Community Based Strategies for Peace and Security (CBSPS)

BY

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A THESIS PRESENTED IN PARTIAL COMPLETION OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF

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A Thesis

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Abstract

There are many theories concerning peace and security and the concept of peace-building. There is a wealth of knowledge and research available to gain a good understanding of peace-building and its importance to peacekeeping. Such knowledge would be a great asset to anyone embarking on peace-building strategies. Peace-building takes individuals, political commitments, institutional involvement, and financial commitments for communities to rebuild after conflicts. Peace-building agents have to operate successfully at every level to achieve a lasting peace. Community based strategies are mechanisms used by agents to achieve peaceful solutions to the root causes of conflicts. There is a basic assumption that, all societies desire to find ways to create an environment where working together is more desirable than violent conflict and, they have a strong desire to work towards a lasting peace. Therefore, with some direction and support, fractured societies can be assisted to reach this goal. This research examines community based strategies that operate as bridge builders for successful peace-building objectives. This research is not all inclusive, but a guideline to basic principles needed to sustain peace and security in post-conflict environments.

Introduction

The United Nations Charter

    The foundations for the United Nations concepts of peace and security can be found in the historical accounts of the drafting of the Declaration by United Nations on January 1, 1942. This document first used the term "United Nations" and it spelled out the primary intentions of the 26 nations that came together. In the declaration these sentences give reference to peace and security;

> "That the only true basis for enduring peace is the willing cooperation of the free peoples in a world in which, relieved of the menace of aggression, all may enjoy economic and social security; and that it is their intention to work with other free peoples both in war and in peace to this end."[1]

    On January 1, 1942, President Roosevelt (USA), Prime Minister Churchill (UK), Maxim Litvinov (USSR), and T. V. Soong (China) signed a document that is known as the United Nations Declaration. This document was sighed by twenty-two nations during WWII and was a pledge the governments took to maximum war efforts and bind them against making a separate peace. This document was also a pledge to the common purposes and principles stated in the Atlantic Charter.[2]

    On June 26, 1945, in San Francisco, the Charter of the United Nations was sighed. This came at the conclusion of the United Nations Conference on International Organization, and the Charter went into force on October 24, 1945. The United Nations Charter which states;

> "To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of

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[1] History of the Charter of the United Nations, The Declaration of St. James's Place, (June 1941), available at http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/history.

[2] History of the Charter of the United Nations, The Atlantic Charter, (January 1942), available at http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/history/atlantic.shtml

aggression or the other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustments or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace."[3]

On December 10, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It called on its member countries to proclaim the, "inherent dignity and of equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world."[4]

"In accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the idea of free human beings enjoying freedom from fear and want can only be achieved if conditions are created whereby everyone may enjoy his or her economic, social and cultural rights, as well as his or her civil and political rights".[5]

This declaration of human rights set the stage for a larger interpretation for the need for peacekeeping and its relation to human security. The need for human security is a vital part of peacekeeping. "While not understanding the complexity of the peace-making task, it would be a fair proposition that a peace that is not accompanied by strategies for the promotion and protection of human rights is unlikely to be a lasting peace".[6] In the years after this declaration the United Nations and the international community further defined the needs of peacekeeping and peace-building.

An Agenda for Peace

At the end of WWII the superpowers entered the Cold War era where they raged proxy wars around the world and because of these internal conflicts were repressed and sometimes ignored. These internal conflicts festered and by the end of the Cold War,

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[3] U.N. Charter art. 1 para 1, Charter of the United Nations, (October 24, 1945), available at http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter

[4] Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Adopted and proclaimed by General Assembly resolution 217 A (III), U.N. Doc. A/RES/217, (December 10, 1948), available at http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html

[5] Kim Gleeson, Worldwide Influence of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Bill of Rights, Universal Rights Network, (2008), available at http://www.universalrights.net/main/world.htm#one

[6] Dr. Bertrand G. Ramcharan, Human Rights and Human Security, Commission on Human Security, (20030, available at http://www.humansecurity-chs.org/activities/outreach/ramcharan.pdf

this suppression was untenable. The resulting violent outburst, with the use of lethal weaponry, created enormous civilian casualties, refugees, and devastated local and regional economies. This created greater threats to peace and global security and the economic development of nations. There were increasing numbers of human rights abuses, populations were terrorized, and nations disintegrated into disorder.

> "By the end of the Cold War, much of the cohesive forces that held states together, despite their ethnic or religious instability, melted away unleashing several internal conflicts. The severity of these conflicts was such that the international community was clearly shocked when the expected "new world order" turned out to be more of a "new world disorder", with failed states and ethnic conflicts as its main features."[7]

In 1992 the Security Council prepared a report presented to the Members of the United Nations. This 'agenda for peace' was an attempt by the United Nations to emphasis the need for preventing violent conflicts through preventive diplomacy and how to address conflicts and threats to international security in an attempt to stop violence from developing into full-scale war. When the report was completed it was an "unprecedented recommitment" at the highest political level, to the purpose and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. This report was developed to find ways to strengthen provisions of the United Nations Charter. It recognized that the world is growing close together but realized that this closeness can create more conflicts.[8]

> "Technological advances are altering the nature and the expectations of life all over the globe. The revolution in communications has united the world in awareness, in aspiration and in greater solidarity against injustice. But progress also brings new risks for stability; ecological damage, disruption of family and community life, greater intrusion into the lives and rights of individuals."[9]

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[7] Christine Coleriro, Bringing Peace to the Land of Scorpions and Jumping Snakes: Legacy of the United Nations in Eastern Slavonia and transitional Missions, Pearsons Peacekeeping Press (1997) at 3.

[8] The Secretary-General, Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992, U.N. Doc. A/47/277 – S/24111 (June 17, 1992), available at http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html

[9] Id.

In this report preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peacekeeping were major topics and the idea of post conflict peace-building was added as a closely related concept. When it came to peace-building the United Nations stated that its aims were, "To stand ready to assist in peace-building in its differing context: rebuilding the institutions and infrastructure of nations torn by civil war and strife; and building bonds of peaceful mutual benefit among nations formally at war."[10]

Although the UN report addressed international cooperation in the concept of peace-building, the report went on to express what needs to be accomplished at the local levels of the nations involved in conflict. The report asserted that post conflict peace-building may take the form of concrete cooperation strategies that can contribute to economic and social development. These types of initiatives enhance confidence that is fundamental to peace.

The "Agenda for Peace" is recognition that post-conflict peace building is an essential element for a complete program to end civil strife. The agenda for the United Nations states, "The efforts of the Organization to build peace, stability and security must encompass matters beyond military threats in order to break the fetters of strife and warfare that have characterized the past."[11]

Community Based Strategies

The preparations for post-conflict peace-building should be considered at the start of any United Nation's mandate mission involved in a conflict situation because this will enable the local community to plan for post-conflict situations. There will come a time in

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[10] Id.

[11] Id.

the post-conflict phase when the local community will have to take the lead in resolving and developing strategies to rebuild their nation from the various forms of devastation.

When the UN mission leaves a country there could be Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) that will establish a presence in the country to participate in the rebuilding efforts. However, when the UN or NGOs first establish their presence in the country they will have their own ideas of what is good for the community, although the information that they rely on might not have been the result of their consultation with the local community. At any given point even if it's the UN or NGOs that are sponsoring any given initiative, there will be at some point that the community will have to be responsible for rebuilding. Inevitability after the community gets involved they will deviate from the original plan of the initiative but this deviation is not a digression but an evolutionary progression. When the sponsors leave, the community will adopt some of the original structures but will adapt them to their interpretation of development and reconstruction. This is why considering community based strategies in the initial phases of the UN missions is so important to ensure a smoother transition of the peace-building progress.

This analysis of United Nations community based strategies for peace and security will focus on the practical side of the peace-building process. What are the theories of peace-building? What are the conditions for peace-building? What are the obstacles to peace-building? Who are the players? What are the criteria of success? Are there any new ideas that will help the peace-building process? These are questions that this thesis will discuss.

The Concept of Peace-building

The evolutionary history of social interaction shows that individuals and groups have always been peace-builders. After any conflict between individuals or groups there is a time of peace-building to repair psychological and physical damage from the conflict situation. Even in nature there is a sort of peace-building process. If a large tree falls in the forest, plants that were dormant responding to the new light begin to grow. For a time these plants come into conflict with each other competing for the new space. Then after a time the peace-building process begins where plants depend on each other for light, shade, nutrients, and water. Human interaction is no different. When new or old space and resources become available, individuals and groups compete and come into conflict with each other and 'when the dust settles', there is the need for peace-building. In the areas of nations and groups peace-building resembles this natural theory.

