

# The Peace Chart

A Work in Progress by The Millennium Project  
 (Feedback is welcome to [Jerome.Glenn@millennium-project.org](mailto:Jerome.Glenn@millennium-project.org))

<b>STRATEGIES FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION</b>		
<b>Strategy - Description</b>	<b>Case Study – Success or failure</b>	<b>Analysis</b>
<p><u>National Dialogue:</u></p> <p><i>A space for discussion between elites, leaders and the public of a country.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Flexible, inclusive;</li> <li>• Time-consuming;</li> <li>• Assessment only possible in long-run;</li> </ul>	Success: Benin, 1991 <sup>i</sup>	Large mandate given; writing new constitution.
	Success: Congo (Zaire), 1991 <sup>ii</sup>	Large mandate; failure of the current political order (totalitarian dictatorship) and urgent need for political change.
	Failure: Basque separatists vs Spanish government <sup>iii</sup>	Outdated model of negotiation (belligerence; lack of transparency;).
	Failure: Yemeni NDC, 2013 <sup>iv</sup>	Internal divisions; lack of clarity about outcomes; cultural challenges.
<p><u>Diplomatic initiatives/ formal negotiations:</u></p> <p><i>Negotiation usually between the major parties involved in the conflict, sometimes facilitated by a third-party.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tendency to collapse in long-run;</li> <li>• Effective third-party influence extremely helpful;</li> <li>• Useful for strategically less important/specific conflicts that do not address core interests;</li> </ul>	Success: Dayton Peace Accords, 1995 <sup>v</sup>	Pressure from various strong international powers.
	Success: Mozambican Civil War, 1992 <sup>vi</sup>	Mediation by Community of Sant' Egidio (Catholic, cultural similarities).
	Failure: Israeli-Palestinian Relations <sup>vii</sup>	Incompatible core interests, followed by weakened impact of external pressure.
	Failure: South Sudan <sup>viii</sup>	Incompatible core interests; genealogy and history of the conflict; power struggle.

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<p><u>Incorporating civil society actors into negotiations</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Better representation and inclusivity that leads to better legitimacy;</li> <li>• Role of public opinion expands in intra-state conflict (versus inter-state);</li> <li>• Applicability limited because some argue that strength and effectiveness of civil society is directly proportional to strength of democracy – pre-existing democracy needed?</li> </ul>	<p>Success: Philippines Mindanao region, 2012<sup>ix</sup></p>	<p>Incorporation of women and women’s issues in both formal and informal tracks.</p>
	<p>Success: Guatemala, 1990s<sup>x</sup></p>	<p>Civil Society Assembly running parallel to Track 1 negotiations, able to make recommendations in real time.</p>
	<p>Failure: Syria<sup>xi</sup></p>	<p>Not included, current parties to conflict both have limited legitimacy.</p>
	<p>Failure: Sri Lanka, early 2000s<sup>xii</sup></p>	<p>Limited to indirect, small-scale work and internal divisions within civil society groups.</p>
<p><u>Incorporating parties to the conflict (incl. insurgents) and into negotiations</u></p> <p><i>Some violence motivated by rebel groups/insurgents believing their opinions will not be taken into consideration in formal negotiations.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bolsters representation, inclusivity and decreases chance of violence;</li> <li>• Final peace agreement will be accepted more widely;</li> <li>• Lengthy process;</li> </ul>	<p>Success: Mali, 1995-2007<sup>xiii</sup></p>	<p>Localized peace agreements; then moved up the ladder to central governments; Support from government initiatives and UNDP.</p>
	<p>Failure: Sudan, 2002<sup>xiv</sup></p>	<p>Northern opposition groups and National Democratic Alliance ignored, focus on ‘major’ players which lead to Darfur rebellion.</p>

