



Security Council Topic Background Guide  
***Topic 3: Peacebuilding (with attention to the situation in Haiti)<sup>1</sup>***

5 October 2012

Maintaining peace and security has been the primary purpose of the UN since it was founded in 1945. According to the UN Charter, the Security Council has the primary responsibility for assuring peace and security. Chapters VI and VII of the Charter explain how the Security Council can promote peaceful settlement of disputes in particular situations and respond to particular threats or violations of the peace.<sup>2</sup> For over 60 years, the Council has addressed security threats in accordance with Chapters VI and VII, passing resolutions on particular conflicts and authorizing the use of military force and/or the establishment of UN peacekeeping forces to resolve those conflicts.

Despite these efforts, every year from 1945 to the present, there has been at least one interstate or civil war. Most have been civil (internal) conflicts.<sup>3</sup> Recent interstate wars have included Eritrea-Ethiopia (1998-2000), India-Pakistan (1999), US/NATO-Yugoslavia (1999), US coalition-Iraq (2003-2011), US/NATO-Afghanistan (2001), and a border conflict between Cambodia and Thailand (2011). In 2011, there were 37 armed conflicts, a 20 percent increase from 2010. Six of these had more than 1,000 battle deaths: Afghanistan, Libya, Pakistan, Somalia, Sudan, and Yemen. Most of the wars in 2011 were civil wars in sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>4</sup>

Twentieth-century wars killed approximately 140 million people, both civilians and combatants. Most of these deaths (65 to 75 million) occurred in World War II, which was the single deadliest conflict in history. Due to aerial bombardment and other technological changes, the percentage of civilian deaths rose dramatically, from 5 percent in World War I to 50 percent in World War II as a whole, and 99 percent in the Allies' World War II bombing of the Germany cities of Hamburg and Dresden and the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Since World War II, civil wars have accounted for the vast majority of casualties. The most deadly were the conflicts in Vietnam, China, and Afghanistan, which together killed more than three million people.<sup>5</sup>

From 1945 to 1999, 16 million people died as a direct result of civil wars.<sup>6</sup> In addition, millions more were injured or displaced from their homes, becoming refugees internally displaced persons (IDPs). A refugee is a

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<sup>1</sup> This background guide was written by Karen Ruth Adams, faculty advisor, and Kedra Hildebrand (2008), with contributions from William Selph (2008). Copyright 2012 by Karen Adams.

<sup>2</sup> United Nations, "Charter of the United Nations," 26 June 1945, <http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/>

<sup>3</sup> Nils Petter Gleditsch, *et al.*, "Armed Conflict 1946-2001: A New Dataset." *Journal of Peace Research* 39(5). Data through 2011 are available at "UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset v.4-2012, 1946 – 2011," [http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/datasets/ucdp\\_prio\\_armed\\_conflict\\_dataset/](http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/datasets/ucdp_prio_armed_conflict_dataset/)

<sup>4</sup> Uppsala University, "The number of armed conflicts increased strongly in 2011," press release, accessed 27 September 2012, [http://www.pcr.uu.se/digitalAssets/119/119469\\_ucdp-2012english-version.uu.12jul.pdf](http://www.pcr.uu.se/digitalAssets/119/119469_ucdp-2012english-version.uu.12jul.pdf)

<sup>5</sup> Karen Ruth Adams, "The Causes of War," in Robert Denmark, ed., *The International Studies Encyclopedia* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2010).

<sup>6</sup> James D. Fearon and David Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* 91:1 (2004).

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civilian who has left his or her home country due to fear of persecution.<sup>7</sup> According to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), at the beginning of 2009, there were 15.2 million refugees worldwide.<sup>8</sup> Internally displaced persons (IDPs) have left their homes for similar reasons but have not crossed an international border. According to the Norwegian Refugee Council, in 2008, there were 26 million IDPs worldwide.<sup>9</sup> Thus almost one percent of the world's people are currently displaced from their homes. Such displacement is usually the result of international war, civil war, and human rights violations.

