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# STATE SUPPORT FOR PEACE PROCESSES

## A Multi-Country Review



Prepared by

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THE UNIVERSITY OF  
MELBOURNE

Prepared for

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Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

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## Disclaimer

This document presents the views of the research team as authors and editors of the Report.

The opinions expressed in the country case study chapters of this report are those of the authors.

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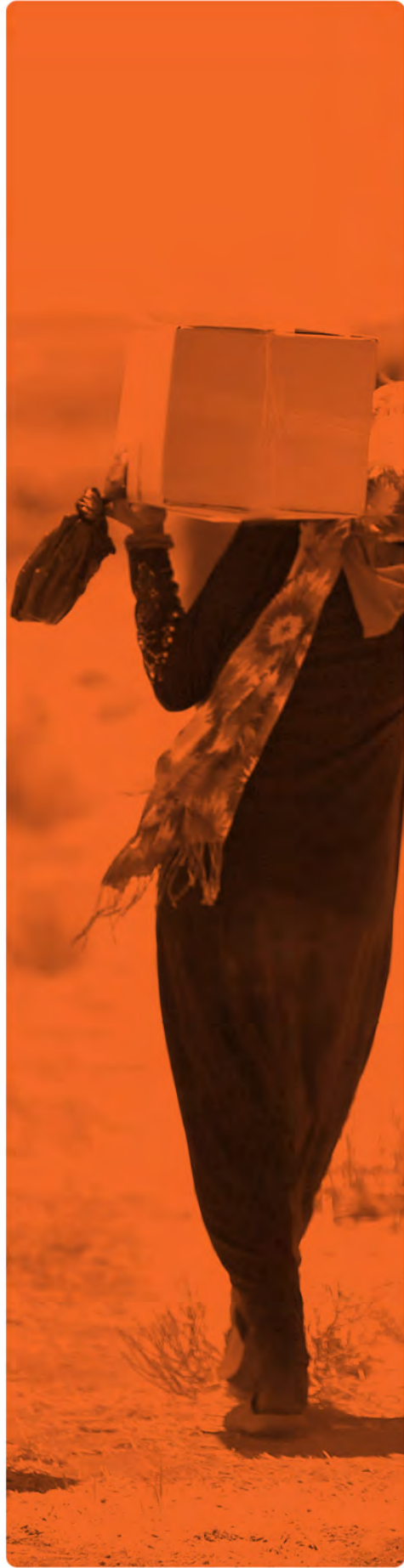
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# FOREWORD




Mediation of armed conflicts requires the participation of many players, mostly non-state actors. Many states, not just a few states that specialise in it like Norway, are also needed. For every case of a successful peace process, there are usually many visible failed mediations and some invisible ones as well. This is a fundamental reason why many states need to be active mediators. If failure is normal, new mediation sponsors are needed to offer to pick up the pieces and press the re-set button on a fresh approach by a mediator that comes in with a different background, different baggage and different networks for peace.

One of Australia's earliest failures in Kashmir at the time of Dr Evatt in the late 1940s was so awfully sad because that fresh start did not happen in the 1950s. The world is a much more dangerous place today as a result of that failure, with two new nuclear powers, Islamic terrorism that spread into Afghanistan and globally from Kashmir as a heartland of grievance, and the worst hot-spot of nuclear terrorism risk. It was not Australia's fault that its Kashmir mediation failed, though of course there have been cases such as our recent shirt-fronting mediation with Russia's President Putin where it was difficult to see how our strategy could have made any progress with the Ukraine conflict.

This report makes a persuasive case for increasing Australian involvement. Australia is rich in peace process expertise; these authors, and our universities generally, are among those riches. Australia has instructive recent regional experience, for example in Cambodia, Solomon Islands and in playing a humble support role to sophisticated New Zealand leadership in Bougainville. This gives Australia enough credibility to be a bigger contributor internationally and build its credibility further.

I do worry, however, that in so many ways Australia has become a timid country. We are afraid to fail and this is holding us back. We punish failure instead of embracing it as the essence of learning and wisdom in a world of complexity. The more complex the world becomes, the more imperative it is to fail fast, learn fast and adapt fast. Australian peacekeepers have been rather good at failing and learning from that failure. In quick succession in 2006 Australian peacekeeping experienced major failures in Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands. Yet in both cases lessons were learnt and our peacekeepers helped return these places to a more resilient peace. Australia's experience there and its excellence in peacebuilding training are useful foundations for mediation excellence. As a nation, we can draw humble pride from how we have grown from our failings in many places suffering from conflict.



This report is rich in learnings from the successes and failures of seven other countries. As we read its engaging telling of their stories we see clearly that countries that are serious and competent in the business of peace mediation have a mix of success and failure. That mix is evident here in US in-country embassy mediation teams, Canadian and Norwegian focal points in their Foreign Ministries, the richness of UK networking of state with civil society mediators and development professionals, Malaysia's preference for facilitation and support over mediation, the way the South African intelligence service could conduct secret negotiations with the imprisoned Nelson Mandela that the incumbent government initially found difficult to do (and the way Mandela could be released to become a peacemaker) and New Zealand's patience in building trust in cases like Bougainville.

Ideas like establishing an Australian national mediation standby roster go beyond the experience of these other countries in interesting ways in this report. So the authors should be congratulated for both the quality of their scanning and for their international affairs imagination. This report proposes a fresh contribution to crafting a distinctive Australian niche in conflict mediation and conflict prevention.

John Langmore has been a longstanding and intellectually serious leader in Australian public life and in New York. He has put together an outstanding team of Tania Miletic, Aran Martin and Nathan Shea and together they have invited other excellent chapter writers to share in preparing this insightful beginning to what will hopefully be a longer journey. It deserves to be read and taken seriously by policymakers in Canberra.

**John Braithwaite**

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## State Support for Peace Processes: A Multi-Country Review

**Australian International Conflict Resolution Project,  
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There has been a dramatic upward trend during the last five years in the number of state-based violent conflicts. The number of deaths, injuries and the extent of destruction resulting from these wars has been devastating, and has resulted in the number of refugees seeking to escape these situations multiplying to 65 million, the highest recorded.

Reflecting on this global crisis, three major UN reports prepared and published during the last two years have emphasised the imperative for strengthening conflict prevention to sustain peace. Responses to them have been articulated in several strong resolutions by the Security Council and General Assembly and in the Sustainable Development Goals. However the national implementation of prevention so far does not match this thematic support. This problem has led the new UN Secretary-General António Guterres in his first address to the UN Security Council on 10 January 2017 to state that 'the priority of everything we do together [must be] preventing conflict and sustaining peace'. He went on that 'we spend far more time and resources responding to crises rather than preventing them; and that 'it has proved very difficult to persuade decision-makers at national and international level that prevention must be their priority'.

These factors make strengthening Australia's attention to conflict prevention essential. The purpose of the report 'State Support for Peace Processes: A Multi-Country Review' is to explore how seven other countries have approached providing support to peace processes, including alphabetically, Canada, Malaysia, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States. These case studies include several countries with a strong record of supporting peacemaking activities along with others that have only occasionally taken preventative action. The aim of the report is to assist in identifying concrete steps which Australia could consider taking to improve the capacity to support peace processes through blended, whole of government initiatives, and the following paragraphs summarise the principal conclusions.

Government leadership is central to establishing effective peace support processes. This involves the inclusion of all relevant ministers in a cabinet peace and security committee chaired by the Prime Minister; and articulation of a national peace, stability and security strategy (see UK chapter). Security Council Resolution (SCR) 2171 includes a comprehensive listing of conflict prevention and resolution mechanisms suitable for strengthening national and multi-

lateral commitments to peaceful conflict resolution. Preparation of the 2017 White Paper on Australian foreign policy provides an ideal opportunity to systematically review the role of peacemaking within Australia's foreign policy and to identify appropriate means of increasing Australian support for peacemaking. This approach would ensure whole-of-government cooperation in planning and implementing enhanced peacemaking processes.

DFAT's preparedness would be strengthened by upgrading overall funding and diplomatic staffing; and by establishing a unit specialising in increasing expertise in handling conflict, advising diplomats and others about options, providing conflict resolution training, liaising with the UN, other national agencies and conflict resolution NGOs and gathering departmental and other information about experience. A valuable initial task would be conducting a comprehensive review of Australia's governmental support for peace processes over the past 25 years. Establishing a national mediation standby roster or restructuring the Australian Civilian Corp Stabilisation Roster List would enable identification of non-government expertise, which could be activated quickly. SCR 1325 and the 2016 UN Global Study: Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace provide excellent

guides to means of engaging women fully and equitably in peace processes.

Several countries emphasize the value of working to support peace efforts through multilateral institutions such as the UN; viewing multilateralism as a significant way for middle power countries to influence global affairs and conflicts with significant asymmetries. States can enhance policies and practices nationally and internationally in coordinated efforts to address peace and security issues through multilateral organisations, international coordination and engagement of academics and INGOs. It would also be timely to build upon the *Official History of Australian Peacekeeping* project to review upgrading of Australia's currently diminished peacekeeping capacity and contribution to UN peace operations.

We hope the analysis and recommendations emerging from the review will prove useful to the Australian Government and other interested states and parties as they seek to design and improve their policies and capabilities to assist in the peaceful prevention and resolution of international conflict.

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

At the time of writing, 65 million people have been forcibly displaced worldwide by conflict and violence, the highest number on record.<sup>1</sup> The number of civil conflicts has almost trebled since 2008. According to António Guterres, UN Secretary-General, these trends have driven an increasing recognition by international organisations and states that *'We live in a world in which the capacity to prevent conflicts and to resolve them in a timely fashion is practically non-existent.'*<sup>2</sup> In response, some UN member states have been searching for ways to revitalise and better institutionalise effective conflict prevention and resolution strategies within their foreign policy.

This report was commissioned by the Development Policy Division of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and prepared by the Australian International Conflict Resolution Project at the School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Melbourne. Its purpose is to review the approaches to supporting peace processes and conflict prevention in a range of states between 1991 and 2016 in order to provide information which could be of use in guiding the evolution of the Australian Government's policies and capabilities to implement peaceful conflict resolution strategies in overseas conflicts.

The review team was provided with a brief to explore the following questions:

What are the components of national policy relevant to engagement with conflict resolution? How are decisions made about how to address threats of violent conflict?

What mechanisms exist to connect the foreign policy apparatus to international and domestic expertise on peacemaking and peacebuilding?

What institutional framework exists to support Track 1 and Track 2 peacemaking and mediation? How is that financed, supported, staffed and trained both within the public service, NGOs and academia? What policies are there for ensuring effective gender equality in all aspects of conflict resolution?

Seven countries were selected for review: Canada, Malaysia, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States. This varied sample of countries, some of which have a strong track record of supporting peacemaking activities, was chosen in consultation with DFAT to increase the applicability of lessons learnt and recommendations derived from these countries' experiences to an Australian context.

The review supports ongoing efforts by DFAT to assess and strengthen its policies, procedures, and institutional structures in response to the ongoing challenges of sustaining peace in an increasingly conflict-ridden world. In particular these efforts include evaluative work undertaken within the Fragility and Conflict Section of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the evolution of former AusAID and DFAT departmental structures towards a whole-of-government approach to conflict and development, the findings and recommendations of the 2013 Defence Capability Review, the 2012 Joint Standing Committee of Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade recommendation to establish a mediation support unit within AusAID (now amalgamated within DFAT), the 2011 *Framework for working in fragile and conflict-affected states*, and the establishment in 2011 of the Australian Civilian Corp to provide Australian specialists to help communities prevent, prepare for, stabilise and recover from disasters and conflict.

The review is also mindful of and seeks to support ongoing efforts to assess and enhance the peacebuilding, peacekeeping and women, peace and security architecture of the United Nations system, to which Australia has been a significant contributor during its time in the UN Security Council presidency and as co-chair with Angola of the UN peacebuilding architecture review.

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1 UNHCR, *Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2015*, retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/statistics/unhcrstats/576408cd7/unhcr-global-trends-2015.html> on 4 October 2016.

2 António Guterres, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 'As refugee tide mounts, no-one is in control', Speech to the Ditchley Foundation, London, 28 Aug 2015.

From its inception, the review was designed as a short, timely attempt to provide an initial scan of existing literature, supplemented by interviews where necessary, to fill a gap in knowledge identified by the Development Policy Division within DFAT. For this reason it should be read as only the beginning of a more fundamental effort by countries like Australia to understand and build effective conflict prevention and resolution capacity. With this limitation in mind, the review concludes with possible lessons and recommendations emerging from the experience of each country surveyed and their approaches to supporting peace processes. The four main clusters of key recommendations include:

## 1. Government Leadership

Government leadership is central to establishing effective peace support processes. This involves inclusion of all relevant ministers in a cabinet peace and security committee chaired by the Prime Minister; and articulation of a national peace, stability and security strategy (See UK chapter). Security Council Resolution (SCR) 2171 includes a comprehensive listing of conflict prevention and resolution mechanisms suitable for strengthening national and multilateral commitment to peaceful conflict resolution. Preparation of the 2017 White Paper on Australian foreign policy provides an ideal opportunity to systematically review the role of peacemaking within Australia's foreign policy and to identify appropriate means of increasing Australian support for peacemaking. This approach would ensure whole-of-government cooperation in planning and implementing enhanced peacemaking processes.

- |                           |  |
|---------------------------|--|
| <b>Recommendation 1.1</b> | The 2017 White Paper would be the ideal place to clarify the aims, role and mechanisms for peacemaking within Australia's foreign policy.  |
| <b>Recommendation 1.2</b> | The Minister for Foreign Affairs needs to initiate a national high-level peacemaking strategy to anchor conflict specific, tailored interventions.   |
| <b>Recommendation 1.3</b> | Recognition of the importance of preparing strategic and coordinated 'whole of government' approaches to conflict management is necessary.   |
| <b>Recommendation 1.4</b> | Develop a systematic approach to estimating the strengths and weaknesses, including cost-effectiveness of potential state responses to conflict.   |
| <b>Recommendation 1.5</b> | Nominate or create a departmental section with overall accountability for reporting and advising on Australian peacemaking policies and procedures and adequately resource the section to undertake this role. |
| <b>Recommendation 1.6</b> | Develop current diplomatic training to include mediation and conflict resolution skills.   |

## Part 2. Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning

Documentation of past conflict resolution and peacebuilding experience (monitoring, evaluation and learning) is fundamental to enhancing future efforts. DFAT's preparedness would be strengthened by upgrading overall funding and diplomatic staffing and by establishing a unit specialising in increasing expertise in handling conflict, sharing lessons, providing conflict resolution training, liaising with UN, other national agencies and conflict resolution NGOs and gathering departmental and other information about experience. Most importantly, improving capacity is extremely difficult without detailed knowledge of what that practice has been in the past. A valuable initial task would be conducting a comprehensive review of Australia's governmental support for peace processes over the past 25 years.

- Recommendation 2.1** Conduct a comprehensive review of Australia's governmental support to peace processes over the past 25 years in order to record and build on past experience.
- Recommendation 2.2** Clarify the meaning of terms and definitions of each concept as a foundation for developing policy.
- Recommendation 2.3** Review the role of intelligence and capacity for conflict analysis in shaping responses to conflict.

## Part 3. Expanded engagement with local actors and non-government conflict resolution experts

Australia's capacity to contribute to international peace processes can be drawn from national and international resources. Mapping existing national capacity from both local actors and diaspora communities in Australia as well as Australian international expertise abroad can increase and enhance existing efforts. Establishing a national mediation standby roster or restructuring the Australian Civilian Corp Stabilisation Roster List to better incorporate peace and conflict expertise would enable identification of non-government expertise which could be activated quickly.

- Recommendation 3.1** Increase engagement with local actors and diasporas from conflict affected areas.
- Recommendation 3.2** Map, build and draw on national and international peacemaking capacity and resources to enhance engagement and capacity.
- Recommendation 3.3** To identify and draw on non-government expertise, consider a national mediation standby roster or expand fields expertise in conflict prevention and resolution as a speciality in the Australian Civilian Corps Stabilisation Roster List.

## Part 4. Enhanced policies and practices in internationalised efforts

States can enhance policies and practices nationally and internationally in coordinated efforts to address peace and security issues through multilateral organisations, international coordination and engagement of academics and INGOs. To support peacemaking efforts, it would be timely to build upon the Official History of Australian Peacekeeping to review upgrading Australia's currently diminished contribution to UN peace operations. SCR 1325 and the 2016 UN Global Study: Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace also provide excellent guides to means of engaging women fully and equitably in peace-processes.

- Recommendation 4.1** Increase support for peace processes through multilateral organisations, international coordination and engagement of academics and INGOs.
- Recommendation 4.2** Build upon the Official History of Australian Peacekeeping by reviewing Australia's current peacekeeping capacity and contribution to UN peace operations.
- Recommendation 4.3** Increase support for SCR 1325 in line with the 2016 UN Global Study: Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace towards engaging women fully equitably in peace-processes.
- Recommendation 4.4** Domestic policy in areas such as Indigenous Affairs and multiculturalism are important foundations in the context of contributions to international peace processes.
- Recommendation 4.5** The UN Sustainable Development Goals recognise the central importance of peace to sustainable development. Incorporating them into national peacemaking strategies is integral to how the Australian government can work to fulfil its commitment to achieve these goals.

# INTRODUCTION

John Langmore, School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Melbourne

There is a world-wide hunger for peaceful conflict resolution, caused by the 'alarming upward trend since 2012 in the number of fatalities incurred by organised violence'.<sup>3</sup> In the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century the total number of deaths from organized violence world-wide stabilised at about 35,000, but by 2014 it had multiplied to 130,000. The small decline to 118,000 in 2015 has not reduced the severe global anxiety regarding trends in armed conflict.

Half of this shocking increase was due to the war in Syria and much of the rest to the spread of Islamic State (IS). In 2015 the number of state-based conflicts increased steeply from 41 in 2014 to 50, the second highest number since 1945, due almost entirely to the expansion of IS. However the Syrian and IS wars are not the causes of the violent conflicts in the 23 other countries where in 2015 war was causing more than 25 battle deaths a year. These included Azerbaijan, Afghanistan, the Central African Republic, Colombia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, India, Kenya, Mali, Pakistan, Philippines, Russia, Somalia, South Sudan, Thailand, Turkey, Ukraine and Yemen.<sup>4</sup> Nor is IS the cause of conflicts in many areas where major violence has not yet erupted but where it occurs spasmodically or is threatened such as Burundi, Georgia, Israel and Palestine, Nigeria, Sudan, Western Sahara, and places where terrorists are active. Neither do these include those situations where participants and observers consider there is a serious possibility of conflict erupting and where effort to ease conflict could be of great value including such places as Bougainville, the East China Sea, the Korean Peninsula, Myanmar, the Solomon Islands, the South China Sea, and West Papua.

Violent conflict is causing explosive growth in numbers of forcibly displaced people worldwide, to 65.3 million in 2015.<sup>5</sup> This is the largest number on record. Twenty-one million of these are refugees, over half of whom are under the age of 18. António Guterres, United Nations (UN) Secretary-General, has commented: 'We live in a world in which the capacity to prevent conflicts and to resolve them in a timely fashion is practically non-existent'. The *SIPRI Yearbook 2016* argues similarly that 'peace is not being well served by national governments or the array of international institutions, forces and instruments that are currently devoted to enhancing security and international stability'.<sup>6</sup>

Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull recognised this in his National Statement in the General Debate of the 71<sup>st</sup> Session of the UN General Assembly on 22 September 2016 when he spoke of the 'most important' threat to 'the longest run of economic progress in the history of the world' as being 'the threat of conflict and instability'. He continued:

Where there is peace and the rule of law applies to governors and governed, to large states and small, we have seen remarkable strides in every measure of human progress. But in too many places there is no peace – wars which seem to have no end, intractable disorder which, in a connected world where technology has trumped geography, affects us all.

