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# IRISH PEACE INSTITU

The National Institute for Higher Education, Limerick, Ireland Tel. 061-333644 Telex 26959

28 August 1986

Dr. Garret Fitzgerald TD Taoiseach Leinster House Dublin 2

Dear Taoiseach,

I am mailing to your office under separate cover a summary of the proceedings and recommendations of the International Conference on Peace-building held in Ireland earlier this year. Herewith I enclose a summary of the resulting plan of action prepared by the Irish Peace Institute. My purpose is to draw your personal attention to these summaries — particularly that enclosed herewith. They emphasise two vital ideas; 1) that non-governmental pragmatic arrangements are critical to the reduction of sources of conflict, and 2) that in Ireland a unique opportunity exists to effectively implement this role through Co-operation North, the Irish Peace Institute and other reconciliation bodies -North and South.

Despite inadequate funding and very difficult circumstances, Co-operation North has achieved considerable progress since its inception in 1979, acting in co-operation with private and public bodies on both sides of the border. Its sister organisation - the Irish Peace Institute - established in 1984, is already moving decisively in the fields of education and communications towards a far-reaching programme of third level education relating to peace-building, a series of international conferences in association with major semi-state and private bodies in the Shannon area, and a management development programme for voluntary reconciliation organisations, North and South of the border.

In an Aide Memoire, May 2nd, 1985, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Washington DC (copy enclosed), I suggested that a secure income derived from \$20 million (i.e. \$2 million per year), would enable both organisations to achieve very significant results. Since that date, a formula has been agreed between the Irish Peace Institute, State bodies and private enterprise for the type of co-operative management unit referred to in the Aide Memoire, and Co-operation North, (representing both traditions), has continued to seek funds of the order mentioned in the Aide Memoire.

I bring these matters to your attention in the light of the United States government's generous decision to provide \$75 million during the next year for the purpose of promoting peace in Ireland. I and my colleagues - North and



South - are convinced by many years of experience that relatively small money spent on expanding activities initiated by Co-operation North and the Irish Peace Institute will yield rich dividends for the whole island. It is realised that the American fund will be managed, on behalf of governments, by an independent trust. Nevertheless, I consider the summaries to which I refer merit special consideration by you at this time.

I look forward to hearing from you. Very good wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Brendan O'Regan CHAIRMAN

Encls. 2

# AIDE MEMOIRE

For Meeting with
THE HON. T.P. O'NEILL,
Speaker of the House of Representatives
Washington - May 1985

# CO-OPERATION NORTH/CO-OPERATION IRELAND - A FEARLESS WAY FORWARD

- The agony of Northern Ireland is rooted in fear.
   Translated into hatred and violence, that fear has:
  - \* Yielded a mounting toll in lives
  - \* Undermined the fabric of the economies of Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland
  - \* Deflected massive public monies to security from the resources of the Republic of Ireland and the United Kingdom
  - \* Paralysed the creativity -- North and South -- which characterised the accelerated economic growth achievements of the Sixties.
- 2. The United States has generously indicated its commitment to a resolution of conflict in Northern Ireland. An undertaking to provide substantial economic investment is an incentive to the political process of attaining peace in Ireland, North and South. However, because of deep-seated fears on all sides, that political process will be complex and lengthy and will require a wide-ranging foundation of mutual trust and understanding.

Co-operation North/Co-operation Ireland is an organisation dedicated to fostering mutual understanding and trust on the island of Ireland.

 Co-operation North/Co-operation Ireland is a non-political, non-government endeavour committed to the promotion of a climate of goodwill and understanding between people of different traditions in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland.

Since its foundation six years ago, Co-operation North has drawn to its Council, its Boards in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, and support Boards of Co-operation Ireland in the United States and the United Kingdom, eminent people united --in dismay -- by the continuing tragedy in Northern Ireland.

Included on the coordinating bodies are many who spearheaded the dynamic of economic revitalisation in the Republic and Northern Ireland in the Sixties when industrial investment and tourism were achieving a modern Economic Miracle.

Co-operation North has been recognised with annual funding from the Governments of the Republic of Ireland, the United Kingdom and the European Economic Community.

Co-operation North's programme has brought together the people of Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland at all levels in economic planning, trade, commerce, culture and youth activities. Cross-border studies of co-operation and joint efforts have been commissioned, seminars and conferences organised.