One of the reasons that war continues in spite of the founding of the UN is that, during the Cold War, the Security Council was largely paralyzed by the conflict between the US and Soviet Union, both of which have permanent seats and vetoes on the Council. From 1945 to 1989, the Security Council only authorized one "collective security" (Chapter VII) operation: the US-led military operation to evict North Korea from South Korea in the early 1950s. The only reason that resolution passed was that the USSR was boycotting the Council when the US introduced the resolution.<sup>10</sup>

Since the demise of the Soviet Union, the Security Council has authorized more collective security operations, including the US-led Gulf War in 1991 and the French, British, and US-led Libyan war in 2011. It has also authorized more peacekeeping operations. According to researchers Stathis Kalyvas and Paul Kenny, "there were as many interventions in the five-year period from 1988 as there were in the previous 40 years."<sup>11</sup>

Looking back on more than two decades of collective security and peacekeeping operations, it is clear that efforts to get one state to reverse its invasion of another, to stop a state from attacking groups within its territory, and to separate warring parties once they have agreed to seek peace have largely failed to lay the seeds of lasting peace. Although they may be necessary to obtain peace, they are not sufficient to ensure that a country remains at peace. This is easily seen by the fact that the single most powerful predictor of whether a country will experience a war next year is whether it is at war today. According to political scientist Barbara Walter, this is not because of unresolved grievances. Instead it reflects

[the] current incentives individual citizens have to rejoin a rebel group. Civil wars will have little chance to get off the ground unless individual farmers, shopkeepers, and potential workers choose to enlist in the rebel armies that are necessary to pursue a war, and enlistment is only likely to be attractive when two conditions hold. The first is a situation of individual hardship or severe dissatisfaction with one's current situation. The second is the absence of any nonviolent means for change. An analysis of all civil wars ending between 1945 and 1996 suggests that a higher quality of life and greater access to political participation have a significant negative effect on the likelihood of renewed war. Countries that provide higher levels of economic well-being to their citizenry and create an open political system are less likely to experience multiple civil wars regardless of what happened in a previous conflict.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> "Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees," 1951, Article I, <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/refugees.htm#wp1037012>

<sup>8</sup> This includes the 10.5 million refugees of concern to UNHCR and the 4.7 million Palestinian refugees under the jurisdiction of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), "Refugee Figures," <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c1d.html>

<sup>9</sup> UNHCR, "Internally Displaced People Figures," <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c23.html>

<sup>10</sup> The USSR was boycotting because the US and its Western bloc allies refused to transfer the Chinese seat from the Nationalist Chinese government to the government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) after the Communist revolution of 1949. As a result, Taiwan held China's Security Council seat and veto until President Nixon recognized the PRC in the early 1970s.

<sup>11</sup> Stathis N. Kalyvas and Paul D. Kenny, "Civil Wars," in Robert Denemark *et al.* eds., *The International Studies Compendium Project* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell).

<sup>12</sup> Barbara F. Walter, "Does Conflict Beget Conflict? Explaining Recurring Civil War," *Journal of Peace Research* 41:3 (2004), p. 371.

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As a result of this realization, in recent years the UN General Assembly (GA) and Security Council have developed a more multi-faceted approach to peace. These efforts fall under the category of “peacebuilding.” In 2005, the GA and Council authorized the creation of a new UN office called the Peacebuilding Commission.

In February 2011, the Security Council held a rare debate on the interdependence between security, peace, and development. The debate was called by Brazil during its month as Council president. In holding the debate, Brazil was motivated by, among other things, the situation in Haiti. At the meeting, representatives from the Peacebuilding Commission, other international organizations, and a number of countries called for greater Security Council consideration to the social, economic, and political roots of conflict and to the need to address social, economic, and political obstacles to peace in planning and carrying out in UN peacekeeping missions.<sup>13</sup> How could and should the Security Council respond to these calls, both in general and with regard to the situation in Haiti?

### *History and Current Events*

To understand this issue, it is important to consider which countries are most vulnerable to civil war (the most frequently-occurring form of war). It is also important to understand the situation in Haiti and the concept and history of peacebuilding.

#### Countries Vulnerable to Civil War

According to academic researchers, most civil wars have one factor in common: poverty.<sup>14</sup> Thus achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and pursuing other efforts to improve standards of living, is vital for peace and security.