Therefore strengthening and professionalising capacity for conflict resolution is vital. During the last decade there has been significant movement towards the mainstreaming of conflict resolution and peacebuilding models in international policy.<sup>7</sup> Along with the UN, the World Bank and International NGOs (INGOs), governments are increasingly, though highly unevenly, making decisions to attempt to handle conflicts non-violently through diplomatic prevention, peacemaking and peacebuilding – sustaining peace - with the aim of contributing to a safer and more secure world.

3 Erik Melander, Therése Pettersson and Lota Themnér, 'Organized violence, 1989-2015', *Journal of Peace Research* 53 (5), 2016, 727.

4 *Ibid.*, 736-738.

5 United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), *Statistical Yearbook: Global Trends 2015*, 2016. [www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html](http://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html). Accessed 24 September 2016.

6 Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), *SIPRI Yearbook 2016: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security*, 2016, [www.sipriyearbook.org](http://www.sipriyearbook.org) (accessed 24 September 16), 1.

7 Oliver Ramsbotham, Tom Woodhouse and Hugh Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The prevention, management and transformation of deadly conflicts*, Third Edition, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011.

On 28 September 2015 Australia joined with every other member state in the UN General Assembly in adopting the Sustainable Development Goals. In Number 16 of these goals all UN members accepted responsibility for promoting 'peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development' and for providing 'access to justice for all...'. The first of the targets under this goal is to 'Significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere'. So Australia shares in the global commitment to seeking and implementing more effective means of peaceful conflict resolution.

This commitment reiterates the principal purpose of the United Nations, stated in Article 1 of the UN Charter:

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

The Charter makes clear that the purpose of peace processes is 'to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind' (UN Charter Preamble, first sentence). The Preamble continues 'for this end to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest ...'.

The Charter gives primary responsibility to the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security. However, in Article 33 it requires the parties to any dispute to seek a solution through 'negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice'. So all UN member states have responsibility for developing the capacity for seeking conflict resolution through peaceful means and of implementing those mechanisms whenever addressing a conflict. The Charter does not suggest that such mechanisms will always be effective but it does require that all members attempt to use them. Security Council Resolution 2171 adopted on 21 August 2014 provides a comprehensive and more detailed account of the wide range of peace processes which are available.

This principal requirement of UN membership has been very unevenly applied. The purpose of this paper is to report on ways in which a selection of states are responding (or neglecting to respond) to this challenge. It seeks to provide insights and evidence for cost-effective means about how state capacity for conflict resolution and support to peace processes can be enhanced. This is invaluable to Australia too, as the commitment required of UN member states has only been episodically implemented.<sup>8</sup> Recently, for example, the *2016 Defence White Paper* acknowledged that 'Australia's security and prosperity relies on a stable, rules-based global order which supports the peaceful resolution of disputes'<sup>9</sup>, but other than mentioning the value of trade, had nothing to say about how to contribute to peaceful conflict resolution. Even commitment to peacekeeping was only cursorily mentioned.<sup>10</sup>

In 2014 and 2015 three reviews of peace processes were inaugurated within the UN system. *The High-level Panel on Peace Operations* (HIPPO) was established by the Secretary-General (SG) on 31 October 2014; chaired by Jose Ramos-Horta, with 16 other members participating, and reported on 16 June 2015. *The Review of the UN Peace-Building Architecture* was established by the General Assembly and the Security Council, composed of an Advisory Group of seven Experts (AGE) who presented their report on 29 June 2015. Australia and Angola were given the responsibility of considering the experts' recommendations and preparing and negotiating a resolution for the GA and SC. The Review of the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 was initiated by

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8 Aran Martin, Nathan Shea and John Langmore, 'International mediation and Australian Foreign Policy: building institutional capacity to respond to overseas conflict', *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 71 (1), 2017, 88-104; Gareth Evans, 'Australia's role as peacemaker: Cambodia first and last?', Address to the Research Workshop, *Australia as a Peacemaker? Conflict Resolution in Australian Foreign Policy*, School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Melbourne, 8 April 2016, <http://www.gevans.org/speeches/Speech599.html>, accessed 26 September 2016.

9 Australian Government, Department of Defence. 2016 Defence White Paper. Australian Government, Canberra, 44.

10 *Ibid.*, 76-77.

the Security Council, and a high-level advisory group of 17 members led by Radhika Commaraswamy was appointed. They presented a report entitled *Global Study: Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace* which was launched on 14 October 2015. These reviews were motivated by recognition of the changing nature of conflict and the necessity of reviewing and strengthening both UN and national tools for its management.

The Norwegian Institute of International Affairs has published an excellent synthesis of these three reports. They concisely summarise the key recommendations and common themes:

The common themes are: the changing nature of conflict; the importance of the women, peace and security agenda for the UN's work; the primacy of prevention and the need for a long term focus; the necessity to shift towards people-centred, inclusive processes; the primacy of politics; the need for field focus and context awareness; the privileging of the military response to violent conflict is counter-productive; partnership with other actors is important; leadership and professionalism of the UN is needed; and a call for stronger UN system coherence.<sup>11</sup>

President Obama's comments to the Peacekeeping Summit which he led in Washington in September 2015 were explicitly relevant 'We need to increase our support of the full range of U. N. diplomatic tools – including mediation, envoys, and special political missions – which help us to prevent conflicts in the first place.' This comment was directly echoed by the Leaders' Declaration adopted at the Summit: 'We affirm the primary importance of efforts to mitigate and prevent conflict, including through the use of UN mediation, good offices and special political missions.'

The purpose of this report is to describe how various countries are addressing these themes and challenges. This study was proposed as an international literature review of approaches to state support for peace processes. Seven countries have been studied. In alphabetical order they are Canada, Malaysia, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States. The most detailed attention has been given to Canada, Norway and the UK because they focus substantial attention onto peace-processes. The others have been included because they are each of significance to Australia and because they illustrate different approaches, or in the case of Malaysia, are actively involved in a conflict in the region. The emphasis is on the institutional arrangements, methodologies and professional capacities in the departments involved in the various countries. The paper focuses on approaches to conflict resolution but not on peacekeeping, important though that can be in providing opportunities for facilitating peace-processes (see for example the chapter by Geoff Harris in this report) and as a contributor to reducing especially the violent aspects of conflict. Several of the chapters do however refer to peacekeeping, given its importance as a tool of conflict management. However, contemporary peacekeeping policy is a distinct topic, and is the subject of a comprehensive official study by Australia in the form of the Official History of Peacekeeping series and associated publications.<sup>12</sup>

Through the research team's networks, the authoring of case studies has been extended through the support of locally led researchers from New Zealand, South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States. Each of these invited case study authors have prepared insightful and succinct surveys of approaches to peace process support used by their countries. This has strengthened the range and depth of the research. Though given the same suggested framework, each of the contributors have focussed attention on features of their subject-country which reflect its orientation, policies and activities relating to conflict resolution. Both the invited contributions and those by the research team have their own unique structure, emphases, conclusions and recommendations. For example, the first chapter on Canada starts by reporting on the transformation which has occurred in Canadian foreign policy since the election of the Trudeau Liberal Government in 2015, and then goes on to reflect on the policies of earlier governments relating to peace-processes. In contrast, the chapter on Norway begins with an overview of the Norwegian model of institutional support to peace processes.

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11 Eli Stamnes and Karl M. Osland, *Synthesis Report: Reviewing UN Peace Operations, the UN Peacebuilding Architecture and the Implementation of UNSCR 1325*, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, (NUPI, Report No. 2) Oslo, 2016, 4.

12 Australian War Memorial, 'Official history of peacekeeping, humanitarian and post-Cold War operations', <https://www.awm.gov.au/histories/peacekeeping/>, accessed 25 Oct 2016.

To aid the reader, each country case study begins with a brief synopsis written by the research team.

The aim has been to produce a succinct report, but inevitably the national studies have had to cover many issues. Nevertheless, a focus has been maintained on the most relevant points for policy makers who are considering the potential role of their own state system in support of peace processes and in building international peaceful conflict resolution capacity. Each country study attempts to describe the existing structures which are in place to: analyse conflict; identify overseas conflicts of concern; analyse, choose between and create policy options in response to conflict; implement peaceful conflict resolution strategies when selected; coordinate these strategies within and between governments; evaluate the effectiveness of those implemented strategies as a guide for future policy evaluation; and to identify the strengths and weaknesses of these institutions and approaches. The conclusions focus on possible lessons or recommendations which can be suggested for Australia and DFAT in considering how best to respond to conflicts and to support peace processes.

It is important to note that the longstanding, authoritative Uppsala Conflict Data Program began in 2016 to classify trends of organised violence into three categories: state-based armed conflict, non-state conflict and one-sided conflict.<sup>13</sup> This broadens the scope of their analysis and provides a more complete and nuanced picture, which in fact fits with the picture of organised violence presented in mainstream media and about which diplomats are likely to be concerned. Each of these categories has the same intensity cut-off of 25 fatalities in a year. State-based armed conflict includes all cases where at least one of the parties is the government of a state, that is, both international wars and intra-national civil wars. Non-state conflicts include violent disputes between rebel groups and militias, and between ethnic and religious groups. One-sided violence involves targeted killing of unarmed civilians by states and other organised groups, such as terrorists. The inclusion of such a wide range of situations multiplies the complexity of identifying means of addressing them. This paper focuses on the first two of these categories.

The importance of seeking security and peace is clear. Security is a fundamental human need and includes far more than protection from the threat of invasion, such as access to employment, housing, food, health and education services and environmental protection. Human development requires inclusive, secure communities of equitable recognition, respect and support: it takes a village to raise flourishing children as former US Secretary of State Hilary Clinton has written. Aiming to strengthen security is a foundational vision for the process of development. Individuals can't truly prosper unless *collective* wellbeing is assured. Similarly Australia cannot be secure unless the countries in our region also feel secure. So, it is essential for Australian security that we seek ways of contributing to the peace and justice of the regional and global systems. Australia's national interest requires that we seek systemic change which increases the capacity of countries to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Their security, as ours, depends on strengthening capacity for conflict resolution between and within them.

Consensus has emerged that effectively managing and preventing violent conflict is an integral component of reducing poverty and achieving sustainable development, as noted in various reports such as the Institute for Economics and Peace 2016 Positive Peace Report<sup>14</sup> and the World Bank's 2011 World Development Report.<sup>15</sup> It has also been shown that to take action to resolve or prevent conflict at an early stage is far more cost effective than attempts to resolve, restore or repair once conflict has erupted. To maximise the long-term effectiveness of Australia's foreign policies there would be great value in strengthening DFAT's conflict resolution and prevention capabilities. This paper reports on how seven other countries attempt that task and concludes with some potential lessons from their experience.

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13 Erik Melander, Therése Pettersson and Lota Themnér, 'Organized violence, 1989-2015', *Journal of Peace Research* 53 (5), 2016, 727, 728.

14 Institute for Economics and Peace, *Positive Peace Report 2016: A Compilation of the Leading Research on Positive Peace and Resilience*, 2016, [www.economicsandpeace.org](http://www.economicsandpeace.org), accessed 7 Feb 2016.

15 World Bank, *Conflict, Security and Development: World Development Report 2011*, Washington, 2011.

# CANADA

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## Synopsis

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Canada has traditionally led and developed the role of state support to peace processes in its foreign policy, especially in promoting multilateralism and in peacekeeping operations. Whilst this leadership declined under the Harper-led Conservative Government, it has made a prominent return to place under the current Liberal Government. In 2013 its Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (now called Global Affairs) commissioned a comprehensive review of its engagement in international peacemaking which has laid a foundation for Canadian foreign policy to give central importance to the role of conflict resolution efforts (prevention through to peacebuilding). In many ways these reflect a return to some historical patterns in Canadian foreign policy as well as new and innovative policies to elevate the role of Canada as a 'determined peacebuilder'. It is reflected in the recent establishment of the Peace and Stabilization Operations Program that includes peace, security and stability as its central core, and a dedicated Peace and Security Fund to resource it.

Canada's experience provides several lessons when reflecting on how Australia may develop its capacities in supporting peace efforts. The current government in Canada has shown leadership in directing defence, development, trade and diplomacy to strengthen coherence; as well as accountability in peacemaking portfolios by assigning overall responsibility to a senior government minister as a portfolio responsibility. Canada has also created dedicated peace and conflict focused positions as focal points within the Department. Canada also draws from and builds upon non-state conflict resolution capacity such as specialist academic and INGOs across policy development, analysis and engagement.

# Night and Day: Conflict Resolution in Canadian Foreign Policy

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The similarities between Australia and Canada, as far as states and nations go, have been widely noted especially in relation to size,<sup>16</sup> history,<sup>17</sup> culture, economy<sup>18</sup> and 'quality of life'.<sup>19</sup> Australia and Canada are mixed-market, representative democracies with parallel historical experiences and very similar cultural predispositions deriving from their settler, multicultural and Westminster traditions.<sup>20</sup> With significant shared histories in relations with Europe and Asia and strong ties with the United States: both promote international peace and security as national interests, especially in East Asia where the principal influences on future prosperity are seen to reside.<sup>21</sup> This case study looks to the Canadian experience of state support for international peace processes and what can be useful in the Australian context when strengthening the role of conflict resolution in foreign policy. It provides an overview of Canada's institutional structures and policies that support engagement in conflict resolution, how these have changed over the past couple of decades; and analyses the most significant influences on its role in foreign policy. It begins with a brief political overview given the striking change in the orientation of Canada's foreign policy in the recent past.

## Political overview

It may seem premature to discuss Canada's state support for peacemaking activities under its relatively new Liberal leadership. Yet with the remarkable reorientation back to the centrality of Canadian engagement in international peace efforts being clearly set out as a whole-of-government approach, it is a pertinent case to review. Canadian Defence Minister Harjit S. Sajjan said on the 8 September 2016:

"Conflicts today are more complex than ever before and we're serious about being part of the solution—that's the reason we're bringing our resources and skills to the table. I'm confident that our unique whole-of-government approach will make tangible contributions to peace support operations around the world."<sup>22</sup>

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- 16 Canada is a geographically large country (9,984,670 sq km, population 35,525,000 est. data from UN.org) with significant areas that are uninhabitable.
- 17 A federation of former British colonies, like Australia, Canada follows the British pattern of parliamentary democracy, and the UK monarch is head of state.
- 18 Alongside a dominant service sector, Canada also has vast oil reserves and is a major exporter of energy, food and minerals.
- 19 This has been noted broadly and in various studies such as: Brendon O'Connor and Srdjan Vucetic, 'Another Mars-Venus divide? Why Australia said 'yes' and Canada said 'non' to involvement in the 2003 Iraq War', *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 64 (5), 526-548, 2016; Ellen Huijgh and Caitlin Byrne, 'Opening the Windows on Diplomacy: A comparison of the domestic dimension of public diplomacy in Canada and Australia', *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 7, 2012, 395-420. Canada was ranked 8 and Australia 15 of 163 countries in the Global Peace Index for 2016. The UN's Human Development Index for 2015 has Australia ranked 2<sup>nd</sup> and Canada 9<sup>th</sup>.
- 20 Australian Strategic Policy Institute and Centre for International Governance Initiative, *Facing West, Facing North: Canada and Australia in East Asia. Special Report*. Australian Strategic Policy Institute: ACT, 2014, 2.
- 21 *ibid.*
- 22 Government of Canada website, [www.news.gc.ca/web/article-en.do?nid=1122009](http://www.news.gc.ca/web/article-en.do?nid=1122009), accessed on 10 September 2016.

The recently elected Liberal Party, after dominating Canadian politics since the 1920s, was in decline in the 21st century. The conservative government, led by Stephen Harper was first elected in 2006. Many commentators after the 2011 election,<sup>23</sup> when the Conservatives led by Harper won a minority government, stressed the theme of a major realignment in Canadian politics that saw both old parties of the moderate middle, the Progressive Conservatives and the Liberals, either eliminated or marginalized.<sup>24</sup> Harper's Government directed Canadian foreign policy (CFP), away from the Liberal legacy of value-driven multilateralism in international affairs. In 2015, despite the poor early opinion poll numbers, the Liberals under Justin Trudeau won a majority government. As Alistair Edgar of the Balsillie School of International Affairs described it, the change is like '*night and day*.'<sup>25</sup>

## GLOBAL AFFAIRS CANADA

The current government is emphasising that Canada is "back in the world" as a good international citizen and is articulating through its initiatives within Global Affairs the importance of its main arms of diplomacy, trade and development. The Harper Government had changed the name of the previous Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) to the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development. The Trudeau Government changed the name again to 'Global Affairs' to reflect the transformation of its focus under the new leadership. As with many government departments, especially in transition, it is difficult to assess the extent of organizational structures, personnel and support to such policies through externally available resources. However, based on government publications, news, documentation and interviews the following overview is possible.

Within Global Affairs, the Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force (START) became the Government of Canada's centre of expertise on fragile and conflict affected states. It had four main areas – Global Peace and Security Fund; Crises and Natural Disasters; Peace and Security; and Canadian Expertise. All of what can broadly be defined as conflict resolution activities (conflict prevention, international mediation, peacekeeping operations and peacebuilding) are funded through the Global Peace and Security Fund (GPSF). START managed the GPSF to support programming that responds to the needs of emerging international crises and peace and security challenges in a timely, effective and coherent manner. Examples of START programming activities are available.<sup>26</sup>

The Government of Canada announced on August 26, 2016, the launch of Global Affairs Canada's new Peace and Stabilization Operations Program (PSOPs). Through PSOPs Canada works with allies and partners to help stop violence, provide security and create space for dialogue and conflict resolution.<sup>27</sup> *It builds on the experience and work of its predecessor, the Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force (START).*

PSOPs is described as Canada's "toolkit" for promoting international peace, security and stability. Given the Government's strong commitment to raising support for peace efforts nationally and inter-

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23 The two dominant political parties in Canada have historically been the Liberal Party of Canada and Conservative Party of Canada (or its predecessors). In the 2011 election, the Conservatives won a majority government with 167 seats. In 2015, the Liberals won gaining 148 seats.

24 The Economist, 'An "orange wave" delivers a Conservative majority', May 3, 2011, [http://www.economist.com/blogs/americasview/2011/05/canadas\\_federal\\_election](http://www.economist.com/blogs/americasview/2011/05/canadas_federal_election) accessed 1 September 2016; Andrew Coyne, "Liberal comeback unprecedented in Canadian history", *National Post*, 2011, <http://news.nationalpost.com/full-comment/andrew-coyne-liberal-comeback-unprecedented-in-canadian-history>, accessed July 2016; *Maclean's* "The West is in and Ontario has joined it: How the election led to an unprecedented realignment of Canadian politics", May 6, 2011, <http://www.macleans.ca/general/a-new-power-couple/>, accessed July 2016; Michael D. Behiels, "Stephen Harper's Rise to Power: Will His 'New' Conservative Party Become Canada's 'Natural Governing Party' of the Twenty-First Century?," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 40 (1), March 2010, 118–145.

25 Interview with Associate Professor Alistair D. Edgar, Balsillie School of International Affairs, University of Waterloo. He serves as the Executive Director of the Academic Council on the United Nations System (ACUNS), having returned in August 2010 to the position he held previously in 2003-2008. He also serves as co-director of the Laurier Centre for Military, Strategic and Disarmament Studies (LCMSDS), and Associate Professor of Political Science at Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo, Ontario.