9. Co-operation North is convinced that the idea of North/South Co-operation has already taken root. Its proposals for expansion to a more telling scale are backed by the genuine conviction that understanding through co-operation can now flourish and shape an environment of mutual trust which will secure peace and prosperity in both parts of Ireland.

BRENDAN O'REGAN



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IRISH PEACE INSTITUTE

STAFF SUMMARY OF THE STRATEGIC PLAN

(SUMMER 1986 - SUMMER 1988)

#### FOREWORD

After the First International Conference on Peace-building, which ended in early May 1986, the staff of the Irish Peace Institute (IPI) conducted a strategic planning session. The purpose of this session was to identify the priority programmes of the IPI for the next two years, as well as to evaluate the ideas and insights resulting from the Conference. It was also intended to analyse possible funding sources for IPI programmes in the future.

The following Staff Summary represents the results of the strategic planning session. It is meant to provide an outline and brief explanation of the IPI's approach towards peace-building, as well as its priority programmes. For a more in-depth explanation of the IPI's raison d'etre, I refer readers to Dr. Brendan O'Regans's paper, The Third Way, Through Wandering Rocks, which is available upon request from our office.

The IPI takes sole resposibility for the contents of the following Summary. In closing, I would like to thank the entire staff of the IPI - Dr. Brendan O'Regan, Chairman of the IPI, Dorothy Cantrell, Margaret O'Regan, Tracey Gleeson, Rory O'Dowd and Marie Wren for their contributions to this Summary. I would also like to thank Kevin Layton, Research Officer, for his subsequent contribution as well. The following Summary is very much the result of the staff's common commitment to help in building peace, beginning here in Ireland.

Dr. Thomas E. Boudreau EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

#### TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

PEACE-BUILDING THROUGH MANAGED CO-OPERATION

# PRIORITY PROGRAMMES

Priority Programme:
The Centre for International Co-operation, Shannon
The Idea
Planning Stages
The Future

Priority Programme:

Peace Education in Ireland

Joint Masters Degree: NIHE and the University of Ulster

Management Training for Peace-building

Management Scholarship Schemes

Priority Programme:
Preventive Diplomacy
Satellite Diplomacy Project
Mediation Project: The Role of Third Parties in
Conflict Resolution
Non-proliferation and International Security Project

# FUNDRAISING AND THE FINANCIAL FUTURE

Raising an Endowment Corporate/Foundation Sources Inter-governmental Sources

CONCLUSION

# IRISH PEACE INSTITUTE

STAFF SUMMARY OF THE STRATEGIC PLAN (SUMMER 1986 - SUMMER 1988)

#### INTRODUCTION

In a world increasingly threatened by nuclear war or accident, as well as by terrorism and regional conflicts, there is a growing need to discover new ways to build peace and international security. The search for a "far better way" is especially acute in Northern Ireland, where sectarian conflict and violence continues to claim innocent lives.

In view of these sobering realities, the Irish Peace Institute was established in October 1984, to explore new approaches in peace-building. Based in a neutral European nation, situated between the Old and New Worlds, the IPI aims to define and to develop bold new programmes to encourage peace-building through managed co-operation.

#### PEACE-BUILDING THROUGH MANAGED CO-OPERATION

The key operational premise of the IPI's activities is that peace can be built by managed co-operation between societies, especially those divided by conflict. Such managed co-operation is required to create and sustain interdependent interests between conflicting cultures through economic, scientific, educational, social and cultural endeavours. Furthermore, the precise methodology of peace-building — which involves the use of small, efficient joint managerial units that insure linkage and continuous co-operation in specific areas (such as educational exchanges or joint economic ventures) — must be made explicit so that governmental and non-governmental groups can apply this method in their own historical and cultural circumstances.

The IPI's emphasis on managed co-operation as a method of peace-building is inspired by the work of Co-operation North which has, since 1979, conducted a vigorous and increasingly effective non-political programme of co-operation between Northern Ireland and the Republic in such areas as youth exchanges, cultural and economic linkages and sports activities. The aims and objectives of Co-operation North are:

- To promote goodwill and understanding between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland by fostering co-operation in the economic, social, educational and cultural spheres, and
- To engage in investigation and research into common problems and the opportunities for mutually beneficial co-operation.