According to the World Bank, people experience “extreme poverty” when they must live on less than \$1.25 per day. In 2008, 1.29 billion people (19 percent of the world’s population) were living in this condition. Due largely to gains in China, this was down from 1.9 billion in 1981.<sup>15</sup>

Hunger is another indicator of poverty. As shown in Table 1, from 2006 to 2008, twenty-five (13 percent of the UN’s 193 member states) had either “very high” levels of hunger (more than 35 percent of their population undernourished) or “high” levels of hunger (25-34 percent of the population). This does not include countries, such as Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iraq, Somalia, and Sudan, for which there is no reliable data on hunger due to ongoing war. Eighteen (75 percent) of the countries are in sub-Saharan Africa, seven are in Asia, and two are in South America and the Caribbean.

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<sup>13</sup> UN Security Council, “Security Council Presidential Statement Stresses Need to Consider Economic, Social as well as Political Factors in Maintaining International Peace, Security,” Press release SC/10172, 11 February 2011, <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2011/sc10172.doc.htm>

<sup>14</sup> Kalyvas and Kenny, “Civil Wars.”

<sup>15</sup> This income data is for 2008. World Bank, “Poverty: At a Glance,” March 2012, <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/NEWS/0,,contentMDK:20040961~menuPK:34480~pagePK:64257043~piPK:437376~theSitePK:4607,00.html>

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**Table 1**  
Countries with High and Very High Levels of Hunger, 2006-2008<sup>16</sup>

<i>Country</i>	<i>Region</i>	<i>Very High Levels of Hunger</i>	<i>Trend since 1990</i>	<i>At War in 2011</i> <sup>17</sup>	<i>Current UN Peacekeeping</i> <sup>18</sup>	<i>Current UN Peacebuilding</i> <sup>19</sup>
Eritrea	Sub-Saharan Africa	65% of population	-4%			
Burundi	Sub-Saharan Africa	62	+43 (worsening)			X
Haiti	Caribbean	57	-9		X	
Zambia	Sub-Saharan Africa	44	+25 (worsening)			
Angola	Sub-Saharan Africa	41	-39			
Ethiopia	Sub-Saharan Africa	41	-40	X		
Central African Rep	Sub-Saharan Africa	40	-8	X		X
Chad	Sub-Saharan Africa	39	-36			
Mozambique	Sub-Saharan Africa	38	-36			
Dem Rep Korea (NK)	Eastern Asia	35	+72 (worsening)			
Sierra Leone	Sub-Saharan Africa	35	-22			X
<i>High Levels of Hunger</i>						
Tanzania	Sub-Saharan Africa	34% of population	+15% (worsening)			
Kenya	Sub-Saharan Africa	33	-1			
Liberia	Sub-Saharan Africa	32	+7 (worsening)	X	X	X
Rwanda	Sub-Saharan Africa	32	-28	X		
Yemen	Western Asia	30	+2 (worsening)	X		
Zimbabwe	Sub-Saharan Africa	30	-26			
Mongolia	Eastern Asia	27	-5			
Bolivia	South America	27	-7			
Malawi	Sub-Saharan Africa	27	-37			
Tajikistan	Central Asia	26	-23	X		
Bangladesh	Southern Asia	26	-30			
Botswana	Sub-Saharan Africa	25	+36 (worsening)			
Madagascar	Sub-Saharan Africa	25	+24 (worsening)			
Pakistan	Southern Asia	25	-1	X		
Cambodia	Southeastern Asia	25	-33			

<sup>16</sup> The 35 and 25 percent hunger thresholds are from United Nations, *Millennium Development Goals Report 2011*, p. 12, <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/reports.shtml> The 2006-2008 data are from UN Food and Agricultural Organization, *The State of Food Insecurity in the World*, Rome, 2011, pp. 42-47, 51, <http://www.fao.org/docrep/014/i2330e/i2330e.pdf>

<sup>17</sup> “UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset v.4-2012, 1946 – 2011.”

<sup>18</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping, “Current Peacekeeping Operations,” <https://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/current.shtml>, accessed 5 October 2012.

<sup>19</sup> United Nations Peacebuilding Commission, <http://www.un.org/en/peacebuilding/>, accessed 5 October 2012.