26 Government of Canada, *Peace and Stabilisation Operations Unit*, [http://www.international.gc.ca/START-GTSR/security\\_fund-securite\\_mondiales.aspx?lang=eng](http://www.international.gc.ca/START-GTSR/security_fund-securite_mondiales.aspx?lang=eng), accessed 1 September 2016.

27 Government of Canada, Peace and Stabilisation Operations Unit, [http://international.gc.ca/world-monde/world\\_issues-enjeux-mondiaux/psop.aspx?lang=eng](http://international.gc.ca/world-monde/world_issues-enjeux-mondiaux/psop.aspx?lang=eng), accessed on 1 September 2016.

nationally, this restructuring is aimed at better connecting its efforts relating to peace and security and humanitarian and natural disasters. The official website describes these coordinated efforts:

*It complements life-saving humanitarian assistance by helping to address the factors that created the conflict or violence in the first place. It also helps local governments to address the needs of their own people. PSOPs can lay the groundwork for longer-term development cooperation. By helping to resolve conflicts, PSOPs helps to safeguard the benefits of development. In addition, PSOPs supports the efforts of the newly-established Office of Human Rights, Freedoms and Inclusion (OHRFI). The promotion of human rights, freedoms and inclusion is a core objective of Canada's foreign policy.<sup>28</sup>*

PSOPs complements the work of other security programs delivered by Global Affairs Canada, namely the Counter-Terrorism Capacity Building Program and the Anti-Crime Capacity Building Program. PSOPs coordinates the government's implementation of Canada's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security, and actively promotes the role of women in conflict resolution.<sup>29</sup>

Priorities for programming are determined on the basis of consultations and analysis. Current funding has been marked by the renewal of key peace and security programs and to respond to the ongoing crisis in Iraq and Syria, and its impact on the region. In all, the 2016 budget<sup>30</sup> under the new Liberal Government has only slightly elevated its international development aid commitments from previous ones.<sup>31</sup> The OECD list Canada's 2015 aid spending at 0.3 per cent of GDP<sup>32</sup>, well below the UN target of 0.7 per cent. Budget 2016 proposes to allocate up to \$586.5 million over three years, starting in 2016–17, for the renewal of key peace and security programs, including: \$450 million for the Peace and Stabilization Operations Program. In addition, the Government committed more than \$1.6 billion over three years, starting in 2016–17, to respond to the ongoing crisis in Iraq and Syria, and its impact on the region. This includes more than \$1.2 billion to support development, stabilization, humanitarian and development assistance efforts in the region.<sup>33</sup>

According to SIPRI, defence spending is approximately 1 percent of GDP.<sup>34</sup> It remains below the OECD average of 2.2%; and the NATO benchmark of 2%. The anticipated 2016 budget for Canada is anticipated at \$20.3 billion for defence in 2016, an increase from \$19.4 billion in 2015.<sup>35</sup> This figure may become higher as the new government begins to actualise its commitments to 2017.

## Global Affairs and the UN

The relationship between the UN and Canada has warmed under the new leadership after a sustained cooling under Harper. Canada has had a traditional commitment to the United Nations and to multi-lateralism more generally, through, for example, peacekeeping, a ban on land mines (also known as the Ottawa Treaty), the Responsibility to Protect doctrine, and the International Criminal Court.<sup>36</sup> Canada's traditional role as a peacekeeper is complemented by Canadian support for peacebuilding activities which seek to bridge the gap between immediate post-conflict aid and long-term development assistance. Canada supported the creation in 2005 of the Peacebuilding Commission and helped create the Peacebuilding Support Office, which serves and provides policy guidance to

28 Ibid.

29 PM Trudeau has expressed particular interest in working in areas where sexual violence is used as a weapon of war. For example, in October 2010, Canada launched Building Peace and Security for All: Canada's Action Plan for the Implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security. It has also developed a national action plan in 2016.

30 An overview of the budget can be found in Chapter 6 of *Canada in the World*, <http://www.budget.gc.ca/2016/docs/plan/ch6-en.html>, accessed 7 Feb 2017.

31 Centre for International Policy Studies, March 24 2016, 'Analysis: Postponing Decisions on Canada's Foreign Aid', [www.cips-cepi.ca/2016/03/24/budget-2016-postponing-decisions-on-canadas-foreign-aid/](http://www.cips-cepi.ca/2016/03/24/budget-2016-postponing-decisions-on-canadas-foreign-aid/), Accessed 10 May 2016.

32 OECD, *Net ODA (indicator)*, 2016. doi: 10.1787/33346549-en, accessed 10 May 2016.

33 Huffington Post (22 March 2016), [http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2016/03/22/military-equipment-purchases-postponed-again-vets-emerge-as-big-budget-winners\\_n\\_9525232.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2016/03/22/military-equipment-purchases-postponed-again-vets-emerge-as-big-budget-winners_n_9525232.html), accessed on May 20 2016.

34 SIPRI, *Military expenditure by country as a share of GDP, 2015*, <https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/Milex-GDP-share.pdf>, accessed 1 September 2016.

35 These are NATO figures based on Government of Canada announcements. See: CBC News, 'Canada ranks 23 out of 28 NATO countries on defence spending', 4 July 2016, [www.cbc.ca/news/politics/canada-defence-spending-1.3664272](http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/canada-defence-spending-1.3664272), accessed 30 August 2016.

36 The nature of these and other forms of engagement are detailed further along. Canada was a founding and current member of the Multinational Standby High Readiness Brigade for United Nations Operations (SHIRBRIG), a standing military force able to deploy rapidly when called upon by the Security Council. SHIRBRIG has been deployed four times. It ceased activities and operation in 2009.

the Commission, and the United Nations Peacebuilding Fund.

Global Affairs states that Canada continues to actively support aspects of the UN reform agenda that includes a greater emphasis on conflict prevention, increasing the role of civilians and police, peacebuilding strategies, and rapid deployment. The Prime Minister's recent announcements about increasing support to 'peace operations' including conflict prevention, peacekeeping and civil reconstruction, will also further this aim. In his recent Mandate Letter to the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Dion, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau states that a top priority is to:

*"Reenergize Canadian diplomacy and leadership on key international issues and in multilateral institutions. That would include: working with the Minister of National Defence, to increase Canada's support for UNPOs and its mediation, conflict-prevention, and post-conflict reconstruction efforts; working with the Minister of International Development and La Francophonie, to champion the values of inclusive and accountable governance, peaceful pluralism and respect for diversity, and human rights including the rights of women and refugees; and acceding to the Arms Trade Treaty".<sup>37</sup>*

Re-gaining a seat at the UNSC is also one of the current government's aims. Canada has been selected six times to serve on the UNSC, most recently in 1999–2000. It vied for a spot on the Council in 2010, but for the first time it failed to win a seat.

### Re-commitment to support UN Peace Operations

Canada has long supported and participated in UN-mandated peace operations and has consistently, though unevenly and decreasingly, contributed highly trained and experienced civilian, military, and police personnel to UN-mandated operations. It has traditionally been a leader in peace operations since Lester B. Pearson spearheaded the development of peacekeeping during the 1956 Suez Crisis. Canada has accepted frequent requests to join UN operations around the world, whether in Cyprus, Bosnia, Haiti, or elsewhere. To date, over 125,000 Canadians have served in close to 50 UN missions. Peacekeeping, in its early years, appealed to Canadian policy makers for several reasons: it served the national interest, gained credibility for Canada on the world stage, and was comparatively cheap.<sup>38</sup> Yet it had declined under both past Liberal and Conservative governments. The Trudeau government has set out to renew Canada's commitment to United Nations peace operations:

*"Canada is committed to leading international efforts in peace support operations. That's why we're here today, pledging our support and reaffirming our commitment to the United Nations. We want to ensure the dialogue continues next year, so we have committed to host the next UN Peacekeeping Defence Ministerial in 2017".<sup>39</sup>*

Defence Minister Sajjan recently went on a five-country scouting mission in Africa, providing a hint of possible countries to which Canada may send troops. Trudeau has pointed to a demand for French speakers in conflict contexts including former French or Belgian colonies such as Haiti and the Central African Republic. Based on a range of views - interviewees, media and government officials - Mali is seen as the most plausible place for the new Canadian peacekeepers, as it is already receiving aid and mining investments from the country. Perry,<sup>40</sup> senior analyst at the Canadian Global Affairs Institute, sees the current UN peace operation in Mali as an ideal opportunity to reintroduce Canadian involvement.

At present it is clear that Canadian foreign policy is giving central importance to the role of conflict resolution efforts (prevention through to peacebuilding). The Canadian government is quickly evolving its priorities for such efforts and increasing its capacities to engage in these. In many ways these reflect a return to some historical patterns in Canadian foreign policy as well as new and

37 Justin Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, *Minister of Foreign Affairs Mandate Letter, 2015*, <http://pm.gc.ca/eng/minister-foreign-affairs-mandate-letter#sthash.QqvkgbF1.dpuf>, accessed 10 September 2016.

38 Michael K. Carroll, "Peacekeeping: Canada's Past, but not its Present and Future?", *International Journal*. doi: 10.1177/0020702015619857, 2015, 7.

39 Government of Canada website, [www.news.gc.ca/web/article-en.do?nid=1122009](http://www.news.gc.ca/web/article-en.do?nid=1122009), accessed 10 September 2016.

40 David Perry, "A Return to Realism: Canadian Defence Policy after the Great Recession", *Defence Studies* 13 (3), 2013, 338-360.

innovative policies to elevate the role of Canada as a 'determined peacebuilder'.<sup>41</sup> Canada will be a pertinent country to follow when reflecting on how Australia may develop its capacities in supporting peace efforts.

The next section looks at what emerge as significant influences on changing levels of state support to peace processes in Canadian foreign policy (CFP).

## SIGNIFICANT INFLUENCES ON THE ROLE OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN CFP



As a whole, since WWII, Canadians have identified, and still identify strongly, with the premises of liberal internationalism and its associated doctrines of functionalism, middle-powermanship, and multilateralism.<sup>42</sup> The centrality of promoting peace through multilateralism and the advancement of Canada's own interests and values<sup>43</sup> in a changed and complex international setting is an ongoing point of debate and analysis in Canadian foreign policy.

### The legacy of Lester Pearson

Historically, one of the most significant influences on the role of promoting peace through multilateralism in Canadian foreign policy was former Liberal Prime Minister Lester Pearson. For many historians and analysts, Pearson is credited with having first taken Canada onto the world stage as an independent actor in a sustained way in the 1950s and 1960s – a time of critical realignment in international relations.<sup>44</sup>

Lester Pearson saw the UN as a vehicle to promote multilateralism, new ideas and practices, most famously peacekeeping. Pearson was Canada's Prime Minister from 1963–1968, and served as president of the UN General Assembly in 1952. In 1956, he proposed and helped develop a UN peacekeeping force to find a diplomatic solution to the Suez Crisis in Egypt, following which he received the 1957 Nobel Peace Prize for the success of his contribution to the creation of the United Nations Emergency Force and for developing the concept of peacekeeping. As such, Canadians have long felt a degree of ownership of the peacekeeping process and a willingness to support missions that has continued over several decades in the general population's support, despite declining contributions. Alistair Edgar says that:

We like to tell ourselves that classic UN peacekeeping was a Canadian invention. Lester Pearson 1956 through to the early 1990s.... with the 60s being what we all refer to as the golden age of Pearsonian internationalism. That is also a little bit of a myth we like to tell ourselves because there are at least what we'd call, and for that they're worth mentioning, critical or revisionist historians who will point out to ourselves that even Pearson and '56 and Suez was not about some sense of altruism for the world in general. It was a very realist way of avoiding a conflict between the former British colonial power and the new rising American power... Nonetheless, with that as something that has informed us we would have said in those days, that Canada never refused a request from the UN peacekeeping and that Canada had suffered the most casualties of peacekeepers.<sup>45</sup>

41 Government of Canada, Peace and Stabilization Operations Program, [http://international.gc.ca/world-monde/world\\_issues-enjeux-mondiaux/psop.aspx?lang=eng](http://international.gc.ca/world-monde/world_issues-enjeux-mondiaux/psop.aspx?lang=eng), accessed 1 September 2016.

42 Jean-Francois Rioux and Robin Hay, *Canadian Foreign Policy: From Internationalism to Isolationism?*, Discussion Paper No. 16, The Norman Paterson School of International Affairs Carleton University: Ottawa, Ontario, 1997, 25.

43 See for example: Nelson Michaud, "Values and Canadian Foreign Policy: Inspiration or Hindrance?" In *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates and New Ideas*, edited by Duane Bratt and Christopher J. Kukuca (Second Edition), Oxford University Press: Ontario, 2007, 341-56.

44 Duane Bratt and Christopher J. Kukuca (Eds.), *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic debates and new ideas*. (First edition). Oxford University Press: Ontario, 2001, 8.

45 Interview with Alistair Edgar.

For some, this legacy is as much a myth as an enduring feature of Canadian contributions to international norms and practices, especially the “golden age” of diplomacy in Canada, lasting from roughly 1943 – 1963 when great Canadian diplomats, headed by Pearson, seemed to accomplish so much for Canada on the global stage through reason and negotiation rather than through violence. Others argue that this is a misreading because they did it under the American nuclear umbrella, at a time of large Canadian military expenditures.<sup>46</sup> Some argue, however, that Canada has always been reluctant to maintain a sufficient and well trained military, but they are not unwilling to engage in war. Pearson, for instance, was Canada’s external affairs minister during the Korean War.

### The legacy of Lloyd Axworthy

Canadian efforts as a “middle-power” in the 1990s in supporting Human Security, landmines, rights of children and women in conflict zones, are also recognised as having significantly helped in building international norms for peace.<sup>47</sup> These are largely associated with the leadership of Lloyd Axworthy who became Canada’s Foreign Minister in January 1996 under Chrétien’s Liberal leadership, in the post-Cold War years when foreign policy was being fundamentally reassessed everywhere. Axworthy pushed for Canada to reframe its approach and take leadership around a human security agenda guided not by national interest but by the imperative to protect people.<sup>48</sup> He presided over Canada’s April 2000 presidency of the SC, with its focus on human security. Under the new doctrine Axworthy was a driving force behind the Ottawa Treaty banning anti-personnel land mines, and later an outspoken advocate of the UN’s adoption of the “responsibility to protect” principle. His appointment coincided with the early implementation of the Dayton Accord in Bosnia, the culmination of the Guatemala Peace Process, and the effect of the multi-donor evaluation of the Rwandan Genocide (CIDA and DFAIT).<sup>49</sup>

Much significance has been placed on the Ottawa Convention as Canada’s first true agenda on global politics, for signing the landmine treaty took the tradition of Canadian multilateralism further towards promoting peace and security by joining up state and non-state actors.<sup>50</sup> The landmines campaign was a major success in terms of establishing an important new humanitarian norm. It was also an early example of governments sublimating their state/military concerns to those of human security. That is to say, that while military/strategic arguments were still relevant they were not always decisive.<sup>51</sup> Axworthy is recognized for creating an important connection and governmental mechanism for government and civil society to work together on peacebuilding efforts.<sup>52</sup> He launched a Canadian Peacebuilding Initiative in October 1996, followed two years later by the creation of a Peacebuilding Fund within the Canadian International Development Agency; and a national roster of human rights and democracy experts and a process of annual peacebuilding consultations with the Canadian NGO community for joint stocktaking and priority setting. Since then, levels of civic-engagement in the foreign policy-making processes have had ups and downs (based on a range of factors including party ideology; the level the government sees public engagement as politically useful; organisational capabilities of NGOs and eagerness for public intervention in particular debates).<sup>53</sup>

Axworthy was also an early advocate of the political possibilities of peacebuilding as a cause which could tap into Canadians’ wellsprings of internationalism and idealism and which could serve as a civilian counterpart to peacekeeping.<sup>54</sup> It also fits the type of “niche” or “selective diplomacy” which characterised his initial thinking about how and where “Canada could make a difference” in global affairs. Alastair Edgar commented that:

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46 David Bercuson, ‘Remind us, why are we pulling out of the IS mission?’ *The Globe and Mail*, Tuesday 9 Feb 2016.

47 Peter Howards & Reina Neufeldt, ‘Canada’s constructivist foreign policy: Building norms for peace’, *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 8 (1), 2000, 11-38. DOI:10.1080/11926422.2000.9673233.

48 Bratt and Kukucha, *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy*.

49 As these were known at the time.

50 M. Gwozdecky and J. Sinclair, ‘Case Study: Landmines and Human Security’, In *Human Security and The New Diplomacy*, McGill Queens University Press, 2001.

51 *Ibid.*, 39.

52 David Carment and Joe Landry, ‘Civil Society and Canadian Foreign Policy’, in *Reading in Canadian Foreign Policy* (Third Edition), Oxford University Press: Ontario, 2015, 277 – 289.

53 *Ibid.*

54 See: Lloyd Axworthy, *Navigating a New World: Canada’s Future*, Toronto: Vintage, 2003; Lloyd Axworthy, Speech given at York University, *Building Peace to Last: Establishing a Canadian Peacebuilding Initiative*. Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 30 October 1996.

*Axworthy's style was 'be engaged, listen: he makes the decisions but he was open.' Again, for the next decade that totally closed down.... The new government came out to academia, including us at the Balsillie school, and said look we're doing this strategic planning exercise- here are 20 or 30 themes or topics we're looking at. Would you be interested at the Balsillie School in partnering with us – getting your graduate students, your staff to look at these, to do some research to write policy briefing papers for us that we will read... Still waiting to see what emerges... but there is trust in the government and its direction.<sup>55</sup>*

Whilst the institutional mechanisms as they were established by Axworthy for this process may no longer exist, (and were not part of the Harper government<sup>56</sup>) the new leadership has already re-instated the intention and importance of engaging in a range of consultations with academics and civil society for discussing, influencing and reviewing foreign policy themes and issues.

### **The legacy of Stephen Harper**

At the end of the Cold War there was a marked Government retreat from Pearsonian internationalism. Successive Conservative and Liberal governments in Ottawa became preoccupied with reducing the nation's budget deficit and, at the same time, were involved in constitutional questions surrounding the status of Quebec within, or separated from, Canada. Foreign and defence policy were characterized by consecutive annual cuts to defence and the closing of international policy think-tanks, such as the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security (CIIPS).<sup>57</sup> Money for non-governmental foreign policy research was also cut back or withdrawn, diminishing the non-governmental community's capabilities to provide critical research and policy analysis. Rioux and Hay argue that Canada's military became neither adequately equipped nor funded to support the kind of commitment to an internationalist defence architecture that took account of modern-day threats to security.<sup>58</sup> In all, Canada's international security policy had experienced an incremental hollowing out in its capabilities base, with declines in both the military and foreign aid.<sup>59</sup> Under the Chrétien Liberal government, two incidents that Canada was closely involved in – the Bosnian war and Rwanda – where Canadian Lieutenant General Roméo Dallaire was the leader, left at least the Department of Defence in Canada disillusioned with UN leadership in peacekeeping. So while the shift away from multilateralism in CFD was most marked under Harper, it had begun earlier.

The period Harper led saw Canada's international reputation and its international responsibilities significantly diminish. In 2013, PM Harper subsumed the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) into foreign affairs and saw dedicated funds for military expenditure postponed or stretched out.<sup>60</sup> The government tended to down play the UN and its influence around the world by often skipping General Assembly meetings as well as other important gatherings, such as climate change conferences; removing Canada from important UN missions, especially peacekeeping operations and failing in 2010 to win a seat on the UNSC. These decisions and their results were attributed to combined ideological (away from liberal internationalism) and economic motivations (focused on domestic issues with initiatives such as the Universal Child Care Benefit).

