So they organize into cells where members of one cell are unfamiliar with the members of any other cell — only the cell’s leader knows his/her immediate superior — and where communication is often indirect, through message drop, for example. Such a structure provides a degree of security, but at the cost of ease and speed of communication.

Contemporary networks like al-Qaeda function differently. Their structure is more horizontal than vertical. While the visual model of a traditional hierarchical organization is a pyramid, a network resembles a telephone exchange with direct and indirect connections between patrons. While some members (nodes) of the network may be more important than others, none is essential to the network’s existence and operation. Even when it had a base of operations in Afghanistan prior to 9/11, al-Qaeda functioned like a loosely connected set of networks. There were three major collections of local affiliates: North African affiliates, the “Arab core” in the Middle East, and Southeast Asian affiliates. Al-Qaeda central consisted of bin Laden and his key associates grouped into four committees: military, business, communications, and media. But these committees had fluid organizational roles and did not function like departments of a typical hierarchical organization. The central staff gave up operational control of terrorist actions by 1996. Its fluid structure allowed al-Qaeda to survive the U.S. onslaught in Afghanistan. While key members of al-Qaeda central were captured, the organization could not be “rolled up” cell by cell the way a hierarchical organization might have been. In their analysis of network theory, Brafman and Beckstrom explain the resilience of networks and how they survive and prosper. Hierarchical organizations and networks often look alike, just as the many-legged spider and the many-armed starfish do. The real difference between them is their animating principle. Like a traditional hierarchical organization, the spider has a brain, a central command structure that marshals the organism’s resources. It can be killed by destroying that mechanism or severing it from the rest of the organism. The starfish is different. It lacks a centralized control mechanism. An arm cut off from the rest of the organism continues to exist and transforms itself into a new copy of the original. Cutting its communications paths and destroying parts of it does not kill the organism. Rather, it may lead to the organism’s proliferation.

In fact, the largely structure-less character of al-Qaeda was apparent even before the 9/11 attacks. Its terrorist cells were essentially self-generating: a group of friends, schoolmates, kin, or “a bunch of guys,” drawn together by a joint belief in radical Islamist ideology, often inspired by a charismatic imam. The critical step toward overt terrorist action was often a chance contact with someone who had participated in the Afghan jihad or was otherwise in contact with a member of al-Qaeda central. In short, al-Qaeda could thrive in an environment where Islamist radicalism was intense and widespread. It did not recruit members or organize cells itself, but it rather made use of informal, pre-existing groups that had largely recruited themselves. A blow to the center of the al-Qaeda organization would not be fatal.

**Conclusion**

Today’s Islamist terrorist organizations have abandoned the hierarchical model of the old insurgencies and adapted the network (starfish) model. While such networks cannot be easily broken by the use of “enhanced” interrogation, they do have other weaknesses. Notable among these weaknesses is one they share with classical insurgencies; they may be separated from their constituencies (the “sea”). This separation may be physical, or, more likely, psychological, for example; by demonstrating that the terrorist organization is not on the “right side” through state building, provision of services, and support of good governance. Such strategies may take a long time and they may involve more law enforcement than military might, but they can defeat starfish-like networks by cutting them off from their sustaining sea.

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1. 1 http://thinkexist.com/quotations/the_guerrilla_must_move_amongst_the_people_as_a216649/htm
10
YEARS
SINCE THE MINE-BAN TREATY...AND COUNTING;
THE UNITED NATIONS AND MINE ACTION.

The financing of terrorism is often difficult to detect because it follows only few fixed patterns. For instance, an investigation into the financial transactions of some high profile terrorists and hijackers showed that most of the individual transactions were not that unusual. The account holders appeared to be foreign students receiving money to fund their studies; in such a way, the transactions then would not be flagged as suspicious transactions needing a special scrutiny by the financial institutions involved.

Terrorist funding may therefore originate from legitimate sources, criminal sources or a combination of the two. This represents a significant difference between money laundering and terrorist financing. The latter may involve funds from legitimate sources, such as charitable donations, that are in turn funneled to terrorist organisations or individual terrorists. The donors may or may not know that the funds are being utilised to support terrorist activities.

Terrorists and terrorist financiers use several ways to disguise and conceal the source of their funding so that their financial activities can go undetected. Furthermore, given their efforts to use the informal sector, the focus on targeting terrorists’ financial support networks may not be very effective. For example, if terrorists were to just carry between 5,000 to 10,000 US dollars in cash without routing it through the formal financial system, then they would be able to avoid standard counter-terrorist financing (CTF) measures and detection systems.

CTF measures by financial institutions

Financial institutions often shoulder a heavy responsibility with respect to CTF and they devote considerable energy to CTF measures. Their fundamental means of control is screening customer accounts and transactions against name
lists from sanction databases. Some institutions supplement the official sanction lists with commercial sanction databases for more comprehensive checks. Commercial intelligence companies have indicated that there is a wide gap between the number of terrorists officially sanctioned by the world’s key sanctioning bodies and the number of individuals and organisations who are actually involved in terrorism. For instance, the four lists issued by the UN Security Council (UNSC), the US Office of Assets Control (OFAC), the UK Treasury, and the European Union (EU) designate a list of about eight hundred terrorist entities; conservative estimates put the number of operatives trained in al-Qaida camps alone at between 50,000 and 100,000. In any case, even if authorities and financial institutions were to know the exact number of terrorists, they would not know all of their names. Financial institutions also use technologies and software that provide link analysis. These systems analyse and connect data based on parameters fed into the system by financial institutions to identify potentially suspicious transactions from a CTF perspective. These transactions are then flagged and reported to the local Financial Intelligence Unit (FIU). In addition, banks use and incorporate knowledge gleaned from available typologies and case studies to design detection rules in order to identify off-market or suspicious transactions.

Terrorist groups are by definition underground organizations whose activities are very often in close connection with those of organised crime. Terrorist groups tend to originate around a variety of ideological, political, social, religious or economic claims, but their structures are have been changing since 9/11. In spite of this fragmentation, they are able to fund their activities through a series of licit and illicit activities. According to the *Financial Times*, a report issued by the US Government Accountability Office states that “the American governmental offices are highly concerned about the ability of […] charities to fund terrorist organisations in other countries.”

**Contributions by the financial sector**

1. **Generating leads by reporting suspicious transactions**

As terrorists do not follow fixed patterns in moving their money, financial institutions cannot develop and apply generic indicators to detect terrorist money as such. However, they can see when a designated person or organisation has opened an account and they can detect unusual or suspicious transactions that may later prove to be related to terrorist
financing. In this respect, the financial sector makes an important – albeit indirect – contribution to CTF by performing customer due diligence and monitoring transactions. With the knowledge they have of their customers, financial institutions can see when transactions are out of line with the customers’ profiles or their transaction history, and report them to the FIU for further investigation. According to the Financial Action Task Force (FATF), the most frequently reported suspicious activities from a CTF perspective are:

- Unusual business activity
- Funds for which the source cannot be ascertained
- Multiple deposits at different branches
- Third party deposits in US cash
- Wire transfers following cash deposits
- Regular wire transfers to specific locations or accounts
- Large cash deposits

These suspicious transaction reports may be instrumental in assisting law enforcement agencies to initiate or supplement major terrorist financing investigations and other criminal cases.

The foiled bomb plot against flights between the UK and the US in August 2006 demonstrates how financial institutions can play an important role in flagging suspicious transactions and providing information to law enforcement agencies. Rashid Rauf, allegedly one of the key players in the plot, was placed under police surveillance, along with a number of others, after banks reported that his account had received very large wire transfers as ‘earthquake relief’ from a charity. The arrest of the terrorist operatives helped to disrupt the terrorists’ plot. Had it succeeded, Rauf and his accomplices would have destroyed as many as ten aircraft flying from the UK to the US using liquid explosives brought on board as hand luggage.

2. Using financial customer and account information to assist investigations

Financial institutions also store financial information about individuals, which can be valuable to intelligence and law enforcement agencies in counter-terrorism investigations. The information includes, for example, financial reports of large cash transactions, wire transfers and cross-border currency movements. These figures can significantly increase the pool of financial information available to investigators in uncovering the operational infrastructure of a terrorist organisation. For instance, in the aftermath of the London bombings of 2005, financial institutions worked around-the-clock to provide financial records relating to a credit card fragment belonging to one of the bombers. The records were voluminous and ongoing cooperation was necessary to resolve the inquiry, but it could provide crucial leads as to the financial profile of the terrorist, its connection with other members of the terrorist group, their spending patterns and training expenses.

3. Using other compliance systems to detect terrorist activity

There also appears to be a growing nexus between terrorism and money laundering. Terrorists increasingly turn to criminal ventures to fund their terrorist activities and to money laundering to move these funds. In this context, some financial institutions have been able to use their anti-money laundering (AML) capacities to detect suspicious transactions. Reports filed with the FIU can produce crucial leads on terrorist activities. A case highlighted by the financial action task force illustrated how a financial institution queried a customer whose account was credited with significant cash deposits. It was able to flag out transactions, which were not in line with the customer’s profile. The information was then forwarded to the local FIU, combined with counter-terrorist intelligence and investigations and eventually assisted authorities in linking the funds to terrorist activities.

Collaborative efforts between the private and public sectors

Financial institutions need sound intelligence in order to detect the financing of terrorism. Sharing intelligence is particularly important given the changing face of global terrorism. It is to be expected that terrorists and terrorist groups will be innovative, that they will look for new sources of funds, new ways to move money around, new ways to recruit operatives and to carry out operations. Some terrorist operatives do not rely on external sources of money but are already funding themselves through legitimate business activities or employment. Likewise, we should expect that terrorists will react quickly to new legislation, law enforcement interventions and technological developments. They may be younger individuals, who are quite capable of making bombs by themselves using information on the Internet.

Therefore, it is particularly important that national authorities share intelligence that would help financial institutions identify new forms of terrorist financing. It is important that intelligence agencies provide timely information to the financial sector and assist financial institutions to gain a good understanding of the evolving nature and scope of the national, regional and global threats.

All things considered, countering the financing of terrorism is a multi-dimensional challenge. Collaboration between law enforcement, intelligence agencies and financial institutions is critical in identifying and tracking the flow of terrorist and extremist money. Each jurisdiction and sector of the economy and society has a role to play in sharing information on terrorist financing cases, typologies, detection techniques and best practices. They should collectively aim to contribute to a better understanding of terrorist financing and to disrupt and prevent terrorist financing and terrorism activities.