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<u>Military intervention</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Useful as short-term strategy aiming to achieve specific goals;</li> <li>• Reason affects success: e.g. humanitarian concerns vs strategic concerns;</li> <li>• Tends to increase duration of conflict;</li> <li>• Outdated hard power approach to conflict;</li> </ul>	<b>Success: Sierra Leone, 2000<sup>xv</sup></b>	Clear short-term goal to end civil war, evolved into long-term non-military goal (logistical support, training, aid).
	<b>Failure: Afghanistan<sup>xvi</sup></b>	Unclear goal, emotional response to 9/11/2001.
	<b>Failure: Yugoslavia, 1999<sup>xvii</sup></b>	Widespread and unplanned use of force.
	<b>Failure: UNAMIR Rwanda<sup>xviii</sup></b>	
<u>Expanding mandate of UN Peacekeeping missions</u>	<b>Success: Sierra Leone UNAMSIL<sup>xix</sup></b> , with its mandate successfully completed in 2005, has been widely considered as a “model multilateral peacekeeping mission” <sup>xxxxxi</sup>	Multilateral peacekeeping mission.
	<b>Success: Somalia UNOSOM II<sup>xxii</sup></b> : the operation’s success is much more difficult to assess	
	<b>Failure:</b>	

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<u>Economic policies</u>  Economic aid, limiting financing to parties involved in the conflict; alternatively, buying them out: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Study arguing that economic aid prolongs conflict;</li> <li>• Economic policies must involve all parties to the dispute;</li> </ul>	Successes: Colombia, Northern Ireland <sup>xxiii</sup> .	
	Failure: North Korea <sup>xxiv</sup> , 2016-2017	Sanctions and economic pressures exerted by the International community have proven futile against North Korea because of the country's lack of ties with the International community.
	Failure: Iraq <sup>xxv</sup> (Sanctions):	
<u>Affecting norms and values through cultural and grassroots initiatives (Multi-track diplomacy)</u>	Successes: Colombia, Northern Ireland	
	Failure:	
<u>Prevention Strategies in Context of Intergroup Tensions:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Conduct a vigorous analysis</b> of potential conflict identifying major stakeholders, issues of main contention, and past efforts toward reconciliation.</li> <li>• If situation is rapidly escalating but still localized, evaluate scope for deploying peacekeeping force to contain crisis and prevent it from spreading to wider area.</li> </ul>	Success:	
	Failure: Balkans, former Yugoslavia, 1991-2001	UN Peacekeeping forces were outnumbered and revealed themselves powerless as opposed to the local forces <sup>xxvi</sup> . The mission's failure can also be conducted to the inability by the part of the International Community and NATO to understand the situation and react promptly.

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<p><u>Arrange meetings between main actors</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Must be inclusive and transparent without burdening the process with too many people involved.</li> <li>• Fundamental importance of the timing: if negotiations start when it's already too late, the possibilities that the conflict escalates multiply themselves.</li> </ul>	<p><b>Success: Burundi<sup>xxvii</sup>, 1993-2003</b></p>	<p>In Burundi, many rounds of peace talks between main stakeholders, overseen by representatives from regional state governments, were successful in delivering a power-sharing agreement, reinforced by ONUB (2004-2007) peacekeepers.</p>
	<p><b>Failure: Rwanda, 1994</b></p>	<p><b>However, if one or more parties are not sincerely committed to working for peace, the peacebuilding process will likely break down, as it did in Rwanda.</b> Successful conflict prevention must be predicated on a strong and consistent desire for peace and resolution of differences amongst all of the main stakeholders.</p>
<p><u>Identify critical grievances and points of contention</u></p> <p>Again, should be representative of all main groups without getting mired in long litanies of past transgressions. If the list is too long and detailed it endangers forward movement of the process.</p>	<p><b>Success:</b></p>	
	<p><b>Failure: Spain vs Catalunya</b></p>	<p>For this tactic to work out it is crucial for all the parties involved in the conflict to settle their disputes in an open fashion, commonly identifying the critical points of contention in order to elaborate concrete solutions accordingly.</p> <p>In the case of Catalunya, the Spanish central government made the mistake of not clarifying the situation in the first place, letting the Catalans' pride fuel itself bit by bit, until it is now becoming too late, with the situation potentially turning into a lose-lose for both parties in the long term.</p>