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According to political scientists and others who call attention to the link between poverty and war, these are the countries that are currently most vulnerable to civil war. This argument seems to be confirmed by the fact that seven (28%) of the 25 states with high and very high levels of hunger were at war in 2011. Moreover, two of the UN's 16 current peacekeeping operations are in these countries (indicating that they have had violent conflicts in the recent past) and three others are in states with ongoing wars that make it difficult to measure and respond to hunger (Afghanistan, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Sudan).<sup>20</sup>

If additional civil wars were to break out among these countries, their populations would fall further into poverty. In addition, the wars might spill over into neighboring states. In 2011, this happened in Eastern Africa when people escaping famine and civil war in the collapsed state of Somalia migrated into Kenya and were pursued by Somali fighters. Kenya responded by invading Somalia in late 2012,<sup>21</sup> and by participating in the current African Union military operation to control Somali cities.<sup>22</sup>

### The Situation in Haiti

The situation in most of the countries listed in Table 1 is not as dire as that in Somalia. Yet some of those situations are worsening, both in terms of increasing hunger (as shown in the table) and in terms of increasing migration. For example, although hunger in Haiti has improved since 1990, poverty is still so great due to governmental weakness and the earthquake of 2010 that as of January 2012, more than 41,000 Haitians had left the country.<sup>23</sup>

Canada and the US, which have historically been destinations for Haitian refugees, have reduced the number they will accept.<sup>24</sup> Thus Haitians are instead trying to get to Brazil, whose economy has been booming. Yet Brazil, too, has limited the number of Haitians it will accept. As a result, Brazil's neighbors are feeling the strain of large refugee populations.<sup>25</sup> Concern about how this will affect the region is one of the reasons that Brazil sponsored the 2011 Security Council debate on the connection between development, security, and peace and called attention to the situation in Haiti as especially deserving of peacebuilding efforts.<sup>26</sup> Without such efforts, the situation in Haiti is likely to worsen, as the UN peacekeeping mission (the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti, MINUSTAH) is likely to be drawn down in the coming months and years.<sup>27</sup>

MINUSTAH was first authorized by the Security Council in 2004 to stop civil violence that led the president to flee the country. After the devastating earthquake of 2010, which killed more than 220,000 Haitians,

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<sup>20</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping, "Current Peacekeeping Operations."

<sup>21</sup> Nicholas Kristof, "On Top of Famine, Unspeakable Violence," *New York Times*, 24 September 2011, [http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/25/opinion/sunday/kristof-on-top-of-famine-unspeakable-violence.html?\\_r=1&scp=9&sq=kristof&st=Search#](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/25/opinion/sunday/kristof-on-top-of-famine-unspeakable-violence.html?_r=1&scp=9&sq=kristof&st=Search#) See also Jeffrey Gettleman, "Kenyan Motives in Somalia Predate Recent Abductions," *New York Times*, 26 October 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/27/world/africa/kenya-planned-somalia-incursion-far-in-advance.html>

<sup>22</sup> "Times Topic: Somalia," *New York Times*, <http://topics.nytimes.com/top/news/international/countriesandterritories/somalia/index.html?8qa>

<sup>23</sup> UNHCR, "Haiti," <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/page?page=49e491766&submit=GO>, accessed 5 October 2012.

<sup>24</sup> UNHCR, "Haiti."

<sup>25</sup> Simon Romero and Andrea Zarate, "Influx of Haitians Into the Amazon Prompts Immigration Debate in Brazil," *New York Times*, 7 February 2012, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/08/world/americas/brazil-limits-haitian-immigration.html?ref=haiti>

<sup>26</sup> UN Security Council, "Security Council Presidential Statement Stresses Need to Consider."

<sup>27</sup> Security Council Report, "Haiti: Chronology of Events," 13 August 2012, <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/chronology/haiti.php>

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the Council increased the size of MINUSTAH.<sup>28</sup> In the wake of the successful presidential election in 2011, it was thought that MINUSTAH could be reduced in size and, ultimately, withdrawn altogether. But according to Brazil and other states in the region, it would be dangerous to do so unless the underlying causes of Haiti's 2004 conflict – poverty and the weakness of the Haitian government – are addressed. Because the Haitian government has had no military since 1995 and has only a small and poorly-equipped police force, it relies on MINUSTAH for security.<sup>29</sup> Thus if the Security Council withdrew MINUSTAH, it is likely that armed conflict would break out. To rebuild Haiti to the point that MINUSTAH can safely be withdrawn, it may be necessary for the Council to authorize a peacebuilding mission.