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United against crime
The CBRN Threat
Past, Present and Future

* Andrew Prosser and Sergio Bonin
In recent years world leaders, news media and experts have warned of the global security threat from chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear (CBRN) material and weapons. Last December, a bipartisan U.S. commission cautioned that “unless the world community acts decisively and with great urgency, it is more likely than not that a weapon of mass destruction will be used in a terrorist attack somewhere in the world by the end of 2013.” In parallel with the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall, it is interesting to highlight the Cold War origins of many modern-day CBRN challenges. At the same time, this article explores how newer developments have been infusing additional complexity into the global CBRN threat landscape.

From Cold War to the present: continuity and change

Quite a few states built up CBRN stockpiles during the Cold War, spurred on by arms races and the security logic of deterrence. Although a bipolar strategic stability did emerge, wherein many states joined one of two superpower alliance blocs led by the United States or the Soviet Union, there existed a palpable risk that war could break out leading to the catastrophic use of CBRN weapons. For example, in the nuclear area the superpowers prepared detailed plans for fighting and “winning” a nuclear war. Anxiety-filled episodes like the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis and the 1983 Able Archer exercise underscored the danger. Despite the conclusion of Cold War-era agreements such as the 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention (BWC), new nuclear-armed states continued to appear — and biological and chemical arsenals proliferated. For their part, both the United States and the Soviet Union produced abundant quantities of biological and chemical weapons. Although nuclear arms were not used after the Second World War, states regularly professed their willingness to do so. As well, chemical weapons were deployed on multiple occasions with deadly results, such as during the 1980-88 Iran-Iraq War.

Beyond the threat of deliberate use of CBRN weapons in a conflict, the Cold War threat extended to unintended CBRN mishaps. The fateful 1986 Chernobyl nuclear reactor disaster was perhaps the most visible accident. Yet, this chapter of history was replete with technical and human failures related to CBRN weapons, delivery systems and laboratories which easily could have been more tragic. For example, the long list of Cold War nuclear weapons accidents includes four separate incidents between 1961 and 1962 in which 1.4-megaton U.S. thermonuclear weapons stationed in Italy were hit by lightning. In two of these cases, the weapons were
partially armed when tritium-deuterium gas was released into the warhead core. Likewise, nuclear missile early-warning systems often malfunctioned, whereupon decision-makers had just seconds or minutes to decide if an alert was genuine before launching a retaliatory counter-strike. Similarly, the threat of biological accidents is illustrated by an incident in 1979 at Sverdlovsk in which anthrax spores escaped into the air from a Soviet bio-weapons facility, killing dozens of people in the nearby area.

Even though the end of the Cold War was a major turning point in history, some things haven’t changed that much. With regard to CBRN challenges to global security, many present-day problems are of Cold War vintage. While concerns have shifted from prospective CBRN conflict between dual superpowers to regional and non-state CBRN proliferators, the fact remains that just one true case of nuclear disarmament has occurred—in South Africa—meaning the risk of interstate nuclear war lingers. Meanwhile, nuclear arsenals remain on high alert status and vulnerable to hasty launch decision making and technical failure. In the biological and chemical areas, the lack of international verification under the BWC has allowed secret arms programs to endure where-as the 1993 Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC), although an important post-Cold War commitment by many states to chemical prohibition, has not been universally embraced.

One significant CBRN peril which has grown thornier after the Cold War is the risk of non-state terrorist or criminal use.

**Between 1993 and 2008, the IAEA has registered 1,562 confirmed incidents of illicit nuclear trafficking**

Such danger is not without Cold War roots—for example, as early as 1986 an international task force conducted a study on preventing nuclear terrorism. Moreover, the vulnerability of Cold War-era CBRN material and scientific expertise has fed CBRN terrorism concerns. However, specific developments in the wake of the Cold War have amplified the complexity of the threat, especially at the dawn of the 21st century.

First of all, the Soviet Union’s disintegration loosened controls over Soviet CBRN programmes, leading the international community to scramble to secure poorly guarded CBRN material and fund projects employing newly jobless former Soviet weapons scientists who possessed CBRN knowledge. Revealingly, this work remains unfinished today, opening up opportunities for terrorists or criminals to acquire CBRN material and expertise.

Second, the globalization of technology in the post-Cold War world, facilitated by the Internet and compact digital storage and transfer, has played a role. The global nuclear black market network run by Pakistani metallurgist and nuclear bomb-maker A.Q. Khan, publicly exposed in early 2004, is illustrative. Khan and his associates managed to transmit nuclear weapon blueprints and related technology around the world with the help of digital media such as CD-ROMs. The fact that Khan’s racket circumvented controls for years suggests that clandestine rings could also illicitly transfer advanced CBRN hardware or expertise to malicious non-state groups.

Third, beyond the matter of technical wherewithal, experts have pointed to the emergence of “super-terrorists” willing to deploy CBRN weapons to achieve extremist ideological or religious objectives. Apocalyptic cults like Aum Shinrikyo, responsible for the deadly 1995 Tokyo subway attacks with the chemical nerve agent sarin, exemplify a rising willingness by certain non-state groups to carry out mass casualty terrorist attacks.

Just how formidable is the current terrorist and criminal CBRN threat? For certain, significant technical hurdles to potential mass-destruction CBRN terrorism exist. In most cases, terrorists will opt for more accessible conventional means. Furthermore, “CBRN weapons” encapsulates a wide variety of substances, lethality levels and technical requirements. For example, technical or other obstacles may lead a terrorist organization to use a less sophisticated “dirty bomb” (which spreads radioactive material using conventional explosives) rather than exploding a more advanced and deadlier fissile nuclear device. Finally, terrorist and criminal motivations and objectives vary widely; it is important to understand such distinctions and consider that not all organizations will approve of indiscriminate murder with CBRN weapons. Indeed, organized criminal groups likely value some socioeconomic stability, causing aversion to the economic and psychological disruption a CBRN attack could bring.

Nevertheless, convincing evidence exists of terrorist capability and willingness to carry out CBRN strikes—a situation attributable to both the Cold War legacy and developments thereafter. Statistics compiled by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) attest to the worldwide availability of nuclear and radiological material, crucial ingredients for nuclear or dirty bombs. Between 1993 and 2008, the IAEA has registered 1,562 confirmed incidents of illicit nuclear trafficking. Of these, approximately 65 percent of incidents of lost or stolen material involve material that has never been recovered. One study has also documented 27 incidents of terrorist possession of or interest in dangerous biological agents. Terrorist organizations like Aum Shinrikyo and al-Qaeda have tried to acquire or deploy biological agents. Specific incidents highlight the present-day CBRN terrorist danger. For example, in 1995, Chechen separatists hid a dirty bomb containing cesium-137 in Moscow’s Ismailovsky Park. Three years later, an explosive mine attached to radioactive material was discovered near a railway line outside Chechnya’s capital, Grozny. Fortunately, neither device was detonated. More recently, in 2001, 5 people died and 17 fell ill in the United States when the biological agent anthrax was mailed to government offices, newsrooms and post offices. The anthrax incidents were later attributed to a microbiologist working at a military laboratory, suggesting that insiders such as molecular biologists with access to equipment and pathogen strains pose a difficult challenge—especially were they to manifest sociopathic tendencies or offer their services to a terrorist group.
Emerging bio-threats

Scanning the horizon, the next technological revolution will likely be biological and could worsen some of the aforementioned problems. Synthetic and nano-biotechnologies promise great benefits but also bear potential for misuse. These intertwined technologies are poised to become the 21st century’s game-changing innovations.

Largely owing to the ongoing advancement of automated machines that can synthesize (or “write”) genetic material (DNA), synthetic biology will make it possible to engineer new or altered biological components and even entire microorganisms that do not exist in nature and perform specialized functions, such as the production of pharmaceuticals, the destruction of cancer cells, the remediation of pollutants and the generation of biofuels. For example, scientists have engineered the bacterium E. coli in order to synthesize the anti-malarial drug artemisinin, which currently must be extracted from the Annual Wormwood plant at high cost. Because living cells are organized on the nanoscale, nano-biotechnology offers the insights and tools to transform biosystems while, on the other hand, taking inspiration and components from biological materials and principles to create new devices and systems. In medicine, nano-biotechnology is expected to provide new and improved systems for medical diagnostics, targeted drug delivery, as well as enhanced therapeutics and vaccines.

As with every new technology, however, predictable and unforeseeable risks for society are created, ranging from unintended harm to human health and the environment to deliberate misuse. Due to the “dual-use” problem, whereby the same CBRN materials and technologies can often be applied to either peaceful or weapons uses, many beneficial applications could be inverted for hostile purposes. The ability to destroy cancer-derived cells, for instance, also provides the basis for detrimental processes that kill healthy cells. Scientists have shown that it is possible to build small viruses entirely from scratch, such as the polio virus or the influenza virus that caused the 1918 pandemic, which killed approximately 50 million people worldwide. As progress in DNA synthesis technology accelerates, it will be possible to synthesize and “enhance” the properties of any virus whose DNA sequence is known or to engineer artificial pathogens. In addition, nano-biotechnology might provide the tools to enhance the virulence, environmental resistance and transmissibility of biological agents. All of this could lead to the development of new and more deadly bioweapons.

However, these disciplines are still in their infancy and the technical impediments are enormous, with the required know-how concentrated within a small scientific community. Regarding the synthesis of a known pathogenic virus, a number of experts believe it is presently much easier to obtain many of these from naturally occurring sources. As for synthesis of an entirely artificial pathogen, the technical challenges are even more daunting. With the current pace of developments, though, this could change within the next decade or two, which requires that the potential dangers are addressed early while allowing for unhindered development of beneficial applications.

Solutions needed

Even if modern-day CBRN perils can frequently be traced to the Cold War, the CBRN terrorist threat has evolved in recent years and requires 21st-century solutions. Terrorist and criminal CBRN attacks today remain of lower probability than conventional scenarios, but the potential for catastrophic effects calls for effective countermeasures. Unfortunately, multilateral agreements like the NPT and BWC were designed decades ago to regulate the activities of states, not non-state terrorists. Newer international efforts such as the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1540 (2004) and the 2005 Nuclear Terrorism Convention, both of which call on states to criminalize and enact controls to prevent harmful non-state CBRN activities, are moves in the right direction. But implementation has been neither universal nor comprehensive. Even more innovative policy solutions could be drawn up. For example, such measures might entail raising scientists’ awareness of the dual-use dilemma, reviewing experiments of concern and possibly restricting access to respective research results as well as greater harmonization of international oversight.