There are various questions related to the concept of peace-building,

- Is peace-building about removing the root causes of a conflict or about finding ways to resolve old and new disputes in a peaceful fashion?
- Is peace-building primarily security, humanitarian, economic or political intervention of all of these at the same time?
- Are the strategies for peace-building short, medium, or long-term goals?
- Should international involvement in peace-building have time limits?
- Are the main actors in peace-building - indigenous or external actors?
- Does the word peace-building refer to a set of concrete actions or is it a generic concept?

- Should peace-building be viewed as a top-down or bottom-up process, as a planned and coordinated process, or is it initiated locally and pursued by a multitude of actors in their field of concern and comparative advantage.[12]

In the writing of the Charter of the United Nations it did not specifically designate peace-building as one of its vital purposes, the Charter did state that one of its purposes was,

> "To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."[13]

The UN confirmed that one of its main purposes is "solving problems" in the international arena with respect to the human condition and the historical nature of peacekeeping involved the UN presence in conflicts interacting with conflicting parties. These interactions consisted of using military and civilian personnel to control or resolve conflicts or ensure delivery of humanitarian relief when needed. The UN used this type of international cooperation as a means for maintaining peace and security. The UN realized the importance of humanitarian actions in response to emergency operations, but, they also know that there is an interface between relief and development. The UN realizes that rehabilitation is a critical phase after relief operations.

The idea of peace-building was a logical development in the evolution of peacekeeping and the concept of peace-building is now a vital part of peacekeeping. "Shedding its early definition as "post-conflict reconstruction," the term "peace building"

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[12] Henning Haugerudbraaten Intern, Peace Building: Six dimensions and two concepts, Bonn International Center for Conversion, African Security Review, Vol 7 No 6, (1968), available at http://www.iss.co.za/ASR/7No6/Peacebuilding.html

[13] U.N. Charter art. 1, para. 3, available at Charter of the United Nations, (October 24, 1945), available at http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter

has broadened its scope in the 1990s to encompass the overlapping agendas for peace

and development in support of conflict prevention, conflict management and post-

conflict reconstruction."[14] There are a number of UN peace-building missions worldwide

and these missions, "serve as the critical linkage between the cessation of hostilities

and the economic and social development."[15]

The term conflict resolution is widely referred to peace-building. Conflict resolution

can involve resolving differences between nations in an international area or conflict

resolution can involve resolving differences between individual and groups. In both

theses liberal definitions of conflict resolution the idea is to produce an alternative to

violence between two or more parties. In the theories related to the community based

strategies for peace and security, conflict resolution involves grass root programs that

can help resolve the differences between individuals and groups in order to lessen the

chances that violent confrontations have to be resolved at the international level.

The peace-building programs and strategies of the UN and other international

organizations involve coming up with resolutions. "Given that the international

community has decided that it is appropriate and necessary to address a conflict

through international means, it tries to identify the parameters of such peace

operations."[16] Although the conflict resolution process started on an international level

there is always the community prospective. "Conflicts that divide communities require

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[14] Neclar Tschirgi, Peace-building as the Link between Security and Development: Is the Window of Opportunity Closing? International Peace Academy, December 2003, at I., available at http://www.ipacademy.org/pdfs/http://www.ipacademy.org/pdfs/ PEACEBUILDING_AS_THE_LINK.pdf

[15] Christian Harleman, An Introduction to the UN System: Orientation for Serving on a UN Field Mission, 2003, at 39.

[16] Christine Coleriro, Bringing Peace to the Land of Scorpions and Jumping Snakes: Legacy of the United Nations in Eastern Slavonia and transitional Missions, Pearsons Peacekeeping Press (1997) at 7.

remedies that address community issues."[17] The community where a conflict originates, or, that is directly affected by conflicts from outside forces must be involved in the resolution process.[18]

In many instances peace-building is as important as conflict resolution because resolutions to conflicts can start at any level of a dispute. In the most common dispute involving territory, individuals or groups dispute the boundaries of their established territories. Each responsible party disputes the markers that establish boarders. The conflict is the 'disputed markers' which may involve the historical legacy of the parties. Many groups and nations have gone to war throughout history over disputed boundaries. In such cases conflict resolution could begin as a fact finding initiative concerning the legitimate boundaries of the parties. But if the dispute deteriorates into group violence, conflict resolution could escalate to involve more robust means to stop the violence, such as military intervention. When drastic intervention is employed the conflict may subsided and it would be time to heal the wounds, psychological and physical. Peace-building is "the deliberate and systematic build-up of interactions, dense and durable, initiating a state in which the resumption of conflict would be improbable."[19]

Post-Conflict Peace-Building

Post-conflict peace-building and, the type of community based strategies that may have to be used, have to take into consideration the social and economic aspects of the

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[17] Id. at 7.

[18] Id.

[19] Martius Nijhoff, <u>The United nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security</u>, UNITAR, (1987) at 250.

parties involved. There are attitudes, resources, geography, infrastructures, business groups, security issues and even the agents of the peace-building process that are critical factors. Although theses are different factors there should be a common goal to pursue the peace-building process based on a clear definition of what peace-building is and the theory behind it. Peace-building policies promote actions that aim to eliminate the social and economical sources of tension that causes of conflicts.

It is important to have definitions of peacekeeping and peace-building, as well as the factors that combine the two definitions and the factors that separate them. A simplistic definition would be that when two or more parties come into conflict with each other and the conflict reaches a point when violence occurs there comes a time when an external intervention is necessary to stop the violence and, once the violence is stopped the process of peacekeeping takes place. Over time the peacekeeping process will achieve a stable environment. However, if the causes of conflict are not addressed the peacekeeping operation will only serve to separated the parties from each other and polarize the parties even further. Peace-building now has to begin to keep the polarization process from becoming a permanent factor, "...Peace-building means creating families, neighborhoods or a world in which conflicts are not seen as a reason to attack and defeat the opponent, but are seen as an opportunity to work together with the opponent to make things better for both of you."[20]

In many cases peace-building like most other forms of intervention can have both positive and negative results? One of the most persistent obstacles to peace-building is

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[20] Donald W. DeMott, Peace-building: A Textbook, Edition 4.0, High Falls Publications, (1994) at 22

the inability of international actors to adapt their assistance to the political dynamics of

war-torn societies they seek to support.[21]   Peace-building is an approach to create a

structure of peace between former combatants. It is a time when former enemies come

face to face with each other outside of a violent conflict.

Table 1: Two Distinct Concepts of Peace-building

D I M E N S I O N S	T E N D E N C Y 1	T E N D E N C Y 2
Aim of peace-building	Promote good governance and dispute settlement mechanisms	Address root causes of conflict
Means of peace-building	Primarily political intervention	Broad intervention in political, economic, security and humanitarian spheres
Temporal aspect of peace-building	Short-term	Long term
Main actors of peace-building	International community	Indigenous actors
Process/action dimension	Peace-building equated to the actions undertaken	Peace-building seen as the result, as the aggregate process
Organization of peace-building	Peace-building is centralized under the auspices of the UN, more stress on cooperation than on diversity	Peace-building is facilitated by a multitude of actors, more stress on diversity than on coordination

Henning Haugerudbraaten Intern, Peace-building: Six dimensions and two concepts,
Bonn International Center for Conversion, African Security Review, Vol. 7, November 6, 1998.

Community based strategies can build local ownership in the peace process and

provide a progressive approach to long term success of policies and programs. When

communities commit to the peace-building processes they help avoid the reemergence

of the conflict and move towards a sustainability of peace. Community based strategies

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[21] Necla Tschirgi, Post-Conflict Peace-building Revisited: Achievements, Limitations, Challenges, International Peace Academy,
October 7, 2004, at I, available at http://www.ipacademy.org/pdfs/POST_CONFLICT_PEACEBUILDING.pdf

that address post-conflict situations should, "identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace to avoid a relapse into conflict.[22]

The Economics of Peace-building

The economic aspects of post-conflict peace-building are very important when the initial reasons for the conflict had economic factors. The lack of food, housing, medical services, and access to economic markets will fuel the firers of discontent that leads to conflicts. The need for economic solutions and reforms will be needed in post conflict situations to maintain peace. By reducing the economic strain on people the community will be able to heal itself over a sustained period of time. There must be an outlined effort to balance economic relationships between parties that were involved in the conflict.

> "Balanced economic relations are more efficient than unbalanced economic relations: mutual benefits are achieved at lower cost...The mutual flow of benefits binds the parties together."[23]

The economic growth in the post-conflict community will help parties overcome the psychological strain associated with war torn societies. When former rivals take on a economic partnership they will take on self imposed responsibilities to continue that relationship. This will lead to a continued need to find new ideas for peaceful solutions.

> "People in desperate economic straits tend to reach for extreme solutions. They are more easily manipulated by demagogues and seem easy pray to aggressors. People in good economic condition are much less likely to want to tear things up."[24]

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[22] The Secretary-General, Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992, U.N. Doc. A/47/277 – S/24111 (June 17, 1992), available at http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html

[23] Lloyd J. Dumas, An economic approach to peacemaking and peacekeeping, The Economics of Peace and Security Journal, ISSN 1749-852X, 2006 at 8

[24] Id. at 10

The economic well being of parties will drive the need for development in post-conflict peace-building. This will lead to a more stable political structure to get parties back on tract to a stronger society.

