

WOMEN AND POST-2014 AFGHANISTAN

REPORT ON AFGHAN PARLIAMENTARIANS' VISIT TO BRUSSELS





Report prepared by Agnes Venema Copyright © 2013 EastWest Institute

On the cover: An Afghan girl works at a brick factory on the outskirts of Jalalabad.

Photos: Reporters.be/AP

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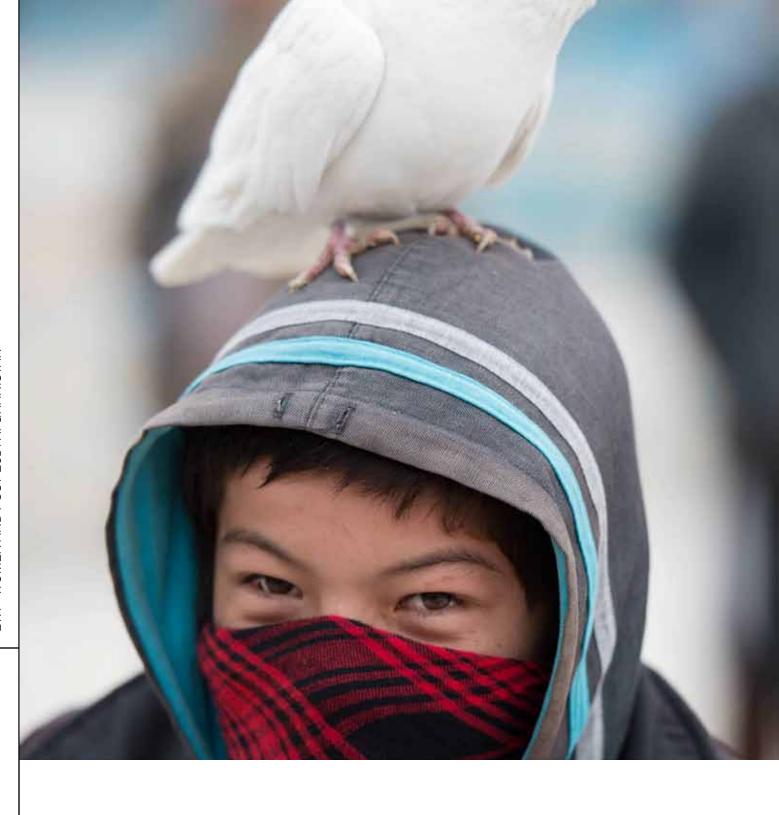
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Introduction

he same week that the EastWest Institute's Parliamentarians Network for Conflict Prevention convened a study visit for a delegation of Afghan parliamentarians, two-thirds of whom were women, to Brussels, the Taliban tried to kill Malala Yousafzai. A 14-year old Pakistani schoolgirl, Yousafzai was shot in the head simply because she was standing up for the right of all girls to get an education. Miraculously, Yousafzai survived the assassination attempt, and she was dispatched to England for surgery that has allowed her to begin the road to recovery. But the attack exemplified the brutality girls and women face as they struggle to secure their most basic freedoms in both Pakistan and Afghanistan.

In partnership with the Office for Promotion for Parliamentary Democracy (OPPD) of the European Parliament and the European External Action Service (EEAS), the Parliamentarians Network arranged for the Afghan delegation to visit some of the most prominent international institutions from October 8-12, 2012. Under the auspices of the Working Group on Women, Peace and Security (WPS), the visit presented an opportunity for Afghan women parliamentarians to take part in high-level consultations with international and European institutions with the goal of promoting their role in international political bodies and engaging in discussions on peace and security with regard to the future of Afghanistan.

The EastWest Institute's Parliamentarians Network for Conflict Prevention created WPS in 2010, marking the 10th anniversary of U.N. Security Council resolution 1325. It calls for more inclusiveness of women and an active role for them in conflict resolution efforts, stressing their importance for the sustainability of peace initiatives. In pursuit of activities to strengthen the role of women, the Working Group mainly focuses on conflict prevention and peacebuilding efforts. Over these past two years, WPS' primary focus has been on female parliamentarians in Afghanistan and Pakistan. By bringing the two groups of women lawmakers closer together, this effort forges ties that contribute to trust-building between these neighboring countries and regional stability and security.