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<p><u>Establish goals that are agreeable to all parties</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Small, achievable objectives that involve opposing parties and actors from different societal sectors will help to build intergroup trust and promote a motivational feeling of progress in the process.</li> </ul> <p>Consider (especially in post-conflict):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is disarmament program needed?</li> <li>• Demobilization and reintegration of paramilitaries and/or rebel troops? This point is indeed crucial in order to avoid creating situations of revenge or resentment paving the way for further civil wars (Iraq after the Gulf Wars, Syria after the systematic persecution of Shia's by Sunnis?)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Success: ONUB Burundi, 2004-2007</b></p>	
	<p><b>Failure:</b></p>	

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<p><u>Strengthen the prevention process through meetings with local actors, civic groups, and media outlets</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Identify as many ways as possible for local community members and groups to get involved and consistently give feedback that will continually inform a process that is responsive to local realities. This should be considered as part of a second-phase strategy to build a durable sense of personal investment and ownership in the peacekeeping process throughout the whole society.</li> </ul>	<p>Success:</p>	
	<p>Failure:</p>	
<p><u>Identify Networks of Local and International NGOs that have interest/experience in the area. Employ their expertise and delegate projects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>This is also a second-phase strategy that could be useful in organizing continual grass-roots involvement and investment in the peacebuilding process, as described above.</li> </ul>	<p>Success:</p>	
	<p>Failure:</p>	

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<u>Multi-Use Prevention Strategies:</u> <u>Deployment of peacekeeping forces (International or Regional)</u>	<b>Success: UN: UNMIL Liberia<sup>xxviii</sup>, 2003-Present; UNMIH Haiti<sup>xxix</sup>, 1993-1996, and MINUSTAH Haiti, 2004</b> are generally considered to have helped stabilize the country. ONUB (Burundi, 2004-2007) peacekeepers were deployed to enforce terms of peace agreement, facilitate disarmament, and protect civilians.	
	<b>Failure: Rwanda - UN, 1993-1996</b>	
<u>Trade Embargoes and Economic Sanctions</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If sanctions ought to be implemented, they have to be tailored to the targeted country, There is no “one-size-fits-all”</li> <li>• <i>Constructive</i>, no punishing sanctions</li> </ul>	<b>Success: Iran, 2015<sup>xxx</sup></b>	Economic actions undertaken by the International community were key to reaching the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action signed by Iran, the P5+1 and the EU. The deal can be seen as a diplomatic success carried forward through the implementation of sound and effective economic policies, but that would have probably revealed itself as vain without the commitment and persistence of then US President <b>Barack Obama</b>
	<b>Failure: Syria; Iran 1990-2003</b>	

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<p><u>Independent/International election-monitoring can help to ensure fair elections and minimize improprieties that are often a point of armed conflagration in countries at risk for conflict. May lend legitimacy to election process and make supporters of defeated party less likely to riot</u></p>	<p><b>Success:</b> Solomon Islands, 2010; Lesotho and Madagascar, 2009; Ghana, Kenya, and the Maldives, 2008; and Mauritania and Sierra Leone, 2007 (Source: “Partners in Preventive Action,” CFR/CPA, 2011)<sup>xxxix</sup></p>	<p>For international election monitoring to be effective, it is necessary to establish less cautious general standards leaving no room for interpretations or doubts, making sure that international inspectors do not miss the bigger picture, but apply the same tough standards everywhere.</p>
	<p><b>Failure:</b> Uganda, Museveni’s re-election, 2016. The mission refusing to answer the question about whether the elections were “free and fair.”<sup>xxxix</sup></p>	
	<p><b>Failure:</b> Azerbaijan’s 2013 Aliyev’s elections, with evidence of “widespread irregularities, including ballot-box stuffing and what appeared to be fraudulent counting” reported by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe<sup>xxxix</sup>.</p>	
<p><u>Low profile mediation with civilian and/or military leaders, by international and regional government entities, to dissuade them from usurping power following elections</u></p>	<p><b>Success:</b> UN successfully encouraged orderly military-civilian transfers of power in Guinea, Togo, and Niger, 2010 -CFR/CPA.</p>	
	<p><b>Failure:</b></p>	