That being said, common sense dictates that policy makers should not lose sight of elemental priorities and plausible threats. There is need for better collection and analysis of information on the nature of CBRN risks, while stepped up international coordination would help synchronize approaches and resources. In addition, the likeliest dangers will stem from places where specific technical capabilities are within reach. For instance, in the nuclear area, this includes the risk of a dirty bomb or sabotage of a nuclear facility. In the bio area – one of high terrorist interest – it remains likely that terrorists will employ rather crude biological weapons for the foreseeable future. Yet, in view of the alleged architect of the 2001 anthrax attacks, decision makers might also do well to be “less concerned that terrorists will become biologists and far more concerned that biologists will become terrorists.”

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2 Chemical weapons kill or harm through the toxic properties of toxic chemicals or precursors (including blister, choking, blood or nerve agents). Biological weapons kill or harm through the dissemination of disease-causing organisms or toxins (including bacteria, viruses, fungi, prions and rickettsiae). Radiological weapons are devices which release harmful radioactive material. Nuclear weapons are devices which produce an uncontrolled release of nuclear energy as the result of a fission or fusion reaction.
Freedom From Fear met the leader of Solidarnosc, a few days from the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Iron Curtain, marking the end of the Cold War, during his visit in Italy to Torino Spiritualità to talk about 1989: the year that changed the world.

Today, Lech Walesa is 65. From his onerous past he still drags behind him an entourage of assistants and press officers. He is very punctual to our meeting in the hall of his hotel; he wears a shirtsleeve with his Solidarnosc badge pinned to his lapel, as to emphasize his proud belongings.

He is very straightforward. His manners are not pretentious and yet this white-moustached electrician from Gdansk, has irremediably shaped the 20th Century as the leader of the movement that led Poland out of the Communism, turning his country into the icebreaker that would bring the rest of Eastern Europe into the “Velvet Revolution” of 1989.

His prominent figure, along with those of Pope John Paul II and Mikhail Gorbachev, deserve to stand among those who ended the Cold War changing the course of history.

Mr. Walesa, what’s your job today?
My job? I am a professional “ex”. I am an ex-shipyard worker, I am an ex-trade unionist, I am an ex-Head of State. I am an “ex” in everything.

Poland was the first country to breach the wall of fear towards Moscow, giving way to the collapse of the Soviet system. Why do you thing all of this started here rather than in other countries of the Warsaw Pact? How was Poland different from the rest of the Eastern bloc?
To tell the truth, our struggle to free ourselves from the Soviet yoke had never stopped.

Certainly, all the propaganda demonstrations organized by the communist government were undoubtedly stronger than ours, and we were not even able to equate their ability to aggregate organised masses: we were well aware of our weaknesses. In 1980, we eventually understood how this battle had to be fought, but we were not ready to do this yet. The Holy Father [John Paul II N.o.E.] helped us a lot in this. He had awakened our consciences and those of other nations, we found asylum in churches, where we could finally organize ourselves through Masses and prayer. In this renewed national unity, clandestine organizations were able to take the “patrimony” left by the Holy Father and to carry it out on the streets through strikes for the new battle and the new movement. For the first time, the Polish realized that the communists were not so numerous after all. There were as many of us as there were of them.

So you attempted to organise your activities in the same way your government did? The same methods adopted by the oppressor, but used for counter-propaganda?
I organized the shipyards’ workers and then we proclaimed a massive strike in August 1980, which gave rise to a wave of strikes over much of the country. Other professions immediately joined us in this effort: physicians, intellectuals, writers, artists, etc.

The next step was to invite the media to the yards of Gdansk (formerly Danzig) to tell the communists: “we have never wanted you, never. You have always lied to us. You do not represent us and even if you try to make greater demonstrations you will not succeed.” There was no answer to our yelled statements, but this represented our first gain. Using the same tested methods of the communists we reached our victory over them.

Can the slow agony of communism in Poland and the victory of Solidarnosc be correlated to the big strike of August 1980?
Yes, it is in this moment, with the beginning of the strikes, that communism started to crumble.

By protesting so forcefully, we had won 1 to 0 and, strong of this first conquest, we exacted the legalization of an independent labour union. That was the dawn of the slow agony of the system we were opposing. And even if they had been killed all of us in that shipyard, the whole world would have stood on our side.

The government tried to save itself: General Jaruzelski proclaimed martial law in an attempt to delegitimize Solidar-
When you fill her cup, you don't just fill her belly
You fill her mind and feed her future

Be part of the solution: wfp.org/donate
When communism was strong and immediately after the big strikes? What happened to Solidarnosc in the scene had similar views on the situation in East Europe. Mitterrand, Kohl, Thatcher, Gorbachev and Reagan were all supporting us in one way or another. They were aware that communism was ineffective, with no freedom and, therefore, adverse to their systems of values. For instance, the then U.S. President, Ronald Reagan deployed an arms race, which eventually weakened Moscow from the economic point of view; the French President, François Mitterrand, supported the struggle of the Polish workers; the German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, was interested in the reunification of the two Germanies, while the Holy Father, John Paul II, just wanted to free the souls and the people of Poland. As for Lech Walesa, he was thinking of how to dismantle communism.

Although for a certain time Solidarnosc was a clandestine organization, is it reasonable to think that you had institutional relationships with the politicians and the governments of some countries? Which political figures, more than others, helped Solidarnosc in regaining freedom?

Several protagonists of the political scene had similar views on the situation in East Europe. Mitterrand, Kohl, Thatcher, Gorbachev and Reagan were all supporting us in one way or another. They were aware that communism was ineffective, with no freedom and, therefore, adverse to their systems of values. For instance, the then U.S. President, Ronald Reagan deployed an arms race, which eventually weakened Moscow from the economic point of view; the French President, François Mitterrand, supported the struggle of the Polish workers; the German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, was interested in the reunification of the two Germanies, while the Holy Father, John Paul II, just wanted to free the souls and the people of Poland. As for Lech Walesa, he was thinking of how to dismantle communism.

What happened to Solidarnosc immediately after the big strikes?

When communism was strong and apparently unbeatable, it somehow constituted a monopoly. We consequently shaped Solidarnosc along the same pattern giving our activities and politics the form of a monopoly. The reason for this is that a monopoly can be only fought and beaten by another monopoly; but, when one falls, the other must change as well. Then we broke the old structure of Solidarnosc, building democracy, pluralism and a new economic system; therefore from an organizational point of view the movement ceased to exist.

And Gorbachev?

Gorbachev believed in the possibility of reforming communism, while we were convinced that the first reform would have led to the fall of communism altogether. I hoped in this reform, aware that, with the removal of the first brick, the whole structure would have crumbled and the whole system would collapse at once. I would reckon that what could have appeared to some as [Gorbachev’s] defeat [being unable to successfully reform the communist system N.o.E] was at the same time his greatest success.

What do you see today in the political landscape of Eastern Europe?

I believe that President Obama, for instance, is doing a good job. He is taking into account the need to approach Moscow differently in order to build wider alliances, he is gaining the trust of those governments that believe in dialogue and, in addition, he is making an effort to understand the particularities of politics in Eastern European countries.

From our side, in Poland, we keep our freedom and democracy at heart.

If you had to judge yourself in front of history, where do you think you have made mistakes?

If I have made mistakes in my political life? No, I don’t believe so, at least as far as little things are concerned. But I don’t have any regrets. If then the jury of history will blame me for something, I cannot know that, but I would do it again.

* Nicola Filizola is Media Consultant at UNICRI.
From Khmer Treasures to Chinese Antiquities

the Ongoing Plunder and Trafficking in South East Asia

* Duncan Chappell and Kenneth Polk
In June of this year, in a ceremony associated with much pomp and political significance, the Thai Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva handed over to Cambodian officials in Phnom Penh a number of Khmer treasures seized by Thai authorities from smugglers in 1999. The treasures included six massive stone heads of the Hindu God Shiva, dating from the 12th Century Angkorian era (Associated Press, 2009).

At the time of the ceremony the Cambodian Government indicated that the two sides had agreed to cooperate in stamping out smuggling of national antiquities which had already resulted in recent decades in widespread looting of Cambodia’s ancient temples and archeological sites with many items, like those just returned, being taken across the border to Thailand for sale on the international market or to private collectors. Nothing was said, however, about just how such large and heavy objects had been cut from their original sites and transported many hundreds of kilometers to places like Bangkok, a well recognized portal for the sale of illicit antiquities within the South East Asian region. Such objects could only have been removed and smuggled across international borders utilizing significant logistical planning and resources, and probably only with the assistance of corrupt officials prepared to turn a blind eye to items whose export was clearly illegal according to Cambodian law.

This case of smuggled Khmer treasures, happily returned in this instance to their owners, together with our own recent work in parts of Asia including Cambodia, Hong Kong, Singapore and Thailand (see Alder, Chappell and Polk, 2009), provide examples of the organized character of the traffic in cultural heritage material throughout the region, including mainland China. The major traffic in Khmer material from Cambodia is certainly transnational, with the initial supply routes from the Angkor sites, for example, flowing onward through Thailand and from there to diverse venues in Europe and North America.

The original extraction of much of the material undoubtedly requires manpower and expertise at removal (especially in terms of large stone objects like those just mentioned). Payment has to be arranged for the extraction by agents who then must work through the transit problems. The objects have to be lifted and carried from the site of origin to some transit point. Documents also have to be arranged which permit some form of access to both export and import procedures. Dealers who are complicitous in this process must then be found so that the items can be placed on wholesale and ultimately on retail markets in destination countries. In turn, buyers must be found who are willing to purchase cultural heritage material without asking questions about provenance. Our observations in destinations like London, Paris and New York in the demand economies demonstrate that these goods can be exceptionally expensive for the ultimate consumers who often represent elite individuals and institutions.

The trade in plundered antiquities from South East Asia is far from new as the recent and well publicised Christie’s auction in Paris of the art collection of the late fashion designer Yves Saint Laurent illustrates (see Barboza, 2009; Schuangqi and Ailing, 2009). Two 18th century Chinese bronze heads were sold at the auction for $40 million. It was not disputed that the heads had been looted by British and French troops during the sacking of the Chinese Emperor’s Old Summer Palace in Beijing in 1860. Prior attempts by a group of Chinese lawyers to stop the auction in a French court and retrieve the bronzes failed, but after the sale it was revealed that the winning bid had been made by a Chinese patriot who subsequently announced that he did not intend to pay for the bronzes as a signal of contempt for the sale process. The incident still highlighted a growing practice of wealthy Chinese and their supporters buying back portions of the nation’s cultural heritage which had been illegally removed in the past. Chinese authorities, however, expressed displeasure with the auction results and indicated that in the future they would place far more stringent controls on the export of treasured cultural objects from the country (Lim and Wong, 2009). This announcement was preceded in January by the signing of an agreement with the United States banning the import of archeological material originating in China which was older than the end of the Tang Dynasty ( A.D. 907), and of monumental sculptures and wall art at least 250 years old, unless accompanied by a valid export license (Government of the United States and Government of the People’s Republic of China., 2009).