Currently, women make up 27 percent of the Afghan parliament, which has 249 members. By comparison, women make up approximately 33 percent of the European Parliament, which has 754 members. The Parliamentarians Network is constantly seeking opportunities for female members to increase their effectiveness as parliamentarians working for peace and security, as well as to enlarge their network in the region beyond Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The Parliamentarians Network has already facilitated two historic meetings between women parliamentarians from Afghanistan and Pakistan. In June 2011, the network arranged the first-ever visit of a delegation of Afghan women parliamentarians to Islamabad—a valuable opportunity to forge new ties between these countries. President Asif Ali Zardari of Pakistan welcomed the delegation to Islamabad. In April 2012, the first official delegation of Pakistani women parliamentarians visited Afghanistan, where they met with high-ranking officials, including President Hamid Karzai.

Building on the outcome of these two meetings and recognizing the need for Afghan women to increase their visibility in international delegations, the Parliamentarians Network and its partners facilitated the study visit for Afghan parliamentarians to Brussels. During this week-long visit, the parliamentarians were able to meet with stakeholders and voice their hopes and concerns as representatives of the people of Afghanistan. This proved not only to be a valuable experience in terms of personal growth, but also encouraged a greater role for Afghan women legislators in other areas of public life—particularly, engaging in discussions on the future of stability and security in Afghanistan. Given their fears that their rights may be eroded in a post-2014 Afghanistan, the women parliamentarians feel that it is particularly important for them to participate in such delegations and discussions.

This report summarizes the priorities of both the delegation and the representatives of various European institutions in Brussels.

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A white dove sits on the head of a boy in front of the blue mosque in Mazar-i-Sharif, December 2012. Women parliamentarians

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The Role of Women in Politics

he EastWest Institute's Parliamentarians Network for Conflict Prevention identified the issue of "Women, Peace and Security" as the overarching theme on which to center a Working Group. The Working Group was established in 2010, on the 10th anniversary of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. The aim of the Working Group is to promote and undertake activities geared towards the successful implementation of Resolution 1325, such as increasing the substantive role of women in issues of conflict resolution, peace processes and in dialogues pertaining to peace and security. Women parliamentarians belonging to the network in Afghanistan and Pakistan have called for action to increase their visibility in security dialogues and to press for increased participation in their respective parliaments.

In answering this call, the Parliamentarians Network arranged for two prior delegations to visit Islamabad and Kabul respectively, with the aim of increasing mutual understanding between Pakistan and Afghanistan and providing women parliamentarians in these countries with valuable experiences as members of an official delegation.

The first official delegation meeting took place on June 3-4, 2011. A delegation of eight female Afghan parliamentarians traveled to Islamabad, Pakistan. The report Forging New Ties published the achievements of this two-day visit, as well as the Islamabad Action Plan, which the Afghan and Pakistani politicians

committed to implementing. Some of the most important milestones of this Action Plan are the recognition of the need for sustained dialogue between Afghanistan and Pakistan and the importance of including women in these dialogues. To further this process, the members of the delegations committed to hosting Pakistani female parliamentarians in Kabul as part of an official delegation. Furthermore, a commitment was made to strengthening the capacity of Afghan and Pakistani women lawmakers through regular policy briefings and advocacy opportunities with regional and international lawmakers.

In light of the sustained dialogue between the two nations and the return visit that was agreed upon in the Islamabad Action Plan, the Parliamentarians Network and the Women's Parliamentary Caucus of the Pakistani parliament facilitated a return visit for women parliamentarians from Pakistan to Kabul, Afghanistan. The five female members were part of the first-ever official delegation of Pakistani women parliamentarians to visit Afghanistan. The meeting took place in Kabul from April 14-16, 2012 and built on the Islamabad Action Plan. The report Women. Peace and Security outlines the accomplishments of this visit and examines some of the common challenges faced by female parliamentarians in Afghanistan and Pakistan. During this meeting, the participants adopted the Kabul Action Plan. Key components of this plan include the commitment to jointly support measures that will strengthen the capac-



ity of women parliamentarians to enact legislation in both countries and to re-energize "friendship groups" as an avenue to further parliamentary dialogue and understanding.