Security

Community based strategies can build local ownership in the peace process and provide a progressive approach to long term success of policies and programs. When communities commit to the peace-building processes they help avoid the reemergence of the conflict and move towards a sustainability of peace. The community based strategies that address post-conflict situations should, "identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace to avoid a relapse into conflict."[25]

The Security Council has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international security under the Charter of the United Nations. If a complaint is brought before the Council the first course of action would be to resolve the issue by reaching an agreement by peaceful means. The Council "may appoint special representatives or request the Secretary-General to do so or to use his good offices. It may set forth principles for a peaceful settlement."[26] If a dispute leads to violence the Council could issue cease-fire directives or send in peacekeeping forces to limit the spread of the conflict. There are other techniques that the Council could use under their authority to try and resolve the conflict. However, the broad reach of the Security Council still can not at times stop the violence and, even when the violence is stopped and the peace-building process begins, the need for "human security" remains important in the post conflict stage. Additionally, human security at the community level can be a catalyst for preventing violent conflicts and securing lasting peace.

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[25] The Secretary-General, Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992, U.N. Doc. A/47/277 – S/24111 (June 17, 1992), available at http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html

[26] UN Security Council Background, available at http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_background.html

The United Nations Civilian Police (UNCIVPOL) is a vital part of UN peace operations. UNCIVPOL was introduced in the early 1960's during the UN mission in the Congo.[27] The mission in the Congo was the UN's largest and most costly mission and at times very controversial. When the Congo gained its independence from Belgium the Congolese army was a poorly trained force. There were internal conflicts due to the countries independence and because of this situation Belgian troops remained in the country. The internal conflicts resulted in the Congolese government requesting the UN to restore order in the country and for the Belgian troops to leave. The UN committed 20,000 troops from various nations to restore order.[28] They were committed to do the everyday law enforcement duties such as traffic control, crime control and investigations. The UN mandate did not give UNCIVPOL the power to exercise judicial powers of arrest and detention and because of this they could only exercise limited powers over offenders. UNCIVPOL moved on to provide training and develop a new Congolese police force and participating in joint patrols and a new function of the UNCIVPOL was developed. UNCIVPOL has evolved since this first mission and now police operations can include a combination of tasks including monitoring and advising, training, reform, building police forces, and executing policing.

In post-conflict war-torn environments there are several challenges that face policing, the handling of the security gap arising immediately after deployment, the actual training and reforming of local police force, judicial reform, penal reform, and the

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[27] UN Completed Peacekeeping Operations, Republic of the Congo, United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC), (July 1960 – June 1964), available at http://www.un.org/Depts/DPKO/Missions/onuc.htm
[28] Id.

issues of local justice mechanisms. The security gap is one of the most important

factors in post-conflict situations.

> "Crisis and post-conflict situations typically produce large number of internally displaced persons, refugees, and demobilized combatants. The return of these categories of persons to their homes of origin is essential to resolve the conflict and/or crisis, but it is a return fraught with insecurity and they will be returning to areas they had previously perceived to be hostile and dangerous."[29]

The withdrawing of military forces after a conflict opens up a 'security gap' before

suitable security forces can be established. In many UN missions the military's task is

not law enforcement, although the military has been deployed to restore order in conflict

situations. This is a distinct difference between the functions associated with law

enforcement and military security. In a post-conflict society the military are not

specifically trained to conduct civilian law enforcement and they should not be subject to

execute this task. There needs to be a security entity that fills this gap in security

between the military and the establishment of civilian police forces. Often, this gap is

filled by military police or paramilitary forces.

The use of military police and paramilitary has some disadvantages. One

disadvantage is that there are small numbers of military police available in military

missions, and they would need specific training for the particular mission. The use of

paramilitary forces have been used in UN policing missions but only for situations where

civilian police could not handle situations such as riots. Using any military force or

paramilitary force can create a negative perception among the civilian population that

could have consequences. "The objective of civilian police in peace operations is 'to

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[29]UNDP, Justice and Security Sector Reform, Bureau of Crisis Prevention and Recovery, (November 2002) at 10.

emphasize the strict separation of military and paramilitary entities from civilian police in developing national law enforcement structures."[30]

Police Reform

The security of a community is high on the priority list in post-conflict peace-building situations. Since the early concepts of peace-building in the 1990's, the establishment of security is significant important. It is essential to have an active and viable police force as the primary means for securing the peace in the community. "Without law enforcement, and the sense of workaday safety, security and order that the police can provide, the potential for wider political, social, and economic development dips dramatically."[31] In communities and states where the police presence is problematic or non-existent, police reform will give a community the confidence to move forward with collective measures to participate in the peace-building process.

In an international conflict situation many military combatants might have been members of local police forces before the conflict. In post-conflict situations, these combatants may decide to become police officers. Depending on the conflict, regional or ethnic based, police reform may be needed to regain the trust of a community and the rule of law. Police reform should acknowledge local history, traditions and culture. Therefore, police reformers must also know the local history, down to details like the color of the old police uniforms and the names of notorious police units. After the war between Serbia and Croatia there was an attempt to bring parties into a joint training

[30]Handbook on UN Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations, Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Best Practices Unit, (2003) at 88. available at http://pbpu.unlb.org/Pbps/library/Handbook%20on%20UN%20PKOs.pdf

[31] Hesta Groenewald and Gordon Peaks, Police reform through Community-Based Policing, Philosophy and Guidelines For Implementation, International Peace Academy, (2004) at 1, available at http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/files/portal/issueareas/security/security_pdf/2004_Hesta_Peake.pdf

program. The parties disagreed on accepting one parties uniforms over another and in the end both parties had to agree on a new neutral uniform.[32] Reform efforts must not be reminiscent of discredited and use abusive symbols, units or tactics.

The nature of a conflict and the types of combat forces used during the conflict will determine the police reform process. There are basically two types of conflicts where the nature of the conflict will determine the type of police reform. The first, if the conflict occurred between nations with established military forces across established borders. The police reform process may not be substantial because many times parties will go back to their established borders and communities and their police forces will continue established methods of policing. The second, if the conflict occurred between ethnic groups within an established nation or region of the country and the combatants were paramilitary organizations. The establishment of a police force will be a new process designed to serve all involved in the conflict, winners and losers.

In the haze of many military operations combating forces finds themselves in violent situations where they might have had to use unpopular or unconventional, even brutal, force to achieve their objectives. This may create a negative image in a post-conflict society and the idea of using them as civilian police will be limited. The use of force by police could be seen by the population as human rights violations. In post-conflict situations, where hostilities have subsided and the peace-building process takes place, if combatants decide to become police officers, the memories of who they were and what they represented will linger among the populations and the communities which

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[32] Christine Coleriro, Bringing Peace to the Land of Scorpions and Jumping Snakes: Legacy of the United Nations in Eastern Slavonia and transitional Missions, Pearsons Peacekeeping Press (1997) at 98.

they now must serve to protect. Police reform and rehabilitation is now the main priority objective of the people.

In the report by William G. O'Neil concerning "Police Reform in Post-Conflict Societies," he recognized that there are a number of principles that are important to police reform;[33]

- Police reform takes a long time, involves transforming power relations in a society and requires more than technical tinkering with police doctrine or practice

- Organizational change of any kind is never easy. This is doubly so for police in post-conflict or crisis countries.

- Respect for human rights and effective crime fighting go together: police reform cannot be seen as resulting in "weak policing."

- Effective reform requires paying attention to institutional development of the police and broader criminal justice institutions.

- Management tools, sound administration practices and fiscal controls are as important as knowledge of human rights.

- Some of the best ideas come from the ranks; police officers should have a meaningful role in all aspects of the reform process.

- Local history, traditions and culture must be acknowledged in all police reforms; failing to anchor programs in local realities means that the programs, too, will fail. Broad-based expertise is required.

- International actors must offer more than just criticism of the police misconduct; indemnified problems require positive solutions.

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[33] William G. O'Neill , Police Reform In Post-Conflict Societies: What We Know And What We Still Need To Know, International Peace Academy, (2005) at 10.

- Internal and external bodies responsible for oversight of the police must be independent, objective, transparent and effective. They must have the power and resources to do their job.

- The entire system of incentives and rewards needs to reflect the new police ethos of serving and protecting the public; recruitment and promotion must be based on objective criteria and not on nepotism or political favoritism.

The reform of the police under these principles establishes a sound outline of delivering security to communities after a conflict. These principles are needed for a community to feel that they are in control of their security.

Community Policing

There are various definitions of community policing and the policies and procedures necessary to be responsible to the needs of the community. In the context of peace-building it is recognized as a vital part of the peace process. Community policing has a positive effect on the community and the community can agree that they have local ownership in the security of the community.