It remains to be seen whether these measures will do anything to curb the major international market in illicitly obtained and exported Chinese antiquities which has been carried on for decades with relative impunity through ‘free port’ portals like Hong Kong and Singapore. Draconian penalties imposed under Chinese law, including the death penalty for the crime of smuggling cultural relics, seems to have had little if any impact on this trade (Lize, 2004)). Our own research in both Hong Kong and Singapore suggests that the market remains largely undiminished although the prevalence of fake cultural objects has increased markedly over recent years. These fake objects are often of high quality in their own right, emanating from well estab-

The major traffic in Khmer material from Cambodia is certainly transnational, flowing onward through Thailand and from there to diverse venues in Europe and North America.
lished ‘factories’ in mainland China (Gluckman, 2002). Additionally, with the rapid development of a large and affluent middle class on the mainland the internal market for Chinese cultural objects has grown exponentially. Little is known about the organisation and structure of this market, nor the extent to which it is being fuelled by illegally excavated local cultural objects. In recent interviews Hong Kong dealers have indicated that many of their customers are now from the mainland, purchasing items previously smuggled in the past out of China. Until now the predominate and contemporary debate about the protection of cultural sites, and the repatriation of previously plundered objects, has tended to center upon countries and regions far removed from South East Asia. Considerable and recent attention has been focused, for example, upon the return of items stolen from source countries like Italy and Greece (Gill, 2009), or from conflict zones such as Iraq and Afghanistan (Brodie, 2009; Hashemzai, 2009). Italy, in particular, has been quite successful in obtaining the restitution of many valuable objects from prominent museums and art institutions in the United States as a result of resolute and effective law enforcement investigations. These investigations have uncovered sophisticated and elaborate illicit schemes by which plundered objects have been transported from excavation sites, through layered levels of dealers, onto the so called legitimate market for antiquities (Watson and Todeschini, 2006). A number of prosecutions of well known dealers and museum officials have also flowed from these law enforcement activities. There is now some encouraging evidence to suggest that those engaged in meeting the demand for cultural objects from sources of dubious or illegitimate origin may have become more cautious or circumspect about the provenance of their wares (Gill, 2009). Consumers may also be less willing to accept without question the authenticity of objects offered for sale. These developments have not gone unnoticed in South East Asia but their impact has been at best muted. To within the region the have established any specialized law enforcement group to tackle the trafficking of cultural objects. Our discussions with local law enforcement officials also suggest that not only do they lack the expertise to investigate and prosecute this type of organised crime but it is a form of wrongdoing which is not even ranked as having any priority in their respective investigative arenas. In marked contrast to drug and human trafficking the plunder of cultural objects, and the associated destruction of heritage sites, remains largely outside the purview of traditional law enforcement throughout the region. Regrettably, as we have already noted, there would also seem to be some evidence that this illicit trade is being facilitated by corrupt law enforcement officials, rather than hindered by their activities.

As we have stated at some length elsewhere remedying this situation requires far more than the bolstering of law enforcement in source countries like those mentioned in South East Asia (Alder, Chappell and Polk, 2009; Chappell and Polk, 2009). Imaginative demand reduction activities in wealthy industrialised countries, including sustained public persuasion campaigns to avoid purchasing looted objects, offer in our view the most hopeful vehicles for change. Only then will Khmer treasures, Chinese antiquities and other heritage items be truly safe.

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Kenneth Polk is Professor of Criminology, University of Melbourne.

References


“I never regretted my decision.”
Mikhail Gorbachev,
November 1999.

“East Germans are free to travel where they like. With immediate effect.”
Guenter Schabowski,

“We get down, like the wall of Berlin, Eye come round about a quarter to ten We just met, oh at least we pretend, It’s so fresh knocking down the Wall of Berlin”.
From Wall of Berlin song by singer Prince.

“We must maintain the Wall for future generations, to bring the terrible history alive.”
But Kani Alavi, co-founder and president of the Artists’ Initiative East Side Gallery.
“I’ve just arrived from Berlin. It’s like witnessing an enormous fair.”
West German chancellor Helmut Kohl, November 10, 1989.

“Ich bin ein Berliner”

Warsaw, Moscow, Budapest, Berlin, Prague, Sofia and Bucharest have become stages in a long pilgrimage toward liberty. It is admirable that in these events, entire peoples spoke out—women, young people, men, overcoming tears, their irrepressible thirst for liberty speeded up developments, made walls tumble down and opened gates.”
Pope John Paul II

“We are witnessing sad things in other socialist countries, very sad things.”
Cuban President Fidel Castro, November 9, 1989.

The Trabant is an automobile that was produced by former East German auto maker in Zwickau, Sachsen. It was the most common vehicle in East Germany, and was also exported to countries both inside and outside the communist bloc.
Youth Marginalisation and the Burdens of War in Sierra Leone

* Isabela Leao
The transformation of the world system after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 provided a new era of free democratic uncertainties in the lives of the youth population in both West and Eastern Europe. Uncertainties that have never been free or democratic, yet always part of the lives of most youth in Africa. In the case of Sierra Leone, young people have been struggling for a factual democratisation process and participatory governance since its independence in 1961, thus revealing the role the Sierra Leonean youth has been keen to play in the country’s political, social and economic processes.

Post-independence brought with it remarkable changes beyond the political and economic spheres, it also accelerated the development of social inequalities, reinforced the role of ethnicity and encouraged the greater marginalisation of youth in a post-colonial ‘democracy.’ In many ways, youth individualisation of risks and responsibilities has never been facilitated in Sierra Leone; rather, it has always been restrained by the social, political and economic opportunities made available to young people. As acknowledged by Amartya Sen, “there is a deep complementarity between individual agency and social arrangements.” Therefore, in contexts of partial or absolute absence of individual freedoms, as in the case of Sierra Leone, we might well observe the development of a rebellious youth culture in search of a radical alternative to the regime in place.

Post-colonial politics has been characterized by the ‘ethnic-political battle’ between the two main parties, namely the Sierra Leone People’s Party (SLPP) and the All People’s Congress (APC). In this context of political culture, the mobilisation of the Sierra Leonean youth as ‘foot soldiers,’ and their subsequent instrumentalization within national politics, has strengthened the development of a culture of political violence in the country. And by the 1970s, the corrupted Sierra Leonean “politics of the belly” witnessed the emergence of an informal opposition, the marginalised youth. Although limited in actions and gains, the youth movement was perceived as a radicalisation process that could threaten a falsely harmonious ‘democratic’ system. Hence, the need to either suppress or exploit this process.

**Youth Marginalisation and its Impact in the Conflict**

The increasing and manipulative social, political and economic marginalisation of young people in Sierra Leone, along with the global economic recession of the 1980s, generated an ‘army’ of frustrated school drop-outs and unemployed youth. While education, health and employment opportunities had been reduced to minimum standards, corruption in politics and society had achieved its utmost legitimacy. Such environment inflamed the ‘subaltern discourse’ at the Sierra Leonean *nēses* – areas of political socialisation and counter-cultural activities where marginalised youth congregate – and led to the emergence of youth and student radical union groups in the country. The inconsistent and unstructured ‘discourse on revolution’ proved adequate for the spread of Libyan Colonal Ghadafi’s ‘revolutionary’ ideology. As argued by Ibrahim Abdullah, the failure of the youth radical movement “to critique Ghadafi’s ideas indicates their level of political consciousness... and [their] lack of critical ideas.” Nevertheless, Abdullah adds, when the ‘call for recruitment’ of ‘potential insurgents’ started in 1987, only a minority accepted “an adventuristic enterprise [military training camp in Libya] in the name of revolution.”

After receiving military training in Benghazi, Libya, and after numerous internal misunderstandings about the goal of the Sierra Leonean ‘revolution,’ the small group of ‘revolutionaries’ returned to Sierra Leone in order to pursue their objective. At this time, the initial call for “a popular democratic front” gave space to the call for “the overthrow of de system.” Among those who had returned from Libya was Foday Sankoh – an ex-corporal who had been imprisoned for an alleged coup-d’état attempt in the 1970s and who later became the leader of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF). In 1988, while in Freetown, Sankoh and others from the group met a National Patriotic Front of Liberia’s (NPFL) official, who introduced Sankoh to the NPFL’s leader, Charles Taylor – who had also received military training in Ghadafi’s camps. On 23 March 1991, a small insurgency force from Liberia entered Kailahun District, eastern Sierra Leone, and started what came to be a decade of civil war and ‘senseless violence.’ The armed group was composed by Sankoh’s RUF rebels and supported by Taylor’s NPFL combatants.

In times of political and economic underdevelopment and increased youth marginalisation, the RUF offered young Sierra Leoneans what they had always been denied, an opportunity to ‘turn the tables’ and be heard – if not through their voices, at least through the barrels of their AK-47s. In the words of David Keen, “if the rebels were rejecting their society, many had already been rejected by this society.” Keen continues, “a long history of underdevelopment culminating in some two decades of single-party APC [All People’s Congress] rule and endemic corruption had generated considerable support for some kind of radical ‘shake-up’ in Sierra Leone.” In this context of violence culture, the mobilisation of youth as ‘foot soldiers’ and their subsequent instrumentalisation within ‘revolutionary’ politics has facilitated and strengthened the RUF’s incursion in the country. And by the early 1990s, Sierra Leone witnessed the emergence of an informal, yet angry opposition, the RUF. Unlimited in its violent actions against civilians and power gains against the government, the RUF was an incoherent political movement that “reduced a country they presumed rotten to the core to ruins... through their actions, the country has become in reality the wasteland they always supposed it to be.”

**The Burdens of War in Sierra Leone**

The decade civil war in Sierra Leone most likely killed over 50,000 people and displaced almost half of the population. It “destroyed most of the country’s social, economic and physical structure.” A total number of 72,490 combatants and
persons associated with the fighting forces were disarmed, 42,330 weapons and 1.2 million rounds of ammunition were collected. Since the signing of the Abuja II Peace Agreement in 2001 between the government and the RUF, Sierra Leone has been facing the challenges of building a democratic and stable society. Although noticeable progress has been achieved with the democratic elections in 2007 and the establishment of governing institutions, the increasing rate on youth unemployment has been seriously compromising the overall stability in Sierra Leone.