### **Domestic factors**

It is also the case that the contradiction between Canada's image of good international citizenship and its relationship – through its legacy as a settler state – to Indigenous peoples, is also an issue

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55 Interview with Alistair Edgar.

56 Civil Society Organisations have been influential in monitoring Canada's large multinational mining and extractive companies.

57 Rioux and Hay, *Canadian Foreign Policy: From Internationalism to Isolationism?*, 25.

58 Ibid., 35.

59 Douglas Alan Ross, 'Canadian International Security Policy in the 21st Century: Closing the book on the Sutherland era? Not at all', 326-346, in: *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic debates and new ideas*. (Third edition). Edited by Duane Bratt & Christopher J. Kukuca. Oxford University Press: Ontario, 2015.

60 CBC News, 'Federal budget folds CIDA into Foreign Affairs', 21 March 2013, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/federal-budget-folds-cida-into-foreign-affairs-1.1412948>, accessed 14 September 2016.

for Canadian foreign policy.<sup>61</sup> Canada's Indigenous peoples (First nations, Métis and Inuit) make up around 4% of the population.<sup>62</sup>

Canada has long experienced an internationalisation of indigenous affairs, using supranational fora and global governance structures to draw international attention and scrutiny to the state's treatment of its indigenous populations.<sup>63</sup> Indigenous diplomacy to UN and other international bodies has been an opportunity for first nations' leaders to raise human rights issues. This experience is reflected in the inclusion of international indigenous affairs in CFP and an 'indigenous desk' within Global Affairs. PM Trudeau has said he will direct billions in new spending toward aboriginal programming, including funding to address issues including education, reserve water, and child and family services. Continuing to address past treatment of Canada's first nations was not at the fore of the recent electoral campaign, though it coincided with the release of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for Residential Schools programmes.<sup>64</sup>

Both English and French are official languages, and mainly French-speaking Québec - where pressure for full sovereignty has abated in recent years - has wide-ranging cultural autonomy. Since Canada's creation as a federation in 1867, it has undergone periods of centralizing federal policies as well as periods of greater provincial autonomy and varying levels of disputes within Canada when central government policies affect provincial jurisdictions. At various times, Québec in particular has sought withdrawal from the federation, although the Aboriginal peoples and the other provinces in turn have demanded the reform of certain aspects of Canadian federalism. It has been said that Canada sees much value in its experience and model of federalism, especially as it looks forward to what role it may play in supporting, advising or mediating in international conflicts.

### Managing Canada-US relations

Canada's geography, security, economy and culture are all inexorably intertwined with the United States.<sup>65</sup> Yet Canada has sought to distinguish a unique international voice that reflects Canadian priorities and concerns. For instance, Canada under Chrétien, did not choose to support involvement in the US war in Iraq in 2003. Public opinion influenced the decision, with a low level of support for the war in Quebec in particular, along with a looming general election and a lack of willingness to use force in foreign policy.<sup>66</sup> The Liberal Party legacy of not deploying troops to support the US has been said to originate in Liberal Prime Minister Pearson's decision not to send Canadian troops to Vietnam.<sup>67</sup> Conversely, Harper led increased military contributions to US-interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq, along with the diminishment of peacekeeping contributions that had already occurred under Conservative government leadership.<sup>68</sup>

Canada has seen multilateralism as a way to contribute to international peace and security as well as improve its national security that is intrinsically connected to the US. Canada seeks to influence American behavior internationally, especially since 9/11, when the Bush approach to national security was through pursuing claimed threats from abroad. Sloan<sup>69</sup> argues that America's approach to the world directly impacts the security of Canadians; therefore, Canada needs to diplomatically engage America in order to urge it along a multilateral path and to encourage it to exercise its unipolar power through multilateral, rather than unilateral, means. Professor Peter Jones, former Canadian official and academic said in an interview that:

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61 Cooper and Lackenauer, in *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates and New Ideas*, edited by Duane Bratt and Christopher J. Kukucha (Second Edition), 2011, 189.

62 Government of Canada, *Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada*, [www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100013785/1304467449155](http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100013785/1304467449155), accessed 14 September 2016.

63 Andrew F. Cooper and P. Whitney Lackenbauer, 'The Achilles' Heel of Canadian Good International Citizenship: Indigenous Diplomacies and State Response', in *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates and New Ideas* edited by Duane Bratt and Christopher J. Kukucha (Second Edition), 2011, 175-192.

64 Joshua Ostroff, 'Paul Martin's Model School Project Sent Indigenous Reading Rates Skyrocketing', *Huffington Post*, 9 September 2016, [http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2016/09/09/aboriginal-education-paul-martin\\_n\\_11727044.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2016/09/09/aboriginal-education-paul-martin_n_11727044.html), accessed 10 September 2016

65 Duane Bratt and Christopher J. Kukucha, 'External Factors in Canadian Foreign Policy' in: *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy*. (Third edition). Edited by Duane Bratt & Christopher J. Kukucha. Oxford University Press: Ontario, 2015, 141.

66 O'Connor and Vucetic, 'Another Mars-Venus divide?'

67 *ibid.*

68 *ibid.*

69 Elinor C. Sloan, *Security and Defence in the Terrorist Era: Canada and North America*, Montreal, QC, CAN: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005.

*[Canada is] different to Australia because we don't have the same backyards, and the US is there next to us and so there is a desire to project a different face to the world and not be completely dominated by them [US]. ... Unless it's required we're usually quite reluctant to engage with the US strictly bilaterally except on purely bilateral matters. We prefer to do so within a framework of multilateralism...In a multilateral setting, if you're good at it, you have the ability to bring others, such as the Germans and the French along and create a group of people the US has to listen to. We are appreciative of our privileged position with the US but we also want to play multilaterally as well, as a way of not being completely dominated.*

## CANADIAN ENGAGEMENT IN CONFLICTS AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

In this section, Canada's longstanding military-led engagement in Afghanistan is discussed. A survey of Canada's experience in international mediation and conflict resolution activities is provided and particular attention is given to Canada's longstanding engagement in UN peacekeeping missions, as these play significant roles in Canadian foreign policy.

### Canada's military engagement in Afghanistan

Canada's experiences in Afghanistan are well documented and analysed and provide an important case to reveal shifts in CFP. Canada committed to a brief combat mission in Afghanistan in 2002 that was followed by participation in a 2003-2004 stabilization intervention. This involvement was followed in turn by provincial reconstruction and in 2006 by a deadly low-intensity conflict that cost Canada 162 lives.<sup>70</sup> Essentially the 2006-2011 engagement was primarily in a combat and counter-insurgency mission in Kandahar. In 2011, Canada's role transitioned from fighting in Southern Afghanistan, primarily Kandahar, to providing advice and assistance with NATO Training Mission – Afghan, with Canada troops located in Kabul. That advisory mission ended in March 2014, and Canadian troops have since departed Afghanistan.<sup>71</sup> According to Coombs, Canada's policy placed its political interests with the US above military concerns regarding the deployments.<sup>72</sup>

Canada's engagement in Afghanistan meant changing use of defence forces from UN peacekeeping to US military-led interventions. The skills and experiences for peacekeeping are significantly different to those gained and developed in Afghanistan. The implications were felt on peacekeeping for which institutional support and training declined and on Canada's UN and international profile. The longer-term impacts include that lessons learned have shifted away from direct military engagement toward whole of government (WoG) approaches integrating defence, diplomatic and development efforts.

Canadian efforts to build coordinated interdepartmental activities in Afghanistan evolved in conjunction with the growth of the NATO mission and the end of the combat mission in 2011.<sup>73</sup> As Canada became enmeshed in the evolving counterinsurgency in Afghanistan, its military campaign became integrated to a large degree with civilian efforts.<sup>74</sup> The WoG policy framework that has guided Canadian engagement came out of recommendations of a report which critically examined the Afghan mission and recommended a focus on Afghan capacity building: "We believe that Canada's role in Afghanistan should give greater emphasis to diplomacy, reconstruction and governance and that the military mission should shift increasingly to the training of the Afghan National Security

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70 Howard G. Coombs, 'Canada: The Evolution of a New Canadian Way to War'. In *Coalition Challenges in Afghanistan: The Politics of Alliance*, Edited by G. Mattox & S. Grenier, Stanford University Press, 2015, 65.

71 *ibid.*

72 *ibid.*

73 *ibid.*, 77.

74 *ibid.*, 67.

Forces".<sup>75</sup> With the appointment of General Rick Hillier as the Canadian Chief of Defense Staff in 2005, this shift in how Canada conducted itself in conflict was reinforced. Hillier noted in 2006 that "rebuilding failed states was not a security, governance or economic problem; it was all three, and had to be approached with that in mind".<sup>76</sup> The Canadian mission in Afghanistan came to focus on building Afghan capacity through supporting the implementation of priority Afghan –determined projects throughout Kandahar province.<sup>77</sup> Alistair Edgar commented:

*We had that (WoG) officially for Afghanistan under Harper, but in truth it's "follow the money". Depending on how you count it, we spent 18-20 billion dollars in Afghanistan and about 20, closer to 30, if you think about veteran benefits and other fallout costs, we spent 2 billion dollars on everything else and 18 or more on defence, and the lead everywhere was defence.... The narrative was 'you need security first'. My argument for a decade was "sure if you need to spend 18 billion then spend 18 billion but you'd better be spending another 20 billion on development and diplomacy." ....*

*"You can win every battle but still lose the war, but what about if you can win every battle and win the war but still lose the peace? Then everything else was pointless, because you still end up at your starting point or worse and that's where we were in Afghanistan... I think we are now trying to figure out, are the diplomats back in the lead in this policy, are we a civilian-oriented government rather than a military one?... Let's see if they can come back to it in a more balanced way."<sup>78</sup>*

Canada has also been involved in direct combat against Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. Trudeau says Canada will cease all coalition airstrikes (the CF-18 bombing campaign) against the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (though continuing to refuel and provide surveillance support to coalition forces), by refocusing on the training in capacity of local forces and humanitarian support, "as airstrike operations do not on their own achieve long-term stability for local communities". He said "Canadians learned this lesson first-hand during a very difficult decade in Afghanistan".<sup>79</sup>

Canada continues to evolve its whole of government approaches. It is clearly mandated by current leadership in directing the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Defence, International Development and La Francophile and Trade to work together on various issues: recently, for example, to implement a new policy to address the ongoing crises in Iraq and Syria and the impact they are having on the surrounding region.

## Peacekeeping experience

Peacekeeping is a central theme in Canadian foreign policy. For decades Canada was recognized internationally as a leader in UN peacekeeping.<sup>80</sup> It provided the largest number of troops during the Cold War and in the early 1990s it still held the number one spot (e.g., with some 3,300 troops at its peak in July 1993), operating in diverse locations such as Bosnia, Cambodia and Somalia. While the number of personnel deployed in the field by the UN is now at an all-time high (around 120,000 uniformed personnel), the Canadian Forces' contribution is at an all-time low of 112 (84 police and 28 military personnel).<sup>81</sup>

Canada's low level of engagement in peacekeeping lessened the need for peacekeeping training in Canada. The lack of training, participation and experience means that renewed commitment and training will be needed if the Canadian Armed Forces are called upon to serve or lead in modern UN

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75 *ibid.*, 68.

76 Rick Hillier, *A Soldier First: Bullets, Bureaucrats and the Politics of War*, Harper Collins ebooks, 2015, 389.

77 Other examples are described by Coombs, 'Canada: The Evolution of a New Canadian Way to War', 71-72.

78 Interview with Alistair Edgar.

79 Susan Mas, CBC News Posted: 8 Feb 2016, 'ISIS airstrikes by Canada to end by Feb22, training forces to triple'. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/justin-trudeau-canada-isis-fight-announcement-1.3438279>, accessed 1 May 2016.

80 Walter Dorn and Joshua Libben, *Unprepared for Peace? A Decline of Canadian Peacekeeping Training (and What to Do About It)*, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives & Rideau Institute on International Affairs, February 2016.

81 *ibid.*, 32.

operations in the future. A thorough review of contemporary training conducted by the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives in 2016 showed that the CAF provide less than a quarter of the peacekeeping training activities that it did a decade ago.<sup>82</sup> Given that the complexity, scope and requirements of peacekeeping missions have sharply increased, this report urges the reinstatement and updating of training programs and exercises as well as the introduction of new training activities.

The primary training institutes in Canada are the Royal Military College, The Canadian Army Command and Staff College, the Canadian Forces College, the Royal Military College Saint-Jean, the Peace Support Training Centre and previously the now defunct Pearson Peacekeeping Centre. These centres have for the most part seen declines in relevant training courses and activities, and some institutes such as the Peace Support Training Centre in Kingston lost its focus on peace operations, and under the demands of Afghanistan refocused training on NATO-style interventions.<sup>83</sup> Most significantly, the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre (renamed the Pearson Centre), which used to provide cutting-edge peacekeeping education to officers and civilians from Canada and around the world<sup>84</sup>, was shut down in December 2013 following the loss of federal funding.<sup>85</sup> Its closure meant the loss of the only dedicated facility to the joint preparation of military, police and civilians for peacekeeping deployment.

In his mandate letter to the Defense Minister, PM Trudeau included the tasking of *“providing well-trained personnel to international initiatives that can be quickly deployed, such as mission commanders, staff officers, and headquarter units; and leading an international effort to improve and expand the training of military and civilian personnel deployed on peace operations.”*<sup>86</sup>

Modern peacekeeping missions involve fundamentally different dynamics facing personnel on the ground, where there is greater emphasis on negotiation and mediation, and greater restrictions on the use of force.<sup>87</sup> Canada’s commitment to increased engagement in peacekeeping operations and to providing well-trained personnel to international initiatives suggests increased attention to updating its preparation and training.

### Canada’s experience in international peace making processes

A comprehensive review of Canadian diplomatic experiences in international conflict resolution and peace processes was recently undertaken. The review is striking for its similarities to the questions being examined in this review and in the broader examination of Australian experience of conflict resolution in foreign policy.<sup>88</sup>

Peter Jones, professor and former Canadian official, was commissioned by DFAIT in 2013 to “identify and inventory as many cases as possible where Canadian officials (current and former) have been involved in mediation efforts... (in order to)... Help provide baseline data on Canada’s capabilities in mediation, providing a foundational piece as we work toward further development of Canada’s expertise in mediation and peace-building.” Interestingly, this review was initiated during a very constrained period of Harper-led anti-multilateralism, by a small number of DFAIT staff who remained committed to the value of engagement in conflict resolution and international peacemaking as part of Canadian foreign policy and diplomatic work.<sup>89</sup>

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82 Ibid., 6.

83 Ibid., 7.

84 The PPC was a founder of the International Association of Peacekeeping Training Centres (IAPTC), which has grown from 21 organisations to over 260 member organisations in over 40 countries.

85 An interviewee did note that there were internal management issues that had some impact on the “dysfunctionality of the centre”.

86 Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, “Minister of National Defence Mandate Letter”, undated (issued in November 2015), available at: [pm.gc.ca/eng/minister-national-defence-mandate-letter](http://pm.gc.ca/eng/minister-national-defence-mandate-letter).

87 Dorn and Libben, *Unprepared for Peace?*, 31.

88 This review is one part of an ongoing program of work, which included the 2014 Australian Mediation and Peacemaking Roundtable, Australian National University, September 2014 and the recent workshop titled “Australia as Peacemaker? Conflict Resolution in Australian Foreign Policy”, University of Melbourne, 8 April 2016. See University of Melbourne, ‘Australian International Conflict Resolution Project, <http://arts.unimelb.edu.au/ssps/research/projects/aicr-project>, accessed 26 Oct 2016.

89 Peter Jones, ‘Canada and International Conflict Mediation’, *International Negotiation* 18, 2013, 219-244.

In an interview with Peter Jones, he told of how “there were a group of people within foreign affairs who wanted to quietly keep alive this legacy and to understand what we’d done in the past”. The review and subsequent paper was part of an internal and strategic decision to try to begin a conversation, to discuss Canada’s role in international mediation and peacemaking. Jones noted that the Harper government was highly sceptical of Canada’s role in international mediation and peacemaking. There was little or no high level support for this role for Canada or even for sponsoring Track II or Track I projects. The survey was commissioned when Harper had already been in power for 4 or 5 years, when it looked like he was going to be in power for a long time and when there was this desire to record the legacy. It was initiated in the hope that this would be valuable once again in the future: and with the recent change in leadership it has been used as a platform to develop the reformed Global Affairs policies and this has led to organisational change.<sup>90</sup>

Jones’ review found that Canada has taken a largely ad hoc approach to its involvement in the field of international mediation and conflict resolution. Prior to the study DFAIT had not attempted to develop an institutional capacity in this field or to keep track of the personnel involved in such experiences, much less to develop a trained cadre of such individuals. The review involved interviews with 35 of 47 involved officials, in 18 cases of international engagement in conflicts over the previous 20 years. Of these Canada led, or co-led 4 at the official level (2000 OAS Mediation in Peru; 2007 The Afghanistan-Pakistan Cooperation Process or Dubai Process; 2008 Niger peace process; and the 1996 Rwanda-Zaire talks on return of refugees) and one at Track 1.5 level (2000 Israel, Palestine Post-Intifada mediation). Canada made a significant contribution in another seven processes (2004 Abuja Peace Talks; 1995 Burundi Peace Talks; 1999 Colombia-FARC Peace Negotiations; 2004 International Conference on the Great Lakes Region; 2006-2008 Juba Peace talks; 1998 Northern Ireland; 1993 Friends of Nicaragua). There were three mediation processes in which Canada had moderate involvement (Cambodian Peace Tribunal; UN Peace process for Mozambique and the Office of the High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina).

An interesting finding was that most people involved had no special training and their involvement was essentially ad hoc and driven by circumstances. They thought practical mediation training would be helpful, acknowledging the differences between normal diplomacy and mediation. On this point, interviewees believed that diplomacy is about identifying, defending and promoting Canada’s direct interests, whereas mediation requires setting these interests aside as a primary objective in order to serve the needs of the process.<sup>91</sup> As for why Canada had played a role, it was found that there was no over-riding set of interests that had led Canada to be involved in most cases, and no formal assessment had been made as to whether involvement in a case served particular Canadian interests. Many saw the role as being a “helpful fixer” and that Canada’s image as a country with no “baggage” had been an important element in helping to get the protagonists to the table.<sup>92</sup> This was so even in the case of Afghanistan, where they had a significant troop contribution. Where there were specific interests identified as to why Canada took on a particular mediating role, they often had more to do with its desire to be a useful ally to another country, such as US.

Reflecting back on their experiences, Canadian officials involved in mediations felt Canada would be well-positioned to join a select group of countries which make international mediation a small, but important aspect of their foreign policy. There was not a well-developed view of what might be particular Canadian strengths, should it decide to make mediation a more significant part of CFP. This would require modest resources, sustained political will and personnel policies and practices for appropriate institutional capacity.

They also noted that “flexibility” was important to fluid (and often very long) mediation processes: fixed bureaucratic processes could be problematic. They were not sure though what this would look like and felt Scandinavian countries could be studied and regarded as models. Most said that if they had to do it again they would insist on more time to prepare and on getting some practical training in mediation.<sup>93</sup> Their experiences, ideas and lessons had not been sought by DFAIT, leading

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90 *ibid.*

91 *ibid.*, 228.

92 *ibid.*, 226.

93 *ibid.*, 230.

to the suggestion that there should be a systematic debriefing process. The review suggests that DFAIT (now Global Affairs) could study the internal processes through which the Scandinavians make decisions about with which cases to become involved, and whether such processes exist at all.