In the report on "Police Reform through Community-Based Policing, Philosophy and Guidelines for Implementation," by the International Peace Academy, there are some basic fundamental principles of community-based policing;[34]

- Policing by consent, not coercion.

- The police as part of the community, not apart from it.

- The police and community working together to find out what communities needs are.

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[34] Hesta Groenewald and Gordon Peaks, Police reform through Community-Based Policing, Philosophy and Guidelines for Implementation, International Peace Academy, (2004) at 2, available at available at http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/files/portal/issueareas/security/security_pdf/2004_Hesta_Peake.pdf

- The police, public and other agencies working together in partnership.
- Tailoring the business of policing to meet community needs.

When it comes to the community needs, the politics of police forces are not without controversy. The people or organizations that are politically powerful will always have more security concerns and more established security foundations than the politically powerless. The relationships of police forces to political power are very evident in most communities throughout the world. Although police force policies and procedures are developed for state security, the policies and procedures are enforced in varying degrees depending on political and economic conditions of communities. There is a difference between an urban police force and rural police, and their police activities are different. The need to control criminal activity is a high priority in post-conflict societies and the way in which police forces respond to criminal activity will deeply affect the community as a whole. The need for community policing will be an advantage to all sections of the community.

A police force must be accountable to all members of the community it serves, if it is to be a source of unity. However, the structures of police forces, in turn, need political, economical, and material support to be effective. Salaries for local police must be adequate and regular. If police officers can not support their family on a government salary they will be more vulnerable to bribery. The government's capacity to raise sufficient revenues fairly so that all public servants, including the police, receive an adequate salary, is thus an integral part of governance reform has and will have a huge

impact on effective and respectful policing.[35] Officers need proper equipment to perform their duties and they need proper funding over an extended period of time to repair, replenish, and update their equipment based on the changing needs of the population they protect. "Resource allocation for policing operations needs to be addressed at an early stage, and should focus on all aspects of the policing mission required to fulfill the mandate."[36]

The subject of police reform is very broad and comprehensive and at times very technical. When deciding on what type of police reform to be instituted a comparative research effort should be instituted and experts in the field should be consulted. There is no doubt that if the proper police reform policies and procedures are not used, it may create a pattern of unrest and conflicts which will continue over long periods of time.

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[35] William G. O'Neill , Police Reform In Post-Conflict Societies: What We Know And What We Still Need To Know, International Peace Academy, (2005) at 10.

[36] Eirin Mobekk, Identifying Lessons in United Nations International Policing Missions, Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces, Geneva, (2005) at 14.

Sierra Leone

The country of Sierra Leone provides a substantial view of the concept of community based peace and security strategies. There are other countries that have had peace-building activities, Liberia, Burundi, Haiti, Timor-Lesie, Kosovo, and Lebanon. However, the conflict in Sierra Leone provides a prime example involving international, regional and local interest that lead to civil war. The conflict spanned 11 years from 1991 to 2002. The country is still in the process of peace-building after this intensive conflict. This is a brief summary of the Sierra Leone conflict and examples of post-conflict strategies that the country and international actors have embarked on to elevate the destruction caused by war.

The human tragedy of the conflict in Sierra Leone reached far into the social and economic environment of the country. The economic factors of the war transformed into human suffering throughout the conflict. Sierra Leone is a small country with not more than 6 million people and is not much different from many African countries that were colonized by various colonial powers, rich in minerals but poor in standards of living. The colonial government of Sierra Leone was responsible for creating two nations. The country has two legal systems, common law and customary law.[37] This separate system along with inequitable policies and practices relating to citizenship, ownership of land, land tenure rights and conflict of laws, affected the social, political and economic

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[37] Permanent Mission of The Republic of Sierra Leone to the United Nations, Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Report, October 2004, at 4.

development of the country. These circumstances created an unstable atmosphere that ultimately led to the armed conflict.

The post-colonial governments of Sierra Leone had political power and they placed the control of the diamond, gold and other mineral industries in the hand of parties outside the country who did not repatriate money back into the country's economic development. The territories that possessed the minerals became targets of armed conflicts and eventually the war spread to all parts of the country. The Revolutionary United Front (RUF) was a main force comprised of the youth of the country. "Socially excluded youth comprised a majority of rebel and dissident state forces. RUF fighters consisted of mainly three categories of youth: long-time urban unemployed and criminal elements, alienated village youths, and young, uprooted migrants in border and diamond-mining areas."[38] The RUF main supporter was the country of Liberia under the leadership of Charles Taylor and in 2001 the UN passed a resolution that Liberia cease support the RUF.[39] The resolutions included demands that Liberia cease importing rough diamonds from Sierra Leone.[40]

The conflict in Sierra Leone which lasted over a decade produced lasting effects on the peace and security of the country. It impacted various vulnerable groups such as women, children and youths. It impacted the political and economic stability of the country. It impacted the countries ability to maintain law and order. Families and communities were destroyed. People's belief systems and cultural heritages were

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[38] Id. at 10

[39] Press Release, Security Council, Security Council Demands That Liberia Immediately Cease Support For Sierra Leone's RUF And Other Armed Rebel Groups, U.N. Doc. SC/7023/Rev.1 (March 7, 2001), available at http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2001/sc7023.r1.doc.htm

[40] Id.

destroyed. Refugees fled to neighboring countries affecting their abilities to maintain

stability in their own countries. The impact on the countries economy was put into

jeopardy and international companies entered the conflict in various ways to protect

their investments such as the diamond industry De Beers.[41] External support for the

warring parties from various nations such as Liberia, Libya, Nigeria, United Kingdom

and many others including mercenary groups became involved in the conflict.[42] There

were NGOs such as the National Coordinating Committee for Peace (NCCP) in 1995

comprised of organizations such as the Council of Churches, Labor Congress, and

Teachers' Union who aligned to legitimize the RUF.[43] The efforts of the NCCP were not

without controversy and proved too much for the military junta in Freetown. When the

newspaper Standard Times printed a statement by the spokesman for the NCCP, the

editor of the paper was tossed in jail.[44] The conflict in Sierra Leone became a melting

pot of misery, and destabilization and became a nation that needed healing. The post-

conflict situation would be a long term project for the peace-building process.

United Nations Intervention

The conflict in Sierra Leone started in 1991 when the RUF launched a war to

overthrow the government. It was not until years later that the United Nations became

directly involved in a mission and eventually issued a mandate concerning the country.[45]

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[41] Ian Smillie, Lansana Gberie, Ralph Hazleton, The Heart if the Matter: Sierra Leone, Diamonds and Human Security, (January 2000), available at http://www.reliefweb.int/library/documents/2001/pac-sie-jan00.pdf

[42] Id.

[43] F. Peter Pham, Liberia And Sierra Leone: A Study Of Comparative Human Rights Approaches By Civil Society Actors, Nelson Institute for International and Public Affairs at James Madison University in Virginia (April 25, 2006) at 86, available at http://www.jmu.edu/nelsoninstitute/Liberia%20&%20Sierra%20Leone%20Human%20Rights%20Approaches(IJHRL%202006-Pham).pdf

[44] Id.

[45] United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL), (July 1998 – October 1999), available at http://www.un.org/Depts/DPKO/Missions/unomsil/UnomsilB.htm#

A chronological summary of the UN s involvement are as follows;

- <u>November 1994</u> - Head of State of Sierra Leone contacts the United Nations Secretary-General requesting the UN to facilitate negotiations between the government and the RUF.

- <u>December 1994</u> – The Secretary-General sent an exploratory mission to the country

- <u>February 1995</u> – Based on the mission findings the Secretary-General appoints a Special Envoy. Elections are held in February 1996, but the RUF did not participate, and the conflict continues

- <u>November 1996</u> – The Special Envoy assists in negotiating a peace agreement, but a coup derailed the agreement. A military junta is established.

- <u>October 1997</u> – The Secretary-General imposes an oil and arms embargo after a new Special Envoy failed to persuade a junta to step down.   A Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) and troops from West African States are used to insure its implementation.

- <u>February 1998</u> – After an attack by rebel and army junta forces the Security Council terminated the oil and arms embargo against the government and strengthened the officer of the Special Envoy to include UN military liaison officers and security personnel.

- <u>July 1998</u> – The United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL) is authorized with 70 military observers for a period of six months.

- <u>January 1999</u> – After fighting the rebel alliance gained control of over half the country. UNOMSIL consigned all personnel to one location and then downsizes the mission's military and civilian personnel.

- <u>May 1999</u> – The UN Special Representative consults with West African states and opened up dialogue with the rebels. In July all parties signed, the Lome Peace Agreement, to end hostilities and form a government of national unity.

- <u>August 1999</u> – The UN Security Council passed a resolution to authorize the expansion of the UNOMSIL up to 210 military observers. The UN strengthened it political, civil affairs, information, human rights and child protection elements of the mission.

