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IMPROVING INTER-STATE RELATIONS THROUGH TRANSBOUNDARY PEACE PARKS

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MA DISSERTATION

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"I know of no political movement, no philosophy, no ideology, which does not agree with the peace parks concept as we see it going into fruition today. It is a concept that can be embraced by all.

In a world beset by conflicts and division, peace is one of the cornerstones of the future. Peace parks are a building block in this process, not only in our region, but potentially in the entire world."

Nelson Mandela

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Abstract

Transboundary Peace Parks are established along international borders surrounded by biodiversity that needs to be protected, particularly in regions that were devastated as consequence of internal or international conflicts. They are conceived as peacebuilding strategies to bring former enemies together through the joint management of the shared environment.

This dissertation explores the effectiveness of Transboundary Peace Parks in promoting more cooperative and peaceful inter-State relations. In order to demonstrate such effectiveness, three initiatives will be analyzed: Cordillera del Cóndor between Ecuador and Peru, the Greater Virunga Transboundary Collaboration between Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Rwanda and Uganda and the Balkans Peace Park Project (B3P) involving Albania, Kosovo/a and Montenegro.

The concepts State sovereignty, borders and territory will be analyzed in this dissertation since they are key factors to take in account when establishing a Transboundary Peace Park. Apart from States, the involvement of local communities is essential when developing these initiatives. The participation of other stakeholders such as NGOs, international organizations and private donors, is also vital for the success of these initiatives.

This dissertation also aims to draw the attention to the positive effects of Peace Parks in their area of influence since they receive mostly criticism.

Key words: Peace Parks, Transboundary Peace Parks, State, Inter-Sate relations, Borders, Stakeholders.

List of Abbreviations

ABIMSENOP	Binational Association of Municipalities of southern Ecuador and northern Peru
ADA	Austrian Development Agency
AWF	African Wildlife Foundation
B3P	Balkans Peace Park Project
CI	Conservation International
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
DP	Democratic Party of Albania
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EEEGL	Enterprise, Environment and Equity in the Virunga Landscape of the Great Lakes
ERA	Environmentally Responsible Action group
FFI	Fauna & Flora International
GIS	Geographic Information System
GIZ	German Development Agency
GVTC	Greater Virunga Transboundary Collaboration
IGCP	International Gorilla Conservation Programme
INRENA	National Institute of Natural Resources
IPA	Pre-Accession Assistance (European Union Projects)
ITTO	International Tropical Timber Organization
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
KRC	Karisoke Research Center
MGP	Mountain Gorilla Project

MoUs	Memorandum of Understanding
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PLA	Party Labour of Albania
RPF	Rwanda Patriotic Front
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
SIFE	Students in Free Enterprise
SNV	Netherlands Development Agency
TBPA	Transboundary protected areas
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WWF	World Wildlife Found

INTRODUCTION

Peace Parks emerged at the beginning of the 20th century as a new concept for environment and politics. Peace Parks were intended to have influenced not only the environment where they are located, but also in inter-State cooperation, borders and sovereignty.

The aim of this dissertation is to examine the effectiveness of Transboundary Peace Parks in promoting more cooperative and peaceful inter-State relations, through the study of different cases. This research will analyse the political and social component of Peace Parks, since most other studies have been done in relation to nature conservation.

Nowadays concerns about fragile environments and the consequences for people living around those environments have a place in the political agenda. The conservation of ecosystems and natural resources management shared between different countries could be a source to increase cooperation between confrontational States. In this sense, this dissertation will work towards this idea to provide a better understanding of the role of PB and ecology in transboundary cooperation

To begin with, in chapter 1 will be analyzed the origins and components of Peace Parks. These protected areas are not always created in troubled areas; they might be created within borders[1] or between countries as an expression of long-term friendship[2]. In this dissertation only Transboundary

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[1] Hiroshima Peace Park in Japan
[2] Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park, between Canada and USA

Peace Parks that were created along regions that experienced conflicts (civil wars or border conflicts) will be taken in consideration.

Theoretical concepts such as borders and State sovereignty will be analyzed in this dissertation, since the State is the main actor when establishing and developing Peace Park initiatives. Peace Parks relax State sovereignty and the borders that divide States due to the influence of international stakeholders that participate in these initiatives; but at the same time, Peace Parks can ensure these elements. This dichotomy will be also explained in chapter 1.

In order to analyze the benefits of creating Transboundary Peace Parks for inter-State relations, two initiatives that are currently working towards the establishment of a Transboundary Peace Park will be analyzed in chapter 2.

For many years Ecuador and Peru had conflicts related to border demarcation in the mountainous area that divides them. After the Cenepa War in 1995, Presidents from both countries signed a Presidential Act to end hostilities, which was mainly backed by conservation groups of both countries, who were interested in the protection of biodiversity of the area. National Parks were established on both sides of the border and in 2004 the establishment of a Peace Park was proposed by stakeholders.

Another interesting initiative is the Greater Virunga Transboundary Collaboration, established between Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC),

Rwanda and Uganda. This is one of the transboundary regions in which biodiversity has suffered the most for the last 30 years, as a consequence of Uganda's and Congo's civil wars and the Rwanda conflict in the 1990s. These conflicts have severely damaged the biodiversity and resources of the national parks in the area. National agencies from the three States and other stakeholders have created this collaboration and desire to establish the Peace Park between 2014 and 2016.

Bearing in mind the practice in these initiatives, an existing project in the Balkan area, in the shared border between Albania, Kosovo/a[3] and Montenegro, will be described and analyzed as a case study in chapter 3. This initiative, created in 2001, has as its main objective the protection of the fragile environment of the area while bringing people from the three countries together. The selection of this research topic is based on an internship the I did with the NGO Balkans Peace Park Project (B3P) in Albania. During three months I undertook different functions for the development of this project in the three countries involved. One of the main difficulties this project has at the moment is the lack of cooperation among the three countries involved and the suspicions held towards the neighbouring country. For this reason, this research will study the causes of the barriers these countries have towards cooperation and what possibilities exist to increase contacts in the near future using the Peace Park as a tool.

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[3]Along this research it will used the variant *Kosovo/a*, to represent both Serbian and Albanian spelling of the word.

Methodology

The independent variable selected is Peace Parks and the dependent variable is inter-state relations. This research will use a qualitative method; analyzing information obtained from different sources and the study of three cases. However, there exists a gap in the Peace Parks literature. There are few studies combining theory and practice in terms of Peace Parks and State borders. This represents a challenge since much of the analysis will be a product of personal interpretation of data and based on personal work experience.

In order to answer the primary question about the effectiveness of Transboundary Peace Parks, this study will first explore Peace Park goals. State and borders will be analyzed focusing on two disciplines: the international relations theory, which offers different visions of States behaviour when interacting with other States in the international system and a branch in political geography called borderland studies, which provides different interpretations about international borders [4].

After this analysis in this dissertation will be discussed the creation of transboundary protected areas in South America, Eastern Africa and the Balkans to determine if these projects have certainly increased peaceful relations between the States involved. Part of the information will be obtained from the official websites of both initiatives. There are continuous updates about the progress in transboundary cooperation in the region. In order to

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[4] Martinez, O. (1994) New Approaches to border analysis. In Schofield, C. (ed.) <u>Global boundaries</u>, London: Routledge, pp. 1-15.

obtain a more objective analysis of the performance of both initiatives, reports and articles about them will be compared with the official information.

The field visit to the Balkan region will give the dissertation valuable insight about that area, the history, account of inter-State relations and the probability of establishing or not a Balkans Peace Park. However, since I has been mainly based in Northern Albania, and less in Montenegro and Kosovo/a, this could influence personal views and be partial in favour of Albania and ethnic Albanians.

When analyzing the different regions included, the use of maps will be crucial to be able to identify fundamental variables for each location. These variables might include: ethnicity, language, religion, density of population, and distance from central government.

CHAPTER 1

Section 1: PEACE PARKS

According to the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), Peace Parks "should be founded on the recognition that human security, good governance, equitable development and respect for human rights are interdependent and indivisible"[5]. The UNDP's 1994 Human Development Report considered that the concept of security should be not interpreted from a military point of view and thus be called human security[6], in order to amplify it and include other aspects of people's daily life. The loss of biodiversity is one of the current threats to human security and one of the solutions to cope with that threat is the establishment of jointly administrative cross-border protected areas[7].

The first chapter of this research will be dedicated to the study of Peace Parks, State and borders. The chapter will discuss the most important elements of Peace Parks, including positive and negative implications, and the importance of both State sovereignty and borders when establishing these initiatives. The first section will include a report of the origins of Peace Parks, its implications, benefits and critics. The following section will discuss about the State, sovereignty and borders. It is necessary to include a

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[5] Philips, A. (2001) <u>Transboundary protected areas for peace and cooperation</u>. IUCN: Gland. p. 4

[6] The concept of human security consists of seven main categories: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security. UNDP (1994) <u>Human Development Report: New dimensions of human security</u>. UNDP: New York. Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/hdr_1994_en_chap2.pdf

[7] Westing, A. (1993a) Building confidence with transfrontier reserves: the global potential. In Westing, A. <u>Transfrontier Reserves for Peace and Nature: A Contribution to Human Security</u>. Nairobi: UNEP, pp. 1-16, p. 1.

description of these elements since they are affected when establishing a Transboundary Peace Park.

Origin of Peace Parks

The first Transboundary Peace Parks were established in cross border regions that celebrate long-term peace, like the Waterton-Glacier Peace Park between Canada and USA established in 1932. Also in regions that have prevented armed conflicts, such as the border between Norway and Sweden that created a peace zone in their shared border to celebrate 100 years of peace in 1910.

During the last century, most of the Peace Parks have been established in developed areas. In the last two decades most of them were established in developing regions in Africa, Central and South America and Asia[8]. This demonstrates that the concept of Peace Park has been amplified, combining transboundary cooperation between States with tense relations and biodiversity security[9].

In 1988 the IUCN introduced the concept of Transboundary protected areas (TBPA) which are defined as protected areas that meet across international borders[10]. Some of this TBPA are denominated Peace Parks, which are

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[8] Young, N. (2009) <u>The Oxford international encyclopedia of peace.</u> New York – Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 447.
[9] Schoon, M. (2001) <u>Brief history of Transboundary Protected Areas</u>. Global Transboundary Conservation Network. Available at: http://www.tbpa.net/page.php?ndx=17
[10] Thorsell, J. (1990) <u>Parks on the borderline: experience in transfrontier conservation</u>. Background papers presented at the Border Parks Workshop held during the first Global Conference on 'Tourism - a Vital Force for Peace', Vancouver, BC, Canada, October 1988, Gland: IUCN. p. 5

symbols of peace and cooperation between countries where there have been conflicts.

In 1996[11], IUCN identified 136 protected areas in international borders. This number rose to 158 in 2000[12]. By 2009, the IUCN World Commission on Protected Areas commission has identified no less than 169 protected areas divided by international borders[13].

Different names are used as synonyms for Transboundary Peace Parks[14]: Transboundary biodiversity conservation, Transboundary conservation initiatives, Transboundary conservation projects, Transboundary conservation zones, Transboundary conservation areas, Transboundary cooperation, Transboundary initiatives, Transboundary nature reserves, Transboundary parks, Transboundary wild areas, Transboundary wildlife reserves, Transfrontier conservation areas. Also, "Border Park", "Transfrontier Park", "Transboundary Peace Park", "International Peace Park". Unfortunately, the lack of consistency and agreement about the terminology often causes confusion when trying to select a proper definition for this term and also to determine the number of Peace Parks existing in the

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[11] Griffen, J. (1999) Study on the Development and Management of Transboundary Conservation Areas in Southern Africa. Lilongwe, Malawi: USAID Regional Centre for Southern Africa. pp. 11-15.
[12] Kliot, N. (2002) Transborder peace parks: the political geography of cooperations (and conflict) in borderlands. In Schofield, C., Newman D., Drysdale A. and Brown, JA (eds.) The razor's edge: international boundaries and political geography: essays in honour of professor Gerald Blake. London: Kluwer Law International. pp. 441- 412
[13] Young, N., op. cit. p. 447
[14] Thorsell, J., op. cit., p. 5, Global Transboundary Conservation Network (2011) Defining transboundary conservation, Available at http://www.tbpa.net/page.php?ndx=16; Philips, A. (2001) op. cit. pp 2-4

world. In order to avoid confusion, in this dissertation will be used the term Transboundary Peace Parks.

Peace Parks: intentions and stakeholders

The decision of States in each side of the border to unify their National Parks allows the creation of Transboundary Peace Parks. They have significant effects both in terms of conservation of fauna and flora and as a tool to promote peaceful cooperation between States[15], since through State cooperation these initiatives seek to protect fragile environments in spaces where violent conflicts took place.

When States and other actors agree on the establishment of a Transboundary Peace Park, three main criteria must be met[16]. Firstly, these parks must be located near borders in areas where the great natural value need conservation. Secondly, States must show political will to cooperate with their neighbours in the conservation of shared biodiversity.

Thirdly, it is necessary to have external support; the presence of international agencies and NGOs are key elements for the establishment of Peace Parks, mainly to assist States in finance and technical issues. International agencies might include: World Bank, UNEP, WWF, IUCN and cooperation agencies from developed countries[17]. Together with the State and international agencies and NGOs, local communities must be also involved in these initiatives as stakeholders. Those who live inside the park and in the

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[15] Kliot, N., op. cit., p. 432.
[16] Ibid., p 412.
[17] For instance: ADA, CIDA, GTZ, SDC, SNV, USAID.

surrounded areas "constitute a key sub-state entity involved in directly managing transboundary conservation areas"[18].

When States agree on establishing a Peace Park, the first step to develop the strategy is the signature of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoUs)[19] where the parties agree to work together and with supranational and regional bodies in the management of shared ecosystems. Then, stakeholders should be invited to propose environmental and peacebuilding projects in the area.