According to the UNDP, the youth represent about a third of the total population, with more than 60% of them unemployed. The same youth population that today has been struggling to find viable sources of income represented the major participants in the war in Sierra Leone; as addressed by the World Bank, “many of these young people are illiterate, equipped with few employable skills, and lack work experience, in good part as a result of the conflict, which affected their formative years.” This ‘newly’ post-war marginalised youth group is composed by ex-combatants and civilians, who gather together in ‘newly’ post-war Sierra Leonian potes. In one of Freetown’s most popular potes, a civilian male told me: “we are suffering; there is no way to live. Young people are struggling. We come here to talk and to exchange ideas; we smoke marijuana and wait for an opportunity to come. If things don’t change there is the possibility we might have another war.” In addition, a young female ex-combat told me: “the war was not good because I left school. If the war had not existed I would have finished school and started university and today I would be an electronic engineer. I’m suffering too much, my father doesn’t help. The little money I have I spend it on my daughter. Some friends here invited me to go into prostitution but I reflected because this is not a good job: they suffer of sickness and cold. I see these people are not my real friends.”

In Sierra Leone’s challenging post-war context, the recurrent lack of recognition by society and the lack of easy access to education and employment opportunities have been stimulating the (re)formation of a substantial group of frustrated and hopeless youth, who might turn to violence and crime as a means of survival. A 23-year old male ex-combatant from Kono Town told me: “I dropped-out of school in 1992 because of financial constraints. My mother was killed in front of me by the rebels [RUF] during a war attack in Kono in 1997 and I was captured. I was given a LMG and a pistol... I did not learn anything in the bushes, just to fire the gun. I used to sniff cocaine while in the bushes... if I had no drugs I would not be able to fight. That was war time... that’s war. I used to command 15 boys... After the end of the war I decided not to go to the DDR [disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration] programme, and with the money from the war I started my business of ‘junk-trade’ [second-hand clothes], but the business finished in 2007 because I had no money. So I started to sell drugs [marijuana] in 2007. I live in the streets, but I was never caught by the police. With the money from the drugs I buy clothes and shoes which I keep in a garage, where the watchman is my former soldier from the bushes. I also pay my brother’s school fees and give some money to him every month for food and supplies. I would like to get my ‘junk-trade’ business back because at the time I could double my profit.”

**Conclusion**

Driven by their inexperienced power and passionate commitment, political leaders and ‘revolutionaries’ have opted to make use of marginalised young people to influence politics worldwide. Through history, the instrumentalisation of youth has played pivotal roles in either establishing or overthrowing political structures. In the case of post-independence Sierra Leone, the mobilisation of youths as thugs and foot soldiers has been orchestrated by both politicians and ‘revolutionaries’ in search of political centralisation, power, and money. For that reason, it is of great importance to understand the social, economic and political contexts in which the Sierra Leonean youth is placed, and the problems it might be facing at present. Likewise, it is of great importance to promote participatory assessments of their specific needs [offer a voice to the youth] in order to identify and implement policies which better support them. If left unattended, as it has happened in the past, the youth might gradually remove its basic ‘unfreedoms’ at the cost of death.

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There is a fence around Gaza. It stretches from the north to the south. From a distance, the fence looks innocent; it is not a tall, imposing structure with deep ditches or piercing floodlights. Neither does it appear impenetrable. Yet the fence looks out of place, uncomfortable, dividing land that otherwise flows gently as far as the eye can see. And as everyone in Gaza knows, any seemingly benign features belie the fact that the fence constitutes an absolute — separating people from productive livelihoods, family members, higher education, and, indeed, freedom itself in the form of access to the rest of the world beyond it.

Approximately 1.5 million people live on the narrow stretch of land known as the Gaza Strip. Given Gaza’s size of 360 square kilometres, local complaints about population density and lack of open space for recreation are easy to understand. Located on the Mediterranean, at the crossroads between major Middle Eastern cities, Gaza has always had an important role in the political, military and commercial pursuits of regional and local powers.¹ Set in such circumstances, it is no wonder that Gazans traditionally have been cosmopolitan in outlook, wise about the world, and strategically savvy.

These days, after more than two full years of an Israeli-imposed closure, Gazans wonder when their confinement will end and life can start again.² Erez, the crossing point used by people as they exit Gaza and enter Israel, remains closed except for a limited number of medical and humanitarian

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cases and staff members of international organisations. Moving across the desolate terminal area, there is no trace of the hundreds of thousands of Palestinian workers who in decades past and as late as the year 2000, used to make their way to work in Israel on a daily basis. The emptiness is the embodiment of policy. As outlined in the Israeli June 2004 cabinet resolution on Gaza disengagement “the State of Israel expects to reduce the number of Palestinian workers entering Israel, to the point that it ceases completely”.

With economic opportunities in Israel curtailed, Gazans prevented from such productive activities intuitively look to the local market in search of making a livelihood. But what meets the eye is a series of blows under a perpetual stranglehold that has culminated in what can only be described as total devastation. The ongoing closure has led to private sector collapse, as Gaza’s businesses can neither import goods nor export their products. The industrial area in the north lays bare; around 700 factories and workshops were effectively levelled during the last days of the recent conflict. Maintenance, rehabilitation and reconstruction are words only; as long as a ban on the import of building materials remains in place. Having a job, the basic marker of dignity and self-worth, has become a pipe dream or mere nostalgia here in Gaza. Outside the framework of the United Nations, the public sector and a thriving black tunnel economy there really are no jobs at all.

For most ordinary people, current circumstances have given rise to a previously unthinkable situation. After years of socio-economic decline, the closure has left them destitute. More than three-quarters of the entire population are food insecure and depend on receiving food assistance from the United Nations in order to fend off starvation. The daily average of goods allowed into Gaza during the years of the blockade has been reduced to less than one-fifth of what was allowed in the months before it was imposed. By way of example, in the month of August 2009, less than 1,800 truckloads entered Gaza for the local market, alongside some 642 truckloads of grains and animal feed. This left 1.5 million people with around sixty truckloads of food and less than twenty truckloads of grains to serve their daily needs. Having reached this point, it is time we remind ourselves that what we are faced with in Gaza is a man-made human dignity crisis. Every day ordinary Gazans pay the price for political failure. In the words of John Holmes, the United Nations Under-Secretary
General for Humanitarian Affairs, “[In] Gaza, humanity has taken a back seat to politics. A measly trickle of items has become the most the world can offer civilians trapped by a political stalemate.”

Beyond the fence lies a different reality. Beyond the fence lie opportunities for people to meet, gain new skills, and have the seemingly unattainable privilege of free exchange with fellow human beings. The mobile phone has become the most precious item for any Palestinian family whose members are divided between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. An hour away by car, the West Bank may seem as distant as Europe, as a permission to enter simply can not be obtained. For the high-achieving student who dreams of further knowledge and of the sharing of ideas, Gaza’s isolation translates into acute frustration. An Israeli announcement in 2008 to the effect that no Gazan student would be allowed to exit Gaza to pursue tertiary education has only been slightly amended, allowing a limited number of students to leave for taking up scholarships at ‘recognised’ universities. The closure of borders narrows space. It also narrows people’s choices, and, in time, their minds.

Children are fragile. Yet they have a thirst for life and are recognised by all as our common future. For a fenced-in Gaza, education has perhaps never been as important as now. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) recognises this and does everything it can to prepare the next generation to become global citizens, respectful of one another and of differences among people. The introduction some years ago of Human Rights education to the 208,000 students in Gaza’s UNRWA schools is only one of several initiatives intended to enhance knowledge and enrich their educational experience. Having operated in Gaza from the very outset of the Palestinian refugee problem in the wake of the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, the Agency seeks to fulfil its humanitarian and human development mandate through a combination of basic material assistance, health services, the provision of economic opportunities, and education – all in the hope that it can serve for a better future for Palestinians. The fate of the people in Gaza and efforts to fulfil UNRWA’s mandate are both intrinsically linked to what we all are as human beings and what the United Nations means to each and every one of us. Today’s isolation has led many Gazans to wonder how it came to this. Former colleagues and friends in Israel still make calls to ask what life is like. Separated
from normal day-to-day interaction for almost a decade, it is only the older generations on both sides who still remember, who still can put a name or a voice to a seeming stranger’s face. The Hebrew is broken, and so is the face – in a smile – when reminiscence takes over from the hardships of current survival. “I know my neighbour, but my children don’t.”

The current blockade of Gaza has not appeared out of a vacuum. Along with the Oslo Accords of 1993 came a series of restrictions on movement, a stringent permit system, and, from 1995, a fence. Twenty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, a similar structure defines the day-to-day reality of everyone in Gaza. Ordinary people’s experience of opportunity, hope and common humanity is all connected to the perpetuation of the fence encircling this narrow piece of land. Even looking out on the Mediterranean horizon, everyone will know the existence of a liquid fence, a few nautical miles from shore, beyond which one’s life is in peril. Even looking out on the Mediterranean horizon, everyone will know the existence of a liquid fence, a few nautical miles from shore, beyond which one’s life is in peril.

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Apart from a few exceptions, there has been a total ban on exports from Gaza since the imposition of closure in June 2007. This has led to the discontinuation of an estimated 95 percent of industrial establishments (some 3,700 establishments) and the layoff of 54 percent of workers (approximately 53,000). See Private Sector Coordination Council Gaza Governorate, “Gaza Private Sector: Post-War Status and Needs, Preliminary Assessment Report”, 25 February 2009, p. 1.

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* Trude Strand is Special Assistant to the Director of UNRWA Operations, Gaza.
On 8 December 2009, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, UNRWA, will be sixty years old: an occasion for sober reflection but also an opportunity to highlight the Agency's service and achievements during six decades of work alongside millions of Palestine refugees.

"UNRWA AT 60" PAYING TRIBUTE TO SIX DECADES OF SERVICE AND ACHIEVEMENTS

"In 2009, we will commemorate six decades of UNRWA's existence. These anniversaries are occasions for solemn reflection on our respective roles in the epic saga of Palestinian exile. They offer opportune moments to consider what more we can do as international actors - Within and beyond the relatively safe sphere of humanitarian assistance - to give meaning to human dignity for Palestine refugees, to bring closer to realization the elusive goal of justice for Palestinians and a State of their own and to seize opportunities for turning conflict around."