Currently, MINUSTAH consists of 7,276 troops, 2,825 police, 475 international civilian personnel, 1,328 local civilian staff, and 197 United Nations volunteers from more than 57 UN member states.<sup>30</sup>

### The Concept of Peacebuilding

Peacebuilding efforts are distinct from peacekeeping. Peacekeeping missions have short-term objectives, including negotiation of cease-fires, separation of opposing forces, promotion of law and order, and provision of humanitarian aid. Peacebuilding efforts, on the other hand, are typically applied after peace has been established. Peacebuilding efforts help countries “strengthen and preserve” peace over the long term.<sup>31</sup>

The specific objectives of peacebuilding operations are as varied as the countries and people they are trying to help. Historically, they have included organizing and monitoring elections, monitoring human rights violations, rebuilding the judiciary, providing interim civil administration, rebuilding and training police forces, repatriating refugees, overseeing the release of political prisoners, reestablishing infrastructure, providing support for traumatized victims, and overseeing the transition from UN or other international oversight to local political authority.<sup>32</sup>

Four factors contribute to the success or failure of peacebuilding. First, successful peacebuilding depends on the desire for peace of the parties involved. If conflicting factions within a country want to continue fighting, there is little peacebuilding efforts can do to change the situation. Second, peacebuilding depends on the ability and will of UN member states and other international donors to make the necessary resources available. Peacebuilding missions are long-term; they require a significant contribution of financial and other resources. Third, successful peacebuilding requires people who are trained in election monitoring and political, judicial, and economic reform. Finally, peacebuilding requires the ability to turn warring parties into political parties, which includes the demobilization of militias and gangs.<sup>33</sup> This requirement is extremely difficult and requires that all parties feel that they are being treated fairly and trust that the new system will be unbiased. It also requires finding alternative employment for individuals who have previously been fighting or trying to secure themselves and their families. The wide variety of tasks and resourced needed makes peacebuilding one of the greatest challenges faced by the UN.

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<sup>28</sup> United Nations, “MINUSTAH: United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti,” <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/minustah/>, accessed 5 October 2012.

<sup>29</sup> “Times Topic: Haiti,” *New York Times*, <http://topics.nytimes.com/top/news/international/countriesandterritories/haiti/index.html?8qa>

<sup>30</sup> United Nations, “MINUSTAH Facts and Figures: Current authorization until 15 October 2012,” <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/minustah/facts.shtml>

<sup>31</sup> Karen A Mingst and Margaret P. Karns, *The United Nations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Boulder: Westview, 2007) pp. 94, 290.

<sup>32</sup> Mingst and Karns, *The United Nations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, p. 99; and Margaret Karns, “The Roots of UN Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: A Case Study of Autonomous Agency,” paper presented at the 2008 annual meeting of the APSA, August 28, 2008, p. 2, available at [http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p278902\\_index.html](http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p278902_index.html)

<sup>33</sup> Mingst and Karns, *The United Nations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, p. 102.

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### A Short History of Peacebuilding

Some early examples of peacebuilding are found in the reconstruction of Europe and Japan following World War II. Significant amounts of money were given by the US through the Marshall Plan to help both Axis and Allied countries rebuild and reestablish their governments, infrastructures, and economies. The UN's involvement in peacebuilding began after the Cold War. According to researcher Margaret P. Karns, of "the forty-eight peacekeeping operations the UN has undertaken since 1988, twenty-nine have involved tasks now associated with the concept of post-conflict peacebuilding."<sup>34</sup>

One of the first missions involving peacebuilding activities was in the former German colony of Namibia. In 1989, the UN Transition Assistance Group to Namibia (UNTAG) was formed with "the most ambitious and diverse mandate of any UN mission to that time."<sup>35</sup> The goal of the mission was to supervise a cease-fire between South African troops, which administered the country after German defeat in World War I, and the military forces of the South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO), which sought independence. When South Africa finally agreed to allow Namibia to become independent, UNTAG was formed to ensure that it did so peacefully. UNTAG included peacebuilding tasks such as supervising civil police, securing the repeal of discriminatory and restrictive legislation, arranging the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, and securing fair and free elections. The experience in Namibia was, for the most part, a success. It showed the UN that both military and civilian personnel needed to be involved in peacebuilding. Today, Namibia "is still regarded as one of the UN's most successful peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts."<sup>36</sup> This success was important to the UN's decision to undertake more multifaceted peacebuilding efforts in subsequent years.