Mc Neil (1990) identifies three primary functions of Peace Parks[20]. According to this author, Peace Parks are first conceived to promote peace and friendship among neighbours, strengthen the spirit of regional cooperation and solidarity, easing and reducing the possibility of regional conflict or international tension[21]. They represent a strategy for peacebuilding and confidence-building[22] among nations. Oscar Arias stresses the importance of these initiatives, stating that "peace parks reduce stress along historically tense borders by providing governments with an agenda for mutual action on issues of common concern"[23]. The Nobel Peace Prize and former President

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[18] Duffy, R. (2001) Peace Parks: the paradox of Globalisation. Geopolitics 6, no. 2, pp. 1-26. p. 11

[19] Ramutsindela, M. (2007) Scaling Peace and Peacemakers in Transboundary Parks: Understanding Glocalization. In Ali, S. (2007) Peace Parks - Conservation and Conflict Resolution. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, pp. 69-81, p. 77.

[20] Mc Neil, R. (1990) International Peace Park for Peace. In Thorsell, J. (1990) Parks on the borderline: experience in transfrontier conservation. Background papers presented at the Border Parks Workshop held during the first Global Conference on 'Tourism - a Vital Force for Peace', Vancouver, BC, Canada, October 1988, Gland: IUCN, pp 23-28, p. 25.

[21] Hamilton, L. (1998) Guidelines for effective transboundary cooperation: philosophy and best practices. In Philipps, A. (ed.) Parks for Peace, Capetown, South Africa: IUCN pp. 27-36. Duffy, R., op. cit. p. 8.

[22] Goldblat, J. (1993) Confidence building as an approach to regional peace and security. In Westing, A. (1993b) op. cit., pp. 17-20, p 17.

[23] Weed, T. J. (1994) Central America's peace parks and regional conflict resolution. International Environmental Affairs, 6: 175–90. p. 181

of Costa Rica was an active member in favour of the establishment of La Amistad International Park in 1982 as a tool to solve border disputes between Costa Rica and Panama.

Secondly, they are useful for conservation of nature and ecosystems, by protecting and enabling an accurate management of the environment and natural resources. Peace Parks are also promoted as a means for reducing or eliminating the impact of violence over natural resources[24].

Thirdly, Peace Parks offer the positivity of promote of sustainable development and economic welfare of local communities through eco-tourism. With this strategy cultural values of the transboundary people living in the region are preserved and maintained. It is defined as "nature tourism that consists of travelling to a relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural area with the specific object of studying, admiring and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals as well as existing cultural manifestations in the areas"[25].

At borders that were closed and hostile because of geopolitical and ideological differences, the conclusion of tensions led to the removal of many physical and political obstacles and an opening of the border for tourism[26]. Preserving heritage and historical sites in shared borders by the establishment of Peace Parks can encourage and preserve peaceful and

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[24] Ali, S. (2007), op. cit., p. 64.
[25] Boo, E., (1990) Ecotourism: The Potentials and the Pitfalls, Washington DC: WWF.
[26] Gelbman, A., and Timothy, D. (2010) From hostile boundaries to tourist attractions. Current Issues in Tourism 13 (3) pp 239-259, p. 256.

cooperative relations among neighbouring States. The promise of cultural reconnection and revitalization through the extension of cross border cooperation is a vital part of the justification of peace parks[27]. For this reason, developing eco-tourism policies by the States involved can help to increase cooperative relations between authorities and local communities in each border.

Some challenges can arise during Peace Park creation[28]. Local people can consider conservation as a consequence rather than a constituent of peace-building; a proper approach to change these false impressions could be to create forums for joint participation. The resolution of local conflicts in advance would make the process of establishing the Peace Park and implementation of projects clear for local population. International NGOs can be required as mediators, also if border problems arise among States parties. Another important issue is to coordinate a proper complementary between external agents and State officers in order to avoid power conflicts among them when designing and implementing projects.

Negative visions

One of the main difficulties when establishing Peace Parks is related to a political resistance of States in one or each side of the border. Issues related to borders, sovereignty, nationalism and isolationism, cultural and religious differences, influence in States behaviour towards Peace Parks. A mixture of lack of political commitment and appropriate legal systems and enforcement

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[27] Ali, S. (2007) op. cit., p. 61
[28] Ibid., p. 334

are obstacles to Peace Park development. Also, where a history of mistrust exists for a long time it is even more difficult to create and implement common projects and develop initiatives with local communities.

Even if there is a strong international support for Peace Parks, they are frequently unpopular among State agencies. Public officers aspire to retain the control of policy making towards National Parks and consider the establishment of Peace Park as a potential reduction in their decision power. Also, States are expected to cede some of their sovereign control over a portion of their territory to a supranational body, which has the specific aim of managing a transnational conservation area. This sovereignty issue will be discussed in the following section.

The participation of international organizations and Western development agencies can place Peace Parks as a part of a modern "colonial policy making"[29]. Peace Parks are thus viewed as means for intervention, invasion and imposition of foreign conservation strategies in the domains of local communities. Wolmer[30] suggest that Peace Parks are the latest in a line of top-down, market-oriented environmental interventions by international bureaucracies, bi-lateral aid donors, and international environmental organizations. In this sense, ecotourism is viewed as a process of privatizing conservation. However, in some Peace Parks in Zimbabwe, privatizing was the only solution available due to the lack of commitment from the States

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[29] Duffy, R. op. cit. p. 7
[30] Wolmer, W. (2003) <u>Transboundary Protected Area Governance: Tensions and Paradoxes</u>. Paper prepared for the workshop on Transboundary Protected Areas in the Governance Stream of the 5th World Park Congress, Durban, South Africa, September 12-13, p. 7.

involved.[31] As it was mentioned before, international organizations are key stakeholders in the framework of Peace Parks. In order to avoid the intervention of these organizations in the terms suggested by Wolmer all stakeholders involved must agreed with a proper political plan identifying each other functions and avoid overlapping of responsibilities.

There is also the misconception that Peace Parks, by creating a free space for movement of persons and goods, facilitate the rise of illegal activities, such as drug trafficking, human trafficking and smuggling, poaching and illegal trade of wildlife. Although this happens in almost every border, contrary to the widespread belief that Peace Parks will create a space for more irregularities, the involvement of the State and other organizations could expand power and control on remote locations that generally are beyond the reach of the State. This constitutes a direct threat to groups that are involved in illicit activities around the border[32].

Peace Parks Foundation

When discussing about Transboundary Peace Parks, the most well-known initiative is the one created by the Peace Park Foundation. It is a model for the that most part of the ongoing Peace Park initiatives would like to emulate, since it involves the cooperation of States, NGOs and International organizations. It was created in 1997 with the aim of connecting the different protected areas along the share borders of Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

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[31] Duffy, R., op. cit. p. 10
[32] Kliot, N., op. cit. p. 424; Duffy, R., op. cit., p. 19; Philipps, A. (ed.) (1998) <u>Parks for Peace</u>, Capetown, South Africa: IUCN, p. 65.

A generation ago, Africa was one of the most war-torn parts of the world[33]. This foundation helps to reduce the possibility of conflict in this region by engaging local stakeholders in the conservation of the shared environment and promoting the parks as tourist attractions.

They also offer trainings in cooperation with State agencies from the different countries and NGOs, for wildlife experts, tourist guides and people from the area. The topics include instructions for environmental conservation and tourism development.

Funding is provided by donors from multinational companies to private donors. For this reason, this Foundation is highly criticized, since it is said that it will allow interference from international actors that could benefit from the control of the natural resources, obtaining profits from them. These actors might leave no space for public decision, or in many cases they might count with their complicity to operate inside their borders. But as mentioned before, in some occasions privatising is the only chance local people have to preserve their environment.

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[33] Lewis, M. (2011) <u>International Boundaries, Peace Parks, and Elephants in Southern Africa</u>, GeoCurrents, Borders, Physical Geography, Sub-Saharan Africa. Available at: http://geocurrents.info/place/subsaharan-africa/international-boundaries-peace-parks-and-elephants-in-southern-africa

Section 2

State, Sovereignty and Borders

According to Max Weber a State is "an organization that has a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence within a specific territory"[34]. For the maintenance of State's structure it is important to consolidate the expansion of the territorial and demographic domain under a political authority, the maintenance of order in the territory and over a population, and the extraction of resources from that territory. Once this accumulation of power is consolidated, State sovereignty is assured. Sovereignty is closely tied to State borders, which separate two or more States, representing protection and defence from the other.

As described in the previous section, the role of States is vital when establishing a Peace Park. Since this dissertation focus on inter-State relations, it is important to examine concepts related to State borders, sovereignty and territoriality, as key factors when discussing about Transboundary Peace Parks. This section will link these three elements and explain the dynamics between them. It will also include an explanation of the repercussion of Peace Park establishment over sovereignty.

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[34] Swedberg, R., (2005) The Max Weber dictionary: key words and central concepts. Stanford: University Press, 2005, p. 265

What is a border?

Borders, boundaries and frontiers signify the limits of social groups[35]. When dealing with inter-State relations, authors can use those three terms. According to Anderson[36] frontiers can be a precise line where jurisdictions meet, refer to a region (Alsace, frontier region between France and Germany), or determine a moving zone of settlement in the interior of a continent. A border can be a zone or a line of demarcation (like the line that divides England and Scotland). Lastly, a boundary can be a line of delimitation or demarcation. In this dissertation will be used the term border, since it is the most used in Peace Parks literature. Borders refer to the legal lines separating different jurisdictions. They are zones of separation but also contact and transition, especially of people that live along an international border[37]. They are at once gateways and barriers to the outside world, areas of opportunity and/or insecurity, zones of contact and/or conflict, of co-operation and/or competition, of ambivalent identities and/or the aggressive assertion of difference[38]. Borders are filters with high degrees of permeability and porosity[39] that are also associated with images, symbols and traditions.

They tend to mark the limits that help building a Nation-State. Borders are generally formed by imposition through force in the course of wars, conquest or during State formation. Thus, State building and territory have often been associated as complementary elements.

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[35] Anderson, J. and O'Dowd, L. (1999) Borders, Border Regions and Territoriality: Contradictory Meanings, Changing Significance. Regional Studies 33 (7) pp. 593-604, p. 594.
[36] Anderson, M. (1996) Frontiers: territory and state formation in the modern world. Cambridge: Polity Press. p 9
[37] Kliot, N., op. cit., p. 414
[38] Anderson, J. and O'Dowd, L., op. cit., p. 594
[39] Anderson, J. and O'Dowd, L., 1999, p. 596.

A political border may not correspond to a cultural and ethnic border. As Kliot (2002) mentions many borderlands are settled by ethnic groups with strong ties to the same ethnic group living on the other side of the border[40]; this represent the "cultural permeability of borders"[41]. At the same time, political borders do not often coincide with an ecological frame, since "natural resources are not split up according to state boundaries"[42]. Thus, in general there is a lack of correspondence between political units and ecological units[43]. In addition, the current incapacity of governments to control traffic of persons, goods and information across their borders makes them even more permeable[44].

Type of borders

Bearing in mind the role of State sovereignty and borders at the moment of establishing Peace Parks, it is essential to determine the characteristic of the borderland when negotiating between the States involved. The potential for cross-border relations is affected by openness or closeness of the each border. Also, they are determined by the degrees of cross-border difference, complementarity or asymmetry, in terms of economic in/equality, political in/compatibility, and cultural and national identities[45].

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[40] Kliot, N., op. cit., p. 424.
[41] Wilson, T. and Donnan, H. (1998) Border identities: nation and state at international frontiers. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, p. 4
[42] Schrijver, N. (1993) Sovereignty and the sharing of natural resources. In Westing, A. (1993b) op. cit., pp. 21-34, p. 21.
[43] Westing, A. (1993b) op. cit. p. 2
[44] Anderson, M., op. cit., p. 2
[45] Anderson, J. and O'Dowd, L., op. cit, p. 597

There are some models that are useful tools to analyze the cases included in this research, like the one proposed by the Martinez (1994)[46]. This author has proposed a model of borderlands interactions, which are defined by the regulations concerning economic activity, movement of people, goods and ideas in the area. Martínez identifies four types of borders:

1. Alienated or hostile borders: In this kind of border interchange practically does not exist. Major causes for this hostility are: warfare, political disputes, nationalism, ideology, religion, cultural differences. The classic example is the Israel-Palestine border.

2. Co-existent borderlands: in this case, States reduce border conflicts to a manageable level. Relations are possible, but not with an important amount of cross-border exchange. The author calls it "cold peace" and mention as an example the border between India-Pakistan.

3. Interdependent borderlands: both sides of the border are linked; through stable relations and favourable economic trade. Example: USA-Canada.

4. Integrated borderlands: neighbouring countries eliminate political and economic barriers across their boundaries. The best example is the European Union.

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[46] Martinez, O. (1994) New Approaches to border analysis. In Schofield, C. (ed.) Global boundaries, London: Routledge, pp. 1-15.

States and borders in the international system

In international relations (IR) theory two principal approaches describe States behavior[47]. First, realism considers States as rational actors that in a zero sum game tries to maximize their interest. Realism considers international system as a place where States constantly fight between each other to obtain more power.

On the contrary, idealism defines the international system as a structure where States can cooperate among each other in different issues. Even if the State is the central actor, as for Realism, its nature is not selfish but cooperative. Other actors, such as international organizations and NGOs, are also recognized by these theorists. This theory arose during the interwar period where interdependence, mostly economic, and preeminence of international law was the rule. Peace Parks can be identified as part of the idealist approach, since they seek to promote more cooperation and interdependence between States.

The meaning and significance of State borders, as well as their geographical location, can change drastically over space and time[48]. Nowadays it is suggested that borders are declining in significance given the increased flows of capital, commodities, information and people across State borders in a context of globalization. The classic role of the State to control exit and entry and to monopolize the means of violence within fixed borders seems to be

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[47] Dougherty, J. and Pfaltzgraff, R. (1993) <u>Teorías en Pugna en las Relaciones Internacionales.</u> Buenos Aires: Grupo Editor Latinoamericano, Colección Estudios Internacionales.
[48] Anderson, J. and O'Dowd, L., op. cit., p. 593.

under threat. Also, social and communal boundaries seem to be increasingly detached from territorial borders defined by the State.

