Dear Excellencies, dear participants, dear presenters,

We have heard six presentations from people who each, in a variety of capacities, have made outstanding contributions to the success of the Mine Ban Convention, or to the understanding of that very success. Let me move on to formulate a few questions, rooted in the presentations that we have just heard, which will hopefully contribute to inspire the discussion. I will limit myself to three:

Firstly, how can political momentum on landmines - through state-civil society interaction be maintained? In states where the conditions for civil society is very different from that of Norway? In states where modern formalized civil society in the form of NGOs and other voluntary associations is relatively weak, where traditional forms of civil society may be what carries the strongest potential? In Afghanistan, for example, NGOs have done a remarkable job as guardians of the treaty. Yet, would there have been a different level of ownership if traditional forms of civil society such as the local councils, the *shuras*, and religious leaders had been more deeply involved? There is a possible tension between, on the one hand, mobilizing broadly, and, on the other hand, securing that at least some actors are committed for the long term, for the days when landmines is not at the top of anybody’s political agenda. While states come in many different shapes, civil societies are very differently constituted from one context to another. A particular challenge is how to keep the momentum up in the mine-affected countries themselves, where the state is often deeply skeptical to engaging with civil society. Given the widely varied contexts, what can we learn for the history of the landmine campaign that can help us uphold the momentum ahead?
Secondly, we have the pressing challenge of meeting one particular treaty obligation. As most of the audience here knows very well, the Convention, in its article 5, expects all parties to have cleared all anti-personnel landmines from their territories within ten years from joining the treaty. However, none of the world’s most seriously mine-affected countries will be able to meet the deadline. The convention opens up for deadline extensions, yet it remains unclear on what grounds extensions will be given, how the process will be managed. The deadline for the early joiners of the treaty is only two years away. So far, civil society has played a crucial role in monitoring treaty compliance, both through local campaigning and through the global Landmine Monitor Report. The extension of deadlines is complicated by the fact that all mine-affected states have not done their uttermost to tackle the mine problem. Here, there is a tension between the need for a simple standardized international mechanism, and the need for tailor-made solutions that strengthens the commitment and likelihood of long-term success in individual countries. And perhaps most importantly, how can short-term treaty obligations be upheld while at the same time strengthening the conditions for the long term civil society based monitoring that has characterized the mine process?

Thirdly, and finally, there is the question of whether the successes of the landmine process can be replicated in other areas. The landmine campaign became a model for new forms of civil society engagement, combining a coordinated transnational effort with a focus on political groundwork in each individual country. Civil society actors moved beyond agenda setting to establish alternative political processes and to monitor implementation. Yet, a number of conditions beyond the control of activists were conducive to the success the political climate of the immediate post-Cold War years; the concrete and definable character of the landmine threat, and the fact that potential campaign adversaries were caught off guard were important factors. This forces us to ask an uncomfortable question - which also points in to the next session - of whether the landmine ban process and its particular model or political mobilization applicable to other issues and under different circumstances?

Thank you.