- <u>October 1999</u> – The Security Council authorized the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) and enlarged its peacekeeping mission to 6,000 military personnel, including 260 military observers to assist in the implantation of the Lome Peace Agreement.

It was these notable events that led Sierra Leone down the path toward a more stable government and into a post-conflict peace-building situation. There were many other events that took place during these years that contributed to a peace agreement. The Sierra Leone Government along with international agents needed to develop a plan to establish peace and security and rebuild the war torn nation. In 2002 the Security Council extended its mandate of the United Nations in Sierra Leone and the resolution was adopted unanimously.[46] The Security Council resolution mandate of 2002 stated,

> "By other terms of the resolution, the Council welcomed the National Recovery Strategy of the Sierra Leone and called on the international community to support it. It emphasized that an effective police force, army, penal system and judiciary were essential for long term peace and development and urged the consolidation of civil authority and public services throughout the country."[47]

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[46] Press Release, Security Council, Security Council Extends Mandate of United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone For Six Months, Beginning 30 September, U.N. Doc. SC/7511 (September 24, 2002), available at http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2002/SC7511.doc.htm

[47] Id.

The United Nations had developed a plan for supporting the country's recovery and emphasizes that the country needed community reconciliation and the protection of human rights. The country of Sierra Leone had a major task of post-conflict peace-building. There is no doubt that more needed to be done in Sierra Leone with regard to healing the psychological wounds caused by the conflict. As a result of the extreme violence that occurred there was a need for truth and reconciliation. Any community-based effort to set up programs that bring together perpetrators and victims is beneficial, but the psychological wounds take long to heal. USAMSIL took the lead in developing community-based strategies towards peace building. The following are examples of their efforts;

- The Ukrainian contingent to the UNAMSIL provided trucks to transport 53 tons of ginger seeds to some farmers' associations in various districts. The People's Republic of China donated the seeds. The ginger seeds are part of an experimental program of Trade, Industries, and development Associations of the country. The seeds would be given as a loan to more than 1,000 farmers who would repay it after harvest in six months' time. He said the proceeds would be ploughed back to farmers in other areas.[48]
- A building was constructed with funds provided by UNAMSIL. The building is a five-lecture room that was built at the Eastern Polytechnic in Kenema. It was constructed by students and teachers without resorting to outside contractors and they had the opportunity to put into practice what they had learned in the classroom. As a result more students could be admitted into the Polytechnic and over the next five years there would be about 1,000 additional graduates. Some ex combatants including females would use the

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[48] Press Release, UNAMSIL Transports Ginger Seeds to Farmers in Kambia and Moyamba District, U.N. Doc. UNAMSIL/PIOR 001/2003 (July 8, 2003).

building. The principal stated, "The most effective and efficient reintegration model is one that encourages ex-combatants to go to school."[49]

- A representative of the UN Development Programme handed over communications and office equipment to the Minister of Local Government and Community Development and to the Chief Justice of Sierra Leone. The communications gear, computers, printers, and generators were installed in the 12 districts and in the Ministry of Local Government and Community Development. UNDP also conducted training, on how to use the equipment. The lack of communications equipment had been one of the main constraints in the effective function of the civil authority in the districts.[50]

- UNAMSIL and the United Nations Volunteers created a project called "Reintegration and Transition to Peace-building" and the activities would combine peace-building with reintegration. The volunteers called, "Community Facilitators," assisted grassroots communities to help define projects for psychosocial support, confidence-building and conflict management. The hope of the project would enable the youth to elevate themselves from abject poverty.[51]

- UNAMSIL commissioned Bangladesh Battalion to start projects consisting of newly constructed classrooms and the rehabilitation of others. Other projects included a church, mosque and school buildings. They also donated food items and drugs to the people. The Bangladeshi Commander said, "Stopping fighting is not only bringing peace, but involvement in humanitarian projects contributed towards consolidating peace."[52]

- A Nigerian battalion handed over to the Sierra Leone Police a reconstructed police post in Freetown. The project cost $4,800US and it was undertaken

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[49] Press Release, Untitled, U.N. Doc. UNAMSIL (February 4, 2003).

[50] Press Release, UNAMSIL's Officer-In-Charge Hands over Communications and Office Equipment to Government, U.N. Doc. UNAMSIL/PIOR 007/2003 (August 1, 2003).

[51] Press Release, Untitled, U.N. Doc. USAMSIL (February 4, 2003)

[52] Press Release, Force Commander Commissions Bangladesh Battalion 9 Project at Southern Provence, U.N. Doc. UNAMSIL/ PIOR 052/2003 (December 11, 2003).

following reports of suspects escaping from police custody due to structural defects of the post.[53]

- An Arts and Craft market opened by the Civilian Affairs Section and UNAMSIL was constructed at a cost of $US13,000 for souvenir craftsmen who specialize in handicraft. There are plans to provide electricity, water and other facilities. UNAMSIL said that this would, "assist young artist to be self-sustainable and contribute to nation building."[54]

- Two-hundred and thirty children graduated from UNAMSIL's Voice of the Children (VOC) radio project. The project was set up to recognize that children have a voice, and it should be expressed in newspapers and air time on radio and television. The children learned teamwork and objectivity which are very essential for success in any profession. The children ranged from ages of 9-18 and the main aim of the project was to give a voice to all children of Sierra Leone in a positive way. The children are given a medium to articulate their views and aspirations. The project will give children the opportunity to develop skills in journalism.[55]

The success these and other achievements by the government of Sierra Leone and many of their international partners will be ultimately measured by the country's ability to maintain peace and security and their successful efforts to promote development in the country. There are many success stories of the countries ability to move past a decade of war, but the country still in engulfed in an uneasy truce. The Truth and Reconciliation Commissions created by the Lome Peace Agreement was a mandate for significant

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[53] Press Release, USAMSIL and the UN Volunteers Programme Launch Reintergration and Transitition to Peace-building Project, U.N. Doc. UNAMISIL/PIOR 030/2003, (October 7, 2003)

[54] Press Release, Civil Affairs Opens Art and Craft Market at Lumley, U.N. Doc. UNAMSIL/PIO/PR/183/2004 (September 30, 2004).

[55] Press Release, 230 Children Graduated From UNAMSIL Voice of Children (VOC) Radio Project, U.N. Doc. UNAMSIL/PIO/PR291/2005 (December 11, 2005).

steps in the healing process.[56] The Commission established a foundation for

perpetrators and victims of the war to come together to move the country towards

development. The Commissions mandated that all the citizens of the society had a

stake in working together for a lasting peace. This Commission's mandate expressed

the basic theory associated with peace-building; the rights of people come first. "The

Commission is one of the accountability mechanisms established to deal with human

rights abuses that occur during the armed conflict."[57]

The move toward a more stable government with a formal democratic legitimization

under constitutional guidelines has furthered development in the country. One of the

most important principles of any constitution is the rule of law. Although the country has

made strides in this area the rule of law remains weak in Sierra Leone. A report

conducted by Human Rights Watch concluded that efforts of implementation of the rule

of law remains have its deficiencies.

> "Despite considerable international donor aid intended to improve the judiciary, striking
> deficiencies remained evident throughout 2005. These included extortion and bribe taking by
> court officials; insufficient numbers of judges, magistrates and prosecuting attorneys;
> inadequate remuneration for judiciary personnel; and extended periods of pre-trial detention
> and sub-standard conditions within detention centers."[58]

The efforts of the country to improve these deficiencies will continue to be a work in

progress. The disaster of war in Sierra Leone has severely ruined many sectors of the

country. The market economy is still dependent on diamonds and agricultural crops. In

most of the country the populations suffer from mass poverty, malnutrition, high infant

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[56] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), The Final Report of the Truth & Reconiliation Commission of Sierra Leone, Volume 1, Chapter 1, Mandate of the Commission, February 22, 2000), available at http://trcsierraleone.org/drwebsite/publish/v1c1.shtml

[57] Id.

[58] Human Rights Watch, Human Rights Overview; Sierra Leone, available at http://www.hrw.org/english/docs/2006/01/18/sierra12304.htm

mortality, poor education, and insufficient access to health services. These are areas where community based strategies are highly needed in the country. Given that the country is highly dependent on foreign assistance for its economic and security concerns, the government is very open-minded to international cooperation to strengthen its economy and legitimize its domestic reform policies. This historical example of the Sierra Leone conflict, the international efforts for peace, and the county's efforts to revitalize a war torn nation is a prime illustration for peace-building.

The security of Sierra Leone has evolved into a policing structure that is typical of many nations rising out of post-conflict situations. There are various structures comprised of traditional, as well as state and private institutions that serve the people of the country. The police reforms instituted by the country along various community conditions shows a willingness to better understand security needs for the different populations. The policing structures are summarizes in this attached table that was developed by Bruce Baker in his publication, "Who Do People Turn to for Policing in Sierra Leone." This table shows the diversity of what community policing can do and how it is organized, supported, funded, and serves the needs of the community at large.