Although there are other examples of successful peacebuilding missions – including Nicaragua, Cambodia, and El Salvador – UN efforts have not always generated positive results on the first try. For example, in Liberia in 1997, the disarmament and demobilization program conducted by the UN was so flawed and hasty that it led to elections that were neither free nor fair. In fact, despite UN presence monitoring the election process in Liberia, the warlord Charles Taylor was able to intimidate the electorate into placing him in power. Thus the civil war resumed shortly after the election.<sup>37</sup> During the second war, Taylor's forces became known for forcing children to fight and for raping and hacking off the limbs of opponents. In addition, Taylor supported rebels in a bloody fight in neighboring Sierra Leone, where he attempted to capture the diamond-producing parts of the country. Finally, in 2002, Taylor resigned when he was cornered militarily. From 1989 to 2003, approximately 250,000 people were killed in the wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone, and thousands more were displaced.<sup>38</sup> In 2003, the Security Council authorized the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) and helped the country hold elections in 2005.<sup>39</sup> Since then, Liberia's president has been Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, who recently won the Nobel Peace Prize in conjunction with another Liberian woman and a Yemeni woman who has pressed for women's rights.<sup>40</sup> Yet Liberia remains "in

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<sup>34</sup> Karns, "The Roots of UN Post-Conflict Peacebuilding," p. 2.

<sup>35</sup> Mingst and Karns, *The United Nations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, pp. 103-104.

<sup>36</sup> Karns, "The Roots of UN Post-Conflict Peacebuilding," pp. 9-10.

<sup>37</sup> Crispin Grey-Johnson, "Beyond Peacekeeping: The Challenges of Post Conflict Reconstruction and Peacebuilding in Africa," *UN Chronicle*, 2006, <http://www.un.org/Pubs/chronicle/2006/issue1/0106p08.htm>

<sup>38</sup> BBC News, "Liberia country profile," 4 May 2011, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/country\\_profiles/1043500.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/country_profiles/1043500.stm). See also "Times Topics: Charles Johnson," *New York Times*, 2 July 2010, [http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/t/charles\\_taylor/index.html?scp=1-spot&sq=charles%20taylor&st=cse](http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/t/charles_taylor/index.html?scp=1-spot&sq=charles%20taylor&st=cse)

<sup>39</sup> United Nations, "United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)," <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmil/>

<sup>40</sup> "The Nobel Peace Prize 2011: Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Leymah Gbowee, Tawakkul Karman," Nobelprize.org, 2011, [http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel\\_prizes/peace/laureates/2011/johnson\\_sirleaf.html](http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2011/johnson_sirleaf.html)

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economic ruin and overrun with weapons. The capital remains without mains electricity and running water. Corruption is rife and unemployment and illiteracy are endemic.” As a result, UNMIL continues to have approximately 15,000 soldiers in Liberia. UNMIL “is one of the organisation's most expensive peacekeeping operations.”<sup>41</sup>

Peacebuilding can be especially difficult in conflicts that occur along ethnic lines (such as the genocide in Rwanda) or religious lines (such as the war between Sudan and South Sudan), and that involve opposing factions fighting over lucrative products such as oil, timber, and minerals.<sup>42</sup>

### ***Previous Committee Work on This Topic***

In January 1992, the Security Council held a summit to consider “the responsibility of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security.”<sup>43</sup> Although peacekeeping was not specifically mentioned, the Council discussed taking on broader tasks including election monitoring, human rights, economic concerns, and social fields. On June 17, 1992 in the secretary-general’s report *An Agenda for Peace*,<sup>44</sup> “post-conflict peace-building” was mentioned for the first time and became a topic of discussion within the UN.<sup>45</sup>