To this end, the EastWest Institute's Parliamentarians Network for Conflict Prevention. in partnership with OPPD of the European Parliament and the EEAS, convened the study visit for the delegation of Afghan parliamentarians to Brussels. In keeping with the aims the Working Group is committed to, it sponsored the female parliamentarians on the delegation. In convening this visit, one of the points of the Islamabad Action Plan was addressed, namely strengthening the capacity of women lawmakers by providing advocacy opportunities with international lawmakers. Not only is the opportunity to engage in such advocacy activities of immense importance, the mere presence of these female parliamentarians on an official delegation to these key institutions in Brussels provides them with higher visibility in discussions on peace and security issues back in their parliaments and strengthens their role as politicians and lawmakers.

The program for this visit included meetings with various representatives of the European Parliament. MEP Thijs Berman, the chair of the European Parliament Delegation for Relations with Afghanistan, met the delegation several times, both formally and informally. The first day included informal discussions with members of the European Parliament's

Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality (FEMM) and followed up with several sessions with members of this committee on the role of women in the European Parliament's Political Groups. The European Parliament hosted discussions on inter-institutional relations and parliamentary ethics. The group also attended an official meeting with the European Parliament Delegation for Relations with Afghanistan, particularly focusing on sanitary diplomacy and health issues in Afghanistan.

EEAS jointly organized meetings with its key experts, as well as a roundtable with civil society experts, discussing the role of women in brokering sustainable peace, focusing on economic security in post-2014 Afghanistan.

Further meetings included a visit to the headquarters of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), where the delegation met with senior officials including the first woman Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, Ambassador Kolinda Grabar-Kitarovic. Another key meeting was held with the Belgian Parliament where President of the Chamber André Flahaut represented Belgium as a troop-contributing country to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). The delegation also met with the Secretary General of the Brussels-based Energy Charter Secretariat.

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> Afghan lawmakers at the parliament in Kabul, June 2012.





Meeting Highlights

Combating Corruption

The international community of donors to Afghanistan committed themselves to economic aid incentives in the "Tokyo Mutual Accountability Framework" at the July 2012 Tokyo conference—that is, provided that Afghanistan demonstrates progress in good governance and in the fight against corruption. Afghanistan lacks a coherent structure to combat corruption, including nepotism,¹ and acknowledges the need to focus on parliamentary ethics to help combat it. The problem came into full view when the Kabul Bank nearly collapsed in 2010, after the bank reported a loss of some \$500 million due largely to insider relationships.

Parliamentary ethics are a rather new concept in Afghanistan. As one member of the visiting delegation put it: "In Europe, parliamentarians are professionals. In Afghanistan, they are influential people or important people, but not necessarily professional in public office." The topic of corruption was revisited many times throughout the week. Parliamentarians had active discussions concerning corruption in different areas of governance. It was noted that not enough attention is given to combating corruption as a punishable crime, much less to preventing it. Moreover, law enforcement institutions don't do enough to tackle this issue; discussions highlighted the need for better training of police officers.

The Afghan parliament does have a committee in place investigating corruption and is successful in questioning suspects; however, as in many countries, fear often leads people to avoid telling the truth or to making counter-accusations of corruption. The delegation was interested in some of the European procedures that could be implemented in Afghanistan.

Building on the momentum of the Tokyo Conference, donor nations should focus on more targeted aid, as it contributes to combating corruption and to achieving overall goals in the hope that the decade following 2014 will be a transformational one.

"In Europe, parliamentarians are professionals. In Afghanistan, they are influential people or important people, but not necessarily professional in public office."

A policeman holds Afghanistan's flag during a graduation ceremony in Herat west of Kabul, January 10, 2013. Around 250 police security forces including 10 policewomen officers and 50 local policemen graduated after receiving six months of training at a police training center in Herat.