Table 2: Current Policing Structures in Sierra Leone

Policing body	Authorizer	Powers	Key Function	Links With Other Policing Bodies	Funding
State structures					
Sierra Leone Police (SLP)	Central Gov.	Standard Police powers	Serious crime	Work with Partnership Boards	State

Mine Monitors, Beach Police, Traffic Wardens	Ministry of Mines; Tourist Board; Traffic Authority	Reduced police powers	Supervision of mining and Freetown beaches and traffic	Work with SLP	State
State approved					
Police Local Partnership Boards	Sierra Leone Police	Citizen	Provide Intelligence to Police	Work with SLP	Volunteers
Work-based Associations	Elected leaders of association	Citizen	Security of work place	Minimal contact with SLP	Members' contributions
Customary Structures	Chiefdoms	Judicial posers in civil matters	Civil and customary arbitration	Minimal contact with SLP	Chiefdoms and State
Commercial security	Private companies	Licensed by Police	Guarding	Joint patrols with armed police in high-risk situations	Commercial
Peace monitors	Community Groups	Citizen	Civil arbitration	Minimal contact with Police	Volunteers
Unauthorized					
Youth Groups	Youth Groups	Citizen	Guarding and rapid response	Minimal contact with SLP	Volunteers
Mob 'justice'			Assaults on alleged criminals	None	

Bruce Baker, "Who Do People Turn to for Policing in Sierra Leone", Journal of Contemporary African Studies, (Sept. 2005)

Evaluation of community based strategies for peace and security

At the start of this study concerning community based strategies for peace and security there were basic questions concerning peace-building and these questions provided a general look at what issues are associated with peace-building. A cross-section of individuals, organizations, and governments has realized that peace-building is a vital element in sustained peace and security. There is one common principle found in all the various sources of information on peace-building. The sources have agreed that peace-building is a 'practice' that must be sustained over a long period of time to be effective. With this guiding principle community based strategies can be launched into action to help societies in post-conflict situations. Here are some other brief answers to the initial questions.

What are the definitions of peace-building?

There are various definitions associated with peace-building by a number of researchers, scholars, practitioners, and sponsors and their definitions depend largely on historical records on peace-building activities. Since the conception of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations the UN has developed various strategies to help post-conflict societies maintain a sustainable peace and these strategies involved conflict resolution, economic, social and environmental development objectives. Many of the strategies depend on the type of conflict and the actors involved. When it comes to peace-building there is a basic assumption that, all societies desire to find ways to create an environment where working together is more desirable than violent conflict

and, they have a strong desire to work towards a lasting peace. Therefore, with some

direction and support, fractured societies can be assisted to reach this goal. The

definitive answer to the question of 'what is peace-building' would therefore be defined

as an integrated plan to resolving conflicts in a constructive manner.

What are the conditions for peace-building?

The conditions favorable to peace-building include environments where individuals

feel secure and protected from hostility. There should be proper security forces which

are necessary for peace-building to be sustainable. The pre-condition for economic

security is physical security, which in turn allows for positive human interactivity. To

promote and reward human interaction requires an infrastructure necessary for

accessing the various resources for developing peace-building. This atmosphere of

cooperation is a practical method for obtaining resources including materials, personnel,

and funds. There will be a need for domestic recognition for the peace-building

activities to create a state of affairs that the international community would admire.

Political conditions that respect the equal rights concerning woman, indigenous peoples,

and other groups are equally important to peace-building. Finally, when conflicts appear

the dispute over territories, small and large, can be at the center of the dispute. In these

cases recognition of established boundaries creates conditions of stability among

groups in post-conflict situations. The conditions for peace-building are inclusive of

many other factors of the human condition and the ever changing environment.

What are the obstacles to peace-building?

The obstacles to peace-building are forces that will oppose peaceful development and these forces can be domestic or international depending on the origins for the conflict. There is a saying that, 'peace is good but you can't make money from it' so opportunist and scammers will always arise to take advantage of a bad situation. Inequality, economic despair, political instability, insecurity, environmental disasters, gender and race, can all be used as obstacles to peace-building. However, the biggest obstacle is viable funding for strategies. Without the funding to relieve short-term inefficiencies and the long-term financing to sustain development most peace-building initiative can not reach the communities who need it.

Political and security instability in post-conflict situations burns up resources needed to move forward with peace-building. The political actors and the people they represent play a very dangerous chess game balancing the benefits of peace with the opportunities of conflict. There are times during the peace-building process that any participant can be an obstacle to peace and political instability can be their real objective. When individuals move forward with peace-building the past feelings of insecurity, real or imaginary, can be manipulated to obstruct peace. Confidence building is a deterrent to insecurity and an asset to removing old attitudes is vital.

When environmental disasters occur peace-building has a different focus and here the obstacles can be enormous. There are many who will say that providing assistance after natural disasters is not peace-building but humanitarian assistance, but there could be elements in a society that view humanitarian assistance as creating unrest and

chaos. In 1987 a drought in Eritrea affected millions of people and the international

community started humanitarian assistance to the region to prevent mass starvation.[59]

The Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) attacked convoys carrying food and

denied them access to rebel-held areas because they believed the convoys could cover

the movement of military supplies.[60] The result of this action led to more violence in the

country and the region as the international community adjusted its relief efforts to the

conflict. It was not until the 1990's that an agreement was reached to get needed food

and medical supplies to the millions who were threatened with death and starvation and

humanitarian assistance was critical. In this instance, the environmental disaster

coupled with the pre-existing conflict made the need for international humanitarian

assistance significant along with peace-building activity to restore even the basic needs

of a society.

There are other obstacles that could delay the peace-building process. The most

recognized obstacle is the international community's view regarding the society itself. If

the society was considered extremist because of its socialist, militant, religious,

suppressive, or terrorist views, this could delay international assistance. In this instance

the peace-building process would involve creating a new image of the society to the

international community and establishing domestic reforms to sustain long term

cooperation.

Who are the players?

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[59] Thomas P. Ofcansky and LaVerle Berry, editors, Ethiopia: A Country Study, Refugees, Drought, and Famine, GPO for the Library of Congress, (1991), available at http://countrystudies.us/ethiopia/46.htm
[60] Id.

The peace-building process starts with individuals and their commitment to move forward after a conflict situation. In this process there are many internal and external actors with attitudes that range from, positive or negative, to indifferent. The internal actors are mostly victims and those displaced by conflicts, as well as the perpetrators of the conflict. The external actors range in variety from nation states, international business, non-government organization and other types of international organizations entities. All the players find themselves at a place in time when the human condition has become a priority.

Players with a common interest find themselves in a point in time when decisions are based on urgent and unmanageable situations. In the context of a natural disaster combatants will find themselves cooperating with each other in order to receive immediate international assistance. The military, paramilitary, and police forces become essential players in the peace-building process because of the need for order and stability. Each player in the conflict has to realize that one wrong decision can delay the peace-building process and one right decision can open doors to unlimited assistance. They also have to agree that one right or wrong decision should not defeat the peace-building spirit. There will always be parties that will be indifferent to peace-building because of their status, and conditions are not entirely dependent on a peaceful outcome. This position of insulated indifference is only a short-term escape from the surrounding problems of post-conflict situations. All members of society become players when conflicts arise and if not they will become reluctant participants in the peace-building process still able to contribute in some manner. Although some players

have no interest in peace-building their ideology still makes them a force to be reckoned with in the peace-building process.

Natural and man-made disasters bring many actors into play who would never have become involved if events had not created the opportunity. The intensity of international response depends on external attitudes and their responses could overwhelm a society. A ship load of food to a starving people could start civil war if logistics and security are not considered. The lack of funds to sustain police stations could result in no protection for defenseless people. International players who provide unconventional assistance during man-made disasters can cause stagnation in the peace-building process. International businesses intervening in disasters also become major players in the peace-building process with their seemingly unlimited capital.

The players of war are highly polarized but eventually they will have to come back together to live in peace and security. These players during war time endured the horror associated with life and death situations and each believed that their causes were just and necessary. In many situations they used tactics they felt would bring control in a war zone. When the conflict is over they play a role in the rebuilding process. They have a new mission to live in a society of cooperation and reconciliation and the methods for their retransformation involve peace-building strategies.

What are the criteria of success?

The main criteria for successful peace-building are support and long term sustainability and, ultimately the self-sustaining peace that does not need international support long after the conclusion of the intervention. The activities of the United Nations

Peacekeeping Support Operations have historically provided a direction for success, but sustainability relies on continuing investments by all players after the conflict has subsided. Long term peace requires conditions where violence doesn't pay and where cooperation has benefits for all, that is to say, all sections of society are interdependent for their well-being. In the world of peace-building many strategies may fail and will be judged by lessons learned and by the willingness to regroup and retry. The success of a peace-building plan of action will depend on the goals set by the facilitators and the extent of unpredictable negative factors. The criteria for success will include the evaluation of the areas of need and people served. The psychological well-being of the players will be a criteria for success because their mental state is an extension of the needs of the people they represent. Individuals that form cooperatives should be well grounded in the society and the culture they work and live. To be involved in any successful activity requires the individual to be progressive and cooperative.