The Irish Peace Institute seeks to expand upon, and to

"internationalise" Co-operation North's approach to peace-building. The IPI emphasises the importance of persistent, non-political, co-operative activities that must be vigorously implemented through skillful organisation and adequate resources. Indeed, the needs of today are such that the same efforts and energy that characterise the management of military affairs must now be directed towards the management of international co-operation at all levels.

Peace-building through managed co-operation is not neccesarily a new idea. The European Economic Community is a practical example of managed co-operation on a large scale. European economic co-operation, generously aided by America's Marshall Plan, helped heal the ancient antagonisms of European societies, such as the German and the French, that were in seemingly endless conflict. Furthermore, the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (1975) called for a wide variety of measures designed to promote international co-operation among states. What is new is the added sense of urgency that must infuse efforts to build peace through managed co-operation using non-governmental as well as governmental resources.

# PRIORITY PROGRAMMES

There are two main areas of managed co-operation that the IPI will focus upon:

- the managed co-operation of mutual interests
- the managed co-operation to overcome mutual dangers

For instance, the <u>Centre for International Co-operation</u>, Shannon, discussed below, is intended to be an example of the managed co-operation of mutual interests in scientific, economic, telecommunciations, artistic, cultural and educational areas. The IPI research projects in preventive diplomacy and arms control are examples of managed co-operation to overcome mutual threats. Both the opportunities and dangers of the nuclear age must be managed creatively, especially by countries in conflict, if humanity is to survive.

The three priority programmes of the IPI are:

- The Centre for International Co-operation
- Peace Education in Ireland
- Preventive Diplomacy

These programmes are reviewed in the following sections.

Priority Programme: The Centre for International Co-operation, Shannon

The Idea

As a gateway to Europe, Shannon International Airport has evolved into

a highly successful example of managed co-operation in tourism, trade, industrial manufacturing and economic expansion. Immediately adjacent to the Airport is the Shannon Free Zone, the world's first duty free industrial zone which includes some 100 different corporations from America, Europe, Africa and Asia. In the nearby city of Limerick, the new National Institute for Higher Education (NIHE) contains a College of Engineering and Science, a College of Business and a College of Humanities. Immediately adjacent to the NIHE is a technology park which houses Wang, Varian, and the National Enterprise Centre; the park has significant potential for further growth. There is an academic appointment at the National Institute for Higher Education, Mr. Gerald McMichael, who is responsible for the co-ordination of joint research between the Shannon Free Zone and the NIHE. In short, the combination of Shannon Airport, the Shannon Free Zone and the NIHE offers a unique example of successfully managed co-operation in a variety of aerospace, high-technology engineering, education and business fields.

Since news headlines emphasize international conflicts and current troubles, it is often tempting to take such examples of complex co-operation for granted. This is especially unfortunate since the combination of complex commercial, aerospace, and educational activities offers a promising way of building international peace and prosperity.

The Irish Peace Institute seeks to expand upon the Shannon example of managed co-operation, and make its potential for peace-building more explicit. This is the purpose of the Centre for International Co-operation.

# Planning Stages

Planning for the Centre for International Co-operation, Shannon in the next two years will proceed in the following three stages:

- A) The Centre for International Co-operation, Shannon will seek to develop new models of managerial co-operation by creating small, efficient non-political units designed to promote international links in tourism, trade, cultural exchanges, communications, education and the arts.
- B) The IPI will sponsor a series of conferences at Shannon dealing with a variety of themes related to peace-building through managed co-operation. The first of these conferences, International Tourism: Passport To Peace will be held in the Spring of 1987. Planning for this Conference has brought together a consortium of companies and institutions, including: Aer Lingus, Aer Rianta (Irish Airport Authority), Shannon Free Airport Development Company, Guinness Peat Aviation, and Stokes Kennedy Crowley.

The second conference, entitled <u>Co-operation Through Global</u> <u>Communication</u>, which will examine the newest developments in

satellite communications and information systems, will occur in the spring of 1988. With the advent of the Irish Communications Satellite (1987) and an earth station at Shannon, there is the potential of projecting Shannon — and, indeed Ireland as a whole — as a centre of the new information and communications age. Each of these conferences should result in small managerial units in their respective areas to implement recommendations. The conferences represent the key projects of the Centre for International Co-operation, Shannon during the next two years.