¹ Kenneth Katzman, "Afghanistan: Politics, Elections, and Government Performance," Congressional Research Service, 2012, 44-45. http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RS21922.pdf

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Afghan Peace Process

The planned 2014 withdrawal of ISAF troops prompts many questions about the future of Afghanistan. At the forefront of most discussions are the peace process and what the prospects are for reconciliation with the Taliban. Although this is an extremely important issue for all Afghans, many believe that the outcome of the process will impact women the most. Parliamentarians echoed this sentiment and expressed concerns that the peace process is not inclusive of women and lacks clarity on their status in a potential peace deal. Given recent history, some are concerned that women stand on the brink of losing the very rights they gained in the past decade—in other words, that women's rights may be sacrificed in the process of reconciliation with the Taliban. If Afghan women are a more visible part of the discussions at both the national and international level, many parliamentarians believe, there is less of a likelihood of that happening.

All too often peace processes focus on renegade militants and other armed groups, for they pose the largest threats to peace. However, including those who will be directly impacted by any peace deal, such as the women of Afghanistan, will increase public support for the process. For any deal to be effective and long lasting, such public support is vital.

In line with UN Security Council resolution 1325, women are to be included at all decision-making levels in institutions dedicated to conflict resolution. Unfortunately, however, women's participation in the highest ranks of decision making in the peace process is far from a reality in Afghanistan. A mere 9 out of 68 members of the High Peace Council are women. Although women are increasing in numbers in the provincially led Peace and Reintegration Councils,² the numbers of female representatives on these councils is not enough to safeguard the rights of women as stipulated by Afghanistan's constitution. Should the constitution be revised post-2014, the rights of women must be guaranteed and explicitly stated in a newer version. Women's rights cannot be used as a bargaining chip with the Taliban.

At the Tokyo Conference, donors agreed that the advancement of women's rights beyond 2014 needs to continue, or that at least the achievements in this area are preserved as a condition for aid assistance.³ It was affirmed that the peace process as currently conducted is not adequately taking Afghan women into account. Therefore, a better representation of women in the High Peace Council based on merit is needed. It is of equal importance that the peace process be inclusive of civil society leaders.



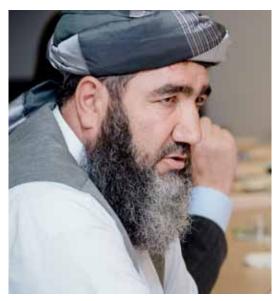




^{2 &}quot;United States National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security," The White House, 2011, 6. http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/email-files/US_National_Action_Plan_on_Women_Peace_and_Security.pdf

³ Matthias Gebauer, "Afghanistan Conference in Tokyo: Donors Link Billions in Aid to Progress on Reforms", Spiegel Online, 2012, http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/donor-nations-pledge-billions-to-afghanistan-a-843344.html

NATO











Afghanistan-Pakistan Relations

The relationship between Afghanistan and Pakistan is central in international discussions on the future of Afghanistan. Discussions conducted with the Afghan parliamentarians highlighted the sensitivity of Afghan-Pakistani relations and the high impact it can have on Afghanistan post-2014. The parliamentarians asked for sustained involvement by the European Union in safeguarding security in the region and in assisting Afghan-Pakistani trust-building efforts, particularly in physical and economic security.

Border management was highlighted as the most sensitive concern in the bilateral relations. The rise of extremist groups is a threat to both nations, especially to girls and women. The shooting of 14-year-old activist Malala Yousafzai demonstrated that threat all too clearly. Members of the Afghan delegation expressed their concern about the ability of the Pakistani government to eliminate radical militants from the Swat Valley and prevent a possible spillover effect into Afghanistan. One member of the delegation reported that the schools in Northwest Afghanistan already have very few students who are girls, and they risk their lives daily to fight for their fundamental rights enshrined in the Afghan constitution.

MEP Thijs Berman, chairman of the European Parliament Delegation for Relations with Afghanistan, MEP Jean Lambert, chair of the European Parliament Delegation for Relations with South Asia, and representatives from the EEAS all stressed the importance of relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan. The issue also came up during a discussion with NATO.