Beyond support to specific mediations, it was suggested that a functional office within DFAIT be established dedicated to examining issues relating to mediation and potential Canadian involvement in such missions, and developing policy and expertise on the issue.<sup>94</sup> One of these recommendations included the creation of a designated officer in Ottawa to coordinate with and to respond to specific mediation requests; and the suggestion of a roster of people – both inside and outside of DFAIT – to be available for consultation. Jones reports that the position of 'Mediation Support' officer was swiftly created.

*The recommendation about a central point in the institution has been implemented already and it was done quietly even before the change of government. Now there's more. The Liberal Party made mediation part of its platform. The Mandate Letter to the Minister is open, it talks about increasing mediation capacity in the context of the UN. There is a study occurring right now, I have a little to do with it, some saying we should be trying to mediate on issues where we have specific expertise such as federalism. Others saying let's do as the Scandinavian's do and build general mediation capacity across all levels within and outside government – based on some of the studies done earlier. I've been to focus groups, they're bringing in a range of civil society groups and women's groups depending on the issue; also more confidential works for the department, detailing how the department might go about organising itself if it were to do that.<sup>95</sup>*

When asked how Canada should go about developing its capacity as an international conflict mediator, a majority suggested DFAIT should engage with other actors across government and the civil society, academic and business communities in Canada: that is Canadian capacity as a mediator requires the national ability to foster dialogues at different levels. Several suggested an in-depth study of how other countries active in this field go about it.<sup>96</sup>

## CONSIDERATIONS FOR AUSTRALIA



Canada and Australia are countries with similar economies, shared democratic values and complementary strategic perspectives.

### *Enhancing multilateralism to promote peace and security in the Asia region*

An important dimension of the Canadian experience for Australia is its conception of middle-power diplomacy and multilateralism. Canada has largely maintained the value of multilateralism to assert itself in the world as a middle power. It has particularly been important in managing its high interdependence with the US and its own distinct positioning in international affairs.

The value of multilateralism over bilateralism on foreign policy issues has been an effective way to balance the asymmetry. Australia, like Canada, continues to renegotiate and balance its relationship with the US in a complex regional and global world.

### *Increase consultation into issues promoting peace and security*

The Canadian government has increased its interdepartmental coherence and consultation with

94 *ibid.*, 232.

95 Skype interview with Peter Jones.

96 Jones, 'Canada and International Conflict Mediation', 235.

non-government organisations, think tanks and universities on important foreign policy themes. Australia could engage in a consultative process to discuss the role of conflict resolution (prevention, peacemaking, peacebuilding) in Australian foreign policy (including the role, capacity, need, public and international value of this).

Like Canada, Australia has developed and emphasised the importance of whole-of-government approaches to international conflicts and crises. From the Canadian experience, Australia may benefit from elevating the importance of conflict prevention, peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding as an integrated whole-of-government approach.

The current government in Canada has shown leadership in directing defence, development, trade and diplomacy to develop coherence. It is reflected in the recent establishment of the Peace and Stabilization Operations Program that includes peace, security and stability as its central core.

*A commissioned review on Australia's experiences with peace processes over the past 25 years*

The review in the Canadian context has been a dynamic platform to develop its documentation, preparation and support for peace processes.

A comprehensive review into Australia's experience in international mediation and peacemaking activities would provide valuable documentation to DFAT and provide a foundation for developing its capabilities and infrastructure to support peace processes.

The Canadian review provided the platform for the peace and security policy being developed by the government and had specific recommendations that were low-cost and easily implemented, such as the creation of a mediation support role within Global Affairs.

*'Unprepared for peace?' Examination of preparation for engagement in peacekeeping operations*

Similarly, the 2016 'Unprepared for Peace: A decline of Canadian peacekeeping training' report raised important lessons, especially about how prepared its personnel are and the extent to which non-military training exists to prepare and support troops engaged in peacekeeping operations.

*Canada's current government is (re-) establishing mechanisms to support enhanced Track II opportunities to support peace processes. This could be further explored in the Australian context.*

The level of civic-engagement in the foreign policy-making process in Canada has had ups and downs but is currently being elevated through public consultation on foreign policy themes and foreign policy reviews (underway). Canada is increasing its engagement and consultations on important foreign policy themes with civil society actors and universities and think tanks. Re-establishing a mechanism or structure like Axworthy created that is a bridge between Foreign Affairs and civil society would be valuable with a modus operandi of setting up working groups to dialogue with different bodies at Foreign Affairs about different policy themes (e.g. conflict prevention, women and peacebuilding, peace operations, small arms, children and armed conflict, specific country contexts, regional issues). Australia could explore existing and possible structures for enhanced Track II engagement in supporting peace processes.



**MALAYSIA**





## SYNOPSIS

Malaysian peacemaking is intrinsically tied to the country's conceptualisation of its geography and religious identity. As a founding member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Malaysian foreign policy is primarily orientated towards its local region, with deference given to mutual recognition, acceptance, respect and non-interference among association member states. Conversely Malaysia's religious identity as a majority Muslim state and a member of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) commits the government to solidarity with fellow Muslim populations, particularly those perceived to be subject to oppressive circumstances by foreign governments. In recent decades these competing priorities have been brought into conflict by civil violence and intrastate war in the neighbouring regions of Aceh, Indonesia, the Southern Border Provinces of Thailand (Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat), and Mindanao, the Philippines. In addition to these, its sensitive geographical position at the apex of peninsula Southeast Asia, and its bordering of the South China Seas and Malacca Strait positions the country's waters among some of the busiest trade routes in the world.

In response to these circumstances Malaysia adopts peacemaking selectively as a method for guarding its interests and supporting its neighbours in resolving intransigent Muslim-minority conflicts. This is best understood within a discussion of Malaysia's role facilitating the dialogue between the Philippines' government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) as part of the Mindanao Peace Process. Though deliberately eschewing the title of 'mediator', nevertheless Malaysia has hosted and chaired formal meetings between the two parties since 2001, displaying patience and diligence in the face of several setbacks. Malaysia has also proved itself flexible in contributing to conflict monitoring activities, and when working with additional peacemaking mechanisms, foremost among these the multi-party International Contact Group (ICG).

Malaysia's peacemaking experience demonstrates that notions of inherent bias might not automatically discount a third-party from playing a long and proactive mediation role, and might ultimately be beneficial in maintaining the commitment of conflict parties. Further, lessons from the extended architecture of the Mindanao Peace Process illustrate that third parties can play productive roles beyond that of mediation, by lending financial and technical support to various other peacemaking, peace-building and peacekeeping activities.

# Regionalism and Islam: Malaysian Peacemaking Strategy

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## OVERVIEW

Malaysia is a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural state positioned strategically in the heart of Southeast Asia. Its population of 31.7 million people consists of a sizable majority of ethnic Malay (68.6 per cent), and large numbers of Chinese (23.4 per cent) and Indians (7.0 per cent).<sup>97</sup> A middle income country, Malaysia's 2015 nominal GDP of \$US 296 billion is the 34<sup>th</sup> largest in the world, and 3<sup>rd</sup> behind Indonesia and Thailand in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).<sup>98</sup> Malaysia spent \$US 5.3 billion on military expenditure in 2015 (around 1.8 per cent of its GDP).<sup>99</sup> While not immediately significant, modernization efforts meant that arms deliveries increased by some 700 per cent in the five-year period from 2005-09 compared to the previous five years.<sup>100</sup>

While modest on their own, Malaysia marshals these resources to capitalize on its strategic location and advance its position as an independent, middle power state.

## MALAYSIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Malaysia's geographic position in the heart of Southeast Asia has influenced its economic and strategic foreign policy.

Peninsula Malaysia, comprising national capital Kuala Lumpur and administrative capital Putrajaya, is bordered by Thailand in the north, Singapore to the south, and the Indonesian island of Sumatra across the narrow Malacca strait to the West. To the east on the island of Borneo lies East Malaysia,<sup>101</sup> which shares a land border with the Indonesian Kalimantan provinces to its south, Brunei Darussalam in its north, and the Sulu, Tawi Tawi and Palawan regions of the Philippines across the Sulu Sea in its east. An ongoing territorial dispute exists with the Philippines over the easternmost Malaysian state of Sabah.<sup>102</sup> Separating

97 Department of Statistics Malaysia, "Current Population Estimates, Malaysia, 2014 - 2016," 2016, [https://www.statistics.gov.my/index.php?r=column/cthemByCat&cat=155&bul\\_id=OWlxdEVoYlJCS0hUZzJyRUcvZEYxZz09&menu\\_id=L0pheU43NWJwRWVVSZ-klWdzQ4TlhUUT09](https://www.statistics.gov.my/index.php?r=column/cthemByCat&cat=155&bul_id=OWlxdEVoYlJCS0hUZzJyRUcvZEYxZz09&menu_id=L0pheU43NWJwRWVVSZ-klWdzQ4TlhUUT09), accessed 26 Oct 2016.

98 The World Bank, "GDP (Current US\$)," *The World Bank*, 2016, [http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?year\\_high\\_desc=true](http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?year_high_desc=true), accessed 26 Oct 2016.

99 SIPRI, "SIPRI Yearbook 2015: Armaments, Disarmament, and International Security" (Stockholm, 2016); The World Bank, "GDP (Current US\$)," *The World Bank*, 2016, [http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?year\\_high\\_desc=true](http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?year_high_desc=true), accessed 26 Oct 2016.

100 Paul Holtom et al., "Trends in International Arms Transfers, 2009", SIPRI Factsheet, Stockholm, 2010.

101 Also known as Malaysian Borneo, or by its provinces of Sabah, Sarawak and Labuan.

102 Prashanth Parameswaran, "Malaysia Warns Philippines' Duterte Against 'Reigniting' Sabah Dispute," *The Diplomat*, 31 May 2016; "The Sultan's Sabah Swing," *The Economist*, London, 2013, <http://www.economist.com/news/asia/21572251-chaotic-south-philippines-muslims-launch-foreign-policy-sultans-sabah-swing>, accessed 26 Oct 2016.

Peninsula Malaysia with East Malaysia is the South China Sea – which is the focus of overlapping territorial claims from Malaysia, China, Vietnam, Brunei Darussalam, and the Philippines. This positioning situates Malaysia in an increasingly geostrategic environment; while the militarization of the South China Sea continues to cause popular concern in the region,<sup>103</sup> the Straits of Malacca has also been commonly understood as one of the most-important strategic waterways in the world, handling approximately one-quarter of the world's traded goods aboard some 94,000 vessels annually.<sup>104</sup>

Owing to its colonial history, Malaysia retains much of the Westminster parliamentary system common among Commonwealth countries, and is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations. Despite this, anti-colonial sentiment prominent in Malaysia during the 1970s and 80s drove a reorientation of Malaysian politics – with policies including the 'Buy British Last' campaign under Prime Minister Mahathir directing Malaysia's relations towards Southeast and East Asia, at times straining relationships with Western countries, including the United States and Australia. A founding member of ASEAN and an active member of the Non-Aligned Movement, Malaysia sought to distinguish itself as an influential yet independent middle power actor.

Lastly, Malaysia's ethnic and religious composition plays a significant role in driving the country's foreign policy.<sup>105</sup> Malaysia is a proactive member of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), and seeks to position itself as a moderate voice within global discussions on the role of Islam in politics and society. Recent times have seen greater rapprochement with China as the Chinese economy continues to play a dominant role in the Southeast Asian market. While historical ties have existed due to Malaysia's sizeable ethnic Chinese population, Prime Minister Razak's policy of *1Malaysia* has sought to downplay tensions between the country's Muslim majority and other ethnic ties, creating greater space for moderate influences in Malaysian foreign policy.<sup>106</sup>

These observations have led to Malaysian foreign policy being characterised as one of neutralism, regionalism, globalization, and Islam.<sup>107</sup> Elements of these traits, particularly neutrality, and fidelity to regional and Islamic ideals, provide the overriding rationale for Malaysia's conflict resolution and peacemaking policy.

## MALAYSIAN PEACEMAKING

Malaysia's role as a peacemaker is constituted in response to regional insecurity that has the potential to directly affect Malaysian political and economic interests. Its central positioning on the southern end of the Asian peninsula and in Borneo means it has been exposed to a number of the region's conflicts. Acehese rebel groups established bases across the Malacca strait in Malaysia during the region's three-decade long conflict; Muslim rebels from the Southern region of the Philippines have at times based themselves in the Malaysian territory of Sabah; while ethnic Malays in the south of Thailand have sought support from across the border.<sup>108</sup> To varying degrees, these three conflicts have shaped Malaysia's bilateral relations with its neighbours.

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103 Scott Bentley, "Malaysia's 'Special Relationship' with China and the South China Sea: Not So Special Anymore," *The Asan Forum*, 2015, <http://www.theasanforum.org/malysias-special-relationship-with-china-and-the-south-china-sea-not-so-special-anymore/>, accessed 26 Oct 2016; Prashanth Parameswaran, "A Malaysia 'Pushback' Against China in the South China Sea?," *The Diplomat*, Tokyo, 2016, <http://thediplomat.com/2016/03/a-malaysia-pushback-against-china-in-the-south-china-sea/>, accessed 26 Oct 2016.

104 Donald B. Freeman, *The Straits of Malacca: Gateway or Gauntlet?*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003; Al Jazeera, "Ships Collide off Malaysian Coast," *Al Jazeera English*, 2009, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia-pacific/2009/08/200981993714453320.html>, accessed 26 Oct 2016.

105 Johan Saravanamuttu, *Malaysia's Foreign Policy The First Fifty Years: Alignment, Neutralism, Islamism*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2010.

106 Najib Razak, "Malaysian Foreign Policy : Future Direction for 2009-2015," *Military Technology* 12, 2009, 12–15; Jörn Dosch, "Mahathirism and Its Legacy in Malaysia's Foreign Policy," *European Journal of East Asian Studies* 13 (1), 1 January 2014, 5–32, doi:10.1163/15700615-01301003.

107 Saravanamuttu, *Malaysia's Foreign Policy The First Fifty Years: Alignment, Neutralism, Islamism*.

108 M. Vitug and G. Gloria, "Under the Crescent Moon: Rebellion in Mindanao", Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo Center for Social Policy & Public Affairs : Institute for Popular Democracy, 2000; Michael Vatikiotis, "Malaysia the Moderate Peacemaker," *The Wall Street Journal*, 5 March 2013, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424127887324178904578341911094435252>, accessed 26 Oct 2016.

Alongside proximate security concerns however is a broader conceptualisation of Malaysian foreign policy as an outcome of disparate identities. Malaysian peacemaking is seen to reconcile some of the competing policy positions inherited as a proactive state member in intergovernmental forums such as ASEAN and the OIC. Primarily, its foundational role in ASEAN commits Malaysia to observing 'the ASEAN way', or one where diplomatic interactions within Southeast Asia are conducted with mutual recognition, acceptance, non-intervention and respect. In juxtaposition, membership of the OIC commits Malaysia to norms of protecting the interests of Muslims everywhere.<sup>109</sup> Support of peacemaking and facilitating mediation processes in Muslim-minority conflicts allows Malaysia to reconcile these competing policy priorities and increases the country's profile as a proactive, moderate, middle power state. It is also in keeping with Malaysia's unspoken aspirations of being a regional leader, carving a niche for itself as a reliable partner in internal conflict resolution.<sup>110</sup>

Malaysia has been a proactive contributor to international peacekeeping efforts – with Malaysian forces present in UN missions in Namibia (UNTAG), Cambodia (UNTAC), Bosnia Herzegovina (UNPROFOR, IFOR), and East Timor (INTERFET).<sup>111</sup> Malaysia also provided troops to ceasefire monitoring missions in Aceh and as part of the International Monitoring Team in Mindanao, the Philippines.<sup>112</sup>

When called upon, Malaysia has taken on a role as a mediator in regional conflicts, in the Philippines (discussed below), and since 2013 in Southern Thailand.<sup>113</sup> While not exclusively, much of this activity was linked with a desire to show solidarity with Muslim populations in parity with its commitment to ASEAN regionalism.<sup>114</sup>

## MALAYSIAN MEDIATION IN MINDANAO



Since 2001 Malaysia has facilitated the dialogue between the Government of the Philippines and the insurgent group the Moro Islamic Liberation Front in the southern Philippine island of Mindanao. While talks between the two parties had taken place since 1997, Malaysia came to be involved as facilitator of the peace process after a personal request from former-Philippine President Gloria Arroyo to then Malaysian Minister of Financial and of Special Functions Tun Daim Zainuddin.<sup>115</sup>

Malaysian involvement in the peace process in Mindanao is grounded in pragmatic economic and strategic considerations. The Philippines' invitation was received in the months following the all-out war in Mindanao in 2000, during which the Malaysian government was exposed to the relative dangers posed by a close proximity to the conflict.<sup>116</sup> There are approximately 80,000 Filipino refugees registered with the UNHCR in Malaysia, though unofficial estimates put the number at approximately 10 times this.<sup>117</sup> Security risks to East Malaysia emanating from Western Mindanao persist; The Abu Sayyaf Group, a Sulu-based criminal terrorist organization, has conducted kidnappings in Malaysian territory, and as recently as 2013 a group calling themselves the 'Royal Sulu Army' invaded Sabah in

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109 Isak Svensson, *International Mediation Bias and Peacemaking: Taking Sides in Civil Wars*, Security and Conflict Management, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2015; Joseph Raymond Silva Franco, "Malaysia: Unsung Hero of the Philippine Peace Process," *Asian Security* 9 (3), September 2013, 211–30, doi:10.1080/14799855.2013.832210.

110 Despite previous rounds in Kuala Lumpur, as of September 2016, new talks between the Thai government and the *Barisan Revolusi Nasional Melayu Patani* (Patani-Malay National Revolutionary Front, BRN) remain stalled. International Crisis Group, "Southern Thailand's Peace Dialogue : No Traction," *Asia Briefing* No. 148 (Bangkok / Brussels, 2016); Kavi Chongkittavorn, "Can Malaysia Be a Peacemaker in Southern Thailand?," *The Nation*, 18 February 2013, <http://www.nationmultimedia.com/news/opinion/kavi/30200202>; Vatikiotis, "Malaysia the Moderate Peacemaker."

111 Saravanamuttu, *Malaysia's Foreign Policy The First Fifty Years: Alignment, Neutralism, Islamism*.

112 Soliman M. Santos, Jr., "Malaysia's Role in the Peace Negotiations between the Philippine Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front," in *The Mindanao Conflict*, ed. Kamarulzaman Askandar and Ayesah Abubakar, Penang, Malaysia: SEACSN Publications, 2005, 53–88; Kirsten E. Schulz, "Mission Not So Impossible: The AMM and the Transition from Conflict to Peace in Aceh", Singapore, International Policy Analysis, 2007.

113 Vatikiotis, "Malaysia the Moderate Peacemaker."

114 Saravanamuttu, *Malaysia's Foreign Policy The First Fifty Years: Alignment, Neutralism, Islamism*.

115 While the official request came from the Philippines government, it is widely seen to have been at the behest of the MILF, who requested the involvement of a state third-party. Malaysia was seen as acceptable by the MILF as they were a member of the OIC. Interviews with MILF and international NGO personnel, Manila, the Philippines/Davao City, September/October 2016; Santos, Jr., "Malaysia's Role in the Peace Negotiations between the Philippine Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front"; Franco, "Malaysia."

116 Santos, Jr., "Malaysia's Role in the Peace Negotiations between the Philippine Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front."

117 Franco, "Malaysia."

an effort to capture the region from Malaysian authority.<sup>118</sup>

Recognizing the privileged role given to the Prime Minister in Malaysian foreign policy, mediation in the Mindanao Peace Process is coordinated out of the 'Research Office', or *Bahagian Penyelidikan* in the Prime Minister's Department, rather than the Malaysian Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The Research Office is commonly understood as the public face of Malaysia's foreign intelligence agency, the Malaysian External Intelligence Organization (MEIO).<sup>119</sup> This arrangement has limited the public access to information of internal departmental structures and policies supporting peacemaking and conflict resolution.