C) If funding can be found, the third and final stage is the actual preparation, and building of the Centre for International Co-operation, Shannon. The first part of the Centre will be an International Peace Pavillion that will house examples of humanity's artistic, cultural and co-operative achievements. There is already an exhibit on peace-building currently on display at the Shannon International Airport that can be expanded, to become the basis for ongoing exhibits at a central peace pavillion.

#### The Future

Of course, the question may come up "In a world threatened by nuclear war or accident as well as by terrorism and regional conflict, what does the Centre for International Co-operation, Shannon have to do with peace?" The answer is very simple: commerce and co-operation have slowly though relentlessly changed the very nature of international peace and security. For instance, in the year 1000 A.D., Europe was extremely poor and living conditions were primitive. The Byzantine and Arabic civilisations to the East and South were clearly ascendent. Yet within 200 years, Europe was exploding with energy and initiative — as exemplified in the building of Gothic cathedrals; a key cause of this positive change was the development of trade and commerce — the building of roads, the founding of towns and medieval fairs and the accumulation of capital.

Europe today stands at a similar threshold; because of the earlier success of the Marshall Plan and the continuing success of the E.E.C., Europe can increasingly become a centre and source of prosperity and peace. Yet, Europe is also in danger of falling behind the economically exuberant sectors of commerce, industry and research and development in the Far East and the United States. In view of this, the Centre for International Co-operation, Shannon can serve as an important new bridge between business, commercial and cultural activities between America, Canada and Europe; it could illustrate how international business could expand, create new jobs and thus simultaneously serve self-interest and peace.

Priority Programme: Peace Education in Ireland

The second priority effort of the IPI is the promotion of peace education and management training for reconciliation groups in Northern Ireland and the Republic. The Irish Peace Institute intends

to act as a catalyst for peace-building through managed co-operation in colleges and universities at an undergradurate and graduate level. While relating to educational institutions throughout Ireland, the IPI has a special relationship with the National Institute for Higher Education, Limerick, and the University of Ulster.

The IPI seeks to study the causes of human co-operation, as well as the causes of human conflict. The particular interest of the IPI in peace education is to research, analyse and disseminate information on successful examples of human co-operative life, such as the European Economic Community.

While the IPI's main thrust is towards action and the implementation of policy studies, it nevertheless aims to contribute to research on conflict resolution and peace-building. The special focus of the IPI is on the initiation and expansion of continuous co-operative activities, especially in the field of education, in situations characterised by constant conflicts between differing cultures.

Joint Masters Degree: NIHE and the University of Ulster
As an example of co-operative education in Northern Ireland and the
Republic of Ireland, the IPI is also involved in an important
initiative with the National Institute for Higher Education, Limerick
and the University of Ulster in the planning of a Masters' degree
programme in Peace Studies. Students enrolled in this programme will
spend the first part of the year at the University of Ulster, and the
last part of the programme at the NIHE in Limerick. The M.A.
programme in Peace Studies is the first of its kind in the United
Kingdom and, indeed, in Ireland. Unfortunately, lack of funds has
slowed progress on the launching of this programme.

The University of Ulster is already involved in innovative research, education and community involvement related to conflict resolution and reconciliation. Magee College of the University of Ulster offers a B. A. programme in Peace Studies. Research is being carried out at the Centre for the Study of Conflict at Coleraine in a variety of areas related to the strife in Northern Ireland. In view of these excellent programmes, the IPI is firmly committed to helping in any way possible to establish the joint M. A. programme in Peace Studies on a firm financial foundation. At the same time, the IPI will be exploring the possibilities of establishing peace studies at undergraduate level in the Republic of Ireland. The IPI will also promote teacher training programmes in conflict resolution.

Management Training for Peace—building
Since human energy and enthusiasm are the most precious resources of
voluntary groups working for reconciliation, it is crucial that human
skills be managed effectively in peace—building. It is far more
important to 'empower' those groups already 'on the ground' working
for peace in Ireland, rather than spend money on new programmes that
might take several years to become effective.

So, with generous support from Co-operation North, the IPI has arranged for the "Effective Manager" Open University course to be offered to reconciliation groups in the Ireland, North and South. This course has been developed by the highly regarded Regional Management Centre at the National Institute for Higher Education, Limerick, in association with the Open University. The purpose of the course is to 'empower' leaders in peace work and to improve individual managerial skills by combining sound theory with practical problems and exercises.