In 2000, the Brahimi Report commissioned by Secretary-General Kofi Annan called for strengthening the planning and management of complex peace operations.<sup>46</sup> In February 2001, the President of the Security Council made the following statement on behalf of the Council:

The Security Council recognizes that peace-building is aimed at preventing the outbreak, the recurrence or continuation of armed conflict and therefore encompasses a wide range of political, development, humanitarian and human rights programmes and mechanisms. This requires short and long-term actions tailored to address the particular needs of societies sliding into conflict or emerging from it. These actions should focus on fostering sustainable development, the eradication of poverty and inequalities, transparent and accountable governance, the promotion of democracy, respect for human rights and the rule of law and the promotion of culture of peace and non-violence.<sup>47</sup>

In September 2000, world leaders gathered at the Millennium Summit in New York to draft the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The MDGs are intended to realize measurable progress towards reducing poverty and improving the well-being of individuals throughout the world by 2015.<sup>48</sup> Peacebuilding and the MDGs go hand-in-hand. As nations strive to achieve these goals the chances for conflict have the potential to diminish while the continued presence of conflict can inhibit the ability of nations to effectively work towards these ends.

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<sup>41</sup> BBC News, “Liberia country profile.”

<sup>42</sup> Mingst and Karns, *The United Nations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, p. 108. See also Kalyvas and Kenny, “Civil Wars.”

<sup>43</sup> Security Council, “Note by the President of the Security Council,” 31 January 1992, p. 1, <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N92/043/34/PDF/N9204334.pdf?OpenElement>

<sup>44</sup> Report of the Secretary General, “An Agenda for Peace: Preventative diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping,” 31 January 1992, Section VI, <http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html>

<sup>45</sup> Quoted by Karns, “The Roots of UN Post-Conflict Peacebuilding,” p. 2.

<sup>46</sup> Mingst and Karns, *The United Nations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, p. 109. See also United Nations, “Report of the panel on United Nations Peace Operations, October 2000, [http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace\\_operations/](http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/)

<sup>47</sup> United Nations Security Council, S/PRST/2001/5, February 20, 2001, pp. 1-2, <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N01/256/24/PDF/N0125624.pdf?OpenElement>

<sup>48</sup> United Nations, “End Poverty: Millennium Development Goals (Background),” <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/bkgd.shtml>.



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In November 2003, Secretary-General Kofi Annan created the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change to examine the latest dangers in international security. The Panel made a number of recommendations, including the creation of a Peacebuilding Commission. In December 2005, the GA and Security Council acted together to establish the new UN Peacebuilding Commission, whose purpose is to oversee issues related to conflict prevention and post-conflict reconstruction. The mandate of the Peacebuilding Commission is:

1. To bring together all relevant actors to marshal resources and to advise on the proposed integrated strategies for post conflict peacebuilding and recovery;
2. To help ensure predictable financing for early recovery activities and sustained financial investment over the medium to long-term;
3. To develop best practices on issues in collaboration with political, security, humanitarian and development actors.<sup>49</sup>

According to UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon, “by establishing the Commission, Member States of the United Nations have created an important new structure to support fragile societies recovering from the devastation of war.”<sup>50</sup> The Organizational Committee of the Peacebuilding Commission is made-up of seven UN member states selected from the Security Council, seven members from the Economic and Social Council, five of the top five providers of assessed contributions to the UN budget, five of the top military providers to UN missions, and seven members elected by the GA.<sup>51</sup>

In many respects, peacebuilding is similar to the UN’s other main effort: sustainable development. This creates the potential for duplication of efforts. In 2006, a high-level panel recommended that the UN increase its effectiveness and efficiency through the “Delivering as One” initiative, in which all UN agencies in a particular country would coordinate their activities and report to a country team. According to the panel, the objective should be “one leader, one programme, one budgetary framework and, where appropriate, one office.”<sup>52</sup> The hope is that this will enable the UN to turn from “firefighting” (tackling an emergency after it happens) to “capacity-building and preparedness.”<sup>53</sup> Today, there are Delivering as One pilot projects in eight countries: Albania, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Pakistan, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uruguay and Viet Nam.<sup>54</sup>

### *Conclusion*

The Security Council and GA have defined peacebuilding as one of their central tasks for the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In 2011, Brazil and other rotating members of the Council called for greater attention to peacebuilding, both worldwide and in Haiti. What should the Council do to make progress on this issue? In researching your country’s position on this issue, consider the following questions:

- Is your country receiving or in need of peacebuilding or peacekeeping? Why or why not? What kind of help is needed?