Trust building between Afghanistan and Pakistan remains a priority for safeguarding security in Afghanistan post-2014. There is an urgent need for cooperation between these neighbors, and greater efforts are required to achieve better relations.

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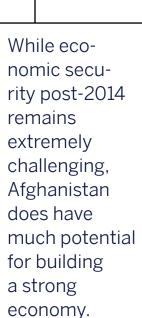
Post-2014 Economic Security

For over a decade, Afghanistan's economic growth has been mostly driven by services related to the presence of foreign troops and an elevated influx of international operations in the country. The 2014 troop withdrawal will undoubtedly have an economic impact, which some believe will be severe on the strong sectors of the Afghan economy—transport, construction, logistics and real estate. The winding down of international operations will equally impact employment and income generating activities across the business spectrum. While economic security post-2014 remains extremely challenging, Afghanistan does have much potential for building a strong economy.

Afghan parliamentarians engaged in discussions on the importance of continued assistance beyond 2014 in the areas of infrastructure development and agriculture. Infrastructure development will be crucial for Afghanistan's transformation decade and for the realization of Afghanistan's potential as a land bridge between Central Asia and South Asia. Additionally, the development of Afghanistan's rich mining sector will depend on the continued expansion of the country's infrastructure. Afghanistan also plays a significant role as an energy transit route, which is important for energy security throughout the region, specifically for Pakistan and India. Parliamentarians highlighted the need for institutional support on issues of legal reform in related areas, such as laws on mining and banking. They also reiterated the importance of strengthening the rule of law and fighting corruption.

In this context, women should be seen as full partners in the process of economic development and safeguarding security, which was emphasized in the debates delegation members had with civil society experts. Economic security will only increase if the profile of women entrepreneurs is raised. For example, women should be encouraged to become small business owners in urban areas where it is often easier to take advantage of opportunities like microcredit. Military investments have been significantly larger than development spending, yet security remains a grave concern and a challenge to economic growth. Given continued instability, ensuring safeguarding physical security must be an integral part of economic development efforts.

Accountable, self-sustaining institutions and reliable rule of law are central to developing the Afghan economy and to safeguarding economic security. Social-economic opportunities for women are directly correlated to a respect for their basic rights. Women's rights are a yardstick for how the justice system is functioning, and the limited opportunities for women now do not bode well for the future.





Afghans from Helmand province carry sacks to be donated at

a refugee

camp in

Kabul.

Internally displaced





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NATO Engagement

The ISAF withdrawal schedule has generated widespread concern about Afghanistan's ability to ensure its own security. The increase in "green-on-blue" incidents, attacks on ISAF troops by militants infiltrated into the Afghan army, is an alarming sign. Countries providing troops to ISAF see waning public support for their contributions. At the same time, the approaching drawdown means that ISAF needs to work fast to strengthen the Afghanistan National Security Forces (ANSF) to successfully complete the security transition process.

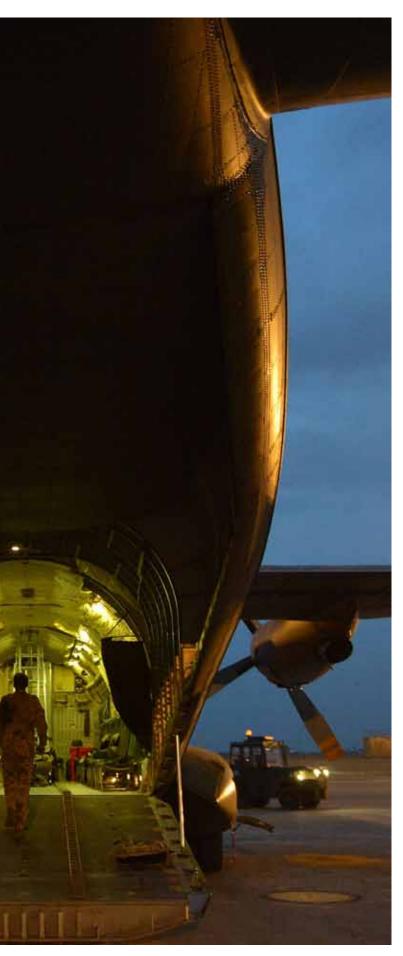
Simultaneously with the delegation's visit to Brussels, Afghanistan's Minister of Defense Bismillah Khan Mohammadi addressed the NATO defense ministers on the nature of their involvement in Afghanistan post-2014. That NATO will remain involved in Afghanistan after the 2014 handover is not in question, but there are widely divergent views about how to support Afghanistan at that point. Currently, NATO is examining the options for a follow-up mission that would best benefit the Afghans.4 U.S. Defense Secretary Leon E. Panetta stated: "While we have yet to determine the necessary size and composition of the force that will remain in Afghanistan after 2014, NATO's presence should be steadfast and effective." 5

