

The Concept of Peace- building

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The continuum of UN responses to conflict

- Peacemaking
 - Involves diplomatic efforts to manage or resolve a conflict.
- Peacekeeping
 - The middle ground: ambiguous place between diplomacy and democracy
- Peace-building
 - Strives to stabilize post-conflict situations by creating or strengthening national institutions.

Peace-building

- ‘Peace-building’ into widespread use after B. Boutros-Ghali, announced his Agenda for Peace (1992).
- Broadly used & ill-defined term connoting activities that go beyond crisis intervention, such as long-term development, and building of governance structures, including NGOs.
- A full range of approaches, processes, and stages needed for transformation toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships and governance modes and structures.

Definition - PK

- The concept neither defined nor specifically provided in the UN Charter
- Historically – a concept associated with UN
- ‘Field operation established by the UN with the consent of the parties concerned, to help control and resolve conflicts between them, under UN command and control, at the expense collectively of the members states, and with military and other personnel and equipment provided voluntarily by them, acting impartially between the parties and

Characteristics

- Initially developed during the Cold War era as a means to ease tensions and help resolve conflicts between states
 - Called by the SC
 - To observe the cease-fire
 - By deploying unarmed or lightly armed military personnel
 - From a number of countries
 - Under UN command
 - Between the armed forces of the former warring parties.

Principles

- Consent
- Peace
- Peacekeepers deployed when a ceasefire was in place
- Observing the ground and reporting impartially on adherence to the ceasefire, troop withdrawal or other elements of the peace agreement

Development

- The lack of an express mention of PK in the Charter has not inhibited its development
- The context and model – changed
- Began with a primarily military model of observing ceasefire & separating combatants
- Nowadays – PK evolved into an integrated system of many elements: military, police and civilian personnel.

1st Generation of POs

- From Suez crisis (56), with establishment of UN Emergency Force (UNEF I). Charged with separating the sides, supervising the withdrawal of British French and Israeli units, and patrolling the Sinai peninsula and the Gaza strip.
- Pre '88 ops 'largely military in composition and their tasks were to monitor cease-fires, control buffer zones, investigate alleged arms flows, prevent a resumption of hostilities...' *B. Boutros-Ghali*.
- In short: to maintain calm on the front lines and give time for the peacemakers to negotiate a settlement...
- Characterized with ideals enshrined in the UN Charter itself and a consensus on keeping international peace.
Wilsonian ideals for an effective supranational

2nd Generation of POs

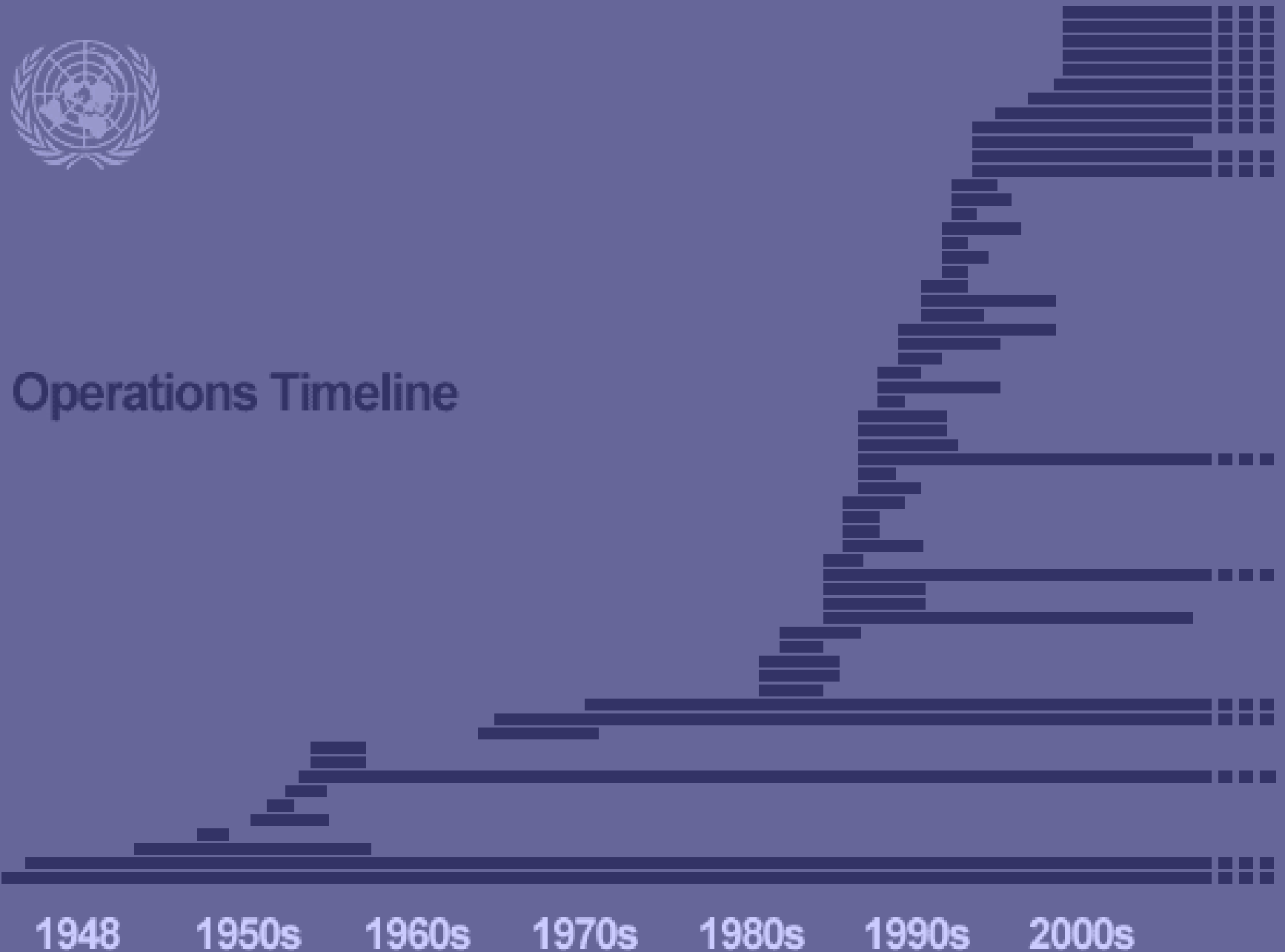
Many of the ops lacked the explicit consent of classical operations & many had a new level of involvement. E.g. UN Transition Assistance Group in Namibia, UN Observer Mission in El Salvador, UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia, there was consent of the parties involved, yet peace agreements were complex and multidimensional. Plus, PK-rs were given new tasks, such as electoral assistance, HR monitoring, resettlement of refugees, police training, protection of humanitarian relief efforts,