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<sup>49</sup> UN Peacebuilding Commission, “Mandate of Peacebuilding Commission,” <http://www.un.org/en/peacebuilding/mandate.shtml>

<sup>50</sup> Ban Ki-moon, “Secretary-General’s remarks on the conclusion of the first session of the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission,” New York, 27 June 2007, <http://www.un.org/sg/statements/index.asp?nid=2637>

<sup>51</sup> UN Peacebuilding Commission, “Organizational Committee Members,” <http://www.un.org/en/peacebuilding/orgcommittee.shtml>

<sup>52</sup> UN High Level Panel on System-wide Coherence, “Report of the Secretary General’s High Level Panel on System-wide Coherence: Delivering as One,” 2006, p. 21, <http://www.un.org/events/panel/>

<sup>53</sup> World Food Programme, “Annual Report 2007,” p. 39, [http://www.wfp.org/policies/Annual\\_Reports/index.asp?section=6&sub\\_section=3](http://www.wfp.org/policies/Annual_Reports/index.asp?section=6&sub_section=3).

<sup>54</sup> UN Development Programme, “Delivering as One Pilots,” <http://www.undg.org/?P=7>

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- From your country's point of view, what countries in your region or elsewhere in the world are in need of peacebuilding? What kind of help has your country offered? What more could it do?
- Is your country a member of the Peacebuilding Commission? If so, what kind of initiatives has it supported?
- Does your country have troops and other personnel in the peacekeeping mission in Haiti?
- What should be the priorities of peacebuilding? For example, should the UN focus on stopping conflicts before they start, addressing conflicts that are ongoing, or helping when a war is over? What kind of approaches should the UN use? Consider all of the elements of peacebuilding, including political reconstruction, war crimes trials, social reconciliation, demining, economic development, and international aid.
- Should the Security Council become more involved in peacebuilding, or should it leave that role to the General Assembly?
- How should the Council respond to continuing poverty and governmental weakness in Haiti, and their potential to destabilize other states in the Americas and Caribbean?

### ***Recommended Reading***

Grey-Johnson, Crispin "Beyond Peacekeeping: The Challenges of Post Conflict Reconstruction and Peacebuilding in Africa." *UN Chronicle*. 2006. Available at <http://www.un.org/Pubs/chronicle/2006/issue1/0106p08.htm>

This article provides an overview of the need and history of UN peacebuilding in Africa.

Security Council Report. "Haiti." Available at <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/chronology/haiti.php>

This site provides access to Security Council resolutions and debates on Haiti and peacebuilding. See also the press release cited in footnote 14 (above), which summarizes the positions of many countries on this issue.

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). "Armed Conflict." *SIPRI Yearbook 2012*. Available at <http://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2012/02>

This annual report, published by a prestigious non-governmental organization, is an excellent source for information on ongoing conflicts worldwide. See also the source in footnote 3.

United Nations. "United Nations Peacebuilding Commission: About the Commission." Available at <http://www.un.org/peace/peacebuilding/mandate.shtml>

This web site explains the Peacebuilding Commission mandate, as well as the Commission's membership and country activities.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). "Millennium Development Goals: Tracking Country Progress." Available at <http://www.undp.org/mdg/countries.shtml>

On this site, you can read country reports on the Millennium Development Goals. Focus on MDG #1 (eradicating poverty and hunger) and MDG #8 (increasing international cooperation).

World Bank. "Haiti." Available at <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/haiti>. Accessed 5 October 2012.

The World Bank was founded after World War II to advance national reconstruction and development worldwide. This site summarizes the Bank's analysis of poverty in Haiti and efforts to alleviate it. The site also provides access to reports on other countries. On the situation in Haiti and the UN peacekeeping mission there, see also the sources in footnotes 30 & 31.