UNRWA Commissioner General
Karen Koning AbuZayd

1- UNRWA
Received Khalid Gibran Award
on April 23 in Washington DC

2- A GOAL FOR PEACE.
On May 6 Edmond Machens Stadium
of Molenbeek-Brussels-Belgium
Palestinian National Football Team
played friendly game against FC
Molenbeek Brussels. It was a first time
that the Palestinian National football
team played in Europe. During the
halftime there was musical concert of
Jasser Switat, Ammer Hassan, GTown,
and Shadia Mansour

3- Artist for Peace
MARCEL KHALIFE
A Concert for Peace and Humanity
Tuesday June 30 2009, 20h, Vienna,
City Hall, Arkadenhof

http://www.unrwaat60.org
W hen the wall came down 20 years ago it was the end of a regime whose cruelty was vividly represented by images of the lengths to which it went to keep its citizens within its borders. Who can forget the images of cars being searched as they exited Checkpoint Charlie; border guards doing their utmost to find even the most ingeniously hidden escapee. How can we not remember the dark inventiveness with which a regime seemed to turn every technological advance against its own citizens? How happy one could feel to be a citizen of the free world: free to travel across our own borders with governments who respected our personal liberty not only in this context.

In a speech which would later become closely associated with the dramatic events of two years later, US President Ronald Reagan took an opportunity in 1987 to remind of the West’s values: “We welcome change and openness; for we believe that freedom and security go together, that the advance of human liberty can only strengthen the cause of world peace. There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of freedom and peace. General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you seek liberalisation, come here to this gate. Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate. Mr. Gorbachev, tear down

© EU Audiovisual

* Marianne Wade

The Schengen Agreement

The Schengen area gradually expanded to include nearly every EU Member State. Italy signed the agreements on 27 November 1990, Spain and Portugal joined on 25 June 1991, Greece followed on 6 November 1992, then Austria on 28 April 1995 and Denmark, Finland and Sweden on 19 December 1996. The Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia joined on 21 December 2007 and the associated country Switzerland on 12 December 2008. Bulgaria, Cyprus and Romania are not yet fully-fledged members of the Schengen area; border controls between them and the Schengen area are maintained until the EU Council decides that the conditions for abolishing internal border controls have been met. UK, Denmark, and Ireland have opted out of certain categories of cooperation.

Source: http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries
Some of the most bitterly defended borders in the world over which two world wars were fought, including those between the former Eastern and Western blocks, are disappearing. The magic word is Schengen...

this wall!” The idea was clear: restrictions to human liberty, especially when as draconian as the Wall, were a hindrance to world peace.

Twenty years later we witness events of apparently utopian dimensions; some of the most bitterly defended borders in the world over which two world wars were fought, including those between the former Eastern and Western blocks, are disappearing. Far more than just the Wall has crumbled. The magic word is Schengen, a multi-national treaty, now incorporated into the acquis of the EU, which provides for freedom of passage by requiring its signatories to bring down border controls. An average traveller can now drive from Cracow, Poland, to Lisbon, Portugal, without noticing a border (when in fact at least 5 are passed). Even countries traditionally suspicious of international co-operation like Switzerland are set to participate in this revolution. The result would be an area of 3.6 million square kilometres, in which 400 million citizens can move freely without checks across borders. If advancing human liberty strengthens world peace, it would seem like Europeans are certainly doing their part.

The background of this development is the integration taking place within the context of the European Communities, now a Union. This supra-national conglomeration has developed from a free trade agreement to stand fundamentally upon the base of the so-called four freedoms: free movement of goods, persons, capital and services within the now 27 member states. European integration is driven by commercially motivated mobility. This has developed so far that citizens who become residents in another member state will receive the same voting rights as locals for certain elections. Traditional concepts such as borders and arguably even citizenship are vanishing. Walls, borders, boundaries and all matter standing in the way of freedom within this context are apparently a thing of the past.

Recent years have also witnessed increasing worries pertaining to the benefits that the fundamental freedom of mobility brings to those with legitimate interests. The energetically voiced concerns that criminal justice systems (which inevitably reside within their traditional borders) are being left behind have led to traditional walls beginning to crumble even in this context. Measures such as the European arrest warrant, the principle of availability of data amongst member states, criminal justice system institutions and common databases such as Eurodac and the Schengen Information System are being used to overcome the boundaries laid down by traditional concepts of sovereignty.

Whilst the EU’s attitude to physical borders between its member states seems to consider them as a hindrance, this stance however cannot be taken as true when it is dealing with the borders separating it from non-EU states. Recent years have seen a shift in attitude, now clearly viewing the territorial edges of the Union as the common external border, and one which should separate. The latest border package clearly demonstrates that the EU deems it essential to categorise those crossing its borders, differentiating between entrees with legitimate interests from those with illegitimate ones. EU and non-EU citizens are worlds apart in this context. One might venture that a new, if different, wall is in place somewhat further east. Decisively a presumption applies to EU citizens that their movement is legitimate unless past behaviour indicates otherwise, whilst non-EU citizens are per se to be treated as having potentially illegitimate interests until they have proved themselves to be of desirable character. Third country nationals who regularly visit the EU and display a number of positive features (no overstays, adequate finance, biometric passport and successful visa applications) can gain the status of low-risk “registered travellers.” Despite its declared aim to benefit such travellers, the border package appears above all to categorise them negatively, only to allow them to be filtered out and then spared the negative consequences ensuing.

Whilst it is not denied that the EU has legitimate reasons to control who enters its territory, it seems appropriate (as we remember the joy of the fall of a dominant boundary marked by the Wall, and our celebration of the ensuing advance of freedom) that we review how our attitudes to walls may have shifted as the shadow thrown by such draconian walls is no longer upon Europe. There can be no question that we should celebrate the fall of the Wall, but in doing so we might remember that it also served us as a warning of what borders and walls could mean and held all that was positive about our world clearly before our eyes.

Smart Borders around the Fortress Europe?

The development of a well-protected, prosperous united Union has long been associated with the negative potential for a “fortress Europe” excluding those beyond the external borders. The European Council on Refugees and Exiles has expressed strong concerns in relation to the European border package, questioning whether it ignores the right to asylum, thereby breaching international law. The Council has pointed out that asylum applications in EU member states are at their lowest level for the past 20 years; moreover, asylum seekers tend to be forced to enter the EU illegally through other, more perilous, immigration flows, interjecting that the border packages “prevent most refugees from physically reaching the EU.” In relation to the external Union borders, the walls of Europe have been hardened and our willingness to help those most in need, i.e. to use freedom to contribute to world peace, has apparently lessened.

Much of the development described within the EU is, of
course, about technological progress and how such advances increase capacities in our daily lives. The apparent vanishing of borders is, in certain respects, merely a superficial impression: whilst manned physical border posts in roads, walls, wires and the visible manifestations of borders may be vanishing, they are, at least partially, being replaced by modern alternatives, such as surveillance and dataveillance, movement sensors, biometric recognition software, infrared technology (used outside the EU to determine the body temperature of those arriving, by which anyone with a raised temperature becomes subject to medical tests decisive for their access across the border), etc. Data analysis of those known to be entering and softer border zones in which border guards operate (also on a neighbouring territory), may result in borders being less visible for many, but also being more intelligent than their predecessors. One might try to imagine what the border guards between the former East and West might have made of such equipment; the barbed wire and the dog runs of the Iron Curtain are not to be trivialised, but they certainly seem different through the eyes of modern technology.

Borders and walls are thankfully, visibly becoming a thing of the past for most European citizens, but we may be in danger of forgetting that their disappearance is often conditional. They are becoming invisible in particular to those who are willing to provide data for pre-clearance and to submit themselves to screening so that they can be categorized as legitimate travellers for whom borders should be no hindrance. If one is not lucky enough to qualify for such preferential treatment, the barriers are still very much in place, no matter how great one’s need may be.

Border policy in the EU is unquestionably developing to become an integrated part of a risk-assessment based security strategy. We have those who belong: they are categorised as posing no risk, they are welcome in our societies, and for them borders appear to almost cease to exist. Then there are those of whom we are not certain: they will be subjected to more or less bothersome checks, for them borders will retain their more traditional image of a required stop, subjecting oneself to control and to being allowed to pass at the sovereign’s discretion. Finally there are those who are not welcome: they are labelled as threatening or unwanted and for them the border is going to be harder, stronger and more omnipresent than any concrete wall could ever be.

The disturbing and frightening reality is that this negatively categorised mass includes those that Europe should be helping in order to advance world peace. Doubtlessly the looming presence of the physical Wall (whose falling we celebrate) was a physical manifestation which caused us to stop and think; today possibly to reflect with regret. Perhaps our celebration should also mark an opportunity to contemplate what we have done with our preciously won freedom. Is our wall-less Europe really advancing human liberty and, with it, world peace?

* Mariane Wade is Senior Researcher, European Criminal Law Section, Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law, Freiburg, Germany.
Few doubt that the fall of the Berlin Wall is the event that closed the Cold War era and brought in the twenty-first century. Like every event in history, this one also has its founding myths.

Michael Meyer recently wrote a book, The year that changed the world: the untold story behind the fall of the Berlin Wall. He addressed the triumphal misunderstanding of history that led the United States into some of the most intractable conflicts it faces today.

Michael Meyer was in East Berlin on 9 November 1989. He was Newsweek’s Bureau Chief for Germany and Eastern Europe. Today, twenty years later, most of which spent as a reporter and the last two as chief speechwriter for the UN Secretary-General, we asked him to tell us about those days.

Meyer’s work at the United Nations allows him to look at the fall of the Berlin Wall from a different angle. The founding myths of the new century are called into question, with surprising and far-reaching consequences: what if the Cold War did not really end with the fall of the Berlin Wall?

Reagan asked Gorbachev to tear down the Berlin Wall in a famous speech in 1987. About two years later it happened. The Cold War ended, the US won. This is the mainstream story told by the West. But what remains untold twenty years later?

Has the Cold War Ended?

INTERVIEW with Michal Meyer
* Francesco Candelari

History evolves and it is not uncommon for people to rewrite history. The Cold War was big, it touched everyone’s lives. When I was a kid we practiced what we called ducking and diving under our school desk: if a nuclear bomb is about to fall what do you do? You dive under your desk to protect yourself. The Cold War apparently ended twenty years ago with the fall of the Berlin Wall, but everything so big takes a long time to work through. A lot of people still look at the present through the lens of the past. The war in Iraq was in some ways an extension of a Cold War view of the world. In the book I argue that we did not understand how the Cold War ended. We thought it was Ronald Reagan standing tall against a dictator: the people rise up, the dictator falls, democracy is triumphant. This is a very simplistic view of history. Following this perspective it is difficult to understand, nowadays, what happened in Iraq, where it has become clear that building a democracy is a lot more difficult than knocking down a dictator.

You were there on 9 November 1989. What do you remember from that day?