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<p><u>Prevention Strategies around Boundary</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Territorial Disputes:</b> May be referred to the <b>UN’s International Court of Justice.</b> Regional organizations of independent states such as the <b>OAS</b> or <b>ASEAN</b> can also play effective roles. Armed conflict may be avoided without total resolution of dispute.</li> </ul>	<p><b>Success:</b> <b>Cameroon/Nigeria dispute adjudicated by ICJ;</b> <b>Libya/Chad dispute</b> over the Aouzou Strip decided in Chad’s favor by the ICJ in 1994. Libyan troop withdrawal monitored by UN observers. <b>Belize/Guatemala dispute</b> mediated by OAS; <b>Cambodia/Thailand dispute</b> mediated by ASEAN.</p>	
	<p><b>Failure:</b> <b>Ethiopia/Eritrea, UNMEE, 2000-2008<sup>xxxiv</sup>:</b> Eritrea <b>drove UN peacekeepers from border zone</b> in 2008, and Ethiopia <b>refused to accept binding ICJ ruling.</b></p>	

## STRATEGIES FOR POST CONFLICT

Strategy - Description	Case Study – Success or failure	Analysis
<u>Improve Minority Rights</u> <u>Adding new laws that both increase and protect the rights of minorities. This is particularly important in the context of previous systematic discrimination of an ethnic minority</u>	Success: Rwanda	The improvement of women’s rights in Rwanda has resulted in Rwanda having a Parliament that is most representative of women in the whole world.
	Failure: Myanmar <sup>xxxv</sup>	Despite the recent opening up of the country after the decade -long rule by the military junta, the conditions of the Rohingya population have not improved, leading to their continued discrimination.
<u>Reduce Military Spending</u> <u>- a lot of money on military expenditures can be seen as a threat to the opposing side of the former conflict</u>	Success: Mozambique <sup>xxxvi</sup>	
	Success: Costa Rica <sup>xxxvii</sup>	<p>A striking example of success in this respect, Costa Rica decided, after a bloody civil war in 1948, to constitutionally abolish its National Army, redirecting the funds previously dedicated to military spending into social programs and social investments into education, health and the environment.</p> <p>Smart political leadership, long-term shared peaceful vision and dynamic culture allowed Costa Rica to stand out as one of the countries with the present highest living standards in the region, not forgetting the presence of one of the “world’s safest borders” with demilitarized Panama<sup>xxxviii</sup>.</p>
	Failure:	

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<u>Implement Policies to counter unemployment especially in the youth;</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Being employed makes it less likely for especially young men to be recruited to partake in violence.</li> </ul>	Success:	
	Failure:	
<u>Creation of separate states</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Following a conflict, land and individuals may be divided up into separate states</li> </ul>	Success: Former Yugoslavia	The Former Yugoslavia split into seven states following the war. Even though tension still exists between some of the countries, the region has remained relatively peaceful. Croatia has even been added as a member of the European Union, Eurozone and Schengen.
	Failure: India/Pakistan <sup>xxxix</sup>	Pakistan was officially created in 1947. However, conflict between India and Pakistan remained for many years and even now, tensions (nuclear) remain between the two neighboring countries.
	Failure: Sudan/South Sudan	The two parts did split following a 2011 referendum, but several atrocities and crimes were committed by the North to the detriment of the South since 1989 <sup>xl</sup> .
<u>Presence of International Community</u> <p>The physical presence (as troops or peacekeepers) of members of the international community may help reduce conflict in a post conflict society.</p>	Success:	
	Failure: Afghanistan, Iraq	The US has removed troops from Afghanistan, suggesting that the conflict is over. However, even with many nation building efforts and the presence of the international community, conflict, especially initiated by the Taliban still exists. As for Iraq, the void left by the quick withdrawal of the US troops was soon filled by extremist Sunni militias, leading to the formation of Islamic State (ISIS).