What is known is that Malaysia positioned itself as a facilitator or 'referee' in its approach to mediation in the Mindanao conflict; it was present during negotiations but allowed the negotiating parties to progress through the substantive discussions of their own accord. It helped bridge differences when necessary and called upon, while further playing a shuttle diplomacy role outside of the formal discussions between negotiating rounds. It has been described as 'very active and very professional'.<sup>120</sup>

Malaysian mediation was led by Datuk Zakaria Abdulhamid (2001-04), Datuk Othman bin Abd Razak (2004-10), and Tengku Dato Ab' Ghafar Tengku Mohamed (2010-16),<sup>121</sup> and supported since 2009 by the International Contact Group, an international network of states and international nongovernment organisations. As of January 2017, the position of lead facilitator remains vacant following the sudden death of Tangku Dato Ab' Ghafer Tengku Mohamed in September 2016.<sup>122</sup>

The Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB) – an extensive roadmap for peace in Mindanao, was agreed by the Philippines government and the MILF in 2014, although progress on an 'enabling law' remains blocked in the Philippine Congress.

## Notions of bias

A number of actors in the Philippines expressed concerns about Malaysian mediation. It was viewed as imprudent to associate the country's neighbour – with which it shares an ongoing territorial dispute over the Malaysian region of Sabah – in the Philippines' domestic affairs.<sup>123</sup> Other concerns were raised in regards to Malaysia's religious kinship with the Moro separatists.<sup>124</sup>

It was because of these interests that the Philippines remained invested in having Malaysia mediate in the conflict. While honouring a requirement from the MILF that the mediator be an OIC member state, Malaysia was chosen because it would be able to 'moderate' violent elements of the Bangsamoro actors.<sup>125</sup> The Philippines government also judged that it was better to have Malaysia "inside" the process, rather than risk their potential to act as a spoiler to the negotiations.<sup>126</sup>

These arguments did not protect the Malaysian facilitator from controversy. Distrust in the facilitator

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118 "The Sultan's Sabah Swing"; Franco, "Malaysia."

119 Santos, Jnr., "Malaysia's Role in the Peace Negotiations between the Philippine Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front"; Franco, "Malaysia."

120 Interviews with Philippines' panel members and International NGO personnel, Manila, September 2016; Santos, Jnr., "Malaysia's Role in the Peace Negotiations between the Philippine Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front."

121 GPH Panel Secretariat, ed., *Getting to Peace: GPH-MILF Peace Negotiations Opening Statements 2011 - 2014*, Pasig City, Philippines: Office of the Presidential Advisor on the Peace Process, 2015.

122 Carolyn Arguillas, "GPH, MILF Still Looking for a New Malaysian Facilitator," *MindaNews*, 16 January 2017, [www.mindanews.com/peace-process/2017/01/gph-milf-still-looking-for-a-new-malaysian-facilitator/](http://www.mindanews.com/peace-process/2017/01/gph-milf-still-looking-for-a-new-malaysian-facilitator/).

123 Ishak Mastura, "Geopolitical Games and Malaysian Mediation in the Philippines," *Jindal Journal of International Affairs* 1 (1), 2011, 3–16; Ellen T. Tordesilla, "Magdalo Rep: Malaysia's Role in Creation of Bangsamoro Still Cause of Concern," *ABS CBN*, 28 June 2015, <http://news.abs-cbn.com/blogs/opinions/06/27/15/magdalo-rep-malaysias-role-creation-bangsamoro-still-cause-concern>; Lucio Pitlo III, "Malaysia: A Disinterested Peace Broker?," *Rappler*, 2013, <http://www.rappler.com/move-ph/27643-malaysia-disinterested-peace-broker>; Santos, Jnr., "Malaysia's Role in the Peace Negotiations between the Philippine Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front."

124 Soliman M. Santos, Jnr., "The Role of Islamic Diplomacy in the Mindanao Peace Process," *Asia Peacebuilding Initiatives*, 2013, <http://peacebuilding.asia/the-role-of-islamic-diplomacy-in-the-mindanao-peace-process/>, accessed 26 Oct 2016.

125 Svensson, *International Mediation Bias and Peacemaking*.

126 Ibid.

by the new Aquino government in 2010 led to consideration of replacing Malaysia as primary mediator.<sup>127</sup> Instead, compromise between the parties and the facilitator was able to be achieved by the rotation of key personnel, including replacement of the lead facilitator.

In all, despite these ongoing domestic concerns, Malaysia has predominantly been a welcome actor in the peace process – and has been seen to perform its role without significant controversy or bias.<sup>128</sup> It demonstrates that while bias may be inherently present due to a third-party's relationship with the parties to the conflict, it need not necessarily impact the quality and nature of the mediation undertaken.

## The International Contact Group

The International Contact Group (ICG) in the GRP-MILF peace process provides another illustrative lesson for peacemaking. The ICG was established in 2009 as an international guarantee to the negotiations,<sup>129</sup> its membership consisting of four states — Japan, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and the United Kingdom (UK) — and four international NGOs — The Asia Foundation (TAF) (replaced by the Community of Sant'Egidio in 2013), Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (CHD), Conciliation Resources (CR), and Muhammadiyah.<sup>130</sup> Of the states, the role of the UK is particularly well regarded for its contribution in the negotiations, as is that of INGOs TAF, CHD and CR. Alternatively, some parties to the ICG were inattentive and under-resourced; Turkey sent officials from its Malaysian embassy rather than from the Philippines, as did Saudi Arabia, which was regularly absent.<sup>131</sup>

Though the peace process is now moving from a phase of negotiation to implementation, whereby a lesser role is evident for international actors, the ICG was seen to be effective in supporting the parties to reach the CAB.<sup>132</sup> Australia, as a strong bilateral partner of the Philippines, has given steady support towards resolving the conflict, providing strategic funding to domestic and international NGOs working within the peace process.<sup>133</sup> Dr Emma Leslie AM, a key member of Conciliation Resources' delegation to the ICG, is an Australian based in Cambodia.<sup>134</sup>

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127 Interview with International NGO personnel, Manila, the Philippines, September 2016. Donna Isyrina Fitrah, "Multiparty Mediation in the Southern Philippines Conflict", PhD Thesis, Leiden University, 2012.

128 Svensson, *International Mediation Bias and Peacemaking*.

129 GRP-MILF Peace Process, "Framework Agreement on the Formation of the International Contact Group for the GRP-MILF Peace Process", Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, September 2009.

130 Both parties were responsible for selecting the ICG members and have indicated that key considerations for selection included: The strength of support given by the state and relevant experience of the INGO to peace in Mindanao; Recognised expertise in the field of conflict transformation; The desire to include both Western and Muslim participants; The Government's reluctance to include big powers and multilateral organisations; The MILF's reluctance to consider countries that provided military aid to the Philippines Armed Forces (such as the US and Australia). See: Kristian Herbolzheimer and Emma Leslie, "Innovation in Mediation Support: The International Contact Group in Mindanao", London, 2013, [http://www.c-r.org/downloads/PracticePaper\\_MindanaoICG\\_ConciliationResources\\_0.pdf](http://www.c-r.org/downloads/PracticePaper_MindanaoICG_ConciliationResources_0.pdf), accessed 26 Oct 2016.

131 Interviews with foreign diplomats and International NGO personnel, Manila, the Philippines, September / October 2016; GPH Panel Secretariat, *Getting to Peace: GPH-MILF Peace Negotiations Opening Statements 2011 - 2014*.

132 Herbolzheimer and Leslie, "Innovation in Mediation Support: The International Contact Group in Mindanao"; Jose Rodel Clapano, "Peace Process Moves on to Implementation," *The Philippines Star*, 14 August 2016, <http://www.philstar.com/headlines/2016/08/14/1613278/peace-process-moves-implementation>, accessed 25 Oct 2016.

133 "Australian Ambassador and OPAPP Undersecretary Launch Book on Mindanao Peace Process," *Australian Embassy in the Philippines*, DFAT, 2016, <http://philippines.embassy.gov.au/mnla/MR160719.html>, accessed 26 Oct 2016; "Australia to Provide A\$6million (Php240million) Funding Support to Peace Process," *Australian Embassy in the Philippines*, DFAT, 2014, <http://philippines.embassy.gov.au/mnla/medrel140131a.html>, accessed 26 Oct 2016; Rolly Inciong, "Mindanao Women Hold Peace Summit," *Australian Embassy in the Philippines*, DFAT, 2006, <http://philippines.embassy.gov.au/mnla/mr060306.html>, accessed 26 Oct 2016.

134 Dr Leslie is Director of the Cambodia-based Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies. "Conciliation Resources' Associate Named in Queen's Honours," *Conciliation Resources*, 2016, <http://www.c-r.org/news-and-views/news/conciliation-resources%E2%80%99-associate-named-queens-honours>, accessed 26 Oct 2016.

The Malaysian case study helps to augment our understanding of how a nation might seek to harness different aspects of its history, identity, and geography to develop a peacemaking foreign policy. A middle-income country with remaining potential for its own social and economic development, Malaysian involvement in areas of conflict resolution and peacekeeping help to provide it with greater influence in conflicts in which it sees itself retaining interests. It is not an overly-zealous peacemaker expending significant energy and resources in conflicts removed from its immediate region (though it has committed widely to UN peacemaking at times), but it has proven itself patient, cooperative, and compliant – investing 15 years in supporting a peaceful transition in the conflict in Mindanao.

### Considerations for Australian Foreign Policy

The experiences of Malaysia – particularly within the Mindanao peace process – illustrate that third parties with inherent bias are not automatically an impediment towards playing a long and proactive role in mediation, and may actually be preferential in maintaining the commitment of the conflicting parties. Government officials might draw on these examples when framing peacemaking activities, particularly when oriented towards near neighbours or countries with which there might be perceived conflicts of interest.

Further, Malaysia has proven to be able to play an influential mediation role in Mindanao despite long-standing disagreements with the Philippines government on territorial and maritime issues. Australia might consider sincere and competent peacemaking activities as an opportunity for strengthening bilateral ties between partner nations.

These observations of Malaysian peacemaking are corroborated by academic literature questioning the necessity of mediator impartiality.<sup>135</sup> Australia, in considering the appropriateness of offering or conducting third-party mediation services, should carefully assess bilateral relations while remaining cognisant that conflicts of interest are not necessarily anathema to the supply of peacemaking services. These lessons are further relevant when judging the concerns surrounding the lending of diplomatic support to non-state actors.

Additional considerations for Australia from the Mindanao case study is that diplomatic mediation can augment, and should not be seen as exclusive of other conflict management activities; including peacebuilding, policing and peacekeeping. In particular, peacekeeping can be seen as proving third-party commitment to securing the longevity of any final peace agreement.

Finally, the Malaysian case study reinforces how a considered peacemaking strategy might form a central component of a state's 'middle power' foreign policy. Australia might consider how it might better articulate its ambitions in these areas, particularly in response to broader commitments to play an observable role in global politics – as evidenced by its recent term on the UN Security Council, and nomination for the UN Human Rights Commission. States can also contribute proactively in peace processes without performing a primary mediation or facilitation role, including by providing financial and technical resources to international and domestic peace actors.

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135 Svensson, *International Mediation Bias and Peacemaking*; Kyle Beardsley, "Intervention Without Leverage: Explaining the Prevalence of Weak Mediators," *International Interactions* 35 (3), 2009, 272–97.

A dark brown silhouette of the New Zealand archipelago is centered on a vibrant orange background. The text 'NEW ZEALAND' is overlaid in white, bold, uppercase letters. To the left of the text is a white square icon, and a white horizontal line is positioned below the text.

# NEW ZEALAND

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## Synopsis

New Zealand (NZ) has an image of being an independent and honest mediator of international disputes and of using an approach that preferences working behind the scenes with partners. NZ has most significantly engaged in supporting the development of a relatively successful peace process in Bougainville; as well as its support of post-conflict peacekeeping missions in the South Pacific and elsewhere.

The New Zealand case study highlights several important aspects of how small medium power states can play a leading role in conflict resolution. NZ has led several efforts in the South Pacific through drawing on domestic populations from those cultures in support of peace processes in their countries of origin, which have been particularly important in non-Western contexts.

Secondly, the NZ case shows that international reputation has been an important component of the soft power required to support third party interventions in international disputes. Indeed, NZ provides an example of how as a relatively small nation, it can play a global role through developing a reputation for independence that assists it in directing the power of multilateral bodies such as the UN towards peace-making activities.

Thirdly, the NZ case also highlights the problems of small nations' inability to consistently devote resources to international conflict resolution, particularly when its benefits are not clearly perceived by government and the public. Finally, the example of NZ suggests there is some value to governments engaging with civil society experts, particularly those with direct knowledge of the country where an intervention is planned.

# International Support for Peace Processes: New Zealand Case Study

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## BACKGROUND

New Zealand (hereafter NZ) is a small, democratic nation at the southern tip of the Asia-Pacific region. Although the majority of NZ's population of 4,565,000<sup>136</sup> are of European descent, Maori and other Pacific islanders making up around 20% of the population, and there is a growing populace of Asian origin. In 2015, NZ spent 1.2% of GDP on defence<sup>137</sup> and 0.27% of GNI on Overseas Development Assistance.<sup>138</sup> NZ was recently ranked 4<sup>th</sup> in the world for overall peacefulness in the Global Peace Index.<sup>139</sup>

## FOREIGN POLICY

NZ foreign policy attempts to balance strategic interests, cultural orientation and ideals of liberal internationalism.<sup>140</sup> It is also marked by a tension between the desire to be an independent actor and a concern to support traditional allies. NZ has a tradition of aligning with larger Western powers on security issues, but trading ties have reoriented NZ foreign policy towards an expansion of relationships with many countries in the Asia-Pacific region.<sup>141</sup> As a small middle power, NZ depends on a rules-based international order for trade and security and is an enthusiastic participant in multilateral institutions such as ASEAN, The Pacific Islands Forum and the United Nations.<sup>142</sup> Although often preferring to act in collaboration with larger powers, NZ has at times shown some independence in

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136 UN Data, *New Zealand*, accessed 20 September 2016 from: <http://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?crName=NEW%20ZEALAND>.

137 SIPRI, *Data for all Countries 1988-2015 as a Share of GDP*. Accessed 20 September 2016. Available from: <https://www.sipri.org/databases/milex>, accessed 26 Oct 2016.

138 OECD, *DAC Member Profile: New Zealand*. Accessed 20 September 2016. Available from: <http://www.oecd.org/dac/newzealand.htm>.

139 Institute for Economics and Peace, *Global Peace Index 2016*, 2016, Retrieved from: <http://economicsandpeace.org/research/#measuring-peace>, accessed 26 Oct 2016.

140 Terence O'Brien, 'Interests and values in international relations', *New Zealand International Review* 38 (4), 2013, 16-19; O'Brien, *Interview on 20 September, 2016*.

141 Paul G. Buchanan, *Deconstructing New Zealand Foreign Policy, 36<sup>th</sup>-Parallel, 1<sup>st</sup>*, August 2013. Available from: <http://36th-parallel.com/2012/08/01/deconstructing-new-zealand-foreign-policy/>, accessed 26 Oct 2016; Terence O'Brien, 'New Zealand foreign policy: The importance of reputation', *New Zealand International Review* 38 (5), 2013, 20-23; Murray McCully, 'Keeping relationships in good repair', *New Zealand International Review* 38 (4), 2013, 13-15.

142 Paul G. Buchanan, 'Lilliputian in fluid times: New Zealand foreign policy after the Cold War', *Political Science Quarterly* 125 (2), 2010, 255-279.

foreign affairs, accruing a certain reputation for integrity and impartiality.<sup>143</sup>

NZ is a parliamentary democracy whose foreign policy is decided by the elected government. There is a cross-party consensus about the fundamental direction of foreign policy, including continued support for NZ's non-nuclear position. The Prime Minister has a large say in directing foreign policy alongside a cabinet committee on external relations, trade and defence, normally chaired by the Minister of Foreign Affairs.<sup>144</sup> The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (hereafter MFAT) plays an important role in advising government on foreign policy issues, in implementing policies on external relations and in leading teams in negotiations with other countries. In general, domestic public opinion does not play a direct role in determining NZ foreign policy. Important exceptions to this include the anti-nuclear movement in the 1980s and on-going pressure from environmentalists for a robust stand on climate change and other issues. Although the government has pursued a number of free trade deals from the late 1990s this has also aroused some domestic opposition, especially regarding the TPP.<sup>145</sup>

NZ has not engaged in many third party conflict resolution interventions, but it has made important contributions to multilateral peacekeeping support and security sector reform processes in a number of post-conflict contexts. NZ has, however, directly facilitated conflict resolution in the South Pacific and has utilised its cultural and demographic connections to the Pacific Islands quite successfully in these interventions.<sup>146</sup> While NZ's commitment to biculturalism is expressed in government documents relating to overseas aid,<sup>147</sup> on-going conflicts around Treaty of Waitangi claims mean that NZ struggles to maintain a consistent moral position that others should emulate.<sup>148</sup>

## GOVERNMENTAL CAPACITIES FOR INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION (2005-2016)

### Participation in multilateral institutions

NZ was a founding member of the United Nations and has actively contributed to numerous peacekeeping operations, although in recent years contributions to peacekeeping forces have dropped precipitously.<sup>149</sup> NZ has shown leadership while serving on the UN Security Council, including contributing to greater transparency and effectiveness through the establishment of the Security Council Report during its term in 1993-1994. NZ is again serving on the UN Security Council in 2015 and 2016, with a declared policy of directing more efforts towards conflict prevention and conflict resolution,<sup>150</sup> and it has recently called for the reinvigoration of peace-making efforts in Israel-Palestine and Syria.<sup>151</sup> NZ's ability to exert influence within the United Nations has been aided by its reputation for independence and impartiality.<sup>152</sup>

NZ is also a member of a number of regional intergovernmental organisations. It is a leading member of the Pacific Islands Forum that provides a mechanism for multilateral humanitarian intervention in times of crisis in the region. NZ is also a member of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), a forum that aims to promote dialogue on political and security issues and build cooperative

143 Buchanan, 'Lilliputian in fluid times'; O'Brien, *Interview on 20 September, 2016*.

144 'Foreign Policy and Diplomatic Representation - Making New Zealand's Foreign Policy', *Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*. Accessed 10 September 2016. Available from: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/foreign-policy-and-diplomatic-representation>.

145 Buchanan, 'Lilliputian in fluid times'.

146 John Hayes, 'Bringing Peace to Bougainville', In *Securing a Peaceful Pacific*, Edited by J. Henderson and G. Watson, Christchurch, New Zealand: University of Canterbury Press, 2005, 140-152; O'Brien, *Interview on 20 September, 2016*.

147 MFAT, *Annual Report 2015*.

148 O'Brien, *Interview on 20 September 2016*.

149 *ibid*.

150 Murray Mc Cully, *NZ Statement to UN General Assembly: UN Peace and Security*, 10 May 2016. Available from: <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/nz-statement-un-general-assembly-un-peace-and-security>, accessed 26 Oct 2016.

151 Patrick Gower, 'John Key laments Syria failure in UN Speech', *Newshub*, 22 Sep 2016. Available from: <http://www.newshub.co.nz/world/moment-of-truth-on-syria-at-un-security-council-2016092207>; Audrey Young, 'NZ makes new bid for Israel peace', *New Zealand Herald*, 19 April 2016. Available from: [http://m.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c\\_id=1&objectid=11625307](http://m.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11625307), accessed 26 Oct 2016.