In addition to NATO's involvement post-2014, discussions focused on how to equip Afghanistan's security forces, which remains another contentious issue. In order to increase the effectiveness of the Afghan army, more personnel and equipment are needed. But just how much more personnel and equipment is an open question, as is the question of what the top priorities of such an effort should be.

^{5 &}quot;Statement by Secretary Panetta on NATO Intervention, Brussels, Belgium," United States Department of Defense, 2012. http://www.defense.gov/releases/release.aspx?releaseid=15612



^{4 &}quot;NATO and Afghanistan", North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 2012. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_8189. <a href="http://https://http



The Role of Women in the Police and Army

Despite the need for more personnel. women are poorly represented in the security sector. A NATO report from May 2012 indicated that the number of women in the Afghan National Police totals 1,370, while the Afghan National Army has a mere 350 women, including two female pilots.6 Even though the number of women recruits to the army seems to be growing, the current level of approximately 3 percent lags far behind the participation level of women in politics. Accounting for less that 1 percent (approximately 1,290) of the Afghan National Police,7 women are marginalized in the police force, making it extremely difficult to effectively investigate crimes against women, such as moral crimes and rape, and to diminish violence against women and generally enforce their rights that the constitution claims they are entitled to.

Women in the armed forces and police are not only stigmatized because they defy the notion that they should not work outside the house, but also are sometimes attacked just because of their occupation. Fearing such repercussions, many women do not tell their relatives where they are working. Malalai Kakar, the highest profile woman in the Afghan police force, was assassinated in September 2008.

Early in 2012, the Ministry of Interior set out to recruit 5,000 women for the police force by 2014.8 With only one-fifth of that goal currently realized, it's unlikely that this target will be reached.

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German ISAF soldiers stand next to a transall C-160 transport plane at the international aiport in Mazar-i-Sharif.

^{6 &}quot;Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF): Training and Development," NATO ISAF, 2012, 2. http://www.nato.int/natostatic/assets/pdf/pdf topics/20120516 media backgrounder_ANSF_en.pdf

^{7 &}quot;Afghan National Police – Facts and Figures," NATO Allied Command Operations, 2012. http://www.aco.nato.int/page265731236.aspx

^{8 &}quot;Course for Afghan Female Police," EUPOL, European Union Police Missions, 2012. http://81.17.241.206/?q=node/131





The Constitution in Post-2014 Afghanistan

Many fear that the provisions of the Afghan constitution will not be safeguarded after 2014, given all the uncertainties surrounding the transfer of security responsibilities to the ANSF, the upcoming presidential election and the peace process. Women's rights. which are still tenuous in the current situation, are particularly at risk.9 With a constitution that is widely seen as not suitable for an Afghanistan in transition, many feel that 2014 is the moment to revise it,10 particularly since the prevailing sentiment towards gender-inclusive strategies in police and the army seem to be the result of continuous international pressure. rather than change from within Afghanistan.11 Many fear that the gains made by women and minorities, both in politics and in everyday life, will be sacrificed in this process. The Taliban have so far not recognized the current Afghan constitution, which only accentuates those concerns.