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<u>Economic Aid from International Communities (Countries or Organizations)</u>	<b>Success: The Marshall Plan<sup>xlii</sup></b>	The US’ aid to European countries following World War II focused on the future of the countries rather than the present, making the aid more sustainable, setting the basis for the creation of the European Union.
	<b>Failure: Somalia, but arguably the great majority of African countries (for an account of this, see Dambisa Moyo’s <i>Dead Aid</i>)</b>	Economic Aid only works if it complements a pre-existent and efficient state structure and inclusive institutions: if these preconditions are not met, aid will solely make the recipient country more and more dependent on the donor.
<u>Treaties</u> Once the conflict ends, the sides sometimes come together to create a peace treaty to maintain peace post-conflict Crucial to the success of a treaty are the conditions and clauses imposed on the parties	<b>Success:</b>	
	<b>Failure: The Treaty of Versailles, 1919<sup>xliii</sup></b>	The Treaty of Versailles was created after the fighting in World War I, had stopped. Although it kept peace in Europe for a number of years, the large amounts of reparations that Germany had to pay for World War I acted as a major cause for World War II.
<u>Creation of a new government</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A new government may be created after an overthrow, especially of dictators.</li> </ul>	<b>Success: Chile<sup>xliiii</sup></b>	Violence remained for a while in Chile after Pinochet led a successful coup d’état. However, following his exit from power, Chile has been a predominantly peaceful country.
	<b>Failure: Democratic Republic of the Congo, First Congo War- 1996-1997</b>	Kabila, the leader of a rebel group, replaced the dictator of Zaire. Many African countries that wanted to replace the dictator supported Kabila in his rise to power. However, Kabila had many corrupt policies and the already weak economy was further deteriorating. The 2nd Congo War broke out just a year later.
	<b>Failure: Egypt, with the overthrow of the Muslim Brotherhood in favor of Abdel Fattah Al Sisi<sup>xliv</sup></b>	The change in government did not produce the expected results, and Egypt is nowadays considered by many as a military, “rickety dictatorship” <sup>xlv</sup> .

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<u>Nation-Building</u>	Success: Croatia	Following the Croatian War of Independence, the Croatian government focused on creating a sense of identity among its citizens. Croatia has been seen as the most successful state to emerge from Former Yugoslavia and has even become a member of the European Union, Eurozone and Schengen although there has been some controversy with their membership.
	Failure: Iraq	Nation-building efforts, led primarily by the United States resulted in a new government in Iraq. However, tensions remained between the majority and minority populations. Conflict still remains in Iraq.
<u>Truth and Reconciliation</u>	Success: South Africa <sup>xlvi</sup>	Although there were some criticisms associated with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa, this policy has generally been effective. It brought in victims of Apartheid to share their experiences.
	Failure: Colombia	The Colombian government has tried many policies to reduce conflict in Colombia, including a truth and reconciliation commission. However, conflict is still a major problem in Colombia.

