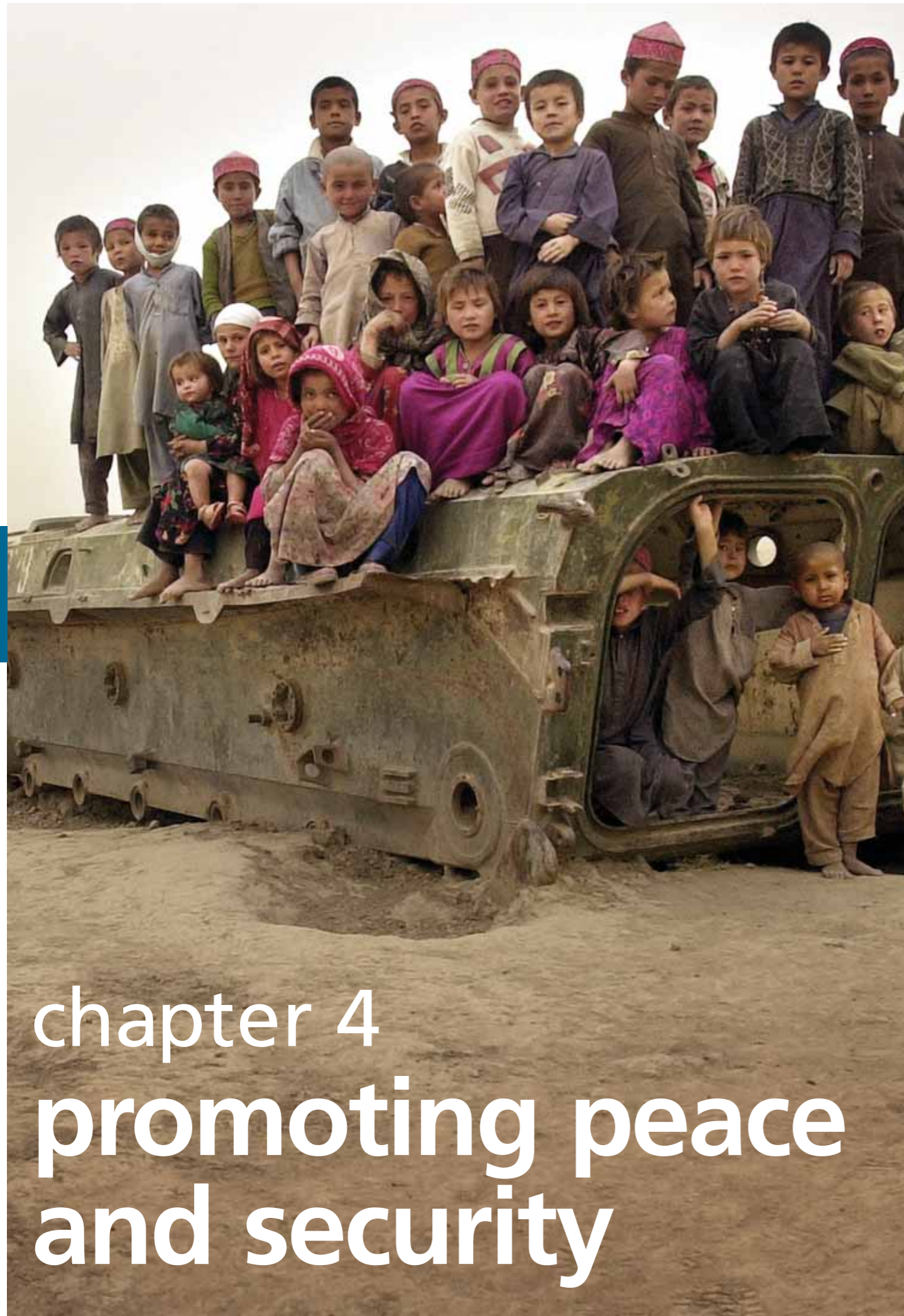




helping people  
get security,  
incomes, and  
public services



# chapter 4 promoting peace and security

**Security is a precondition for development.**

**Preventing conflict is better than trying to pick up the pieces afterwards.**

**The international community has a 'responsibility to protect' when states fail to protect their civilians from genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity.**

## **Insecurity and conflict keep people poor...**

4.1 Poor people want to feel safe and secure just as much as they need food to eat, clean water to drink and a job to give them an income. Without security there cannot be development. Farmers cannot farm if they are afraid that their land, livestock or family will be attacked. Girls cannot be educated if they are scared of the journey to school. And businesses will not invest where there is fighting, or where the rule of law is not upheld.