In this sense, Allen and Cochrane (2007) consider regions as open and discontinuous spaces that are produced by networked flows and relations that do not respect regional boundaries imposed on them[49]. Some authors state that globalization represents a process towards a "borderless and deterritorialized world"[50]. Others emphasize on the deterritorializing tendencies of globalization[51].

Nevertheless, this does not lead to the disappearance of the State and borders, but demands an adjustment in its functions and role instead. The State is still a crucial organizer of territorial spaces, even if these spaces are becoming increasingly porous. Borders are important institutions and ideological symbols that are used in the process of reproducing territorial power. Landscapes are giving way to ethnoscapes, mediascapes, ideoscapes, technoscapes, and finanscapes, but territoriality is still a central element[52]. Territoriality can be defined as a "spatial strategy to affect,

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[49] Allen J., and Cochrane A., (2007) Beyond the territorial fix: regional assemblages, politics and power. Regional Studies 4, 1161–1175.
[50] Caney, S (2005) Justice beyond borders: A global political theory. UK: Oxford University Press; Kuper, A. (2004). Democracy beyond borders: Justice and representation in global institutions. UK: Oxford University Press; Timothy, D.J. (1999). Cross-border partnership in tourism resource management: International parks along the US–Canada border. Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 7(3&4), 182–205.
[51] Ramutsindela, M. (2011) Experienced Regions and Borders: The Challenge for Transactional Approaches. Regional Studies, pp. 1-12, p 2; Blatter, J. (2001) Debordering the world of states: toward a multi-level system in Europe and a multipolicy system in North America. Insights from border regions. European Journal of International Relations 7, 175–209; Ohmae, K., (1990) The Borderless World. New York: HarperCollins.
[52] Rosenau, J.N., (1997) Along the domestic-foreign frontier: exploring governance in a turbulent world. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Cited in Paasia, A. (2009) Bounded spaces in a 'borderless world': border studies, power and the anatomy of territory. Journal of Power 2 (2) pp. 213-234, p. 213.

influence, or control resources and people, by controlling area"[53]. The significance of borders derives from the importance of territoriality as an organizing principle of political and social life.

The claim of a borderless world marked a new beginning for border studies in political geography[54]. Newman (2006) considers that "it is not possible to imagine a world which is borderless or deterritorialized"[55]. Furthermore, Albert et al. (2001) emphasise the need for borderlines, even in a globalized world, where the role of borders as creator of order is essential[56]. Current border studies confront the borderless proposal, mainly the way it highlights the flow of capital and goods across State borders as if borders do not exist at all.

Peace Parks and Sovereignty

Peace Parks are considered as a classic example of the new problems facing the conceptualization of sovereignty in international politics since cooperation across borders may entail the relaxation of State sovereignty[57]. They can relax the fixity of borders by allowing the free transit of park staff, goods and tourists. They also require States to cede some sovereign power to transnational ecosystem managers and powerful global actors engaged in

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[53] Anderson, J. and O'Dowd, L., op. cit., p. 597

[54] Particularly with the works of authors such as Newman and Paasi (Newman D., and Paasi A., (1998) Fences and neighbours in the postmodern world: boundary narratives in political geography, Progress in Human Geography 22, 186–207) and Diener, A. C. and Hagen J. (eds.) (2010) Borderlines and Borderlands: Political Oddities at the Edge of the Nation-State. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield)

[55] Newman, D. (2006) The lines that continue to separate us: Borders in our 'borderless' world. Progress in Human Geography, 30(2), 143–161, p. 143.

[56] Albert, M., Jacobson, D., and Lapid, Y. (eds.) (2001) Identities, borders, orders: New directions in international relations theory. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, p. 139.

[57] Kliot, N., op. cit., p. 416

promoting and implementing these parks, thus this sovereign power is modified and challenged [58].

But Peace Parks can also help States to ensure their rights of permanent sovereignty over natural resources in each side of the border. At the same time, the creation of Peace Parks requires more, and not less, State control of frontier zones. It is also the State on each side of the border who has the last word in terms of accepting the creation of the Park and the organization of cross-borders activities. Previously, it is the National Assembly of each State involved which decides the creation of National Parks, a primary requirement before establishing a Peace park.

Transboundary Peace Parks should not cause the loss of State sovereignty, it is more accurate to consider this "relaxation" as a change in its characteristics. According to Anderson and O'Dowd (1999), nowadays "the State system is far more developed and diversified, and enmeshed in new global and transnational interdependences". Duffy (2007) considers that it could be useful to think of sovereignty as increasingly held by a wide range of actors and not just nation-States[59].

Regarding the environment, Peace Parks emerge as a possible solution for regions where ecosystems do not respect nation-State borders, especially if in those cross-borders regions there had been inter-state conflicts. A primordial element to promote peaceful relations between neighbouring

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[58] Ali, S. (2007) op. cit. p 57
[59] Ali, S. (2007) op. cit., p. 57

States is the common acceptance of the border delimitation and demarcation, and also a shared understanding of the role of that shared border[60]. In the creation of Peace Parks it is plausible this double role of borders: a space for cooperation, and at the same time a space to differentiate from other.

Transboundary cooperation is a complex phenomenon that takes place along Nation-State boundaries and as a prerequisite both public and private actors must be in contact and agree to be partners. Thus, stakeholders from the local community to the global level must participate. All of them must give emphasis to willingness and opportunity to collaborate among States with share borders.

Transboundary regions can be very heterogeneous. They can be very extensive in terms of population and space; but also can include a very small population in a vast area. The differences in economic structure, innovation capabilities and cost of structure, give rise to new complementarities and synergies, but often also generate the barriers that exist between the different parts of a cross-border region[61]. These dissimilarities should be capitalized by Transboundary Peace Park stakeholders and result in common projects to improve interaction.

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[60] Gelbman, A. and Timothy, D., op. cit., p.240.
[61] Lundquist, K., and Trippl, M. (2011) Distance, Proximity and Types of Cross-border Innovation Systems: A Conceptual Analysis. Regional Studies, pp. 1-11, p. 9.

As Lundquist and Trippl state "being geographically close does not automatically mean that relational proximity abounds"[62].   According to Vasquez and Lemke the easier a border is to cross and the more salient a border is, the greater the likelihood that the border will be a disputed one. On the contrary, Deutsch suggests that in both cases there are less possibilities of a conflict scenario on the border. With a third point of view, Starr and Thomas consider that the relationship between borders, contiguity and conflict behavior is non-linear. They suggest that it is important to move beyond a simple ''on–off''[63] dichotomous view of contiguous land borders to examine activities along shared border areas.

State borders might be weaker than before due to globalization, but still they remain firmly in place for the many purposes. In terms of cross-border cooperation activities, as it is represented by Transboundary Peace Parks, States are the principal actors in the decision making, beyond the increase of inter-regional linkages and presence of international NGOs. All these elements analyzed before will be essential when describing and analyzing the three Peace Park initiatives included in this dissertation.

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[62] Ibid. p. 5.
[63] Starr, H., and Dale T. (2005) The Nature of Borders and International Conflict: Revisiting Hypotheses on Territory. International Studies Quarterly, 49(1):123–139, p. 127.

CHAPTER 2

Peace Parks in troubled zones: a solution?

As mentioned in chapter one, it is difficult to determine the number of Peace Parks in the world due to the lack of agreement about definitions and categories. During the research, already established or projects working towards the establishment of a Peace Park has been identified[64]. In this dissertation two of these projects will be included: Cordillera del Condor (Ecuador and Peru) and Greater Virunga Transboundary Collaboration (Uganda, Congo and Rwanda).

The aim of this chapter is to examine whether the creation of Peace Park initiatives in Cordillera del Condor and Virunga has increased peaceful inter-State relations. Even if both initiatives have not yet established a Peace Park, they are the more representative examples of best practices and have certainly symbolized a change in the region. The policies applied by the stakeholders involved provide an ideal framework for analysis when discussing about the Balkans Peace Park Project in the succeeding chapter.

Cordillera del Condor

Ecuador and Peru[65]

This section will describe the border problems between Ecuador and Peru that cause violent confrontations during the twentieth century. With the signature of the Peace Agreement in 1998 State parties and other organizations implemented development projects in the area with the aim of

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[64] See appendix 1 for a complete list.
[65] See location of Cordillera del Condor in the map in Appendix 2.

establishing a Peace Park as a long term goal. Some of these projects will be described in this section as proofs of best practices in the area.

Cordillera del Condor is an isolated mountain range located in the shared border between Ecuador and Peru. This area has been claimed by both countries since the XIX century, when borders of both countries were established after the Spanish colonial rule. The first armed confrontation was in 1941 and lasted almost a year. It was declared officially finished with the signature of the Rio Protocol. The formal name of this agreement is Protocol of Peace, Friendship, and Boundaries and was signed in 1942 in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil). The consensus between parties was mainly reached due to the intervention of Argentina, Brazil, Chile and the United States as mediators in the conflict. This Protocol provided both a means of settling the controversy and a new boundary line, coordinated by the mediating countries and the Ecuador-Peru Mixed Border Commission created in accordance with the Protocol.

According to Guo[66] (2007) this agreement left 100,000 km2 of the border area unmarked; which caused disagreements between the parties during the subsequent decades. The ongoing tensions between the military forces in the area led to the 1981 clashes in Pasquisha; ten years later a serious armed conflict was avoided when both counties established a common security zone in the area[67].

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[66] Guo, R. (2007) <u>Territorial Disputes and Resource Management</u>. NY: Nova Science Publishers, Inc.

[67] St John, R. (1996) <u>Conflict in the Cordillera del Cóndor: The Ecuador-Peru Dispute</u>, IBRU Boundary and Security Bulletin Spring, pp. 78-85, p. 82.

Unfortunately, in 1995, both countries had a violent confrontation on this shared border as the outcome of the continuous disagreements between parties towards border demarcation. The Cenepa War lasted about a month and was the last violent confrontation in the area to date. The end of hostilities was declared on 17th February 1996 with the signature of the Itamaraty Declaration.

Three years later, in 1998, Presidents from both countries decided to negotiate and signed a peace agreement; again backed by Argentina, Brazil, Chile and the United States[68]. The presidential act signed in Brasilia on 26th October 1998 includes the "Comprehensive Agreement on Border Integration, Development and Neighbourhood"[69], which goals focused on four points: commerce and navigation, Ecuador was granted non-sovereign access to the Amazon River; border integration stimulating development of local communities; mutual security to prevent future conflicts; and competition of borders demarcation[70].

Recognizing the biological significance of the region, the agreement also stated the need of establishing zones of ecological protection on both sides

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[68] Ibid., p. 78

[69] "Acuerdo Amplio de Integración Fronteriza, Desarrollo y Vecindad", in Spanish. Acta Presidencial de Brasilia, Available at:
http://www.planbinacional.gob.ec/images/marcolegal/acuerdos_suscritos_ecuador_peru_1998(acuerdo%20de%20paz).pdf

[70] Ali, S. (2011) Transboundary Conservation and Peace-building: Lessons from forest biodiversity conservation projects. United Nations University and The International Tropical Timber Organization: Yoko, p. 29.

of the international border[71]. The Presidential Act was especially backed by conservation groups of both countries, who were interested in the protection of biodiversity of the area. On both sides of the border National Parks were established; El Condor Park in Ecuador, while across the border Peru established a Zone of Ecological Protection and the Santiago-Comaina Reserved Zone[72]. The idea of establishing a Peace Park to help reduce conflict and build cooperation has been discussed since the 1980s and was precursor to the initiative[73]; only in 2004 "Cordillera del Condor-Kutuku Corridor" was proposed as a Peace Park.

The consolidation of the peace process in the area has been cemented by the establishment and management of the protected areas and also by the promotion of sustainable development projects for local communities. These projects were executed on each side of the border in the framework of Binational Development Plans. Other organizations also implemented development projects, which will be described later.

A year after the Presidential act was signed; on 12th August 1999 the National Institute of Natural Resources (INRENA) of Peru and the Ministry of Environment of Ecuador signed an agreement on bilateral cooperation in environmental management, nature conservation and sustainable

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[71] Ponce, C. and Ghersi, F. (2003) Cordillera del Condor (Peru-Ecuador) Paper prepared for the workshop on Transboundary Protected Areas in the Governance Stream of the 5th World Parks Congress, Durban, South Africa, 12-13 September 2003.
[72] Ibid., p. 2
[73] Ibid., p. 1

development in Cordillera del Condor[74]. This was the first sign of bilateral cooperation that will be developed in future years.

The Binational Development Plans, Chapter Ecuador and Chapter Peru[75], aim to develop activities to promote regional economic integration, social development, implement basic infrastructure and protect the natural resources of the area[76]. The plans include the design and implementation of basic infrastructure and social development projects for poverty alleviation of local communities and protection and sustainable use of natural resources[77]. Activities such as watershed management, road interconnection, environmental management in the area, require the presence of binational institutions, such as Ministry of Foreign Affairs and National Protected Area Agencies, to articulate and promote the participation of national, regional, provincial and local agencies directly involved. International stakeholders[78] collaborate with the development of the plan with know-how or as financial donors[79]. "Plan del Buen Vivir en la Frontera" is the most remarkable of the Binational Plans. It seeks to ensure a proper respect for the cultural, natural

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[74] Declaración Presidencial 1999, available at
http://www.planbinacional.org.pe/declaraciones.php?type=cont&anno=&n=0007
[75] Official Websites: http://www.planbinacional.gob.ec/ and http://www.planbinacional.org.pe/
[76] Ponce, C. and Ghersi, F., op. cit., p. 3
[77] Global Transboundary Conservation Network (2011) Cordillera del Condor Transboundary Protected Area. Available at: http://www.tbpa.net/page.php?ndx=59
[78] The European Union, the Spanish cooperation Agency (AECID), Italy, Japan, Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), World Bank, ITTO, Conservation International (CI) and Fundación Natura.
[79]The plan is estimated to cost $3 billion, to be met by the two governments, the international donor community and private enterprise. For the last fourteen years the investments received for bilateral projects reach around US$ 1,738,598,874.21, of which US$ 805,285,081.66 investment correspond to the Government of Ecuador, US$ 437,760,032.59 to the Government of Peru and US$ 114,597,829, 24 International Cooperation. Plan Binacional de Desarrollo de la Región Fronteriza Capítulo Ecuador, Inversión en la Zona de Integración Fronteriza, available at: http://www.planbinacional.gob.ec/ambitos-de-intervencion/proyectos-del-programa-binacional/resultados-alcanzados/inversion-en-la-zona-de-integracion-fronteriza.html

and ethnic diversity of the area through the equitable distribution of resources, in terms of territory, population and basic needs[80]. The inputs of the binational plans are essential to configure a shared vision between Ecuador and Peru to strengthen the peace process in the region. The plans are thought to be completed in 2014[81].