## STRATEGIES FOR BUILDING A PEACFUL SOCIETY

Strategy - Description	Case Study – Success or failure	Analysis	
<u>Implement a Progressive welfare system</u>  Welfare systems that provide universal health care, investment in education, and free access to higher education.	<b>Success: Finland<sup>xlvii</sup>:</b> Finland has one of the world’s most progressive welfare systems with high rankings, in health care and education.	While there are exceptions, many of the most peaceful societies and nations have progressive welfare systems that ease internal pressures.	
	<b>Failure: China<sup>xlviii</sup>:</b> Offers universal health care and a high performance education system. However, China is one of the least obeying human rights nation. Restrictive internally.		
<u>Limit defense spending</u>  Nations that limit their defense spending are more peaceful nations.	<b>Success: Denmark<sup>xlix</sup>:</b> Spends only 1.4% of its GDP in military expenditures. 2014 ranked second most peaceful nation.	Works in tandem with first strategy. Less money on spending, therefore more money available for welfare and other programs. That might change after war in Ukraine.	
	<b>Success: Costa Rica</b>		See “Reduce Military Spending” section in <i>Strategies for Post conflict</i> <sup>l</sup> .
	<b>Failure: Singapore</b> Ranked 25th most peaceful nation. Spent 3.5% of its GDP in military expenditures, 15 <sup>th</sup> highest.		
<u>Universal Suffrage</u>  All adults can vote in all elections.	<b>Success: Netherlands<sup>li</sup></b> Peaceful nation that has had universal suffrage since 1919	A component to support democratic and more peaceful nations. However, other factors can influence, too.	
	<b>Failure: Somalia</b> Universal suffrage, nevertheless, one of the least peaceful nations for many years.		

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<u>Business Friendly Policies</u>  Policies that promote the growth of business, free trade policies, tax friendly to business.	<b>Success: Singapore:</b> Ranked is the most business friendly environment by The World Bank. 25 <sup>th</sup> in Peace	Provides economic opportunities for the citizens and greater access to jobs and wealth.
	<b>Failure: United States:</b> 4 <sup>th</sup> most business friendly in world. Ranks 101 <sup>st</sup> in peace.	
<u>Establish and maintain communicative foreign relations</u>  <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Maintain open relations with foreign governments. (Neutrality is not isolationism).</li> </ul>	<b>Success: Switzerland<sup>liii</sup>:</b> Switzerland seeks to maintain and stabilize relations in many realms for the best interests of the nation and people.	Seeking peaceful relations internationally reduces armed conflicts and opens markets for nations internationally. Contributing to other factors that promote peace as well.
	<b>Failure: North Korea:</b> While it does maintain relations with most nations it does not have relations with a number of powerful nations.	
<u>Enable protections of civil liberties</u>  <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Guaranteed civil rights and liberties</li> </ul>	<b>Success: Austria<sup>liii</sup>:</b> Ranked 3 <sup>rd</sup> most peaceful and highest scores in civil liberties.	Creates more stability for internal peace.  However, can be compromised with the establishment of an authoritarian regime.
	<b>Failure: Laos (see <sup>liv</sup>):</b> Some of the worst civil liberty scores and was ranked 38 <sup>th</sup> in peace.	

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<p><u>Facilitate International trade to boost global interconnectedness</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The more economically but also politically interdependent countries are, the less likely conflicts will be.</li> <li>Alliances solely based on military power are “more costly to maintain if there is no economic incentive”<sup>lv</sup></li> </ul> <p>“From 1950 to 2000, the incidence of interstate war has decreased nearly tenfold compared with the period from 1850 to 1949. At the same time, since 1950 international trade networks have increased nearly fourfold, becoming significantly more dense”<sup>lvi</sup> .</p>	<p><b>Success: The European Union</b>, which gradually became interconnected and peaceful through trade (also thanks to the external support of the United States).</p>	
	<p><b>Failure: Britain and Germany</b> trading rubber and binoculars during WW1 (1914-18)</p>	
<p><u>Development of a cohesive and robust civil society</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Could reveal itself key in balancing irrational and potentially dangerous acts perpetrated by incumbents.</li> </ul>	<p><b>Success:</b></p>	
	<p><b>Failure:</b></p>	

(Feedback is welcome to [Jerome.Glenn@illennium-project.org](mailto:Jerome.Glenn@illennium-project.org))

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