4.2 The number of armed conflicts around the world has dropped by 40% since the early 1990s. Even in Africa there has been a decrease in recent years.<sup>1</sup> The international community, including the UK, has helped prevent conflict and build peace. However, there is still a lot of violence and new pressures threaten to cause further instability in developing countries – especially increasing competition over natural resources and, in Asia, rising inequality.

4.3 War and insecurity have a devastating impact. Of the 34 countries furthest from reaching the MDGs, 22 are in, or just coming out of, conflict.<sup>2</sup> In Africa, there are more than 12 million internally displaced people as a result of violence.<sup>3</sup> Violent conflict reverses economic growth, causes hunger, destroys roads, schools and clinics,

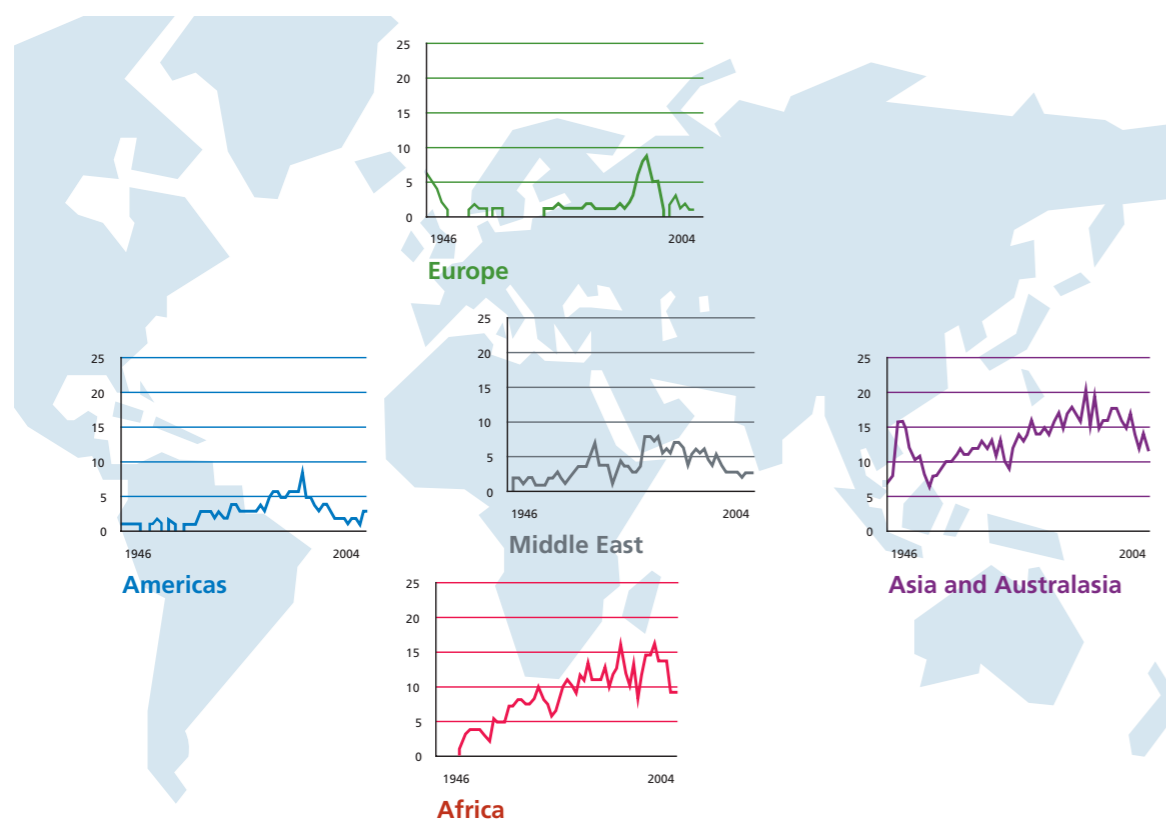
and forces people to flee across borders. Most of the 3.9 million people that have died in the DRC's conflict, died of disease.<sup>4</sup> Women and girls are particularly vulnerable because they suffer sexual violence and exploitation. And violent conflict and insecurity can spill over into neighbouring countries and provide cover for terrorists or organised criminal groups.<sup>5</sup>