Other voices, however, are more optimistic, pointing to the fact that the increased participation of women in political life, along with the high-ranking positions many hold, indicates real progress. ¹² However, many of the mechanisms put in place to protect women, such as the law on Elimination of Violence Against Women (EVAW) which criminalizes rape, go largely unenforced ¹³ and are little more than hollow declarations.

Whatever happens during the transition process, it will be vital to safeguard the rights of women that are enshrined in the current constitution. Without such guarantees, it will not only be the future of Afghan women that will be in jeopardy; it will also jeopardize the prospects for the development of an economically and politically viable Afghanistan after 2014.

9 "Afghanistan: The Long, Hard, Road to the 2014 Transition," International Crisis Group, 2012, 1. http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/asia/south-asia/afghanistan/236-afghanistan-the-long-hard-road-to-the-2014-transition

10 "Afghanistan: The Long, Hard, Road to the 2014 Transition," International Crisis Group, 2012, 14. http://www.crisis-group.org/~/media/Files/asia/south-asia/afghanistan/236-afghanistan-the-long-hard-road-to-the-2014-transition

11 "Afghanistan: Development Progress and Prospects after 2014," United Kingdom House of Commons – International Development Committee, 2012, 20. http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Final%20with%20embargo.pdf%20afghan.pdf

12 Matiullah Noori, "A Constructive Critique of the ICG Report on Afghanistan" *The Journal of Turkish Weekly*, 2012. http://www.turkishweekly.net/op-ed/3030/a-constructive-critique-of-the-icg-report-on-afghanistan.html

13 "Afghanistan: Development Progress and Prospects after 2014," United Kingdom House of Commons – International Development Committee, 2012, 9. http://reliefweb.int/files/resources/Final%20with%20embargo.pdf%20afghan.pdf

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An Afghan internally displaced girl stands as snow falls at a refugee camp in Kabul, December 2012.

The Path Ahead

Safeguarding the principles of the Afghan constitution in relation to women's rights will be crucial to the future of women in Afghanistan.

n their discussions, the Afghan delegation highlighted a number of concerns as well as several recommendations for both the short and long-term development of their country. Here is a summary of the most important policy recommendations:

- At the Tokyo Conference, donors agreed that the advancement of women's rights beyond 2014 needs to continue, or that at least the achievements thus far are preserved as a condition for aid assistance after 2014. It was affirmed that the peace process as currently conducted is not adequately taking Afghan women into account. Therefore, better representation of women in the High Peace Council
- 14 Matthias Gebauer, "Afghanistan Conference in Tokyo: Donors Link Billions in Aid to Progress on Reforms", *Spiegel Online*, 2012, http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/donor-nations-pledge-billions-to-afghanistan-a-843344.html

- **based on merit is needed**. It is equally important that the peace process be inclusive of civil society leaders.
- Given Afghanistan's security sector needs in terms of training and equipment, continued and sufficient assistance to the ANSF beyond 2014 is crucial to preserving security achievements and maintaining Afghanistan's sovereignty.
- Given the intensity of the security and political transitions Afghanistan will experience, safeguarding the principles of the Afghan constitution in relation to women's rights will be crucial to the future of women in Afghanistan.



An Afghan boy works at a brick factory in Jalalabad, Nangarhar province, east of Kabul.



Founded in 2008 by the EastWest Institute and several of the world's renowned peacemakers, the Parliamentarians Network for Conflict Prevention mobilizes members in parliaments across the globe to find pioneering ways to prevent and end conflicts. This year we celebrate the 5th anniversary of this non-partisan network. As it emerges from its vibrant infancy, the network continues to grow and welcomes current and former parliamentarians in regional, national or supranational parliaments. For more information on the network and its membership, please visit its website or contact the secretariat at +32.2.743.4627 or parliamentarians@ewi.info.

www.parliamentariansforconflictprevention.net

This initiative would not be possible without the generous support of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and the Kathryn Davis Fund. In addition, we would like to thank our partners in organizing this event: the European Parliament's Office for the Promotion of Parliamentary Democracy (OPPD) and the European Union External Action Service (EEAS). We would also like to thank all members of the international institutions in Brussels who made this initiative a success.

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