3rd Generation of POs

- End of Cold War leading to new optimism & new wave of efforts. Ambitious ops, given financial and pol. constraints.
- Disasters with operations in Somalia, BH, Rwanda.. leading to e period of retrenchment.
- Rather than setting more missions, UN turns to improving its infrastructure and its operation efficiently. The total deployment of UN mil and civilian personnel falling from 80.000 (1993) to cc. 14.000 in (1998).



Operations Timeline



The process - earlier

- Armed conflict
- Cease-fire
- An invitation from the conflicting parties to monitor the cease-fire
- Deployment of military personnel (while negotiations for a pol. settlement continue).

The process – nowadays

- Conducted in **every phase of the conflict spectrum** (from prevention to post-war reconstruction)
- Deployed in both **inter-state & intra-state** conflicts
- Dependent on **close cooperation** among civilian, police, and military organizations from the IC, with parties to the conflict and war-affected populations

• Opening in new areas of international

Dividing line between peacekeeping and peace enforcement

- PK & peace enforcement
- The continuum from PK to peace enforcement becoming difficult to trace
- Gray line
- E.g. deployment in 1997 in Albania and East Timor (99-'02) - hybrid operations.
- Distinguishing elements: the use of force & the issue of host state consent to the presence of the UN force.
- Impartiality (easy to maintain in PK, but difficult in PE).

- In recent PK resolution of internal or domestic conflicts has been a dominant feature.
- Involving establishment of democratic governments culminating in nation-building (e.g. Somalia, Kosovo)
- Intl. adm. of this kind not specifically provided in UN Charter, not a subject to a clear doctrine. Thus, handled by DPKO, more by default than by design.
- A number of operations have been said to evoke historically sensitive concepts of trusteeship, protectorate and even colonization (Slavonia, BH, KS, East Timor)
- Problematic making such administrations accountable - preventing to employ neo-colonial attitude

Self-examination

- Failures led to self-examination
- Brahimi report
- Main lessons/recommendations (i.e. minimum requirements):
 - A clear and specific mandate
 - Consent to the operation by the parties in conflict & adequate resources
 - Adequate resources (to implement the mandate & to deter potential spoilers)

Challenges

- Decision-making
- SG plays a pivotal role in the conduct of PK operations, and problems with demarcation with that of SC remain unresolved
 - ‘The single greatest stumbling block in efforts to improve responses by the UN to crisis situation is the impasse over the reform of composition and procedures of the SC’. Griffin.
- A major surge of demand over the past years (in mid 2006 DPKO directing 18 peace ops, comprising around 89,000 troops, police and civilian personnel. (more than a five-fold increase in fielded personnel since 2000, more than 22,000 increase since mid 2004)
 - ‘The UN has become the all-purpose ambulance service for bleeding countries’ *C. Krauthammer*
- Setting a clear mandate. Success would be judged by its original intent.
- Issue of sovereignty – conflicting values enshrined in the UN Charter itself.

No definition yet

Another side of ambivalence

Reason for success – adherence to basic principles with
extraordinary flexibility.