## **A victim of violence**

After being abducted at the age of ten, Francis Owot spent almost ten years fighting as a child soldier in the bush in northern Uganda. "After I was abducted, we moved the whole day until night. We woke up in the morning, we started marching, then after two weeks, I saw that there is no change. I sat under a tree crying, when they got me I was beaten. I was still a child, still young, but they were teaching me the use of a gun." Francis eventually became a willing fighter. "Fighting," he says, "was part of my work. And if I stayed for two weeks without firing, I would feel something was missing, something is not very normal." Francis escaped from the bush and now lives in a refugee camp with his family.

Source: Mergelsberg, B. (2005) Crossing Boundaries: Experiences of Returning "Child Soldiers"

## Has the number of armed conflicts gone up or down in the last 60 years?<sup>6</sup>



Source: PRIO/Uppsala Armed Conflict Dataset, as described in Gleditsch et al. (2002) and updated in Harbom & Wallensteen (2005) Journal of Peace Research.

4.4 At the G8 Gleneagles meeting and the UN World Summit in 2005, the international community agreed that more needed to be done to prevent conflict. Development, diplomatic and security efforts must complement each other better to achieve this. We believe there are two big challenges:

- First, helping developing countries to build effective and accountable institutions to provide security and justice to the poor.
- Second, ensuring that the international community builds capacity to prevent and deal with conflict.

### Improving security and preventing conflict...

4.5 People need effective states to provide them with security. This means protecting citizens and dealing justly with those who commit crime. It means managing the causes of insecurity and conflict from both within and outside their borders. This requires effective institutions – police, military, border controls, and a legal and judicial system – that are overseen by civilian authorities.

4.6 Weak or corrupt governments are often responsible for some of the worst human rights abuses. In Burma and Zimbabwe violence has been sponsored by the state. Poor governance breeds disillusionment, grievances and conflict. People who live with constant abuse of power, or who cannot get justice or express their views peacefully, are

more likely to turn to violence. While there is no evidence that poverty contributes directly to terrorism, or that terrorists come from poorer communities, they often justify their actions by claiming to be fighting against injustice. They exploit poverty and exclusion in order to tap into popular discontent – taking advantage of fragile states such as Somalia, or undemocratic regimes such as in Afghanistan in the 1990s, to plan violence.

4.7 Countries with good governance are less likely to face these problems. Fighting poverty and social exclusion through better governance therefore contributes to security – locally and internationally – and helps to reduce the potential for radicalisation or extreme political violence.

4.8 International partners can help developing countries to improve security by getting arms out of circulation, reforming police and armed forces,

improving courts and prisons, and giving people economic and political alternatives to violence and extremism. The UK supports such work through our aid programme and our conflict prevention pools (see below). But this is not just about aid. As we set out in the previous chapter, international partners must also help improve security by tackling the trade in arms and reducing the risk of international corruption.

4.9 Helping countries to prevent war is far more cost-effective than helping them rebuild afterwards.<sup>7</sup> Having neglected Afghanistan during the 1990s, the international community will need to spend US\$20 billion to help reconstruct the country.<sup>8</sup> But to prevent conflict, international partners must first understand the causes of conflict and ensure their aid does not unintentionally fuel it. After



analysing the conflict in Nepal, the UK changed the focus of our aid programme to ensure that previously excluded social groups and regions were able to access public services.

4.10 Early analysis of the causes of conflict or instability also helps the international community to anticipate potential crises. The EU and African Union (AU) have 'early warning' systems and the UN monitors the risk of humanitarian crises through its Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs. However, none of these mechanisms will be effective until there are better international arrangements to turn early warning into early action. Without a stronger commitment to act, and the capacity to do so, the international community's response to conflict will continue to be inconsistent and inadequate.