View-points to consider in peace-building

Peace-building is an evolving process regarding policies and procedures. Based on historical activities of peacekeeping activities, most practitioners will agree that peace-building should be considered at the planning stage of peacekeeping missions. Peace-building is a progressive process that should continue to improve based on new ideas and to reevaluate established success. These are a few points to consider, early intervention, youth based reforms, promotion of community based policing, and innovative funding.

The first point to consider is the need for a peace-building plan in the early intervention of a conflict is essential. Long established views have considered peace-building among the last phases of the peace process. When looking back over the historical events of a conflict many afterthoughts come to mind of how peace-building could have complemented the peace process in the early stages. The basic nature of a conflict is that parties have come to a crisis that has evolved into a life treating situation. Many conflicts that escalate in violence could have been prevented if peace-building was considered in the early stages of the conflict. There are always indicators that alert societies that a conflict is on the horizon. When there is a majority or minority group of a population who are starving, unhealthy, or disenfranchised, these social ills bring societies to their breaking point and there is a need for 'proactive' peace-building. In a conflict situation there will be winners and losers, but peace-building should show parties how everyone can be a winner. This policy must come across very clearly too all parties to the conflict. The next step is to implement procedures that uphold the policy which are initially community based. The United Nations Food Program has shown how policies and procedures based of forecasting crop production can divert famines; the World Health Organization has show how to prevent epidemics, and the Peace-Building Commission give guidelines to prevent disenfranchisement. These United Nations Organizations along with many NGOs provide proper guidance to prevent crisis in a proactive way.

The second point to consider is to place more emphasis on youth based reforms. Women have traditionally been seen as individuals that need uplifting reforms in all

societies and in conflict societies are seen as victims along with their children. There

was a time in history that war was a man's occupation but the conflicts of modern times

have seen youths as primary soldiers. The systemic destruction of family units due to

natural and man made disasters have produced a generation of youths that grow into

adulthood without the psychological and educational abilities to function especially in

post-conflict societies. With the destruction of families, schools can become irrelevant

and give way to gangs, which in turn are a prelude to militias. Reforms needed to divert

youths away from destructive endeavors go beyond basic education. Community based

strategies have to consider how youths can be persuaded to stay out of conflicts and

how they can be diverted towards peaceful activities. There are many theorists that see

education as the key to the prevention of youth violence but what type of education

depends of which society developed the theory. There are societies that see religious

education as the key to stop youth violence and another society that see religious

education as a prelude to radical convictions. One forward-looking view is to combine

societies such as youth institutions, educational and correctional, a common unit that is

closely linked to the peace and security of a community. If a student is expelled from

school he or she becomes a prime candidate for correctional institutions so better early

warning systems should be in place to identify youths at risk. The need for unlimited

resources along with untraditional education alternatives to youth programs are

essential to investing in the peace of a society. There should be smaller educational

programs to cut down on dropouts due to overcrowding and competition. The need for

more diversion programs that enable offenders of criminal law (usually minor

offenses) to avoid criminal charges as alternatives to correctional institutions should be considered with substantial counseling and guidance. There should be programs that give youths the opportunity to be stake-holders in the family unit and the community at large.

The third point of view to consider is the promotion of community-based policing which motivates people to take part in the security of a community. There are various views concerning community policing and if it is necessary for every community, but there is no doubt that some sort of policing has to takes place in every community. The real question is how effective is policing and does it benefit the society at large? The focus of community-based policing involves getting the police to have a stake in the community and the people to have a stake in the police. In the initial stage of a conflict the first question should be, were the police able and willing to prevent the conflict, and, if not, what were the reasons for the lack of prevention? The simple answer is to educate the parties involved about the benefits of community policing and the need to hold police agencies accountable. "On the local level community-based policing programs can be introduced through schools, religious organizations, and business groups; community human rights strategies developed; and various types of hot-line and neighborhood watch systems organized to solidify the relationship of the police and judiciary to the local communities."[61] Community-based policing is a positive means for protecting communities and for local people to have a hand in forging their own futures. The primer of educating people and police is the rule of law. Policing is a substantial

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[61] UNDP, Justice and Security Sector Reform, Bureau of Crisis Prevention and Recovery, (November 2002) at 11.

part of peace-making where parties should feel that everyone is being treated fairly and they should enter into an agreement that unfair treatment will not be tolerated. The education process does not stop at the police academy or at the community meeting. The rule of law should not only deal with abiding by the law but providing 'in-service training' for the police and 'continuing education' for the people. In some society there are conservators of the peace who bridge the gap between the police and the community as seen in the Sierra Leone policing model. These individuals serve as Peace Officers that act as rule of law advisors to the people and alternative police officers to the community.

The last and most needed view to consider should involve innovative ways of funding because economic support to communities is critical to their long term sustainability. "If we adopt the deeper, more comprehensive concept of positive peace - peace as the elimination of war and structural violence - it is even more obvious that economics has a powerful and critical role to play in building, solidifying, and maintaining peace."[62] Funding will be the highest priority for the future of community-based strategies and the procedures for securing funding will need new ideas. There are two traditional ways which peace-building operations are funded: international donors such as international organizations and NGOs and, national governments. This type of funding has sustained peace-building activities over the decades and these traditional funding mechanisms have advantages depending of the type of conflict and the parties involved. When NGOs respond to conflicts and natural disasters they have

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[62] Lloyd J. Dumas, An economic approach to peacemaking and peacekeeping, The Economics of Peace and Security Journal, ISSN 1749-852X, Vol. 1, No. 2 (2006) at p. 7.

a set criteria for the eligibility of their recipients. They should also have a reasonable

set of principles when "investing" in the peace-building process. "External actors,

particularly donors, have sometimes pressed reforms on governments without due

attention either to the appropriateness of the proposed intervention or to ownership on

the part of national stakeholder."[63] Whenever possible national governments should

also adhere to the same principles as private donors, but because they are political

actors their agenda will depend on political expediency. Overall when investing in

peace-building the following principles should be considered according to the

organization. International Alert in its publication on "Supporting and Enhancing

Community-based Peace-building" acknowledges the following;[64]

- Acknowledge the primacy of people affected in transforming conflict.

- Be motivated by humanitarian concern.

- Be informed by existing human rights and humanitarian law.

- Respecting gender and cultural diversity.

- Engage in an impartial manner.

- Ensuring independence from political agendas.

- Be accountable to the key stakeholder.

- Building sustainable partnerships.

- Invest in institutional learning.

The future of community-based strategies will rely on the availability of funds to

support projects. International institutions and national governments that have

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[63] Id. at 13.

[64] International Alert, Supporting and Enhancing Community-Based Peace-building, available at http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/lib.nsf/db900SID/DPAL-5Y7LMB?OpenDocument

traditionally funded projects are increasingly strained by the rising costs associated with

the population growth. A more progressive method in the world of funding for

communities is local funding. The goods and services associated with population

growth dictates what projects are more feasible in the short and long term. The short

term project to build a bridge over a river to an area of land needed to grow crops for a

growing population is more feasible than spending money for computers in a local

elementary school. The need for local funding is a more appropriate alternative to

traditional funding.

> "Local funds recognize the importance of community-based initiative, particularly when local government structures are weak, ineffective or corrupt. Local funds get money into the hands of people without depending on the usual controls that donors impose from managing the funds themselves, including lots of paperwork."[65]

The idea of local funding or micro-financing gives the community the advantage of

organizing their projects without the bureaucratic strings associated with donors. There

will always be some 'strings attached' to any source of micro-financing but the basic

idea of local funding gives the community a more substantial input into how the funds

are used compared to the more traditional large scale funding process. The cost of a

project implemented by donors has hidden costs, politically and economic, that is

passed down to the community. When communities manage their own funds they

become local owners and take more pride in the long-term outcomes. The advantage

of local funding over traditional aid is;[66]

- Reduce the time and cost of accessing resources;

- Respond to the many needs of local communities;

- React quickly to changing local circumstances, particularly where negative change occurs rapidly;

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[65] Equator Initiative, Funding the Future, UNDP, (2002) at 1.
[66] Id. at 2.

- Support learning and provide information rooted in local contexts;

- Provide support to groups of people who would not normally receive funds including the young and the elderly;

- Can be distributed as grants or loans, adding support to local savings groups that helps ensure local ownership and sustainability.

- Encourage transparency as the fund is assumed to 'belong' to the poor and those managing it must make sure that everyone knows about the fund, can get a chance to apply and knows what projects it has paid for.