The International Tropical Timber Organization (ITTO) sponsored the project "Binational conservation and peace in the Condor"[82], whose main objectives were to implement a geographic information system (GIS) of the area and develop a database on flora and fauna of the Cordillera[83]. They also collaborated with indigenous communities giving assistance to create the "Multiple Use Shuar Territory" in Ecuador, to clear the title for indigenous lands in Peru and to reestablish cultural links between the indigenous communities Shuar and Awajun-Wampis[84]. The NGOs Fundación Natura and Conservation International (CI) worked actively in the implementation of the ITTO project. Both NGOs have for a long time supported the involvement of indigenous people in environmental conservation projects, mostly the Shuar people[85], and other projects which resulted in the confirmation of the high biological diversity of the area[86]. The World Bank implemented two

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[80]   Available   at: http://www.planbinacional.gob.ec/plan-del-buen-vivir-en-la-frontera/introduccion.html

[81] Acuerdo de Consejo Regional N° 552 - 2009/GRP-CR, p. 1, available at: http://www.regionpiura.gob.pe/documentos/acu0552_2009.pdf

[82] Paz y Conservación Binacional en la Cordillera del Cóndor, in Spanish.

[83] Sistema de administración forestal de Ecuador, document available at http://saf.ambiente.gob.ec/index.php/itto

[84] Ali, S (2011), op. cit., p. 11

[85] Ali, S. (2011) op. cit. p. 31.

[86] Conservation International (1997) The Cordillera del Condor Region of Ecuador and Peru: A Biological Assessment. Rapid Assessment Program. Conservation International: USA, p. 44.   Available   at: http://www.conservation.org/Documents/RAP_Reports/RAP07_Cordillera_Condor_Ecuador-Peru_Jan-1997.pdf

projects[87] to conserve important forest and freshwater ecosystems through the establishment of protected areas to be co-managed by indigenous people and local institutions.

A process of decentralization in the region is taking place which allows the participation of regional and local government. This is proven by the creation of the Binational Association of Municipalities of southern Ecuador and northern Peru[88] (ABIMSENOP), which has periodic meetings to give continuity to all development projects in the area. One of them is the proposal to create a Border Institute of Technology to involve young people from both sides in the process of border development through education[89]. The participation of National governments in the meetings of ABIMSENOP demonstrate their commitment with the Assembly, since regional and local governments could certainly act as nexus between national governments, other organizations and the local population when implementing projects.

Regarding the participation of local communities, it is important to note the presence of indigenous people who have lived in the area for centuries. Cordillera del Condor has been a sacred place for the Awajún, Ashuar, Shuar

[87] Indigenous Management of Protected Areas in the Peruvian Amazon (2001-2007) http://www.worldbank.org/projects/P065200/indigenous-management-protected-areas-peruvian-amazon-gef-project?lang=en and Strengthening Biodiversity Conservation through the National Protected Areas (2010-2015) http://web.worldbank.org/external/projects/main?pagePK=64283627&piPK=73230&theSiteP K=258554&menuPK=258580&Projectid=P095424

[88] Asociación Binacional de Municipalidades del Sur del Ecuador y del Norte del Perú, in Spanish.

[89] Llerena, C.; Cruz-Burga, Z.; Durt, É.; Marcelo-Peña, J.; Martínez, K.; Ocaña, J. (2010) Gestión ambiental de un ecosistema frágil. Los bosques nublados de San Ignacio, Cajamarca, cuenca del río Chinchipe. Lima: Soluciones Prácticas., p.29.   Available at : http://redpeia.minam.gob.pe/admin/files/item/4d83e522bca1d_Gestion_ambiental_de_un_ec osistema_fragil._Los_bosques_nublados_de_San_Ignacio.pdf

or Jíbaros, Quechuas (or Quichuas) and Wampis communities[90], who live on both sides of the border. They have their own knowledge of natural resources conservation and sustainable development. In the establishment and management of protected areas they have been key actors contributing with their practices[91]. The situation offers an opportunity to build and plan beyond frontiers, allowing real integration between both countries[92].

However, even if now they are active participants in the development of plans in the area, during negotiations for the peace agreement there was lack of consultation to them and the resentment towards conservation efforts still exists in some areas[93]. They thought that with the agreement freedom of movement will be guaranteed but despite the peace agreement, there is considerable difficulty in movement and border crossings. In addition there is little evidence of implementation of the regulations stated by the Peruvian-Ecuadorian Neighborhood Commission. In this sense, USAID had been working in the area to facilitate a well-connected and locally appropriate communications strategy across the Border Region through the "Peru–Ecuador Border Region Development Program"[94].

[90] Alcalde M., Ponce, F. and Curonisy, Y. (2005a) Peace Parks in the Cordillera del Cóndor. Mountain Range and Biodiversity Conservation Corridor, Tropical Forests, p 1. Available at http://www.tropicalforests.ch/files/projects/PD_02_00_article_2005.pdf
[91] UNEP (2009) From Conflict to Peacebuilding. The Role of Natural Resources and the Environment. Nairobi: UNEP, p. 25.
[92] Alcalde M., Ponce, F. and Curonisy, Y. (2005b) Peace Parks in the Cordillera del Cóndor. Mountain Range and Biodiversity Conservation Corridor. In Wilson Center (2005) Parks For Peace or Peace For Parks? ECSP (Environmental Change and Security Project's) REPORT (11) pp. 63-64
[93] Ali, S. (2011), op. cit., p. 29.
[94] USAID (2004) Assessment of the Peru–Ecuador Border Region Development Program. Maryland: Development Alternatives.

Apart from the presence of indigenous people as stakeholders, also small-scale miners and farm owners with potential for logging have interests in the area. Unfortunately, the presence of illegal mining industries is the cause of confrontations with local miners. According to Fundacion Natura, disputes regarding the extraction of non-renewable resource still happen and resources are insufficient to resolve mining conflicts[95].

Ali (2011) considers that the Peace Park has not been established yet due to the structural aspects of the peace treaty, especially in what respect to access to both sides of the border. The author states that "instead of creating a shared zone, the peace treaty demarcated borders and established conservation areas as buffer zones"[96]. In order to face these problems, partner institutions in both countries propose the creation of the "Cordillera del Condor-Kutuku Corridor"[97] as a new strategy for sustainability in the area. This Corridor aims to include more ecosystems along the border area and thus more stakeholders (local institutions and indigenous communities).

The challenges to face for achieving the establishment of a Peace Park in Cordillera del Condor could be summarized in three points: improve access across borders, attend to concerns of indigenous communities and also regulate extractive industries. Also, it is important for both Ecuador and Peru

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[95] Ali, S. (2011), op. cit., p. 32
[96] Ali, S. (2011), op. cit., p. 30
[97] The proposed El Condor-Kutuku Conservation Corridor shall include: Llangantales National Park (IUCN category II, 219,707 ha), Chimborazo Fauna Reserve (IUCN Category VI, 655,781 ha), El Cajas National Park (IUCN category V, 28,808 ha), Podocarpus National Park (IUCN category II, 146,280 ha) in the Ecuadorian side. In Peru: Tabaconas-Namballe National Sanctuary (IUCN Category III, 29,500 ha) and Cutervo National Park (IUCN Category II, 2,500 ha). Source: Cordillera del Condor Transboundary Protected Area Project: Peru & Ecuador, TBPA.net. Available at: http://www.tbpa.net/docs/71_Cordillera_del_condor.pdf

to assure the presence of NGOs and international organizations already working in the area. They can act as providers and also mediators if conflicts related to environment management arise between local communities and private actors (like mining industries).

To sum up, the peace agreement and the subsequent projects dealing with biodiversity conservation have certainly helped to create a climate of confidence between Ecuador and Peru. Even if efforts still need to be done, these practices of environmental peace-building connecting peace and conservation in Cordillera del Condor demonstrate how Transboundary Protected Areas can act as links for cooperation between former enemies sharing borders[98].

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[98] Alcalde M. et al., (2005b) op. cit., p. 64

Greater Virunga Transboundary Collaboration

Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Rwanda and Uganda[99]

DRC, Rwanda and Uganda were the scenes of different violent conflicts during the last century which have impacted in their shared borders, surrounded by a natural environment. This section will analyze the different methods applied for cooperation by public and private stakeholders in this conflict area and how they were transformed from informal activities into formal agreements in order to work towards the creation of a Peace Park.

The Virunga Volcanoes are a mountain chain located in the Central Albertine Rift along the borders of DRC, Rwanda and Uganda. It consists of three national parks[100], Parc National de Virungas (DCR), Parc National des Volcans (Rwanda) and Mgahinga Gorilla National Park and Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (Uganda), and covers approximately 790, 000 hectares of forest in the three countries[101].

Protected areas are often among sites disrupted by violent actions[102], this is the case of Virunga. Different conflicts in the area have severely damaged the biodiversity and resources of the parks established along the shared border. The parks have not been the cause of the conflicts but have

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[99] See location of Virunga in the map in Appendix 2.

[100] Plumptre, J., Masozera, M. and Vedder, A. (2001) The Impact of Civil War on the Conservation of Protected Areas in Rwanda. Washington D.C.: Biodiversity Support Program. p. 11

[101] Nkurunziza, S. (2012), Regional efforts to tackle human-wildlife conflicts, The New Times-Rwanda First Daily, 24th October. Available at: http://www.newtimes.co.rw/news/index.php?i=15155&a=59914

[102] Westing, A. (1992) War as a Human endeavor: the high-fatality wars of the twentieth century. Journal of Peace Research, (19) pp. 261-270. Cited in Westing, A. (1993b) op. cit., p 1.

repeatedly been sites of conflict[103]. The most relevant conflicts are the fifteen years war in Uganda (1971 – 1986), Congo's civil war during the 1970s, the Rwanda conflict[104] in the 1990s, the second Congo war (1998–2003) and the unresolved Kivu conflict (in Eastern DCR).

Informal collaboration started during the 1970s. In 1979 was established the Mountain Gorilla Project[105] (MGP) in Rwanda. Later, the NGOs Fauna & Flora International (FFI) and the African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) began to collaborate with this transboundary project. During 20 years Dian Fossey has done a valuable work in the area in the Karisoke Research Center (KRC), supporting biodiversity conservation and confronting gorilla poachers. After her murder, the KRC was named "Dian Fossey Gorilla Fund International"[106] and is still active in the area.

During the period 1990-94 interstate relations among the three countries were very tense. The Rwanda Government (dominated by Hutus) had the support of President Mobutu from DRC; whereas the rebel group Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) were supported by Uganda. The border between Rwanda and Uganda was closed throughout the Rwandan conflict. The Virunga region played a role in this conflict, since the RPF attacked Rwanda from Uganda and established a base in the Virunga Volcanoes[107].

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[103] Martin, A., Rutagarama, E., Cascão A., Gray M. and Chhotray V. (2011) Understanding the co-existence of conflict and cooperation: Transboundary ecosystem management in the Virunga Massif, <u>Journal of Peace Research</u>, 48(5) pp. 621–635, p. 625
[104] Congo and Rwanda governments were opposed to the Uganda government and the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF).
[105] Mountain Gorilla Project (MGP): http://gorilladoctors.org/
[106] Dian Fossey Gorilla Fund International: http://gorillafund.org/
[107] Plumptre, J. et al., op. cit., p. 10

Even during the escalating violence in the region, informal collaboration continued. The International Gorilla Conservation Programme (IGCP) was founded in 1991 as a partnership between AWF, FFI and the WWF. It was remarkable that representatives of the three countries agreed to participate in this project[108]. Until the start of the genocide in 1994, joint patrols were organized, mainly in DRC and Rwanda; cooperation between DRC and Uganda was limited[109].

The refuge influx caused by the Rwanda genocide in 1994 created most of the recent damages to the protected areas since refugees had to camp inside the parks and used their resources for long time. Between 1.7 and 2.0 million Hutus left Rwanda[110] and established around the park. Also, the continuous presence of guerrilla groups affected the parks. According to Plumptre et al. (2001) anti-personnel mines were laid by the RPF and the Rwandan government, both in the parks and beyond the area[111].

After this conflict, refugees left the militarized camps into DRC but activities of guerilla groups continued menacing biodiversity in the area. Many of the park guards were targeted by the militias interahamwe[112]. In DRC parks there

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[108] The Rwanda Development Board (RDB), the Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) and the Institut Congolais pour la Conservation de la Nature (ICCN). International Gorilla Conservation Programme (IGCP): http://www.igcp.org/about/
[109] Martin, A. et al., op. cit., p. 627-8.
[110] Plumptre, J., et al., op. cit., p. 11.
[111] Ibid., p. 13.
[112] "Those who work together"

was a period of intense looting of mineral sources[113] and about 90 park guards lost their lives between 1994 and 2000[114].

Despite these problems and the outbreak of the second Congo war in 1998, informal cooperation between national parts and NGOs continued. Predominantly joint coordinated patrol, gorillas' censuses and anti-poaching activities[115]. Foreign assistance during this time was low, some development agencies left the region and also others did not want to collaborate with the Rwanda government. Once the conflict finished, foreign aid restarted, but was mainly focused on humanitarian relief and less on environmental conservation[116].