### Better security, better development

In Malawi the UK has helped tackle failings in the criminal justice system by introducing a paralegal advisory service for vulnerable people, training traditional rulers to improve local dispute resolution, and providing victim support units for women and children in district police stations.

In Jamaica, DFID, the Home Office the FCO and other UK agencies are working together to help the government tackle armed violence in poor urban communities.

In Afghanistan, the UK is supporting efforts to reduce the supply of opium through better law enforcement and by providing opportunities for poor farmers and labourers to develop alternative, legal livelihoods. And in Helmand province, DFID is investing in small community projects in unstable areas to improve security and encourage development.

## The UK will

- Work with developing countries and other international partners to improve security and access to justice for the poor.
- Through our aid programme and the UK conflict prevention pools, increase our investment in at least ten countries where security has been identified as a priority by:
  - Undertaking more work on safety, security and access to justice.
  - Supporting security sector reform.
  - Reducing the proliferation of small arms and light weapons.
  - Supporting disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration programmes for ex-combatants.
  - Supporting initiatives to tackle social exclusion and radicalisation.
- Assess the causes of conflict and insecurity as part of our new governance assessment and use this to shape UK development policy and programmes.



### Tackling conflict and building peace...

4.11 For people living in constant fear of violence, as in Darfur, Northern Uganda and (in the past) Rwanda, the ultimate test of the international community – and particularly the UN – is the willingness to take action to protect civilians when states fail in their responsibilities.

4.12 At the UN World Summit, all 191 UN Member States endorsed for the first time the groundbreaking principle of a 'responsibility to protect'. They agreed that while individual governments are responsible for the protection of their own people, the international community would no longer tolerate inaction by national governments in the face of genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity within their borders. Translating this commitment into action means using diplomacy, humanitarian assistance and sanctions to protect civilians; and as a last resort, collective military action authorised by the UN Security Council.

4.13 When states fail or cannot govern, the UN has unique authority to speak out and step in. It represents the will of the whole international community. But other international and regional organisations including the EU, the AU, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe, and sub-regional groups like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) also have important roles to play in preventing and managing conflict. These organisations need stronger capacity, and, in the case of the UN, major reform. They also need clearer arrangements for working together.

4.14 Mediation through the UN, AU and sub-regional bodies is critical to resolving conflict. More civil wars have been brought to an end in the past fifteen years through negotiation than in the previous two centuries.<sup>9</sup> Diplomatic efforts by the UK and other international partners can help – as we are trying to do in Darfur. And, behind the scenes, local and non-governmental organisations play an important role in defusing conflict and reconciling communities. Mediation efforts deserve more international support.

## Mediating crises

Regional mediation for peace in Sudan: The Comprehensive Peace Agreement between North and South Sudan in January 2005 ended a twenty year war that killed an estimated 2 million people. A team drawn from the governments of the region worked with the chief mediators from the North and South, facilitating negotiations on contentious issues, often for weeks at a time.<sup>10</sup> The UK, Norway and the US underpinned these efforts by providing financial support, expert input for the mediation process, and diplomatic and political assistance.

Grass roots mediation in Somalia: The "Somali Dialogue for Peace" Project, helped ensure a peaceful parliamentary election process in Somaliland in 2005 by developing codes of conduct for the political parties and media, and by facilitating dialogue to avoid violence in the territories disputed between Somaliland and Puntland.<sup>11</sup> The project has also worked to address long-standing clan conflict that has obstructed humanitarian and development work in Mudug and Galgadud in the central regions of Somalia.

4.15 But the international community must also be ready to act to protect civilians where necessary. The demand for peace support operations is increasing. There are currently nineteen UN peace support operations underway around the world employing 62,000 troops, 6,000 police and 15,700 civilians.<sup>12</sup> At present the UK has 300 armed forces personnel in UN peace support operations. We provide training to countries who contribute troops to the UN and are helping to make the UN's Department of Peacekeeping Operations more effective. But the UN's planning ability along with the availability of peacekeepers, police, transport, medical and engineering facilities are stretched to the limit. Much greater international investment is needed to build capacity for peace support operations. As well as the UN, this should cover other regional organisations like the AU. The EU and NATO can play a particularly important role in providing high quality forces able to respond quickly to new crises. And, alongside peacekeeping, other measures are needed to protect people such as using human rights monitors and encouraging the media to report what is going on.