I was on the East side of Checkpoint Charlie. In fact, the wall went down as a result of a messy human accident. There was a press conference and a party spokesman was reading out the new rules that would allow East Germans to travel. They
The book

The year that changed the world: the untold story behind the fall of the Berlin Wall (Scribner, New York, September 2009) is an eyewitness account of the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe. Twenty years later Michael Meyer, in his new position as Chief Speechwriter of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, rewrites the conventional understanding of how the Cold War came to an end and what lessons can be learned by the US.

decided to give people passports, but, of course, subject to a series of rules and regulations. However, a journalist at the press conference asked when this would have taken effect and as the spokesperson did not receive guidance from his superiors, he said “immediately.” East German authorities were not prepared for that, but by the time the news had spread out, hundreds, then thousands of people went to Checkpoint Charlie to cross the border. They told the police that they were free to go, as the radio said so. The border police did not have instructions, it tried to reach some of the higher officials, but it was late evening and many of them were out. Finally, they decided to open the doors and this was the beginning of the fall of the Berlin Wall.

You say that Bush’s mistakes in starting the Iraqi war are found in the myths coming from the fall of the Berlin Wall. He had the idea that all totalitarian regimes can crumble with a shove from the outside. On the other hand, in your book you demonstrate that the revolution in the East started from the inside. How?

If you are an American of a certain political persuasion, you think that the Berlin Wall fell because we sent the Soviet Union into bankruptcy and we confronted them. The lesson drawn is that this is a type of foreign policy that works, anywhere. But if you were on the ground you saw a series of revolutions from the ground up. The people who pushed the communist regimes on one side and the reformers who gave communism a human face on the other were fundamental for political change.

What seeds of democracy did you find when you arrived in East Germany in 1988?

From when I first arrived there I had the feeling that something would happen soon. In November, a new government, headed by Miklos Nemeth, came into power talking about free press, capital markets, and new communist forums. These forums could have been an embryonic form of political parties, so I went to Hungary and I talked to the new Justice Minister, Kalman Kulcsar. In the communist system the Justice Minister is the one who commands the secret police: he is the ultimate enforcer of social order. I was ready to see a bureaucrat, instead I found a brilliant man of great humanity talking about free elections. I asked him: “What will happen if you are going to have an election and the communists loose?”

“We will step down”, he said, as if it was the most normal thing in the world for a communist regime.

I laughed. “You don’t believe me?”

He opened a drawer at his desk, pulled out a pamphlet and asked: “Mr. Meyer, what do you think is in my hand?”

“No idea.”

“This is a copy of the American Constitution and the US Bill of Rights, and mark my words: in nine months this will be ours.”

The greatest paradox of the East is that the person who opened the doors to transparency, freedom, and ultimately also democracy is not only a prophet who was never respected in his own home country, but was sometimes even considered the main person responsible for all that went bad in Russia after 1989. Why?

Gorbachev was by far the man who made the most difference. He wanted to create a third way, socialism with a more human face, and he was an immense humanitarian. However, once I asked a Russian general what he would have done differently, he said: “Put a bullet in Gorbachev’s head after his first visit to Germany.” Gorbachev was a socialist to the core, I met him several times and he had no idea of the depth of what was happening and how quickly things would slip away.

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War were seen as one of the greatest opportunities in human history for peace and development. However, in the last twenty years military expenses and deaths in conflict regions have increased. Did we miss this opportunity?

People talk a lot about the end of the Cold War. It is misleading. Yes, East-West tensions declined dramatically. The world is no longer divided between East and West, but the institutions that were put in place during the Cold War have not disappeared. You don’t end four decades of military investments overnight. Governments who came into power during the Cold War era did not just disappear. People’s frames of mind do not change overnight. The military industrial complex built during the Cold War did not go away.

So, do you think the Cold War is still with us?

Its rubble has not left us, it was too big. I think it will take more time to completely end the Cold War.

* Francesco Candelari is the UNICRI Liaison Representative to the UN Headquarters.
It's a global emergency

But it's happening behind closed doors
The geopolitical landscape has changed considerably since the fall of the Berlin Wall, with the US maintaining, for the time being, its economic and military superiority. It seems, however, that the world is moving towards a fundamental reshuffle of the global balance of power, with the emergence of actors whose posture will eventually shape a new global order through alliances reflecting different interests from those currently dominating international politics.

This global transformation will have a direct impact on both sides of the supply and demand equation. It will increase the bargaining power of the suppliers as they find hungry new customers but, at the same time, consumers will have the opportunity to negotiate alternative deals with a number of suppliers operating outside the OPEC-pricing mechanism.

Given the current international scenario, it seems that the future of human prosperity will depend on how successfully we tackle the two central energy challenges: securing the availability of reliable and affordable energy, and achieving an environmentally acceptable system of supplying energy.

Oil, along with coal and gas, will however, remain the world’s vital sources of energy for years to come. Currently, it is estimated that 86% of the world’s primary energy production comes from burning fossil fuels. Consequently, preventing catastrophic and irreversible damage to the global climate requires a major effort of decarbonisation of the world’s energy sources. The year 2012 (when the Copenhagen Conference will take place) represents the first commitment deadline for the Kyoto Protocol; setting up a robust policy mechanism to achieve the stabilisation of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere is a mandatory necessity.
Definition of Energy Security

The issue of energy security is certainly not restricted to oil, as it also involves electricity and gas, thus extending to the entire infrastructure of energy supply that supports the global economy. In the longer term, a renewed commitment to new technologies, energy research and development holds the promise of further diversification; but energy security requires, first and foremost, continuing commitment and attention, both today and tomorrow.

Energy Security is an umbrella term covering many concerns over energy, economic growth and political power.

Security threats

In the face of today’s security threats, understanding the domestic and international drivers and dynamics is more relevant than ever. The first threat comes from the demographic explosion, with the world population set to increase from 6.5 billion to 7.7 billion by 2020.

The second threat is represented by climate change. UN researchers predict continuing and rapid degradation of eco-systems, which will severely affect water, health and food security. The third threat comes from terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, with the greatest threats emerging from countries characterized by a weak central power.

One more threat to energy security is represented by the significant increase in energy prices, either on the world market or caused by the imposition of price increases. Suppliers can go beyond manipulating prices, they can also suspend or even terminate supplies altogether. Energy Security is therefore closely linked to all of these threats. That is why Europe needs to work hand in hand with the US in order to cope with all of these security challenges.

Actions to be taken

The first move could be to increase efforts to supplement oil with more plentiful resources, such as coal and natural gas. Oil, gas and coal cannot provide, however, a lasting solution, particularly if we consider fossil fuels as a potential basis for change in the international balance of power; this would be a shift based not only on which countries control the lion’s share of the world’s fossil fuel supplies, but also on which countries are most dependent on those supplies: an oil-hungry China or India can still take a harder line.

A second move could involve the exploitation of alternatives to fossil fuels: nuclear energy and renewable energy sources, such as solar cells, wind turbines and other sources, which will surely become relatively less expensive as oil prices rise.

For the time being, the small but rapidly growing world market in solar cells, hydrogen-fuel cells, wind turbines is currently dominated by Europe and Japan: the job of governments, in this regard, is to step in where a need exists and when the private sector is unwilling or unable to satisfy it (as already happened for railroads, highways, computer, internet, space technology).

Further possible approaches to integrate renewable energy sources consider ethanol, biomass, tidal and geothermal energy worthy of being explored: the bottom line is that diversification is the magic word.

Enhanced cooperation in the EU and the US’ approach

Climate change could reach catastrophic levels this century unless emissions of greenhouse gases are reduced and EU access to more secure energy sources is granted.

The package of EU climate and energy measures approved in December 2008 (to come into effect by 2011 at the latest) directs and coordinates the efforts of individual MS in limiting emissions by maximizing the effectiveness of the measures taken and by supporting the coordination of the global fight against climate change (Kyoto Protocol).

Thankfully, the Lisbon Treaty guidelines for enhanced cooperation make it possible for MS to announce their intention to create a pioneer group and seek approval from the Council. The Lisbon Treaty states that “All members of the Council may participate in the deliberations of the enhanced cooperation group, but only members of the Council representing governments, in this regard, is to step in where a need exists and when the private sector is unwilling or unable to satisfy it (as already happened for railroads, highways, computer, internet, space technology).

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Confident in the strength of an enhanced cooperation agreement, individual governments would thus avoid dealing with Moscow bilaterally.

EU guidelines require that at least nine countries agree to work together under the aegis of enhanced cooperation. The most natural candidates would be those states that tend to be most affected by Russian shut-offs: Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia and Romania. The inclusion of Austria, Greece, Finland...
International Seminar
Countering Terrorist Financing - Giessbach III
15 - 17 December 2009, Lucerne, Switzerland

The Idea
In 2007, the so called Giessbach process started when over 100 experts from 33 countries met in Giessbach, Switzerland to discuss important challenges on counter-terrorist financing (CTF) and develop practical solutions to the main issues in question.

Giessbach III will again provide a platform for experts to address important issues on CTF, this year’s a main focus being on the regulatory-supervisory community and financial sector for an extensive discussion and exchange of views on developing a practical course of action.

We look forward to welcoming you to the Giessbach process!

Topics
* Recent developments in terrorism
* The role of financial institutions in CTF
* TF typologies to detect financial transactions
* How to improve the legal framework
* Regulation of NGOs
* The use of risk intelligence technology in CTF
* Cyberterrorism: threats and defences
* CTF training programs for financial institutions
* Checklist for financial institutions
* Case Studies


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Online registration at www.baselgovernance.org/giessbach3.

Contact Information
Basel Institute on Governance
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Phone +41 (0)61 205 55 13, Fax +41 (0)61 205 55 19
or Netherlands, countries that are also heavily dependent on Russian imports or are gas producers themselves, would further strengthen the group’s influence within the EU.

Once enhanced cooperation starts taking place in Europe, across the Atlantic the USA will also have a vital role to play in the development of a collective energy security initiative in Europe. At last year’s USA-EU Summit, both sides pledged to work in tandem to strengthen the transatlantic partnership on energy.

Looking ahead, the US has a compelling interest in helping European countries diversify import options, limit the corrosive influence of non-transparent business practices, and prevent external energy partnerships from inappropriately influencing state policy.

Secretary of State Hillary Clinton has already signalled to the Senate the desire to engage Europe on the matter of energy security: “I hope we can make progress with our friends in NATO and the EU to understand that we do need a broader framework in which we can talk about energy security issues.” In this regard, a European collective energy security agreement would offer the USA and Europe the chance to do more than just talk.

NATO’s approach

NATO strongly believes that a system of international cooperation to share energy is badly needed: the key question is how to convince all the emerging new economic giants to see energy as a source that must be necessarily shared.