All these conflicts caused destruction of wildlife species, loss of lives of park staff, destruction of infrastructure and cessation of tourism[117]. At the beginning of the 2000s efforts were made towards formalization and institutionalization in the area. In 2001 The MacArthur Foundation supported the creation of a Framework for Conservation in the Albertine Rift 2004–2030 which aimed to harmonise management approaches at field level[118]. In 2003, DRC and Uganda signed the Luanda Agreement that stipulated the

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[113] Turner, T. (2007) <u>The Congo Wars: Conflict, Myth and Reality</u>. London: Zed. Cited in Martin, A., et al., op. cit., p. 628.
[114] Plumptre, J., et al., op. cit., p. 22
[115] Martin, A., et al., op. cit., p. 628.
[116] Plumptre, J., et al., op. cit., pp. 19, 21.
[117] Kliot, N., op. cit., p. 418
[118] UNEP and CMS (Convention on Migration Species) <u>Mountain Gorilla. Gorilla beringei beringei. Gorilla Agreement Action Plan</u>, Doc.7d, November 2009 Available at http://www.cms.int/species/gorillas/gor_tc1_documents/inf8_4_mountain_gbb_e.pdf

withdrawal of Ugandan troops from the DRC and the normalization inter-States relations[119].

The best achievement was the creation of the Greater Virunga Transboundary Collaboration (GVTC), a mechanism created by the three countries to coordinate programs for conservation of the environment. Born from informal transboundary activities among protected area staff, in 2006 State parties decided to establish a Secretariat.

GVTC has become a formal entity with strong political commitment from the three countries. Together with State agencies, it also engages NGOs at national and regional level, private and international donors, as well as population living in the area. The GVTC is guided by a ten-year strategic plan and a five-year implementation plan, whose aims are to improve conservation of species, habitats, and ecological services contributing to increase socio-economic benefits, through effective transboundary collaboration[120].

In 2004 the three Protected Area Authorities signed a Trilateral Memorandum of Understanding[121] to develop a transfrontier strategic plan and coordinate

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[119] "Agreement between the governments of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the republic of Uganda on withdrawal of Ugandan troops from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, cooperation and normalisation of relations between two countries". Available at: http://www.iss.co.za/AF/profiles/drcongo/cdreader/bin/5luanda.pdf

[120] Greater Virunga Transboundary Collaboration Mandate, available at: http://greatervirunga.org/?page_id=103

[121] Trilateral Memorandum of Understanding between the Office Rwandais De Tourisme et Des Parcs Nationaux, the Uganda Wildlife Authority and the Institut Congolais pour la Conservation de la Nature on the Collaborative Conservation of the Central Albertine Rift Transfrontier Protected Area Network. Available at: http://greatervirunga.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/Agreement-ICCN-ORTPN-UWA.pdf

the management of the parks and other areas[122]. The following year a Tripartite Memorandum of Understanding on Tourism Revenue Sharing from the Transboundary Gorilla Tourism Groups was signed. In 2005 Ministers from the three countries signed the "Declaration of Goma on the Transboundary Natural Resources Management of the Transfrontier Protected Area Network of the Central Albertine Rift". This declaration highlights the need to achieve more formal agreements on transboundary management and the commitment of each State to give financial aid to implement the strategic plans[123].

The 10-Year Transboundary Strategic Plan[124] was signed in 2006 and authorized the establishment of the permanent secretariat, based in Kigali. This plan included the intention of establishing the Peace Park in five years, by 2011, but this goal has not yet been achieved. The aims for the transboundary cooperation were to increase the understanding and collaboration between State parties[125], NGOs, local communities, and also tourists arriving in the area. The plan is supported by IGCP and funding from the Dutch Embassy[126].

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[122]Sarambwe Nature Reserve in DRC; Queen Elizabeth National Park, Rwenzori Mountains National Park, Semuliki National Park, and Kibale National Park in Uganda; all of them part of the Central Albertine Rift

[123] Goma Declaration. Available at: http://greatervirunga.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/Tripartite-Declaration-English.pdf

[124] Greater Virunga Transboundary Collaboration, 10-Year Transboundary Strategic Plan, available at http://greatervirunga.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/TRANSBOUNDARY-S.-PLAN-French-version-finale-Feb-28-2006.pdf

[125] Institut Congolais pour la Conservation de la Nature (ICCN), Office Rwandais du Tourisme et des Parcs Nationaux (ORTPN) and Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA).

[126] Martin et al., op. cit., p. 629

After the creation of the Secretariat, the three countries involved in the projects tried to strengthen it through the conclusion of two agreements. In 2008 they signed the Rubavu Ministerial Declaration[127] in Rwanda to promote investments and ecotourism in the area, and to support the institutionalization of the GVTC and the work of the staff in the parks. One year later the five-year plan was redefined for 2010-2014 in order to "coordinate key activities between all the conservation partners and to agree on a goal and set of strategic objectives for conservation, sustainable development and peace building in this region"[128] since the authorities considered that the goals were not fully achieved during the first five years of the project (2006-2010).

The structure of GCTV is divided in four levels. National Ministries in charge of Environment, Wildlife, Forestry, Lands, Water, Tourism and Foreign Affairs participated at the policy level. The agencies ICCN, ORTPN and UWA are in charge of the executive level to ensure sustainability in biodiversity conservation in each country. The Transboundary Core Secretariat takes decisions at the implementation level. In the technical and advisor level regional committees were created to analyze different topics such as ecological monitoring, tourism, education and awareness and law enforcement[129].

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[127] Rubavu Ministerial Declaration, available at: http://2001-2009.state.gov/g/oes/rls/or/2008/107294.htm

[128] Central Albertine Rift Transboundary Protected Area Network, Refined Five-Year Strategic Plan (2010-2014) Workshop report, Lake Kivu Serena, Rwanda, 1-4 September 2009, p. 3. Available at: http://greatervirunga.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/Five-year-TSP-implementation-plan1.pdf

[129] Greater Virunga Transboundary Collaboration Structure: http://greatervirunga.org/?page_id=107, http://greatervirunga.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Transboundary-Strategic-plan.pdf

Currently, an ongoing project coordinated by CARE and IGCP under the name Enterprise, Environment and Equity in the Virunga Landscape of the Great Lakes (EEEGL)[130] is operational in the area. The goal of this project is to improve opportunities for local communities based on a better management and sustainable use of natural resources, reduce poverty and improve environmental conservation. Ecotourism is one of the sources for community participation in the area, to obtain benefits and create awareness about environmental protection.

Every two years GCTV organize forums to discuss different topics. The last was held in Kampala on 11th October 2011 and the next regional forum is scheduled for 2013 meanwhile implementation in the field continues. Two topics are the most important in the different GCTV forums: increase of tourism through a regional mechanism and the improvement of protection for species living in the area.

Regarding involvement of local communities, since 2009, Rwanda and DRC border residents work together in a joint venture to avoid attacks from animals into their communities and farms. This sustainable initiative consists of the construction of protective trenches to prevent elephants, buffaloes and other wild animals from crossing into their villages. This program is monitoring by IGCP with support of the Norwegian Embassy in Uganda[131].

[130] Enterprise, Environment and Equity in the Virunga Landscape of the Great Lakes (EEEGL), http://www.virunga.net/about-eeegl/who-we-are/ http://www.care.org/careswork/projects/RWA090.asp
[131] Nkurunziza, S (2012) Rwanda, DRC border residents in joint drive against stray animals, The New Times-Rwanda First Daily, 8th October. Available at: http://www.newtimes.co.rw/news/index.php?i=15139&a=59263.

The creation of GCTV represents an opportunity to improve peaceful coexistence among Hutu, Twa and Tutsi communities living in the area. The historical confrontation between Hutus and Tutsis is known worldwide due to the 1994 Tutsi genocide in Rwanda, but in 1972 Tutsis caused the death of thousands of Hutus in Burundi[132]. The Twa people have lived for long time in the area, but nowadays are a minority group. They are generally subject to discrimination and violence[133]; authorities of the protected areas are accused of expelling Twa residents from the parks[134].

At present two problems still represent a menace to resources of the park: poaching and logging. Recently a ranger patrol was attacked by rebels, as a result park staffs and a soldier were killed[135]. The rebels usually poach for ivory and bushmeat, fish illegally and disturb local communities.

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[132] Lemarchand, R. (1999) Ethnicity as Myth: The View from the Central Africa. Centre of African Studies, University of Copenhagen. p. 11.
[133] UNHCR (2005) State of the World's Minorities 2006 - Democratic Republic of Congo. Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,,MRGI,ANNUALREPORT,COD,,48abdd6a19,0.html
[134] World Rainforest Movement (2004) El impacto de las áreas protegidas sobre las mujeres Twa. Boletín N° 79. Available at http://www.wrm.org.uy/boletin/79/Twa.html
[135] Virunga National Park - DRC (2012) Rebels Attack Ranger Patrol, Killing Three. Available at: http://gorillacd.org/2012/10/26/rebels-attack-ranger-patrol-killing-three/

Final remarks

The two cases analyzed above represented a series of good practices towards the creation of a Peace Park. If stakeholders maintain the results of the projects implemented and continue with the current ones, they will be able to achieve the necessary goals to establish a Peace Park.

In both regions the presence of different stakeholders is vital for the success of projects. Local communities, local and international NGOs, private donors and, most important, States are involved and committed with the initiatives. The essential participation of the State can demonstrate to defenders of the borderless theory the importance of State sovereignty over borders, since without State involvement and permissions to move around borders projects could not be implemented.

In terms of Martinez, both regions can be defined as co-existent borderlands, since there used to be problems in the shared borders. Even if cross border relations started once the problems were solved by the signature of agreements, they are not as fluid as in interdependent borderlands. Issues such as the different clashes which occurred in the Ecuadorian-Peruvian border and attacks of guerrilla groups supported by one State against another State in Virunga made it difficult to categorize these borders as interdependent.

The difference in both regions is that the conflicts in the Virunga Region have been within States, and in the case of Ecuador and Peru it has been an inter-

State conflict. However, conflicts in DCR, Rwanda and Uganda certainly affected their shared borders. Like in South America, borders in Africa were an artificial construction made by colonial powers that established them arbitrary, without taking in account indigenous people and imposing on them an alien way of organization. In both cases this partition left members of the same community living on both sides of the border. After the colonial partition, Ecuador always claimed access to the Amazon and rejected the imposed borders; while Peru was more keen to agree with the existing borders. In Virunga, the imposition of the borders, which did not coincide with ethnic divisions, represent a constant cause of instability in the region. Projects such as the "Greater Rwanda", retaken by the RPA during the Rwanda Conflict[136], erode the possibility of peaceful coexistence among the countries. In both cases Peace Parks emerged as a positive solution to deal with the damages caused to the environment by the successive conflicts in the area.

Another difference is that in Cordillera del Condor cooperation started after the signature of a Peace Agreement, meanwhile in Virunga cooperation started with informal projects during 1970s and was formalized almost 40 years later. In both cases it was demonstrated that even with the existence of a history of mistrust, through environmental cooperation the States increased their communications and common projects. Both initiatives seek to conserve ecosystems by arranging a proper management of the environment and natural resources, through ecotourism and elimination of impact of violence

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[136]Lemarchand, R., op. cit. p. 14

in the area. It is plausible also how these initiatives have brought local communities together through different projects and how important their participation is in controlling illegal activities such as poaching, logging and excessive extraction of resources.

The creation of Peace Parks represents a strategic alternative for peacebuilding and confidence building in regions such as the ones studied before, where suspicion towards "the other" comes before will to cooperate in issues of common concern. This concept of "the other" can be based on an ethnic prejudice or from a nationalistic point of view, for those who feel identified with the nation-State. The presence of international stakeholders in these initiatives is vital for two main reasons. They can act as mediators if conflicts arise between other stakeholders involved and also they can act as guarantors to make sure that projects will benefit the whole region, and not only certain groups. This is especially important for those who do not trust the State, mainly indigenous communities that generally have a sense of belonging to their ethnic group and not to the nation-State.

The conflicts that took place in both areas affected their biodiversity. In Cordillera del Condor military operations disturbed people living in the area, native species and forests. A similar situation happened in Virunga, where guerrilla groups and refugees camping in the parks affected the normal development of the ecosystem. The projects implemented in both regions in the framework of Peace Park initiatives, such as gorillas monitoring and ecotourism in Virunga, and protection of forest and watershed management

in Cordillera del Condor, certainly improve and protect ecosystems and promote the sustainable development of the area.

For those who consider conservation plans as market oriented environmental intervention done by powerful international organizations for their own benefit, local people involved can ask which their propositions are to deal with issues in areas threatened by guerrilla actions, presence of armed forces, and poachers. It is also important to analyze if indigenous people are ready to deal with those issues on their own or if States have the sufficient knowledge to help them, mainly in Africa where nation-State legitimacy is constantly challenged.

Cooperation, conceived as a combination of efforts, is better than have separate efforts to act without help. Peace Park initiatives in these two areas had increase peaceful inter-State relations, mostly when comparing the conflict situation in both areas fifteen years ago and the current more stable condition in the shared borders. Even if there is work to be done in the future, the Peace Park initiatives represent a positive change in both areas that had benefited the environment and participation of local communities in decision-making processes.

CHAPTER 3

Following the analysis of Peace Park initiatives in South America and Eastern Africa, this chapter will discuss an initiative to create a Peace Park in the adjoining mountain areas of Albania, Kosovo/a and Montenegro[137]. To begin with, this chapter will include a description of the origins of the organization and a brief description of the countries involved in order to understand the significance of this area relating to both border issues and peacebuilding.

Bearing in mind the concepts included in chapter 1 and the transboundary projects analyzed in chapter 2, this chapter will mainly focus on State attitudes towards a Balkans Peace Park. Most of the information of this chapter will be based in personal work experience.

The Balkans Peace Park Project – B3P[138]

In 2001 in Skipton (UK) a group of academics and Balkans enthusiast, led by Mrs Antonia Young and Professor Nigel Young, proposed the creation of a Peace Park on the border between Albania, Montenegro and Kosovo/a. It was denominated the Balkans Peace Park Project (B3P). According to Kennard (2008) there had been interest in establishing a Peace Park since

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[137] The Balkans Peace Park should include the Kelmend, Shala Valley and Valbona regions of Albania (Theth and Valbona National Parks), the Prokletije and Komovi area of Montenegro (Prokletije National Park) and the Hajla-Rugova-Djeravica region of Kosovo/a (in the proposed National Park Bjeshkët e Nemuna, the approval of the Law on National Park "Bjeshkët e Nemuna" presented on 21 November 2011 is still pending in the Kosovo Assembly. Available at: http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/ligjet/Draft%20law%20on%20NP%20Bjeshket%20e%20Nemuna.pdf)

[138] See location of the proposed Balkans Peace Park in the maps in Appendix 2

the beginning of 1990s[139]. Currently, B3P is composed of international and local volunteers, environmentalists, and local and international NGOs from Europe, USA and the Balkans. Since 2004 B3P has been categorized as a charitable organization in the United Kingdom and in 2011 the NGO B3P Albania based in Shkoder (Albania) was created.