4.16 Countries have a 44% risk of falling back into conflict in the first five years after the end of a civil war.<sup>13</sup> The UN Peacebuilding Commission has been set up to change this by ensuring that post-conflict countries get long term help. Important lessons have been learnt from the Democratic Republic of Congo and Afghanistan. There has to be a shared plan between the government and international partners that focuses on security, the rule of law and development. Achieving rapid, visible improvements that maintain public support for peace is vital. Funds should be pooled to reduce the burden on weak

governments. And funding should be provided throughout the reconstruction phase, not just in the immediate period after the conflict. The Peacebuilding Commission will need to act on these lessons and improve co-ordination between national governments and their international partners, including the UN, World Bank and IMF.



## Working across government to stop conflict

The Global Conflict Prevention Pool (GCPP) and the Africa Conflict Prevention Pool (ACPP) were jointly established in 2001 by DFID, FCO and MOD to improve the UK's work in conflict prevention, conflict management and peacebuilding. GCPP funding has helped the UN Office for the High Commissioner for Human Rights in Nepal to monitor human rights and is supporting regional police training in Afghanistan. The ACPP has provided support for ECOWAS rapid response missions to Liberia and Cote d'Ivoire, paving the way for UN peace support operations, and significant support to ceasefire monitoring missions in Sudan. We will review the GCPP and the ACPP to ensure that they are as effective as possible.

The Post Conflict Reconstruction Unit, set up in 2004, enables UK Government Departments and the military to work together to support countries emerging from conflict. The Unit provides skilled civilian staff at short notice to help kick-start post-conflict recovery. It has helped plan for the UK military deployment to Helmand in Afghanistan and is supporting provincial reconstruction work in southern Iraq. We will continue to work through the Post Conflict Reconstruction Unit, including in Africa, where needed.

## The UK will

- Work with others to ensure that the international agreement on 'responsibility to protect' is turned into a willingness to act in specific cases.
- Invest in monitoring human rights and support the media to raise awareness and gather evidence when states fail in their responsibilities.
- Work with others to ensure that the UN, AU, EU and other regional organisations have adequate capacity to prevent and respond to conflict by:
  - Monitoring countries that are vulnerable to conflict through effective early warning systems.
  - Mediating between conflicting groups, for example through the UN Secretary General's Special Representatives or the AU's Peace and Security Council and Panel of the Wise.
  - Responding when states are unable to protect their citizens.
- Press for better co-ordination between the UN and other international organisations involved in peacekeeping such as the AU, EU and NATO.
- Continue to push for a significant increase in the number of high-quality peacekeepers internationally, and train 75,000 troops by 2010 as agreed by the G8 in 2004 – including through the creation of an Africa Standby Force.
- Work to ensure that the EU and NATO develop effective rapid reaction forces able to respond quickly to crises, including in Africa, alongside the UN where appropriate.
- Contribute directly to UN mandated missions by providing UK troops and assets, subject to other commitments.
- Provide diplomatic and financial support to the new UN Peacebuilding Commission, the Peacebuilding Support Office and the Peacebuilding Fund.
- Through our development programmes and diplomatic efforts, ensure that the international response in post-conflict countries has strong national ownership, clear international leadership and pooled donor funding, and helps tackle poverty.



## How change happens: Ending conflict in Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone has been devastated by civil conflict and is desperately poor. But, over the past few years, things have begun to change. The conflict is over, elections have been held and the new Government is committed to development and fighting corruption.

The UK played a major role in promoting peace, security and better governance in Sierra Leone. The UK military was sent in 2001-02 to support UN and ECOWAS peacekeepers and ensure elections could be held. The UK has helped the government to rebuild and train the new armed forces, reform the Ministry of Defence, reintegrate armed groups into society and overhaul the police service.

Since the conflict ended in 2002, the Government has begun to manage the economy more effectively, resulting in an annual GDP growth rate of 7.4%. Enrolment rates in primary schools have doubled since 2003. Child mortality rates are declining steadily and child immunisation rates have climbed from 28% in 1997 to 50% in 2004.

There is a long way to go, but the immediate danger of falling back into conflict is receding and the people of Sierra Leone now have hope for the future.