Management Scholarship Schemes

The Irish Peace Institute aims to make this management education available to all voluntary bodies engaged in reconciliation work in Ireland, North and South. In order to do this, it launched a Management Scholarship Scheme in July 1985. This scheme offers, for the very first time, scholarships to voluntary organisations entitling them to participate in management training courses run by the Regional Management Centre.

During the first year of the programme (1985-86), 14 individuals representing a variety of peace groups from the North and South of Ireland participated in the course. Planning for a new class for the next year (1986-87) is currently proceeding. There are almost 90 voluntary groups working for reconciliation in the North and South of Ireland. While many of these groups are very small, or 'paper' organisations, there are a large number, estimated to be around 60, that could possibly benefit from managerial training. The IPI is committed to seeking financial support so that the management training programme can continue until these voluntary groups can participate in the course. By this method, the IPI eventually hopes to 'empower' all the significant voluntary groups working for reconciliation in both parts of Ireland.

# Priority Programme: Preventive Diplomacy

There are two major threats to Ireland's peace and security. The first is the civil strife and sectarian violence in the North; the IPI seeks to address this situation through the action-orientated programmes in peace education and management training discussed in the previous section. The second major threat is the continuing Cold War between the East and West. In view of this, the third priority area of the IPI is the concept of "Preventive Diplomacy" which consists of projects designed to explore ways of promoting international co-operation to overcome the mutual threat of regional or nuclear war. These projects are discussed in the following section.

Satellite Diplomacy Project
As mentioned in the section on the Centre for International
Co-operation, Shannon, the IPI is currently planning to conduct a
conference on "Co-operation Through Global Communications." As part
of its preparation for the conference, the IPI will be examining the

possible uses of pioneering developments in satellite communications to promote international peace. As Dan Deudney of Princeton states, "The same technologies of planetary information that brought us an image of the whole earth are propelling the current arms race. But these technologies could also form the core of an alternative security system."

With this in mind, the IPI is currently conducting a research programme that is analysing the potential of new telecommunications and data linkage technologies to enhance international security. There is a special focus on the French proposal calling for an International Satellite Monitoring Agency (ISMA), and the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute's proposal calling for a regional ISMA in Europe as a confidence building measure between East and West.

The Executive Director of the IPI is currently completing a book on Satellite Diplomacy. This is a collection of essays by a distinguished group of scholars tracing the historical and technical evolution of the new developments in this field. Funding is currently being sought for the completion of this project which — as already mentioned — overlaps with the planned Conference on Global Communications.

The Mediation Project:

The Role of Third Parties in Conflict Resolution
Third party intervention can often be an invaluable means of ending a dangerous political crisis, or conflict. As Professor Edward Azar of the University of Maryland points out, parties to a conflict are often demoralised, immobilised and trapped in the conflict, and need an outsider to break the impasse and energise them by pointing to comparable experiences and possible solutions. With this in mind, the IPI is conducting a mediation project that will examine and analyse the possible strategies for improving third party intervention in intercommunal and international conflicts.

A special interest of the IPI is the preventive role of the U.N. Secretary-General. In view of the dangers of regional conflicts that could escalate into a superpower confrontation, it makes simple sense to examine carefully, and critically, the potential role of institutions or individuals who can effectively intervene in a political crisis; they are a rare and precious international resource that should not be casually dismissed as being irrelevant to the realpolitik of international affairs. One such individual is the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Dan Deudney, "Whole Earth Security: A Geo-politics of Peace" (Washington, DC: Worldwatch Institute, 1983)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Edward E. Azar, "The Management of Protracted Social Conflict" Paper prepared for First International Conference on Peace-building, Limerick, Ireland: April 28, 1986.

Ireland has traditionally been a strong supporter of the United Nations, and has contributed troops over the years to a variety of U. N. peace-keeping operations in the Congo, Cyprus, Egypt and Lebanon. These missions, which have suffered a number of casualties, are part of Ireland's contribution to help preserve international peace and security. Thus, the IPI's study on the preventive role of the Secretary-General occurs within the context of Ireland's continuing commitment to the United Nations. The IPI is currently completing a book on the preventive role of the executive office of the U. N. Secretary-General.

The preventive role of a third party — whether it is the U.N. Secretary—General or a neutral nation — in a nuclear crisis has not been adequately explored either by governments or by scholars. So, a possible future research theme in the mediation project includes the role of neutral nations — as well as the Secretary General — in conflict prevention, especially in situations — such as a regional crises — that could escalate into a nuclear confrontation. Funding for reseach on these topics is currently being sought.