152 O'Brien interview.

ties in the region. NZ participates in the ASEAN Plus Ministers Meeting and is an active supporter of the ASEAN regional forum.

### Government agencies with a remit relating to international conflict resolution

MFAT is the key governmental body with responsibilities relating to the resolution of conflicts beyond NZ's borders, although the NZ defence and police forces have both been deployed on peace support operations overseas. MFAT includes within its remit the topics of trade, aid and development, peace, rights and security, and maintenance of overseas embassies. MFAT also represents NZ in global discussions on peace, security and human rights issues. MFAT activities include working with the UN, fostering international security, advocating disarmament, adhering to sanctions, promoting human rights and maintaining commonwealth ties.<sup>153</sup> However, MFAT does not maintain a team of specialists dedicated to facilitating international conflict resolution.

MFAT's overseas aid budget is targeted towards the South Pacific region, with a focus on economic development that will benefit both recipient and donor.<sup>154</sup> Cross-cutting themes of environmental protection, gender equality and human rights are mainstreamed into overseas aid initiatives, while conflict sensitivity is applied in a minority of countries determined to have serious on-going conflicts.<sup>155</sup> Although there is no specific pool of resources, in terms of personnel or funding, dedicated to supporting peace processes overseas, MFAT does operate a Pacific Security Fund that has a focus on long-term conflict prevention.<sup>156</sup>

MFAT has a series of regional teams whose brief includes responsibility for tracking emerging conflicts or crises. NZ's network of diplomatic posts also provides an early-warning system for conflicts developing abroad. Developing government responses to conflict is therefore mainstreamed across a number of divisions. MFAT recommends NZ's engagement in conflict resolution processes overseas when they have identified what value they might add, have assessed relationships on the ground, and determined whether a resolution of the conflict is likely to be in the interests of NZ. Where an overseas conflict has been identified to threaten NZ's security, the ODESC intergovernmental framework provides a mechanism for a whole of government response, including, if necessary, the defence forces.<sup>157</sup>

MFAT's strategic intentions for 2015-18 include a number of overseas conflict resolution objectives. MFAT is endeavouring to maximize NZ's role on the UN Security Council, by promoting more peacekeeping and conflict prevention efforts. It aims to contribute to reducing the threat of terrorism in the Asia-Pacific region. There is also a stated intention to ensure stability in Papua New Guinea by working with relevant parties to decide the constitutional status of Bougainville.<sup>158</sup> Early conversations around the future direction of MFAT programming suggest that conflict prevention frameworks may become a key focus going forward.<sup>159</sup>

Meanwhile, the defence forces and police have provided one of NZ's primary contributions to assisting peace processes abroad. NZ's peacekeeping troops reflect the cultural and ethnic diversity of NZ and they have been praised for taking an approach to dealing with civilians that focuses on building relationships and respecting local cultural norms.<sup>160</sup> NZ peacekeepers have been involved in peace support operations as far afield as Somalia and Afghanistan, although they have been more usually deployed in the South Pacific region.<sup>161</sup>

The Ministry of Defence also plays a role in determining policy directions for NZ to respond to conflicts overseas. Their most recent white paper declared an intention to "make a credible contri-

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153 MFAT personnel, *Interview on 26 September 2016*; MFAT website. Available from: <https://www.mfat.govt.nz>.

154 Buchanan, 'Deconstructing New Zealand Foreign Policy'; O'Brien, *Interview on 20 September 2016*.

155 MFAT interview.

156 O'Brien interview; MFAT interview.

157 MFAT interview.

158 MFAT, *Annual Report 2015*.

159 MFAT Interview.

160 O'Brien interview; MFAT interview.

161 'Peacekeeping – New Zealand's Involvement in Peacekeeping'. In Te Ara – the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand. Accessed 15 September 2016. Available from: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/peacekeeping>.

bution to international peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region,<sup>162</sup> as well as advancing NZ's security partnerships. The latter concern may explain NZ's involvement in US-led operations far afield, as well as a reluctance to speak out regarding the situation in West Papua much closer to home.<sup>163</sup>

### Diplomatic involvement in international conflict resolution (1991-2016)

NZ has an image as an independent and honest mediator of international disputes.<sup>164</sup> As a small middle power, NZ prefers a low-key approach to diplomacy, opting to work behind the scenes with partners rather than adopting public postures.<sup>165</sup> NZ has enjoyed some success in supporting a peace process in Bougainville around the turn of the century. It has also been involved in facilitating nuclear non-proliferation talks involving North Korea, as well as its support of post-conflict peacekeeping missions in the South Pacific and elsewhere.<sup>166</sup>

The case of Bougainville is the most salient example of NZ taking a leadership role in directly supporting the development of a relatively successful peace process. NZ brokered a series of truces and agreements, culminating in the 2001 Bougainville Peace Agreement. It did this by initiating and hosting a peace conference and then facilitating further peace negotiations, supporting key leaders to meet and find agreement.<sup>167</sup>

A number of factors are believed to underpin NZ's success in this case. In the first instance, NZ was not tainted by past colonial associations with Papua New Guinea.<sup>168</sup> Instead, its connections to Pacific Island culture helped NZ to be seen as an acceptable broker in the eyes of Bougainvilleans. Meanwhile, familiarity with norms of Maori culture assisted NZ diplomat John Hayes in building partnerships with local communities.<sup>169</sup> In addition, deployment of unarmed Maori and Pacifica peacekeeping troops assisted in communicating at the local level.<sup>170</sup> NZ diplomats also recognized the need for local ownership of the peace process and made substantial efforts in this direction. Investment of energy and resources over several years meant that relationships could be built between parties to the conflict, and between NZ mediators and the parties.<sup>171</sup> Moreover, this focus on relationship building is believed to have harmonized well with local culture.<sup>172</sup> Finally, the relatively small size of New Zealand's government meant that diplomats on the ground in Papua New Guinea could coordinate easily with decision-makers in Wellington, allowing for rapid responses to changing circumstances.<sup>173</sup>

## NON-GOVERNMENTAL CAPACITIES FOR INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION



### Academia

NZ is home to eight universities, and a number of them conduct research and/ or offer courses relevant to resolution and analysis of overseas conflicts. Cumulatively, this suggests the existence of a pool of relevant expertise in NZ. However, university websites allude to only limited linkages to government and civil society; only the Centre for Strategic Studies at Victoria University describes

162 New Zealand Ministry of Defence, *White Paper 2016*, 11.

163 Buchanan, 'Deconstructing New Zealand Foreign Policy'; O'Brien interview; MFAT interview.

164 Buchanan, 'Deconstructing New Zealand Foreign Policy'; O'Brien interview; MFAT interview.

165 Buchanan, 'Deconstructing New Zealand Foreign Policy'; Derek McDougall, 'Australia, New Zealand and Regional Intervention', in *Securing a Peaceful Pacific*, edited by J. Henderson and G. Watson, Christchurch, New Zealand: University of Canterbury Press, 2005, 127-135.

166 Buchanan, 'Deconstructing New Zealand Foreign Policy'; MFAT website.

167 Alan Campbell, 'Creative peacebuilding: Experiences from Bougainville', in *Mediation in the Asia-Pacific Region: Transforming Conflicts and Building Peace*, edited by D. Bagshaw and E. Porter, New York: Routledge, 2009, 111-126; Hayes, 'Bringing Peace to Bougainville'; Ron May, 'The Bougainville Conflict and its Resolution', in *Securing a Peaceful Pacific*, edited by J. Henderson and G. Watson, Christchurch, New Zealand: University of Canterbury Press, 2005, 459-469.

168 Steve Hoadley, *Pacific Island Security Management by New Zealand & Australia: Towards a New Paradigm*. Centre for Strategic Studies, New Zealand School of Government, Victoria University of Wellington, 2005.

169 May, 'The Bougainville Conflict and its Resolution'; Hayes, 'Bringing Peace to Bougainville'.

170 O'Brien interview; MFAT interview.

171 Campbell, 'Creative peacebuilding: Experiences from Bougainville'; Hayes, 'Bringing Peace to Bougainville'.

172 Campbell, 'Creative peacebuilding: Experiences from Bougainville'; Hayes, 'Bringing Peace to Bougainville'.

173 Hayes, 'Bringing Peace to Bougainville'.

itself as a think-tank, while a few universities currently offer short courses relevant to professionals seeking to develop their knowledge and skills in this area. Meanwhile, the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Otago has a strong research profile in this area and is developing its capacities for peacebuilding practice.

### Civil Society Organizations

The Council for International Development is an umbrella organization for civil society organizations based in NZ and operating in this arena. Many of their members are the NZ representatives of major international charities or church aid and development programmes. While members' focus is on economic and social development rather than conflict resolution per se, they have important connections to countries affected by violent conflict.

A number of civil society actors in NZ have a specific focus on peace. Organizations such as The Peace Foundation, Peace Movement Aotearoa and Quaker Peace and Service Aotearoa/ New Zealand represent valuable networks of civil society actors in NZ with expertise and commitment relevant to supporting peace processes overseas. NZ is also home to a number of individuals who appear on UN lists for their skills and experience relating to international conflict resolution and mediation.

### Links to government

NZ does provide some means for civil society actors to communicate with government agencies and attempt to shape government policy in areas such as overseas aid and the promotion of international disarmament.<sup>174</sup> MFAT has a tradition of engaging relevant civil society experts and of working in partnership with NZ-based NGOs on humanitarian missions. NZ's peace support operations in the South Pacific have also been facilitated by personal relationships between NZ citizens and churches from Pacifica backgrounds and their countries of origin.<sup>175</sup> However, while MFAT manages funds that allow it to work overseas in partnership with NZ-based NGOs, the current focus is on economic development and conflict prevention rather than on third-party facilitation of conflict resolution.<sup>176</sup>

Moreover, doubts have been expressed as to the degree of political will to follow the recommendations of civil society, particularly where a sustained allocation of financial resources would be required.<sup>177</sup> Nonetheless, the anti-nuclear movement of the 1980s demonstrated how domestic pressure could be successfully applied to change government foreign policy, providing an example that civil society actors in NZ could draw upon in future.

## REFLECTION AND ANALYSIS



While the NZ government has a pragmatic concern with security in the South Pacific and Asia-Pacific regions, their main focus has been on contributing to multilateral interventions with peacekeeping and policing support. One notable exception to this was the diplomatic support of the Bougainville peace process which demonstrates the potential for NZ to make unique and valuable contributions to conflict resolution overseas. Patchy experiences of success, however, have not led to international conflict resolution becoming a consistent priority for NZ governments. Rather, NZ is hampered from developing its role in this area by a lack of willingness to commit resources when no clear benefit to NZ is perceived, and because of a tradition of deferring to more powerful allies.

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174 O'Brien interview; MFAT interview.

175 MFAT interview.

176 MFAT interview; MFAT website.

177 O'Brien interview.

Nonetheless, NZ has a number of strengths as a potential facilitator of international conflict resolution that could be built upon. Although it may be eroded by an over-emphasis on self-interest in foreign policy-making, NZ continues to enjoy the image of a good global citizen and has the potential to act as an honest broker in international disputes. This is a form of soft power that NZ can draw on in supporting peace processes, despite a lack of military might and financial resources. Moreover, NZ's commitment to biculturalism provides an important platform for intervening in culturally sensitive ways that are more likely to enjoy local legitimacy, at least in the South Pacific region. NZ also has a robust civil society with a strong interest in international issues, and the capacity to provide mediation and related services. Due to its small size, communication within NZ's government, and between citizens and government, can be speedier and more immediate than in other countries.

However, certain weaknesses also stem from NZ's small size, including limited resources. In light of this, the preference for peacekeeping support over diplomatic conflict resolution is not necessarily a pragmatic decision as diplomatic intervention is likely to require fewer financial resources than full-scale peacekeeping missions. In particular, the potential for NZ civil society to provide expertise and assistance to government in the specific area of conflict resolution is currently underexploited. Meanwhile, a foreign policy focus oriented towards NZ's self-interest in the short-term, as well as towards balancing an array of strategic alliances, may ultimately undermine NZ's international reputation over the long-term.

Some lessons can be drawn from the NZ case. Firstly, playing a leading role in conflict resolution in the South Pacific is facilitated by a commitment to including domestic populations from those cultures in support of peace processes in their countries of origin. Similarly, having personnel already familiar with cultural difference at home enables them to build sensitive relationships in support of peace processes in non-Western contexts. Secondly, NZ shows that international reputation is an important component of the soft power required to support third party interventions in international disputes. Indeed, NZ provides an example of how a relatively small nation can play a global role through developing a reputation for independence that assists it in directing the power of multilateral bodies such as the United Nations towards peace-making activities. Thirdly, the NZ case also highlights the problems of small nations' inability to consistently devote resources to international conflict resolution, particularly when its benefits are not clearly perceived by government and voters. Finally, the example of NZ suggests there is some value to governments engaging with civil society experts, particularly those with direct knowledge of the country where an intervention is planned.

A dark brown silhouette of the Norwegian coastline is set against a solid orange background. The silhouette shows the intricate details of the fjords and islands along the coast.

**NORWAY**





## Synopsis

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Norway's perception that it is a 'peace nation', embodied in the annual presentation of the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo since 1901, has been shaped by its traditions of social solidarity, egalitarianism, consensual approaches to resolving conflict, absence of a colonial history, and its economic dependence on a rule based international order. In 1993, the Oslo Peace Accords affirmed peacemaking's place within foreign policy, and defined the 'Norwegian Model' of peacemaking, characterised by a close partnership between the Norwegian state and academic and humanitarian organisations. This was underwritten by generous and long term humanitarian aid in conflict affected areas.

Through the 1990s, the Norwegian model of peacemaking was highly resistant to institutionalisation and capture by the state, drawing heavily on informal NGO networks held by State Secretary Jan Egeland, which attracted increasing state funding in a positive feedback loop. From 2000 onward, Norwegian peacemaking activity experienced increasing institutionalisation as the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (MFA) adjusted to the exit of Egeland and sought to adopt long term and consistent approaches. Based on extensive evaluation of past interventions, the current institutional structure features a section within the Department for UN and Humanitarian Affairs dedicated to peace and reconciliation work with 14 employees and a budget of approximately AUD \$105 million working in close coordination with the NGO sector.

Norway's experience underlines the importance of managing the tension between a flexible and effective framework for peacemaking which incorporates the NGO and development community and resists potentially harmful procedural capture by the state, and the need to create durable state institutions in order to sustain peacemaking within foreign policy over long time frames. States seeking to learn from Norway's experience can consider adopting a general strategic framework for peacemaking to ensure consistency and coherence in the context of the country's broader foreign policy, coupled with specific peacemaking strategies in response to a given conflict, which cannot be pre-determined.

Modest institutional structures are required to support this approach, including: a) a standing inter-departmental peacemaking committee or unit responsible for overall strategy, coordinating personnel, reviewing capabilities and ensuring coherence between interventions and broader peacemaking strategy; b) an analytical unit of the standing committee to monitor conflicts and undertake intervention need and feasibility assessments; c) a strategic evaluation group; d) a mediation standby roster; e) core funding to support the standing committee and sub units; and, f) contingency funding arrangements to enable rapid responses to emerging crises.

# State Approaches to Peace Process Support: Peacemaking in Norwegian Foreign Policy

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## INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews and analyses Norwegian approaches to state support for peace processes from 1991 to 2016. It is structured in six sections. A brief overview of Norway is provided, followed by an outline of Norwegian foreign policy. The place of peacemaking within Norwegian foreign policy is then surveyed, and the key conflict situations which have shaped Norway's approach are briefly presented. The evolution of Norway's institutional structures to support peace processes is then analysed. The chapter ends by drawing together possible lessons and recommendations for the development of Australian policy towards peacemaking.

## OVERVIEW

Norway is a small state with a population of 5.1 million and a land area of 323,802 square kilometres.<sup>178</sup> In many respects though, Norway is bigger than its land and population suggests. It has the 13th largest marine economic zone in the world, with a coastal baseline second in size only to Canada. This extensive maritime zone underwrites Norway's status as the eighth largest exporter of oil and third largest exporter of gas in 2015,<sup>179</sup> the second biggest exporter of seafood,<sup>180</sup> and the owner of the seventh largest global merchant fleet.<sup>181</sup> Norway is also the third largest OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) donor in terms of ODA as a percentage of GNI (0.99%), and the eighth largest donor by volume.<sup>182</sup> It has a military expenditure of 1.5% of GDP<sup>183</sup> and is a significant exporter of defence materiel.<sup>184</sup>

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178 United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Statistics Division, *Population and Vital Statistics Report*, Statistical Papers, Series A, Vol. LXVIII, January 2016, 10; CIA World Factbook, 'Norway', <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/no.html>, accessed 24 May 2016.

179 Ministry of Petroleum and Energy, Norway, 'Exports of Oil and Gas', <http://www.norskpetroleum.no/en/production-and-exports/exports-of-oil-and-gas/>, accessed 30 Jan 2017.

180 Nortrade, 'Seafood, Fishing & Aquaculture', [http://www.nortrade.com/sectors/view/?sectorName=Seafood,\\_Fishing\\_\\_and\\_\\_Aquaculture](http://www.nortrade.com/sectors/view/?sectorName=Seafood,_Fishing__and__Aquaculture), accessed 1 June 2016.

181 Number of vessels based on 2014 data. Norwegian Ministry of Trade, Industry and Fisheries, *Maritime Opportunities – Blue Growth for a Green Future: The Government's Maritime Strategy*, MTIF Publication no. W-0004 E, August 2015, 12.

182 OECD, DAC member profile: Norway, <http://www.oecd.org/dac/norway.htm>, accessed 1 June 2016.

183 2015 data. SIPRI, SIPRI Military Expenditure Database 1988-2015, <https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/Milex-GDP-share.pdf>, accessed 17 Oct 2016.

184 SIPRI, 'The Top 20 Arms Exporters, 2011-2015', 22 February 2016, [http://www.sipri.org/googlemaps/2016\\_of\\_at\\_top\\_20\\_exp\\_map.html](http://www.sipri.org/googlemaps/2016_of_at_top_20_exp_map.html), accessed 1 June 2016; Leiv Lunde and Henrik Thune et al, *National Interest: Foreign Policy for a Globalised World: The Case of Norway*, Report by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Refleks Project, December 2008, 47-52.

## NORWEGIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Formed in 1905 after a secessionist conflict with Sweden, Norway's national identity and foreign policy have been shaped by its occupation by Germany during WWII, its proximity to the USSR/Russia, its alignment with the United Kingdom and United States and membership in NATO during the Cold War, and, perhaps most fundamentally, its dependence on a strong rule based international order to guarantee its legal rights to an extended maritime zone.<sup>185</sup> From the discovery of offshore oil reserves in the 1970s, maritime rights and the rule based international order have underpinned Norway's status as a high income country with a GDP per capita in 2014 of \$US 97,300, the second highest of all developed countries behind only Luxembourg.<sup>186</sup>

Nordic countries such as Norway have been described as 'norm entrepreneurs' in international relations, using their status as small states to exert moral and political influence over global environmental, welfare and security policy. This approach is underpinned by characteristics of Norwegian society including a commitment to social solidarity and egalitarianism at home shaped by the Christian social democratic and labour movements, consensual approaches to resolving conflict, the absence of a colonial legacy and historical non-engagement in international conflict.<sup>187</sup>

These elements of Norwegian society and history have shaped Norway's long standing perception that it is a 'peace nation', embodied and supported by the annual presentation of the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo since 1901.<sup>188</sup>

## PEACEMAKING IN NORWEGIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Although Norway's peace tradition is longstanding, the catalyst for the adoption of a policy of active peace promotion in its foreign policy can be traced to the end of the Cold War and Norway's facilitation of the historic 1993 Oslo Peace Accord in the Israel-Palestine conflict.<sup>189</sup> The Oslo Process, a two-track approach which began with confidential negotiations between Israeli and Palestinian academics under the auspices of the Institute for Applied Social Sciences (FAFO), on one level, and a backchannel between the Israeli government and the leadership of the PLO on the other, proved effective. The high profile success of the Oslo Accord and its positive impact on Norway's reputation in global affairs affirmed Norway's adoption of peacemaking as a central component of foreign policy, and helped to define the characteristics of the 'Norwegian Model' of peacemaking.<sup>190</sup>

The 'Norwegian Model' has a number of elements. Its core feature is the close partnership in peacemaking between the Norwegian state and academic and humanitarian organizations. This approach is underwritten by a broader culture of state funding and symbiosis between Norwegian NGOs and the state.<sup>191</sup> Second, while this partnership model allows for a uniquely flexible approach towards engagement in conflict situations, the success and longevity of Norway's approach to

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185 Lunde and Thune, *National Interest*; Oivind Stenersen and Ivar Libaek, *The History of Norway*, Snaroya: Dinamo Forlag, 2007; Mary Hilson, *The Nordic Model: Scandinavia Since 1945*, London: Reaktion Books, 2008.