So new ways must be found to use oil and gas more efficiently, while pushing ahead the conversion to alternative fuel and seriously looking at ways of diversifying energy supplies to reduce vulnerabilities.

As climate change makes its impacts on energy exploration and transit routes, it will also increasingly impact NATO’s security. In 2008 Norway put the issue of the “High North” on the NATO agenda. As the polar icepack melts and the Northwest Passage to Asia opens up, an increasing amount of shipping will pass through one of the most remote and inhospitable parts of the world, requiring to intervene in the event of an emergency situation, an environmental disaster or even a terrorist attack.

NATO is certainly not the panacea to these problems, but there are three roles that it can play.

The first role is to police the high seas, protecting them so as to keep sea-lanes of communication (SLOC) open and safe.

As NATO is already cooperating with the EU to develop a greater naval presence off the coast of Somalia to stop piracy, at the same time the Alliance should be ready to protect the essential choke points and navigation routes along which so much oil and gas supplies pass each day. NATO’s second role is to foster partnerships. Over the last few years the Alliance has already developed a very extensive network of security partnerships (Partnership for Peace, Mediterranean Dialogue, Istanbul Cooperation Initiative, NATO-Russia Council, NATO-Ukraine Commission, NATO-Georgia Commission) with a large number of countries around the world: several of these are major energy producers.

Finally, NATO could support its MS in coping with energy challenges. In short, NATO could act as a catalyst in persuading its countries to take a more strategic look at energy security and to develop a more collective approach.

NATO has already begun to act in such a coordinated way with its own members, partner countries, and with other international organizations. There is one missing link in this network of cooperation: the dialogue with the private sector, a dialogue which must be started, finalized, improved and maintained so that all the legally operating stakeholders can make the most of it.

Conclusion

At this stage, if we want to make a comparison between the attitudes of three pivotal players such as the EU, NATO and the US, we could venture to suggest that EU policies often overlap and do not integrate with the US and NATO’s.

A common approach within Europe is therefore desperately needed, avoiding the disconnect between a sometimes ambitious European Commission policy and the selfishness of the Member States which deem the national benefit more attractive than the common good.

Once this common approach is achieved, Europe should identify, together with the US and NATO, a suitable international Energy Security policy conducive to preventing future confrontations whilst fostering consultation and cooperation.

* Brigadier General Giorgio Spagnol is currently the Vice Director and Courses Commander of the Post Conflict Operations Study Centre located in Turin.
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On the International Agenda

29 October 2009
Vienna, Austria

OSCE Annual Police Experts Meeting on hate crimes and effective law enforcement co-operation
This meeting will focus on the role of police in preventing and responding to hate crimes, special investigative techniques and approaches as well as inter-agency and international co-operation.

More information: http://polis.osce.org/events/details?item_id=3630

04-07 November 2009
Lima, Perù

1st World Congress on Restorative Juvenile Justice
The Terre des hommes Foundation Lausanne, a Swiss institution with great experience in juvenile justice projects in Europe, Africa and Latin America, the Encuentros Casa de la Juventud Association and the Office of the Attorney General of Peru, together with the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Peru, are organizing the First World Congress on Restorative Juvenile Justice.

More information: www.congresomundialjjrperu2009.org

09-13 November 2009
Doha, Qatar

Third session of the Conference of the States Parties to the United Nations Convention against Corruption
Pursuant to article 63 of the Convention, a Conference of the States Parties to the Convention was established to improve the capacity of and cooperation between States Parties to achieve the objectives set forth in this Convention and to promote and review its implementation.


20-22 November 2009
Dubai, UAE

Summit on the Global Agenda 2009
The theme of the 2009 conference is “Making it Happen” and will explore practical and innovative solutions to how policing is being improved for women - how police services respond to their female employees and how policing responds to women in the community.

07-09 December 2009

Montreal, Canada

Crime Prevention Across the World Conference of ICPC
To mark its 15th anniversary, ICPC’s event will focus on the evolution of crime prevention policy and practice and issues on the horizon within and between countries. The event will also discuss the impacts of issues such as urbanization, migration and the “privatization of security”.


15-17 December 2009

Hong Kong

Independent Commission Against Corruption 4th Symposium
The 4th Symposium is held this year as the Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC) of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region commemorates the 35th anniversary of its establishment. The title of the Symposium is “Deals Under the Table - the Doing or Undoing of Business?” It aims to help us focus our minds on the impact of corruption in business on the global community. The symposium is co-hosted by the European Anti-Fraud Office.


21-22 January 2010

London, UK

9th International Investigative Psychology Conference of IA-IP
Understanding Criminal Action and its Perpetrators
Towards Psychological & Social Science Contributions to Investigations and the Courts
An IA-IP event in collaboration with London South Bank University and The International Research Centre for Investigative Psychology (IRCIP), Huddersfield University, UK.

More Information: www.ia-ip.org/temp
Challenging Ideas

Complementarity in the Rome Statute and National Criminal Jurisdictions
Jann Kleffner - Oxford University Press, USA (February 15, 2008)

This book provides an in-depth examination of the principle of complementarity in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court and the implications of that principle for the suppression of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes on the domestic level. The book is set against the general background of the suppression of these crimes on the domestic level, its potential and pitfalls. It traces the evolution of complementarity and provides a critical and comprehensive analysis of the provisions in the Rome Statute and the Rules of Procedure and Evidence relevant to complementarity. In so doing, it addresses both substantive and procedural aspects of admissibility, while taking account of the early practice of the ICC. Further attention is devoted to the question whether and to what extent the Rome Statute imposes on States Parties an obligation to investigate and prosecute core crimes domestically. Finally, the book examines the potential of the complementary regime to function as a catalyst for States to conduct domestic criminal proceedings vis-a-vis core crimes.

Climate change and global poverty. A billion lives in the balance?

Climate change will inflict damage on every continent, but it will hit the world’s poor disproportionately hard. Climate Change and Global Poverty: A Billion Lives in the Balance? draws on expertise from the climate change and development communities to ask how the public and private sectors can help the world’s poor manage the global climate crisis.

Combating Weapons of Mass Destruction: The Future of International Nonproliferation Policy
Nathan E. Busch, Daniel H. Joyner - University of Georgia Press (January 15, 2009)

In this volume, experts in non-proliferation studies examine challenges faced by the international community and propose directions for national and international policy making and lawmakers. The first group of essays outlines the primary threats posed by WMD proliferation and terrorism. Essays in the second section analyse existing treaties and other normative regimes, including the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Chemical Weapons and Biological Weapons Conventions, and recommend ways to address the challenges to their effectiveness. Essays in part three examine the shift some states have made away from non-proliferation treaties and regimes toward more forceful and proactive policies of counter-proliferation, such as the Proliferation Security Initiative, which coordinates efforts to search and seize suspect shipments of WMD-related materials.
China in Latin America: The Whats and Wherefores
R. Evan Ellis - Lynne Rienner Publishers (April 15, 2009)

With China on the minds of many in Latin America - from politicians and union leaders to people on the street, from business students to senior bankers - a number of important questions arise. Why, for example, is China so rapidly expanding its ties with the region? What is the nature of the new connection, and how will it affect institutions, economic structures, politics, and society?

R. Evan Ellis provides a comprehensive look at the character and impact of the developing PRC - Latin America relationship. Ellis examines how the relationship has taken on distinct characteristics in various sub regions, considering the role of supplier-and-market countries such as Argentina and Brazil, China's cautious dance with populism as it seeks access to Andean oil, and the dominance of the Taiwan issue in China’s dealings with Central America and the Caribbean. He also addresses the unique case of Cuba.

Africa: Altered States, Ordinary Miracles
Chinua Achebe (Foreword), Richard Dowden (Author) - Portobello Books Ltd (1 September 2008)

The finest living Africa correspondent delivers, after a lifetime's close observation of the miraculous continent, a landmark book on life and death in modern Africa. Dowden has now, after 35 years on the continent, written a memoirist history of its peoples' experiences in the wake of the European withdrawal and the superpowers' arrival. He has been present at each of the continent's major crises and writes illuminatingly about them, but he is as passionate about the warmth, wisdom and joy he has encountered in peacetime, and the diversity of habits, attitudes and purposes to which he has been Britain's best witness. His book is no less than a benchmark publication on this most misunderstood and mishandled of continents.

Criminal Justice
Edited by Anthea Hucklesby and Azrini Wahidin - Oxford University Press (August 2009)

Criminal Justice provides a thought-provoking and critical introduction to the challenges faced by the UK's criminal justice system including policing, sentencing and punishment at the beginning of the 21st Century. Expert contributors present an overview of particular areas of the criminal justice system or issues relevant to its operation, outlining the political and historical context, detailing key legislation, policies and procedures, and challenging students to engage with current debates. Criminal Justice anticipates little or no prior knowledge of the subject area, and seeks to provide an introductory text for those commencing their studies in the disciplines of criminology and law for whom crime, law and order and the criminal justice system form important areas of study. The book will also be of interest to general readers and practitioners in the criminal justice system.
Nightlife and Crime is a collection of scholarly reports on crime and disorder in the Night Time Economies (NTEs) of 17 countries. This innovative volume provides an outward looking and international perspective on the area in an accessible and thought-provoking style. The issues raised in Nightlife and Crime go to the heart of contemporary debates on ‘binge-drinking’ and anti-social behaviour which have been heavily debated in Britain following the implementation of the Licensing Act 2003 and the Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006. Such themes are also at the forefront of public policy discourse and media interest in other countries such as Australia and Spain.

21st Century Criminology: A Reference Handbook provides straightforward and definitive overviews of 100 key topics comprising traditional criminology and its modern outgrowths. The individual chapters have been designed to serve as a “first-look” reference source for most criminological inquiries. Both connected to the sociological origins of criminology (i.e., theory and research methods) and the justice systems’ response to crime and related social problems, as well as coverage of major crime types, this two-volume set offers a comprehensive overview of the current state of criminology. From student term papers and masters theses to researchers commencing literature reviews, 21st Century Criminology is a ready source from which to quickly access authoritative knowledge on a range of key issues and topics central to contemporary criminology.

During the war in Sierra Leone (1991-2002), members of various rebel movements kidnapped thousands of girls and women, some of whom came to take an active part in the armed conflict alongside the rebels. In a stunning look at the life of women in wartime, Chris Coulter draws on interviews with more than a hundred women to bring us inside the rebel camps in Sierra Leone. When these girls and women returned to their home villages after the cessation of hostilities, their families and peers viewed them with skepticism and fear, while humanitarian organizations saw them primarily as victims. Neither view was particularly helpful in helping them resume normal lives after the war.
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