This region was selected due to two events that took place in the area: the economic crisis in Albania in 1997 and the Kosovo war in 1999. Both conflicts caused destruction and devastation in the area, particularly: deforestation, depopulation, refugee and migration flows, and presence of landmines. The few opportunities for employment, education and public services in the area forced the people to migrate to bigger cities or other countries and these rural areas were abandoned[140].

With reference to local communities, it is important to identify some elements related to ethnicity and religion. Kosovar are ethnic-Albanian and Muslims while the majority of inhabitants in Northern Albania are Catholics. In the Montenegrin border, some of the population is ethnic Albanian and speak Albanian, but Montenegrins are in the majority Slavic and resentment and opposition to cooperate with Albania still exists in the area due to the confrontations they had during their history. The "Greater Albania" concept, which seek the unification of Albanians living in the Balkan region in one

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[139] Kennard, A. (2008) The Balkans Peace Park Project as a Vehicle for Cultural Survival. Bristol: The University of West of England Bristol. p. 5
[140] Young, A. (2008) Establishing the Balkans Peace Park (Albania, Montenegro, Kosovo/a): Overcoming conflicts through negotiation on cross-border environmental protection. Central and Eastern European Review (2) 1, pp. 8-9. Available at: http://spaces.brad.ac.uk:8080/download/attachments/2868/AntoniaBPPP.pdf?version=1&mo dificationDate=1222857855000

country, is also feared by non-Albanians living in Montenegro and Kosovo/a and represents an obstacle when proposing transboundary projects. In order to have a better understanding of this region, it is necessary to describe the recent history of each country that would take part of the B3P.

ALBANIA (Shqipëria)

Albania has been independent country since 28 November 1912, when the Ottoman Empire abandoned the region after being defeated by Serbia and Montenegro. A month later the Conference of Ambassadors in London approved the demarcation of borders for the new country that left "more than half of the total Albanian population outside the borders of the new Albanian state"[141]; inside Greece, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia[142]. The question of Albanian borders continued to be a complicated issue during the interwar period[143], when there was a dispute between promoting ethnic unity or economic and political convenience for other powers in the region that were against the formation of a Greater Albania. In 1928 King Zog was crowned, who was strongly influenced by Benito Mussolini. This situation led to the Italian occupation in 1939, which lasted all the Second War World. During the occupation, the communist partisans were the most active groups against the fascists. Their leader Enver Hoxha became the Albanian ruler after the Italian occupation. He ruled the country until his death in 1985, a period characterized by political and religious persecution. Hoxha was

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[141] Vickers, M. (1998) Between Serb and Albanian: a history of Kosovo. London: Hurst & Company, p 85.
[142] Hargreaves, R. (2004) Mountains for Peace in the Balkans. The Alpine Journal, pp. 149-160.   Available   at: http://www.alpinejournal.org.uk/Contents/Contents_2004_files/AJ%202004%20149-160%20Hargreaves%20Balkans.pdf, p. 153
[143] Kola, P. (2003) The search for Greater Albania. London: Hurst & Company, p. 14

replaced by Ramiz Alia as leader of the Party Labour of Albania (PLA), who led the country until 1991. The leader's death not only affected the stability of communism in the country, but also the international scenario, in which communism was collapsing. Alia tried to maintain the regime however he had no choice but to call to elections. In March 1991 the Democratic Party (DP) won the first multi-party elections in sixty years with a high percentage of votes in urban areas. Rural population decided to support PLA, since they feared that the DP would privatize and redistribute theirs lands, whereas the PLA had promised to protect them from privatization[144].

The 1990s was a decade characterised by the application of political, economic and social reforms, led by President Berisha (current Prime Minister). One of them was the creation of "financial pyramids", which were investment schemes where people could deposit their money with the promise of receiving interest rates of up to 19% a month[145]. This system was offered by private companies, but the government described it as a "miraculous achievement of the free market policies"[146]. Albanians, not used to the private banking system and willing to become rich as this system promised, deposited almost all their savings in the pyramids, approximately a total of US$1 billion[147]. When people started to ask for their money, the system collapsed since it was unaffordable to pay the promised interests. A mixture of social dissatisfaction, economic crisis and political instability

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[144] Vickers, M. (1997) Albania: from anarchy to a Balkan identity. London: Hurst, p. 58.
[145] They were Ponzi schemes offered by many firms, such as Sude, Xhafferi, VEFA, Populli, SILVA, Gjallica, Kamberi. More information in: Jarvis, C. (2000) The Rise and Fall of Albania's Pyramid Schemes. Finance and Development 37 (1). Available at: http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2000/03/jarvis.htm
[146] Kola, P., op. cit., p 322.
[147] Vickers, M. (1997), op. cit., p. 290.

provoked an internal rebellion. The result of this turmoil was the economic ruin of the country, widespread poverty and high unemployment rates, which were the main cause of migration, leaving rural villages almost uninhabited. The rural villages belonging to the mountainous regions of Northern Albania, which are included in the proposed Peace Park, were the most affected for the crisis since it is the poorest area of the country[148].

MONTENEGRO (Crna Gora)

Montenegro has a short history as an independent country. Controlled by Italy and Serbia at the beginning of the twentieth century, it was part of Yugoslavia as an autonomous republic, the Socialist Republic of Montenegro (1943-1992). After the dissolution of Yugoslavia in 1991, the country formed a republic together with Serbia, called The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

By the mid nineties, the first signs of separatism began to appear in Montenegro. In particular, this was noticeable when the country decided to adopt the Deutsche Mark as its currency, rejecting the Yugoslavian dinar. During the Kosovo war, Montenegrin authorities took the opportunity to press Serbian authorities through a document called "A platform for redefinition of relations within the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia"[149], which proposed more autonomy from Serbia, thus the road to separation began.

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[148] World Bank (2003) <u>Albania: Poverty Assessment</u> .Report No. 26213, Washington D.C: World Bank, page vii. Available at:
http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTALBANIA/Resources/Albania_Poverty_Assessment_Report.pdf
[149] Original name: Platforma za redefiniciju odnosa Crne Gore i Srbije.

In 2002 Montenegro decided to change its currency to the Euro, showing another signal of their aspiration to be an independent country. A year later, the Constitutional Charter of Serbia and Montenegro was adopted, that changed the status of the country from federal republic to state union. Article 60 stipulated a minimum of 3 years after its ratification before a member State could declare independence. On 2nd March 2006 the President of Montenegro Filip Vujanović presented a referendum bill, which was approved by the Parliament and two months later[150] 55% of Montenegrins voted in favour of independence from Serbia. The Republic of Montenegro was officially declared on 3 June 2006.

In the border between Montenegro and Albania there is a region called Malesia, included in the proposed Peace Park. Albanians in Montenegro have been struggling to protect their identity since some of their lands became part of that country in 1878[151]. Montenegro's Constitution recognize national minorities as equal, but Albanians in this region believe that they should "assume responsibility for their own governance and affairs"[152], some of them wish to gain independent from Montenegro and belong to Albania, in accordance with the concept of "Greater Albania".

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[150] On 21st May 2006.
[151] Boga, C., Wolff S. (2011) Albanians in Montenegro Waiting for Godot? Illirya, #2067, pp I-VIII, p. VI.
[152] Ibid.

KOSOVO/A

As most part of Albania, Kosovo/a was largely dominated by the Ottomans since the fourteen century[153], that forced them to convert into Islam in order to receive benefits from the imperial authorities. This is one of the differences with Serbs, who continued professing Orthodoxy even with Turkish pressures. The ethnic question causes friction with Serbians, since a majority of Kosovars consider themselves Albanians.

Kosovo/a has been controlled by Albanians or Serbians, a situation of constant change that deepened destabilization in the region. Austro-Hungarian troops during the 14-18 war "allowed the opening of more than 300 Albanian-language schools in an effort to undermine the Serbian presence in the region"[154]. When the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was created in 1918, the authorities started the colonisation of Kosovo, which consisted of the settlement of Serbian population throughout the Kosovar territory to undermine the presence of Albanians. In the Second World War, the Italian occupation in Kosovo launched a program for the resettlement of up to 72000 Albanians[155]. At the end of the Second World War, Kosovo, as a part of Yugoslavia, held the status of autonomous province. A Serbian colonisation policy restarted while authorities denied minority rights to Albanian Kosovars.

During the 1980s, nationalism claims reappeared in the whole region, demonstrated by the riots in Kosovo in 1981 and internal migration, which

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[153] Vickers, M., (1998) op. cit., p 11.
[154] Ibid., p. 92.
[155] Ibid., p. 123.

was one of the reasons for the increase of the Albanian population in Kosovo[156]. After the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the collapse of communism in Albania, in 1992 Kosovars tried to consolidate a new State with Ibrahim Rugova as president, who was only recognized by Albania. But legally Kosovo was still a Serbian province.

In 1996 the ethnic Albanian guerrilla group Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) was created, whose goal was Kosovo's independence. Three years later the Kosovo war broke out, a conflict that devastated the region and left thousands of dead, missing and displaced people. All the villages in the Rugova valley, which is part of the proposed Peace Park, were destroyed and violence also spread into the Albanian-speaking Montenegrin city of Rožaje/Rozhaje[157]. Tensions continued in Kosovo even with the presence of international authorities sent by the United Nations[158].

In February 2008, members of the Assembly of Kosovo declared the independence of the Republic of Kosovo, nowadays recognized by 94 countries. Serbia still refuses to recognizes it, generally avoiding negotiation with Kosovar leaders and supporting Kosovo Serbs that still live in that territory. However, Montenegro immediately recognized Kosovo/a as an independent country. Both countries are still negotiating the demarcation of

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[156] Ibid., p. 219
[157] Hargreaves, R., op. cit., p. 153.
[158] The Security Council of United Nations, by the Resolution 1244, created the Kosovo transitional administration (UNMIK) and the Kosovo Force (KFOR) aiming to solve the conflict.

borders[159]. B3P always considered Kosovo/a as a partner, even when it was officially part of Serbia[160]. The border between Serbia and Kosovo/a, located in the city of Mitrovitza[161], is considered the most dangerous in Europe. Just a few kilometres away from this tense border, B3P tries to make a difference.

Current situation in borders

During the Kosovo war thousand of refugees reached the border with Albania escaping from the conflict. The country was not prepared to deal with this humanitarian crisis, because they were still recovering from the internal crisis of 1997. However, the government of Albania decided to leave the borders opened "immediately after the beginning of the crisis"[162]. This situation affected the environment of both countries. In Kosovo, protected areas were damaged by air strikes, which were of difficult access at the time due to the presence of unexploded ordnance and uncleared minefields[163]. In Albania the increase of solid waste produced in the refugee camps, the lack of wastewater treatment facilities, problems in the supply of water, animal poaching, timber harvesting, damage of agricultural lands and urban green

[159] Milosevic, M. (2012), Montenegro and Kosovo Start Demarcation Process, Balkan Insight, 8th November 2012, Available at: http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/montenegro-launches-border-demarcation-with-kosovo.

[160] Personal comment of Antonia & Nigel Young.

[161] In June 2012, several clashes took place between Serb Kosovars and United Nations troops. Aljazeera (2012) Northern Kosovo tense after clashes. 1st June http://www.aljazeera.com/news/europe/2012/06/20126113121393807.html. BBC News (2012) Shots fired as K-For tackles Kosovo Serb roadblocks. 1st June. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-18294949.

[162] Kondaj, R. (2002) Management of Refugee Crisis in Albania during the 1999 Kosovo Conflict. Public Health and Peace. 43(2), pp.190-194, p. 190. Available at: http://neuron.mefst.hr/docs/CMJ/issues/2002/43/2/11885046.pdf

[163] UNEP – UNCHS (1999) The Kosovo Conflict. Consequences for the Environment and Human Settlements. Switzerland: UNEP, pp. 64-65.

spaces where the refugee camps were established affected the biodiversity of the country[164].

The current situation along the borders is relatively friendly. In the area of the proposed Peace Park, which borders are defined as "unofficial"[165], there are no great difficulties in crossing official borders, but it is necessary to obtain police permission in advance to avoid long wait and delays. In October 2011 GIZ[166] organized a Roundtable meeting in Podgorica (Montenegro) between the border police and stakeholders of the area. In that meeting it was agreed that a more "clear and efficient system for obtaining police permission for crossing borders in the mountains" would be implemented[167]. According to Hargreaves[168] the procedure to get permission is still uncertain and it is necessary to know people from the area in order to have quick access to police officers. Only Montenegro has a system for applying and getting permission online for border crossing and visas but as of May 2012 it was not yet operating[169]. For Albania, as of October 2012, it is necessary to fill an application form online and send it to the Police Station in Tirana, Shkoder or Bajram Curri[170]. In Kosovo the system is not operational yet. The Peaks of the Balkans, a joint venture formed by GIZ and organizations of the area,

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[164] The biggest refugee camps were located in: Durres, Shkoder, Fier and Tirana. UNEP (2000) Post-Conflict Environmental Assessment – Albania. Switzerland: UNEP, pp. 42-45, 57-59

[165] It refers to the borders in mountainous areas of Albania, Kosovo/a and Montenegro.

[166] Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, German Agency for International Cooperation.

[167] B3P Newsletter (2011) 10 ½ YEARS ON. Available at: http://www.balkanspeacepark.org/pic_info.php#documents.

[168] Each summer since 2003 Richard Hargreaves leads trekking activities in the area. He is an active member of B3P.