Non-proliferation and International Security Project
As stated in Ireland Today, March '86, The Bulletin of the Irish
Department of Foreign Affairs, the most important multilateral
disarmament agreement concluded to date, the Nuclear Non-proliferation
Treaty (NPT), is closely associated with the advocacy and inspiration
of the Irish delegation to the United Nations. In 1961, Ireland
introduced the General Assembly resolution on the basis of which the
treaty negotiations were subsequently conducted. The Minister for
External Affairs, Frank Aiken, had the satisfaction of being the first
to sign and ratify the Treaty on behalf of Ireland seven years later
(1968).

In keeping with this Irish tradition of advocating effective multi-national arms control regimes, the IPI is conducting research on new approaches to enhancing international security. There is a special emphasis on examining the problems and prospects of alternative security systems that emphasize managed co-operation to overcome the mutual dangers of nuclear war.

The IPI is currently completing a preliminary study on the strengths and weaknesses of the NPT entitled: A Nuclear Demarche: A New Approach On Non-Proliferation. Funding for a more in depth study on ways to promote international co-operation in the area of non-proliferation and multilateral arms control is currently being sought.

Furthermore, the Executive Director of the IPI is currently co-chairman of the planning committee for the International Conference on War Prevention Diplomacy in a Multi-nuclear World. The first meeting of the planning committee was held at Yale University in June 1985. The conference, which is scheduled to occur in Helsinki in the spring of 1987, is intended to bring together American, European and Soviet scholars to examine new approaches to preserving international peace and security in a multi-nuclear world.

# FUNDRAISING AND THE FINANCIAL FUTURE

The priority programmes of the IPI will not succeed without adequate financial support. One of the great misfortunes of the modern world is that, while billions of dollars are spent on preparations for war, precious little money is spent on new approaches to peace-building and conflict resolution. In view of this disparity the IPI must tap into all potential corporate, foundation, individual and inter-governmental sources for support. The priority efforts of the IPI in fundraising will focus upon three areas, which are discussed in the following sections.

## Raising an Endowment

The great advantage of an endowment is that it would free the small staff of the IPI to concentrate fully upon successfully completing the priority programmes. Efforts will be made during the next two years to establish a modest endowment that will cover the operating costs of the IPI.

# Corporate/Foundation Sources

Corporation and foundation support will be sought for individual priority programmes and projects. Fundraising efforts will be expanded to include American, as well as European, sources of support. There are increasing numbers of corporations and foundations making grants in the areas of peace studies and preventive diplomacy; the IPI plans to expand upon its efforts to raise funds in these areas.

#### Intergovernmental Sources

The Irish Peace Institute has received a small grant from the E.E.C. Since much of its work is inspired by the example of the E.E.C., the IPI will continue to seek this support, and that of other intergovernmental agencies.

To facilitate fundraising in Ireland the IPI has recently received tax—exempt status under Irish law as a non-profit agency.

# CONCLUSION

This Staff Summary has briefly reviewed the overall objectives and priority programmes of the Irish Peace Institute for the next two years (summer 1986 - summer 1988). The planned projects, research and conferences of the IPI seek to emphasize the importance of managed co-operation in the process of peace-building. In a conflict-filled world, the IPI believes that it has an important message to share: namely, confrontation can be transformed, even marginally and incrementally, through progressive co-operation in areas of mututal interests. To do this, peace-building must be effectively managed and continuously funded on a scale large enough and appropriate to match the dangers of a nuclear world. Peace is not an "accidental" development nor is it necessarily a "natural" state; in view of this,

the IPI will continue to emphasize the need to plan and prepare for peace in the same fashion that Generals plan and prepare for war.

Since governments too often have, or seem to have, little room for manoeuvre nor an inclination for radical policy changes, it is important that non-governmental and non-political institutions co-operate in education, commerce, trade, science, tourism and culture to pioneer the path to peace. The initiatives of non-governmental institutions can often facilitate a formal improvement in relations between governments in conflict. Thus, non-governmental efforts to "build bridges" often complement the work of governments, especially in the area of promoting international peace and security. The IPI is determined to be an active and effective catalyst in this ongoing and important process of peace-building.