The advantages associated with local funding coincide with the concepts of peace-building. Local funding is a tool for community participation and a resource for ideas and objectives to restoring peace and security in post-conflict societies.

To be successful in raising the funds for an initiative the local community will have to be more innovative due to the competition for funds because of the shrinking availability of donors. One of the main downfalls of strategies based on donations is the resources needed for long-term viability of a project because most donations from NGOs are short-term "quick fix" financing. In humanitarian relief situations the need for immediate funds to feed and house those affected by the disaster will override the need for steady funds to re-build the society after the disaster. Donors over time will feel that they have given enough and will reduce the amount of financing, but the need for increased financing to sustain growth will be needed.

The new fundraiser will have to diversify their fundraising activities because they can no longer rely on a single donor or grantee. They will have to present proposals, conduct fundraising activities, and consider commercial opportunities. "They will have to develop ways to deliver goods and services in ways that they do not create

dependency in their constituencies. Even many advocates for the poor or

disadvantaged believe that institutional charity can undermine beneficiaries' self-esteem

and create a sense of helplessness."[67] The overall plan for financing peace-building

strategies is to create cash flow self-sufficiency. The grants from donors could be seen

as start-up funding and over time this funding could develop into a sustainable cash-

flow. In the peace-building area governments and organizations can provide the

material and expertise to turn a disaster into a development project and have the ability

to turn a conflict between parties into a business enterprise.

When starting an initiative a complete analysis should be conducted to see what are

the strengths and weakness of the project. The strengths on the surface tend to be self

evident because the main goal in a post-conflict situation is to restore peace and

security. Weaknesses, on the other hand, tend to be hidden beneath the surface and

emerge as constraints and obstacle over time. The analysis of a specific project should

also evaluate opportunities and threats to the project. There will be a need for

resources such as land or buildings, administrative personnel or a labor force, and

funding. At any given time during the project material resources or labor could fall short,

but, if adequate funding is available they can be replenished. A project needs sufficient

funding initially to incur startup costs before the project can become self-sufficient.

The idea of micro-financing is an economic development method that can benefit

community projects that lack access to commercial institutions or lack collateral to

secure a loan. On December 29, 2003, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution

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[67] J. Gregory Dees, <u>Enterprising Non-profits</u>, at 139.

supporting the Programme of Action for the International Year of Micro-credit 2005. The

resolution makes clear the importance of micro-financing to eradicate property by

supporting sustainable pro-poor services to all countries. "Sustainable access to micro-

finance helps alleviate property by generating income, creating jobs, allowing children to

go to school, enabling families to obtain health care, and empowering people to make

choices that best serve their needs."[68] In this program there is an emphases that micro-

financing is more than a tool to generate income in countries that lack traditional

financing.

The economist and banker, Muhammad Yunus, is famous for his contributions to the

application of micro-financing. He founded Grammeen Bank for which he received the

Nobel Peace Prize. Some of the basic benefits of this micro-credit bank are:[69]

- It is not based on collateral or legally enforceable contracts. It is based
  on "trust', not on legal procedures and system.

- It is targeted to the poor families, particular women

- To create self-employment for income-generating activities

- In order to obtain loans a borrower must join a group of borrowers

- Loans are paid back in installments

- The loans are given through non-profits organizations or through
  institutions owned primarily by borrowers.

- It promotes formation of groups and centers, developing leadership
  quality through annual election of group and centre leaders, election
  board members when the institution is owned by borrowers.

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[68] UN Press Release, General Assembly Greenlights Programme For The International Year of Micro-credit 2005, United Nations, New York, December 29, 2003, at P. 1., available at http://www.un.org/news/Press/docs/2003/dev2452.doc.htm
[69] Grammeen Bank, http://www.grameen-info.org

The basic procedures of micro-financing under the Grammeen Bank conception are suitable for many community based projects but the system is not completely effective for many community security strategies. The idea of micro-financing could eventually undermine a security initiative but if the community is economically viable because of micro-financing the surplus revenues and psychological benefits could make a community more secure. The situations involving refugee camps are prime examples where all families are poor and mainly women and children. In many situations where people have been displaced by war and people have to flee a conflict too often camps are set up in neighboring countries. Countries need to secure their boarders and many refugee camps are set-up close to borders. To develop an economically viable community within a sovereign territory made up of displaced and sometimes disenfranchised military personnel could undermine the security of a region. The employment of a micro-financing project could be used as a short-term solution to benefit those interned there but as a long term project it could interfere with a nation's security. The concept of micro-financing would be more beneficial to entice refugees to return to their native territories than to establish a thriving economy within a sovereign nation. Although any thriving community is of benefit to any society there will always be cultural issues to take into account. Micro-financing is another method to assist in the development of community projects. The need for capital will be a substantial part of community based strategies in the future of peace-building.

Conclusion

On August 29, 2005, when hurricane Katrina struck the southern cost of the United

States the region was engulfed in a natural disaster. Individuals hit by the devastation

found themselves in communities that were destroyed. The communities lacked food,

water, security, and minority groups were disenfranchised. In the years since the

disaster most of the residents or refuges who fled or were forced out of their

communities have not returned. The political structures failed and the communities

found themselves needing a peace-building plan. When the disaster hit this powerful

industrialized nation the United Nations offered help in this catastrophe and assisted

with some relief efforts. In January 2008, Walter Kalin, a United Nations official toured

the areas hit by Katrina and he said,

> "Whether you're displaced in a rich country or a poor country, what remains the
> same is you need to get the help, the assistance of the authorities, of the
> communities, to be able to restart a normal life, and the people I have met are not
> there yet," said Walter Kalin, the UN secretary general's representative on the
> human rights of internally displaced persons."[70]

The community strategies for peace and security discussed in this thesis are not

ideas for the less developed nations of the world. These are strategies for people

struggling for the return to the normalcy of life interrupted by either natural or man made

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[70] AP/Cain Burdeau, UN: Katrina Victims Neglected, Time, CNN, January 17, 2008

disasters. In order to overcome difficulties there needs to be continued strategies

developed through historical successes and idealistic views. Peace-building is a living

concept and it is continuing to evolve and this is what makes it a vital part of everyday

life.

Supplement: Democratic Policing

The need to develop a police force to ensure security for citizens is essential. What the police do and how they behave is a critical element which reflects on the nature of the government. In many post-conflict situations a government will implement a move towards a democratic society. This government will require a democratic police force with a set of standards that will serve the needs of government and people.

The manner in which the police operate has to be within the constraints of the law (rule of law). The police force will need to be law-abiding, disciplined, transparent, and autonomous. Police officers should be held personally accountable and have respect for human rights and operate in an impartial and fare manner. They should balance the rights of citizens with their needs as an officer. Police officers should keep the public informed and provide the citizens with advice to increase their safety. The police organization should be independent and not be seen as a political tool.

The values which the police force operates will reflect the values of the society.   Respect and the trust of the population is a valuable product of democratic policing. This will require the police force to be civilians and not seen as a military organization. The police will not be corrupt and not use their position to abuse those they serve. They will be free from political association and interference.

The achievements of the police force will center on the needs of the society. They will not be a pure law enforcer officer but expand their duties to be service oriented, to serve the public and not the interest of a political or ethnic group. They will give the public what they need and not what the police think they need. The police will take steps to empower the community to give their input into the decision-making process that relates to their safety and security.

Democratic policing does not ensure that a society will be democratic. The development of democratic policing should have these basic essential characteristics, strategies of reform, and those who promote democratic policing should provide basic manage assistance. In David H. Bayley's book "Changing the Guard: Developing Democratic Police Abroad"[71] these topics were outlined as follows;

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[71] David H. Bayley, Changing the Guard: Developing Democratic Police Abroad, Oxford University Press, (2006).

Essentials Characteristics

- Police Must Be Accountable to Law Rather Than to Government
- Police Must Protect Human Rights, Especially Those Rights That Are required for the Sort of Political Activity That Is the Hallmark of Democracy
- Police Must be Accountable to People Outside Their Organization Who Are Specifically Designated and Empowered to Regulate Police Activity
- Police Must Give Top Operational Priority to Serving the Needs of Individual Citizens and Private Groups

Strategies of Reform

- Provide a legal basis for the new police.
- Create specialized, independent oversight of the police.
- Staff the police with the right sort of people.
- Develop the capacity of the police executives to manage reform.
- Make the prevention of crime as it affects individuals the primary focus of policing
- Require legality and fairness in all actions.

Manage Assistance

- Develop a comprehensive plan.
- Prepare for the long haul.
- Adapt reform plans to local conditions.
- Persuade local stake-holders to support reform.
- Treat aid recipients as partners.
- Coordinate assistance efforts.
- Send the right people into the field.

The peace and security of a post-conflict society will benefit for democratic policing. The police are the most visible representatives of governmental authority. In a post-conflict society the rule of law is essential and the police are tasked with insuring that law and order will provide a safe environment of citizens.