[169] Montenegro – Border crossings and Visas, available at: http://www.montenegro.travel/en/border-crossings-and-visas

[170] Albania - Border Crossing Procedures for hikers between Albania, Montenegro and Kosovo: http://www.qarkushkoder.org/

offer help to facilitate the procedures to cross the borders[171], but an agreement between the border police of the three countries is still pending and most part of the people still cross illegally.

B3P - Current projects

Since its origins B3P has been working to facilitate joint meetings and other activities among stakeholders in the area, in connection with international agencies[172], NGOs from the region[173] and regional authorities. B3P goals include creating a transnational environmentally protected park, strengthening local environment protection mechanisms, creating opportunities for local communities with ecotourism activities to stimulate local employment and thus reduce rural migration to urban areas; and promoting cross-border cooperation between States, as a proof of peaceful relations in a region where suspicion towards the neighbour has blocked cooperation and provoke confrontations for many years. International cross border treks, cycle tours and walks for Peace offered in the area[174] introduced free border crossings and ecotourism concepts in the area. In 2003, the inaugural trek of 36 people led by Richard Hargreaves finished

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[171] Peaks of the Balkans - Cross Border Hiking http://www.peaksofthebalkans.com/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&layout=item&id=16&Itemid=132&lang=en
[172] ADA, GIZ, SNV, UNEP.
[173] ERA, TRITON.
[174] In 2001 the famous runner Rosie Swale visited the area alone making contact with local people. The first trek was organized in 2003 by Richard Hargreaves (from England) who came back each year to the region. The Kosovar Ministry of Youth sponsored the "Long Walk for Peace" in 2005, leaded by Fatos Lajci (from Kosovo/a). In 2012 the Kosovo Mountaineering and Alpinist Federation organized the expedition "Discover Balkans Peaks" leaded by Arben Lila (from Kosovo/a).

with a conference in Shkoder that had the intention of promoting the concept of a Transboundary Peace Park in the area[175].

In 2005 UNEP decided to collaborate with B3P calling the project the "First Cross-Border Balkans Peace Park"[176]. The UN agency funded the first part of the project aiming to collaborate with the development of cross-border cooperation and the promotion of peaceful transboundary environmental protection in the area. That same year, Professor Michael Galaty and Antonia Young created the "Shala Valley archaeological Project", an ethnographic team that worked closely with families living within the Theth National Park and allowed to obtain valuable knowledge about the traditions of the region[177].

A year later the first stakeholders conference was held in Prishtina (Kosovo/a) whose main aim was to bring members of municipalities of the area together. The result of this meeting was the signing of a Letter of Good Intent[178] in which Municipalities expressed their commitment to the development of the Peace Park. This letter, similar to a Memorandum of Understanding, represented the first step taken by States involved towards the creation of the Balkans Peace Park. States' commitment helped B3P to obtain support from other international organizations such as IUCN and the

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[175] Hargreaves, R. op. cit., p. 151; Young, A., op. cit., p. 21; B3P Newsletter (2011) Mountain activities and cross-border trekking. Available at: http://www.balkanspeacepark.org/pic_info.php#documents.
[176] B3P Newsletter (2005) Where Have We Got To?, p. 2. Available at: http://www.balkanspeacepark.org/pic_info.php#documents.
[177] Projekti i Lugines se Shales - The Shala Valley Project. More information: http://www.millsaps.edu/svp/
[178] The Municipalities present during the meeting were: Bajram Curri (from Albania), Peja/Peć and Deçan/Dečani (from Kosovo/a[178]) and Plav and Rozaje (from Montenegro). The Municipality from Shkoder (Albania) added the signature later. See appendix 3.

European Green Belt (EGB), as well as development agencies from different countries with projects in the area[179]. In June 2007 a second meeting was held in Plav (Montenegro) to discuss the initiatives for cooperation across borders.

In March 2008 a third stakeholders' meeting was held in Shkoder. There were representatives from central, regional and local governments, NGOs and international organizations. It consisted of a two-day workshop where the next steps towards the creation of a Transboundary Peace Park were discussed[180]. A year later, B3P participated in a meeting organized by UNEP in Podgorica (Montenegro) where representatives from the three countries discussed the necessity of agreeing on possibilities of making an application under the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA)[181], the importance of holding more joint meetings, the development of a common methodology for a joint survey on specific species, the importance of construction of roads in the region and the necessity of agreements at national State level to clarify the legal status of mountain crossings[182].

Since 2008 B3P has been organizing Summer Programs in different villages of the three countries[183]: which give the opportunity to local people to learn

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[179] ADA (Austria), CIDA (Canadian International Development Agency), GIZ (Germany), SDC (Switzerland), SNV (The Netherlands).

[180] B3P Newsletter (2008) Progress so far. A brief summary detailing the work of B3P to date. Available at: http://www.balkanspeacepark.org/pic_info.php#documents.

[181] IPA projects have been EU funded under the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) since 2007.

[182] B3P (2011) Podgorica report 2009 - Antonia Young's report on June 2009 Podgorica meeting organized by UNEP. Available at: http://www.balkanspeacepark.org/pic_info.php#documents.

[183] Theth (2008-2012), Vermosh (2012) and Lepush (2012) in Albania; Plav in Montenegro (2010) and Rugova in Kosovo/a (2010).

English, which is useful for them when tourists arrive in the villages. Tourism has been their main source of income for the last four years. These activities count with the support of private donors and international institutions, such as USAID and the USA Embassy in Albania.

After the several stakeholders meetings organized between 2003 and 2008, in the following years there were no other meetings with participation of States. The positive expectations of transboundary cooperation that stakeholders had at the beginning began to decrease. It was not until 2012 that UNEP and TRITON[184] (Montenegrin NGO) organized the first trilateral stakeholders meeting in Gusinje (Montenegro)[185]. Ministry representatives from Montenegro and Kosovo/a were present at the meeting; as well as B3P and other organizations active in the region. The aim was to achieve joint actions among parties on biodiversity conservation and sustainable development in the region[186]. During this event, Nigel Young (representing B3P) offered to organize a second meeting in Albania; UNEP and the Ministries confirmed their commitment to participate. During six months, UNEP and B3P planned the meeting with the aim of making a formal agreement between the three countries as a corollary.

During the work experience in Albania, the main role as intern in B3P was to contact Ministries, NGOs and international organizations in the three countries to ensure their participation in the meeting. The work was far from

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[184] TRITON: http://nvotriton.webs.com/
[185] "First trilateral stakeholders meeting in the proposed transboundary protected area "Prokletije/Bjeshket e Nemuna, 15-16 March 2012, Gusinje-Montenegro"
[186] Global Transboundary Conservation Network (2012) B3P Activities in the Balkans, p. 16. Available at: http://www.tbpa.net/newsletters/41_TBeNEWS-no5-2012-FINAL.pdf.

being simple, mainly for the lack of commitment from State parties, with the exception of Kosovo, whose representatives from the Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning were committed since the beginning.

The meeting[187] was held in Shkoder on 12th September 2012. Representatives from UNEP, UNDP Albania, GIZ, ERA (NGO from Kosovo), OSCE, SIFE (Youth NGO from Albania), The Door (Albanian NGO) and Peace Corps Volunteers (young volunteers from USA) participated in the meeting. Regarding States involved in the proposed area, only members from Kosovo participated. No representatives from Albanian or Montenegrin Ministries assisted, even if they have had confirmed their assistance; only a representative from the Municipality of Shkoder was present.

A future Balkans Peace Park

The cooperation between communities in the area has increased a lot, but there is still plenty of work to do regarding public involvement. What is the message of this lack of commitment?. As the other cases analyzed demonstrate, State involvement is essential for the success of Transboundary Peace Parks. Ecuador and Peru, and DRC, Rwanda and Uganda have shown commitment since the Peace Park initiative started, even if circumstances did not allow more involvement, especially in the case of the African States, where conflict and the potential collapse of the State are barriers for development of this kind of strategy. They have been working

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[187] "Second Trilateral Stakeholder Meeting in the proposed transboundary protected area "Prokletije/Bjeshket e Nemuna Mountains"

as equals with the rest of stakeholders and increase contacts with neighbouring States.

In this research two possible causes for this lack of commitment towards the Balkans Peace Park has been identified: absence of determination of States to collaborate with their neighbours and competition instead of cooperation between projects in the area.

The mistrust among these neighbouring States is still manifest and it can be proved by the current situation in borders. Bearing in mind the classification done by Martinez, this region has changed from being an alienated or hostile borderland during the last century to a co-existent one. After the isolation imposed by Hoxha, conflicts in Kosovo and the independence of Montenegro, borders could now be subject to openness due to the stability of the region, but State authorities have failed to translate their promises into deeds on this topic.

This tripoint is characterized by the similarity of local communities in terms of cultural identity since most of them are ethnic Albanians, but not all. In terms of political and economic stability each country has a different reality. As mentioned in chapter one, transboundary regions can be very heterogeneous and this is one example. This region includes a small population in a vast area and there are structural differences on each side of the border, since Montenegro is far more developed than Albania and Kosovo/a. However, the communities of the three countries in this area continue to be left behind.

Apart from investing money, through development projects and promotion of eco-tourism, States should help ethnic communities of the area "to put aside historical barriers and come together to share the protection and sustainable development of this special mountain region"[188]. Moreover, if States do not intensify their presence in the area depopulation will continue with the logical consequence of decreasing environmental protection, since now it is only the local people who protect their habitat.

The creation of a Transboundary Peace Park in this Balkan area would represent a solution to eliminate these inconveniences that are obstacles for development. If it is created there will be public officers working constantly in the area, with the help of local and international organizations. Local communities will have the necessary external help to work and live in this isolated area without having to abandon their villages. A negative aspect is that some local people reject the presence of international organizations since they consider this could contaminate their traditions. This is a risk that exists when international projects are applied in isolated zones. But, if a correct combination of stakeholders is planned, this negative perspective can be avoided. For this reason, commitment of States is essential.

The second issue in this area that arose when studying this project, is the competition that exists among the different development projects in the area, not only regarding this particular proposal for a Peace Park but also in different subjects all over the region. Regarding environmental issues in the

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[188] Hargreaves, R., op. cit., p. 160.

proposed Peace Park area, there are some organizations doing an important work.

ERA is an environmental NGO founded in 2003 in Peja (Kosovo/a) whose goals are "to promote and increase environmental consciousness, awareness and responsibility amongst the youth and community of Kosovo in order to protect, conserve and promote the region's natural and cultural heritage"[189]. They have different educational programs in the area for the promotion of civil society participation in the conservation of their environment. During the summer they organize youth camps in the Rugova valley to improve contacts between the young generation of Kosovars and local communities of the mountainous villages. Another NGO that is doing a good work in the area is TRITON in the area of the Prokletije National Park (Montenegro) where they work with local population to create awareness about environmental conservation of the area. The NGO uses strategies such as promotion of eco-tourism activities, cleaning projects, hiking trails and educational programs to promote the area and help local population. B3P have worked with both organizations and is making efforts to create a coalition to make joint long-term projects and work to strengthen links with States in each side of the border.

The organization Peaks of the Balkans is promoting the unification of procedures for border crossing before described. Each year they organize trails in this region for trekking tourists. Their objectives are similar to B3P

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[189] Environmentally Responsible Action group - *Welcome to ERA* - http://www.eradirect.org/

since through ecotourism they seek to collaborate with local communities to increase their incomes, create awareness for environmental protection and bring people of the area together[190]. They are supported by GIZ who in 2006 launched the project in Thethi[191] that consisted of giving financial support to villagers for the development of private accommodation in their own houses to receive tourists (guesthouses). The Dutch Embassy, SNV and UNDP Albania have also collaborated with other sustainable development projects in the area.

All these projects have brought benefit to the area. However, there is no strong collaboration among organizations. The reasons may lie in misunderstandings, competition for leadership, lack of communication or prevalence of personal goals instead of long-term goals for communities.

Two other factors that seem to affect the normal development of a Balkans Peace Park were identified along this research. One is that the name "Balkans" is not well accepted in the region. Most of the people consider it an imposed name that has nothing to do with their culture. For reasons of length, this subject cannot be extended in this dissertation. The Bulgarian author Maria Todorova has published many books about it, being "Imagining the Balkans" the most notable because it includes a chronological explanation of the origin of the Balkan name, how European powers selected

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[190] Peaks of the Balkans (2012) Driving Force for Sustainable Tourism Development of the Region. Available at:
http://www.peaksofthebalkans.com/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&layout=item&id=8&Itemid=186&lang=en
[191] "Promotion of sustainable economic development: Destination development in the mountain area of Thethi".

the term Balkans as synonym of primitive and barbarian and to describe the region as the "other" of Europe[192].

Another issue is the Blood Feuds in Albania. The Kanun is a compound of regulations written by Lekë Dukagjini[193] in the 15th century, which establishes the law that covers all aspects of mountain life. Book eight includes the laws regarding "personal honour", in which article 600 establishes that "a man who has been dishonoured is considered dead according to the Kanun"[194]. This vendetta forces the man that causes the dishonour to be confined to his home or leave the village[195] to avoid being attacked or killed. Even if it is a very old tradition and was forbidden during communism, the reality shows that these practices are still important for local communities. Here again, the establishment of a Peace Park could be a source to spread the idea of reconciliation and, more important, allow the State and its laws to "enter" in this remote area and thus expand their sovereign power. People from Northern Albania in general have more respect for the Kanun than for the National Constitution, mainly because it is an old tradition connected to their origins that are older than the modern Albanian State.

The necessary elements to establish a Transboundary Peace Park are present in this area. The location selected is of great natural value that needs conservation, mainly due to depopulation of the area and the external support is present through the different projects implemented. The element

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[192] Todorova, M. (1997) <u>Imagining the Balkans</u>, New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 3.
[193] The tradition was at first oral and then codified by Dukagjini.
[194] Young, A. (2000) <u>Women who become men: Albanian sworn virgins</u>. Oxford: Berg, p. 41.
[195]Also in *kullas*, tower houses made out of stone.

that is missing in this framework is the active participation of the States, who were committed to the idea of a Peace Park but through the years that commitment started to fade. Only States can act as the guarantors to put together all these projects, initiatives and proposals towards the creation of a Transboundary Peace Park.

Facts demonstrate that the issues related to ethnicity and religion mentioned at the beginning of this chapter are not the most important factors that block transboundary cooperation. It is rather States' lack of participation that obstructs the development of this initiative. This does not mean that ethnicity and religion does not influence State officers, but they are mostly secondary elements that come after bureaucratic factors. It is important to note that the three States supposed to be involved in the initiative are young States that are still dealing with institutional consolidation; as is revealed by the delays in establishing a common cross-border policy in the proposed Peace Park area.

The work experience in the area and the study this project analyzed in this chapter lead to the conclusion that a Balkans Peace Park could be created in the long-term. It is still necessary to make visible the benefits of Transboundary Peace Park among State officers and villagers, both regarding increase and consolidation of peaceful relations between neighbouring States and conservation of environment.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the study of different Transboundary Peace Park initiatives this dissertation aimed to identify the most relevant elements to determine the effectiveness of these initiatives in promoting more cooperative and peaceful inter-State relations. As was mentioned at the beginning of this dissertation, the study of Peace Parks focused on inter-State relations is a complex subject since there is not sufficient literature available. There are many factors to take into account when doing research about Peace Parks, including nature conservation, political interests, economic benefits, long-term confrontations, border tensions and local traditions. This represents a problem since each region has its own dynamics and different elements arise when studying them, a situation that complicates the possibility of doing a proper analysis.

When talking about Peace Parks, the only initiative that is largely known is the Peace Park Foundation in South Africa, which has a negative reputation[196]. During the work experience in the Balkans and the research, I was engaged in demonstrating that some initiatives have positive effects, mainly for inter-State relations.

One of the negative aspects about Peace Parks argued by opponents is that they decrease State sovereignty over borders. However, as was discussed in chapter one and demonstrated in the three initiatives analyzed, States are the only authority to decide on border issues, maintaining their sovereign

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[196] See Buscher, B. and van Amerom, M. (2005) Peace parks in Southern Africa: bringers of an African renaissance. Journal of Modern African Studies 43 (2) pp. 159-182; Duffy, op. cit.; Wolmer op. cit.;

power. The State is still a crucial organizer of their territory and in alliance with global actors, the State attempts to extend its control over weak administered regions[197] through Peace Park initiates. This happens in the remote areas of South America and Africa, and could be a used by Balkans States as a means to extend sovereign power over the mountainous regions proposed as a Peace Park.

The second argument against Peace Parks is related to an idea of "privatization" of the environment when international organizations or private donors implement their own ideas about conservation, a situation that can negatively influence local communities. However, as was demonstrated in the cases of Cordillera del Condor and Virunga, it is plausible to see that if a correct combination of stakeholders is planned the results are positive. In the three cases included in this dissertation different stakeholders participate in the initiatives and the presence of States is essential to have positive results. Moreover, at least in the three cases analyzed before, local communities obtained economic benefits through eco-tourism.

A third criticism focuses on the potential increase of illegal activities around borders. The situation in Cordillera del Condor and Virunga demonstrate that the illegal activities exist before the establishment of Peace Parks and one of the most relevant roles of stakeholders is to combat those activities through the projects implemented. As mentioned before, the State is the main actor in deciding border politics; in the case of the Balkans where borders still need to

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[197] Duffy, R., op. cit., p 1.

be defined this necessity of a common border policy can be use as a motivation to promote closeness between the three countries involved.

In IR theory, Peace Parks are part of an idealistic approach but this discipline should give greater consideration to border characteristics and the territory where Peace Parks are situated. Borders are not simply opened or closed, relationships along borders are non-linear, as considered by Starr and Thomas. Apart from the analysis of the environment and recent conflicts, it is necessary to focus on border dynamics, how they have been modified over time and their connection with local communities. The territory also provides an important component of group identity and has an extraordinary symbolic importance to people[198]. In South America and Africa imposed borders have separated communities and have also been actors in the conflicts. In the Balkans case, borders are still not defined in Kosovo/a.

Moreover, in the three cases analyzed as in the majority of Transboundary Peace Parks political borders do not often correspond to an ecological or ethnic border. The four categories suggested by Martinez was an important source to analyze the borders of the three cases included in this dissertation and its dynamics. Albert et al. have suggested including the analysis of borders as a category in IR theory, combining the study of identities (as national States), borders (as sharply drawn territorial lines) and orders (as relatively stable configurations of power among sovereign states); calling this concept "IBO triad"[199].

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[198] Starr, H., and Dale, T. op. cit., p. 125.
[199] Albert, M. et al., op. cit, pp. 7-8.

As was demonstrated in the cases analyzed in Chapter two Transboundary Peace Park initiatives have been effective in bringing neighbouring States together. The projects implemented in Cordillera del Condor and Virunga had as a consequence the increase of cooperative and more peaceful relations between all the States involved. These initiatives also helped to increase the reconnection of communities living on both sides of the border.

For this reason and based on work experience, if a Peace Park between Albania, Montenegro and Kosovo/a is established I believe it could certainly improve inter-State relations in the long-term. As was mentioned before, nowadays these three States are working towards institutional development and once this process is more consolidated increase of inter-State relations may occur. If all the stakeholders involved in the initiatives that currently take place in the area bear in mind the importance of planning joint projects beyond personal sympathies or ambitions more cooperative inter-State relations could be achieved sooner.

Transboundary Peace Parks are not the only strategy to promote more cooperative and peaceful relations between States that share borders with biodiversity that needs to be protected, but they represent one of the most suitable frameworks to integrate different bilateral or multilateral projects and initiatives in a joint cross-border project.

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<u>Useful websites</u>

Albania - Border Crossing Procedures for hikers between Albania, Montenegro and Kosovo: http://www.qarkushkoder.org/

Balkans Peace Park Project: http://www.balkanspeacepark.org/

Dian Fossey Gorilla Fund International: http://gorillafund.org/

Enterprise, Environment and Equity in the Virunga Landscape of the Great Lakes (EEEGL): http://www.virunga.net/about-eeegl/who-we-are/ and http://www.care.org/careswork/projects/RWA090.asp

ERA - Environmentally Responsible Action group: http://www.eradirect.org/

International Gorilla Conservation Programme: http://www.igcp.org/about/

Montenegro – Border crossings and Visas: http://www.montenegro.travel/en/border-crossings-and-visas

Mountain Gorilla Project: http://gorilladoctors.org/

Peace Parks Foundation: http://www.peaceparks.org

Plan Binacional Capítulo Ecuador: http://www.planbinacional.gob.ec/

Plan Binacional Capítulo Perú: http://www.planbinacional.org.pe/

Projekti i Lugines se Shales - The Shala Valley Project: http://www.millsaps.edu/svp/

TRITON NGO: http://nvotriton.webs.com/

APPENDIX 1

List of Peace Parks[200]

Name	Countries	Main Purpose
Morukulian (1914)	Norway and Sweden	Celebrate 100 years of peace.
Waterton Glacier (1932)	Canada and USA	Symbol of peace and goodwill.
La Amistad International Park (1982)	Costa Rica and Panama	Joint cooperation in the biosphere reserve in the border between both countries; after the border conflict.
W International Peace Park (1986)	Benin, Burkina Faso and Niger	Protection of wildlife and poverty alleviation in the region.
Si a Paz - San Juan River (1988)	Costa Rica and Nicaragua	Sustainable development of biodiversity in the disputed share border.
Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park Transfrontier Park (TFP) (1999)	Botswana, South Africa and Namibia	Symbol of the long anticipated dawn of transnational interdependence and cooperation in Southern Africa. Joint

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[200] Author's elaboration on the basis of the following sources: Ali S. (2007) op. cit.; Ali, S (2011) op. cit.; Global Transboundary Conservation Network http://www.tbpa.net/; Kilot, N, op. cit.; McManus, John W. (1994) The Spratly Islands: A Marine Park? Ambio 23(3): 181-186; McNeil, R.J. (1991) Machias Seal Island international park: a proposed resolution of a territorial conflict. In: Dykeman, F. (ed.) Rural Land Management: Perspectives from Canada and the United States. Sackville, NB, Canada: Mount Allison University, pp.91-102; Peace Park Foundation www.peaceparks.org.

		management of the area as a single ecological unit.
Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation and Resource Area (2000)	Mozambique, Swaziland and South Africa	Biodiversity conservation, mainly of the elephant population of the area.
Maloti-Drakensberg Transfrontier Conservation and Development Area (2001)	Lesotho and South Africa	Preserve biodiversity of the region and improve the livelihood of the communities through eco-tourism
Great Limpopo (TFP) (2002)	Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe	Improve biodiversity cooperative management. Introduce a border-crossing protocol and a tourism strategy.
Ai/Ais-Richtersveld Transfrontier Park (2003)	Namibia and South Africa	Promotion of tourism in the area and joint environmental management.
Nyika TFCA (2004)	Malawi and Zambia	Joint wildlife conservation, combat poaching and improve access to the area.
Greater Mapungubwe Transfrontier Conservation Area (TFCA) (2009)	Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe	Jointly manage wildlife resources.
Kavango Zambezi	Angola, Botswana,	Maintain and manage

(2011)	Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe	the shared natural and cultural heritage resources and biodiversity of the area. Facilitate tourism across international borders.
Island of Peace – Naharayim (project proposed - 1994)	Israel and Jordan	Tourist site managed between Israel and Jordan.
Red Sea Marine Peace Park (project proposed -1997)	Israel, Jordan and Egypt	Confidence building strategy, through the protection of the fragile nature of the Gulf and the coral reef and its environs.
Cordillera del Condor (project proposed - 2004)	Ecuador and Peru	Increase bilateral cooperation in the shared border.
Greater Virunga Transboundary Collaboration (GVTC) (project proposed - 2006)	Uganda, Rwanda and DRC	Biodiversity conservation and peacebuilding among neighbouring States
Antarctica (proposed)	Current claimants of Sovereignty: Argentina, Australia, Chile, France, New Zealand, Norway and the United Kingdom	Global cooperation in environmental management avoiding conflict between parties involved.
Balkans Peace Park (proposed)	Albania, Kosovo/a and Montenegro	Protect the fragile environment of the area and peacebuilding strategy among the

		communities of the three countries.
Demilitarized Zone Peace Park Project (proposed)	North and South Korea	Promote peaceful relations between both countries through its shared landscape.
El Pilar (proposed)	Belize and Guatemala	Agreements made to allow researchers and tourists to cross the international border at the Mayan archaeological sites.
Emerald Triangle Protected Forest Complex (project)	Thailand, Laos and Cambodia	Promote cooperation for transboundary biodiversity conservation between Thailand, Cambodia and Lao PDR.
Karelia Line (proposed)	Finland and Russia	Look for an agreement in the disputed province.
Kuril Islands (proposed)	Russia and Japan	Advance Peace and effective conservation of the environment in a contested border.
La Frontera (proposed)	Mexico and USA	Joint protection of desert biosphere and border control.
Liuwa Plains - Mussuma (proposed)	Angola and Zambia	Protection of the migratory population of blue wildebeest and the catchment area for the Zambezi River.
Lower Zambezi -	Zambia and	Joint environmental

Mana Pools (TFCA) (proposed)	Zimbabwe	conservation.
Machias Seal Island (proposed)	Canada and USA	Protection of biodiversity of the area to help in resolving the dispute over the boundary.
Mengamé-Minkébé Transboundary Gorilla Sanctuary (proposed)	Cameroon and Gabon	Initiating a process for cooperation between the countries; promoting a collaborative management process for the Gorilla protection, with high priority given to the participation of local communities.
Sapo-Tai, Greater Nimba Highlands and Gola-Lofa-Mano (proposed)	Liberia and its neighbours Ivory Coast, Sierra Leona and Guinea	Regional security through joint environmental management.
Selous Niassa corridor (proposed)	Tanzania and Mozambique	Protection of wildlife.
Spratly Islands (proposed)	Brunei, China, Malaysia, the Philippines, Taiwan and Vietnam	Project to prevent conflicts over the contested islands.
Tambopata - Madidi Protected Area (proposed)	Bolivia and Peru	Joint conservation and development of the natural protected areas.
Tatras transboundary biosphere reserve (proposed)	Poland and Slovakia	National Parks declared transboundary biosphere reserve by UNESCO in 1992 to protect biodiversity.

The Mesopotamian Marshes and the Hawizeh-Azim Peace Park (proposed)	Iran and Iraq	Coordination and co-management of the shared environment. Establishment of a demilitarized zone in the share border.
Wakhan Corridor (proposed)	Afghanistan and its neighbours China, Pakistan and Tajikistan	Improvement of regional security, relations among neighbouring States and programs for biodiversity conservation of the area.

APPENDIX 2

Location of the three Peace Parks in a World Map:

Source: Central intelligence Agency (CIA) - Regional Maps: Political World. Available at: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/maps/refmap_political_world.html

Location of "Cordillera del Condor"

Source: Ponce, C. and Ghersi, F., op. cit., p. 1

Location of Virunga

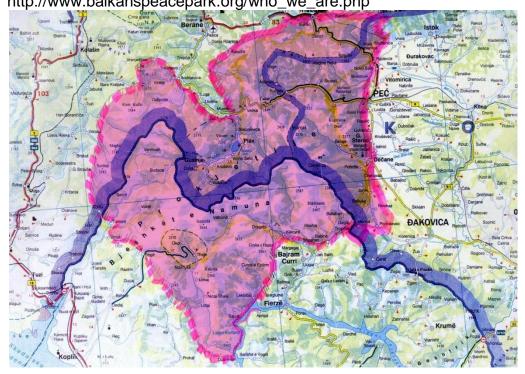Source: Central Africa Regional Program for the Environment (CARPE).

Available at:

http://wwf.panda.org/what_we_do/where_we_work/congo_basin_forests/wwf

_solutions/protected_areas/management/

Location of the proposed Balkans Peace Park

Map of proposed peace park area.

Source: Balkans Peace Park Project. Available at:
http://www.balkanspeacepark.org/who_we_are.php

Source: Balkans Peace Park Project. Available at:
http://www.balkanspeacepark.org/images/big_map.jpg

APPENDIX 3

Letter of Good Intent – Prishtina 2006