186 The World Bank, 'GDP per capita (current US\$)', <http://data.worldbank.org>, accessed 24 May 2016.

187 Christine Ingebritsen, "Norm Entrepreneurs: Scandinavia's Role in World Politics," *Cooperation and Conflict: Journal of the Nordic International Studies Association* 37 (1), 2002, 12; Hilson, *The Nordic Model*; John Langmore and Jan Egeland, 'Learning from Norway: Independent middle-power foreign policy', *Griffith Review* 32, Autumn 2011, 169.

188 Oystein Haga Skanland, "'Norway is a peace nation": A discourse analytic reading of the Norwegian peace engagement', *Cooperation and Conflict* 45 (1), 2010, 34-54; Kjetil Borhaug, 'Norway in a Global Context' in Eva Maagero and Birte Simonsen (eds), *Norway: Society and Culture*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, Kristiansand: Portal, 2008, 163.

189 Skanland, 'Norway as a peace nation'.

190 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norway, 'Norway's involvement in the peace process in the Middle East', 31 Oct 1999, <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/dokumenter/involvement/id420034/>, accessed 1 June 2016; Olav Riste, *Norway's Foreign Relations*, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2005, 271-272.

191 Asoka Bandarage, 'The "Norwegian Model": Political Economy of NGO Peacemaking', *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 17 (2), Spring/Summer 2011, 221-225.

peacemaking also relies on generous and long term humanitarian aid in affected areas. Humanitarian and development aid operates to build relations of trust and good will with communities and organisations within conflict zones, and also creates networks between Norwegian diplomats, NGO personnel, and local conflict actors which are later drawn on in peacemaking efforts. In the case of the Israel-Palestine conflict, this extended to the deployment of peacekeepers. For instance, Norway was one of the largest troop contributors to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) from 1978 to 1998.<sup>192</sup>

Third, the 'Norwegian Model' is underpinned by the peaceful and consensus orientated nature of Norwegian society, including the absence of a history of warfare and colonialism, and a normative view set out by Jan Egeland, among others, and later adopted by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that, because Norway is a small, neutral and trustworthy state, and because it is not a military threat to other countries, it can act as a peace broker more effectively and in a wider range of conflicts than can great powers such as the United States.<sup>193</sup>

Key elements of the Norwegian Model as outlined above are not without challenge. The view that Norway is a 'peace nation' sits uncomfortably with its position as the 17<sup>th</sup> largest arms exporter between 2011 and 2015; and its claim to neutrality in international affairs must be considered alongside its membership in NATO since 1949.<sup>194</sup> Few however would argue that Norway has not played an important role as a peacemaker in recent decades. This is demonstrated through their involvement in several conflicts outlined in the following section.

## WHAT CONFLICTS HAVE SHAPED NORWAY'S APPROACH TO PEACEMAKING?



Along with its engagement in the Israel-Palestine peace process, Norway has attempted to facilitate or support peace processes in several conflict situations. Engagement in each of these conflicts has been an outcome of and in turn shaped the institutions and policies guiding how support for peace processes is initiated, delivered and evaluated within Norwegian foreign policy. In the section below, Norway's experience in Guatemala, Sri Lanka, South Sudan and Colombia are briefly introduced as background to later discussion on institutional development.

### Guatemala

In Guatemala, conflict between the Guatemalan state and the URNG rebels was rooted in the severe inequality of wealth distribution in Guatemala, where the indigenous population, representing "an estimated 40-60 percent of society, has been systematically marginalised since colonial times."<sup>195</sup> The protracted armed struggle over 36 years between 1960 and 1996 would cost the lives of 200,000 people.<sup>196</sup> Norway's engagement in the peace process between the Guatemalan government and the URNG rebel group included supporting a range of track two initiatives run by groups such as Norwegian Church Aid and the Church of Norway between 1990 and 1994.<sup>197</sup> This was followed by a more formal role as a member of the Group of Friends to provide support including good offices

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192 Bandarage, 'The "Norwegian Model"', 224; Riste, *Norway's Foreign Relations*, 266.

193 Jan Egeland, *Impotent Superpower - Potent Small Power: Potentials and Limitations of Human Rights Objectives in the Foreign Policies of the United States and Norway*, Oslo: Norwegian University Press, 1988; Bandarage, 'The "Norwegian Model"', 224.

194 SIPRI, 'The Top 20 Arms Exporters, 2011-2015', 22 February 2016, [http://www.sipri.org/googlemaps/2016\\_of\\_at\\_top\\_20\\_exp\\_map.html](http://www.sipri.org/googlemaps/2016_of_at_top_20_exp_map.html), accessed 1 June 2016. Bandarage, 'The "Norwegian Model"', 236-237.

195 International Crisis Group, 'Guatemala: Squeezed Between Crime and Impunity', *Latin America Report*, No. 33, 22 June 2010, 2.

196 Dirk Kruijt, *Guerrillas: War and Peace in Central America*, London: Zed Books, 2008, 32; ICG, 'Guatemala: Squeezed Between Crime and Impunity', 3.

197 Hilde Salvesen, *Guatemala: Five years after the Peace Accords: the Challenges of Implementing Peace*, Report Commissioned for the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Oslo: PRIO, March 2002, 1.

within the UN led peace process facilitated by UNSG special representative Jean Arnault alongside Mexico, the US, Spain, Venezuela and Colombia. Following the end of the Cold War and assisted by a newly activist office of the UN Secretary General, successive Guatemalan presidents from the Guatemalan Christian Democracy Party and Solidarity Action Movement engaged the URNG in peace talks from 1993 to 1996, leading to a comprehensive peace agreement bringing an end to the long running civil war.<sup>198</sup> The Guatemalan peace talks are widely regarded as an early success story of UN-facilitated post-Cold War peace processes, in which Norway played a supporting role and helped to build its profile as an international peacemaker.<sup>199</sup>

## Sri Lanka

Between 1997 and 2009, Norway acted as a peace-facilitator in the long running conflict between the Government of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tamil Tigers of Eelam (LTTE), the latter of which sought to establish a separate Tamil homeland (Tamil Eelam) in the north and east of Sri Lanka. Between 1983 and 2009, based on effective guerrilla military tactics, including pioneering the tactic of suicide bombings, the LTTE harnessed widespread Tamil nationalism and ruthlessly suppressed rival Tamil movements to inflict heavy losses on Government forces, exert control over a large territory, create quasi-state structures and build a military which incorporated a rudimentary navy and airforce. Following the breakdown of peace negotiations, the LTTE was militarily defeated in 2009 by government forces under the leadership of President Mahinda Rajapaksa.<sup>200</sup>

Norwegian facilitation in the Sri Lankan peace processes can be seen as a substantial deviation from the 'Norwegian Model' pioneered in the early 1990s. It was one of the few interventions Norway undertook in an official state capacity as a sole and lead mediator. It also failed to draw substantially on the NGO or aid community as direct partners in peace facilitation. Partly because of the breakdown in the peace process, Norway has been criticised for a lack of inclusivity in the peace process; for at times counterproductive attempts to link aid and political outcomes, for its inability to monitor and guarantee the terms of ceasefires, and for its media and engagement strategy.<sup>201</sup> These criticisms are balanced against Norway's notable success in assisting the GoSL and the LTTE to sign a ceasefire agreement in 2002. Its efforts after this date were also greatly complicated by the US led global 'War on Terror', the proscription of the LTTE as a terror group, and the sustained retreat of international actors from Sri Lanka which would leave Norway uniquely isolated in its role.<sup>202</sup>

The early success of facilitation embodied in the 2002 ceasefire, Norway's gradual isolation as a mediator due to conflict dynamics and geopolitical factors, and the subsequent failure of Norway to broker a peace between the disputants had a multifaceted impact on Norway's approach to supporting peace processes. In many ways it reaffirmed the value of the Norwegian model of peace support, and it did so by demonstrating the distinct limitations of sole, state-led mediation. It has spurred an increased debate on the conditions in which Norway should decide not to intervene in conflicts, and should cease interventions when it is involved, and the limitations and complicated trade-offs involved in linking humanitarian or development aid to peace processes. Perhaps most importantly, it has emphasised the importance of building and retaining a body of lessons learnt in peace process support through evaluation and continuous self-reflection within the MFA and other state departments.

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198 See Susan D. Burgerman, 'Building the Peace by Mandating Reform: United Nations – Mediated Human Rights Agreements in El Salvador and Guatemala', *Latin American Perspectives* 27 (3), May 2000, 63-87.

199 Salvesen, *Guatemala*, 1.

200 Danura Miriyagalla, 'Socio-economic reintegration of former LTTE combatants in Sri Lanka: self-employment, sustainable incomes and long-term peace', *Global Change, Peace and Security* 26 (3), October 2014, 254; J. Goodhand, B. Klem and G. Sorbo, *Pawns of Peace: Evaluation of Norwegian Peace Efforts in Sri Lanka, 1997-2009*, commissioned by Norad Evaluation Department, Report 5/2011, 2011.

201 Kristine Hoglund and Isak Svensson, 'Mediating between tigers and lions: Norwegian peace diplomacy and Sri Lanka's civil war', *Contemporary South Asia* 17 (2), June 2009, 175-191; Goodhand, et al., *Pawns of Peace*.

202 Hoglund and Svensson, 'Mediating between tigers and lions'; Goodhand et al., *Pawns of Peace*.

## South Sudan

Norway also played a supporting role in the peace processes during the civil war between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A), and in the subsequent civil war in South Sudan following its formation as an independent state.

Norway's support to the peace processes included facilitation, facilitation support, development assistance, and technical assistance in the country's oil sector. Drivers of the separatist conflict between the Sudanese government and rebel movements in the south of the country included competition over resources, political power, and the role of religion in the state. The human cost of the conflict was severe, resulting in over two million deaths, four million people forcibly displaced, and an outflow of 600,000 refugees between 1983 and 2011.<sup>203</sup>

For several decades, Norway played a supporting role to peace efforts through its role as a significant aid donor to Sudan and a major actor in the country's oil sector. In 2002, Norway formalised a joint approach to peace talks between the Sudanese Government and the SPLM/A as part of an international Troika including the US and the UK. Within the Troika, the United States most commonly played the leading role in mediation efforts, with Norway supporting these efforts through good offices and facilitation support. Several regional countries were arguably more influential, including Kenya, which under the leadership of Daniel Arap Moi actively facilitated and influenced the negotiation process, along with Eritrea, Ethiopia and Uganda, which participated in peace negotiations and have actively supported the SPLM/A.<sup>204</sup>

Norway has therefore played a supporting role and can be said to have contributed to both the Comprehensive Peace Agreement signed between the government and the SPLM/A in 2005 and the subsequent referendum in which South Sudan attained independence from Sudan on 9 July 2011.<sup>205</sup> Norway later provided support to the subsequent peace through participation in the World Bank managed multi-donor trust fund (MDTF), the Joint Donor Office in Juba, and by leading a process on future petroleum sector management.<sup>206</sup>

In December 2013 a political power struggle between rival factions in the newly independent South Sudan saw the country relapse into civil war. The conflict has resulted in 2.3 million people being forcibly displaced and an outflow of over 640,000 refugees from the country, along with a devastating impact on the newly independent country's infrastructure and economy.<sup>207</sup> The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), through which Norway is a member in the IGAD Partners Forum, has acted as a mediator between the disputants, with substantial support provided by Norway through good offices and funding. These efforts assisted the parties to arrive at a compromise peace agreement between the government and the rebel faction (the SPLM-IO), which brought 'relative peace in the country', but has since deteriorated once more into vicious armed conflict.<sup>208</sup> Norway's role in Sudan has therefore been characterised by a long term, supporting role in mediation efforts involving coalitions of international actors, and closely aligned with sustained development assistance to both Sudan and South Sudan.

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203 United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS), 'UNMIS Background', <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unmis/background.shtml>, accessed 3 Aug 2016.

204 Oystein H. Rolandsen, 'A quick fix? A retrospective analysis of the Sudan Comprehensive Peace Agreement', *Review of African Political Economy* 28 (130), 2011, 551-564.

205 United Nations, 'UN in South Sudan: Country Context', <http://ss.one.un.org/country-context>, accessed 3 Aug 2016.

206 Rolandsen, 'A quick fix?', 560; International Crisis Group, 'Negotiating Sudan's North-South Future', Update Briefing, Africa Briefing No. 76, Juba/Khartoum/Nairobi/Brussels, 23 November 2010.

207 United Nations, 'UN in South Sudan: Country Context', <http://ss.one.un.org/country-context>, accessed 3 Aug 2016.

208 *ibid.*

## Colombia: 2000-ongoing

In 2000, Norway was invited by the Government of Colombia and the FARC rebel group to act in a co-facilitation role alongside Cuba in the long running civil conflict. Following exploratory peace talks between 2000 and 2012 in Havana, Cuba that established an agreed framework, official peace talks began in Norway in October 2012. Under the framework, Norway and Cuba acted as 'guarantors' of the peace negotiations and provide the locations for the talks. Chile and Venezuela also accompanied the talks as part of an international support group.<sup>209</sup> After six years of exploratory talks and official negotiations, the Colombian Government and FARC in June 2016 signed a detailed agreement on the end of the conflict, laying the comprehensive groundwork for a planned referendum on a final peace agreement, including a ceasefire, demobilisation and reintegration measures and the transition of the FARC from a military to a political organisation. This was subsequently rejected at referendum and is subject to further negotiation.<sup>210</sup> Norway's role in Colombia has in many ways mirrored its support in places such as Sudan, leveraging a long term, credible good offices and mediation support role to lend support to efforts led by coalitions of international actors.

## NORWEGIAN INSTITUTIONS TO RESPOND TO CONFLICT



Equipped with this brief overview of the range of conflicts in which Norway has intervened through various forms of direct mediation and peace process support, the following section examines the institutional structures which Norway has formed to respond to conflict and support overseas peace processes, how efforts to support peace processes are implemented, how they are coordinated within the Norwegian government and internationally, how peace process support initiatives are evaluated, and how learning from evaluation has informed practice, institutions and policies.

The Norwegian model of international peace facilitation and its subsequent institutionalisation is a complex story. The early years of Norwegian peace facilitation and its high profile role within Norwegian foreign policy was derived from the appointment of the President of the Norwegian Red Cross, Jan Egeland, as state secretary from 1990 to 1997. This period was characterised by determined efforts to resist the institutionalisation of peace and reconciliation within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and an emphasis on the use of non-governmental organisations in coordination with the MFA and NORAD.

Examples of this early approach to peace facilitation included the 1993 Oslo backchannel, which generated the concept of a 'Norwegian model' of international engagement incorporating a facilitative approach to mediation. Intelligence on conflicts during this period was also strongly shaped by the informal networks into NGOs and in particular the ICRC possessed by Jan Egeland, and the decision on what conflicts to respond to and in what manner were strongly shaped by advice from these sources.<sup>211</sup>

The Norwegian model in its early phase was therefore to resist the institutionalisation of peace and reconciliation and downplay the involvement of the state. The model provided state support to non-state efforts in a symbiotic relationship enabled by the inclusion within the MFA of Jan Egeland and Egeland's networks, coupled with the ability to draw on a budget of NOK 125 million in funding secured through a positive feedback loop where the continued success of ad hoc initiatives launched by Egeland attracted more state funding for new initiatives.

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209 June S. Beittel, 'Peace Talks in Colombia', *Current Politics and Economics of South and Central America* 6 (2), 2013, 179-217.

210 International Crisis Group, 'Agreements on the End of the Conflict and the Referendum Bring Peace in Colombia Closer', Bogota/Brussels, 23 June 2016, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/publication-type/statements/agreements-on-the-end-of-the-conflict-and-the-referendum-bring-peace-in-colombia-closer.aspx>, accessed 27 June 2016; ABC News, 'Colombia rejects FARC peace deal in shock referendum outcome', 3 October 2016, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-10-03/colombians-vote-to-reject-farc-peace-accord/7897434>, accessed 3 October 2016.

211 Iver B. Neumann, 'Institutionalizing Peace and Reconciliation diplomacy: Third-Party Reconciliation as Systems Maintenance', in Ole-Jacob Sending, Vincent Pouliot and Iver B. Neumann, *Diplomacy and the Making of World Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2015, 140-167.

From this vantage, the subsequent institutionalisation of the peace and reconciliation portfolio from 2000 onwards and the trend towards state capture of mediation delivery can be viewed as both a reaction to the exit of Jan Egeland and his personal networks from the MFA, and also behind the difficulties of more structured state led mediation undertaken by Norway in places such as Sri Lanka. In drawing lessons from Norway's experience, this may indicate that the best way to build capacity within states to deliver mediation is to empower and draw upon non-state groups, while maintaining some distance from the formal diplomatic and foreign policy apparatus. Given that this approach relied on personal networks and particular individuals, this model may be particularly hard to replicate in any systematic manner. For this reason, drawing lessons from what has worked and what has not worked in Norway should be undertaken with care. The evolution of Norwegian state institutions to support peace processes from 2000 onwards is examined in the sections below.

In 2001, Norway introduced a significant reform with the introduction of the Peace and Reconciliation Unit within the MFA. During this period the institutional framework for Norway's peacemaking policy was centred primarily on the MFA and NORAD. The MFA was broadly responsible for humanitarian assistance, conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction channelled through multilateral organisations. NORAD focused on long-term development cooperation channelled through bilateral relationships. Both agencies provided considerable funding for peacemaking activities through Norwegian and international NGOs.<sup>212</sup>

In 2002 the Norwegian Government identified a gap in this structure between short term humanitarian assistance in response to conflicts and natural disasters and longer term development assistance, and introduced a new funding mechanism for transitional assistance designed to fill this gap. Transitional assistance was specifically targeted to "reward and support active peace processes and reconstruction work,"<sup>213</sup> with over NOK345 million (AUD \$55 million) distributed in 2002. Responsibility for the fund resided with the Minister of International Development, budget responsibility with the Department for Bilateral Affairs in the MFA, while NORAD was responsible for the administration of the funds.<sup>214</sup> In reality, decisions on fund allocation and administration were taken on the basis of advice from either MFA or NORAD on a country by country basis. Over 76% of the funds were channelled through the UN and the World Bank.<sup>215</sup>

Within this broad division of labour between the MFA and NORAD, a Norwegian evaluation report identified six departments (broadly equivalent to what is termed a division within the organisational structure of the Australian DFAT) and units that were particularly influential in the delivery of Norwegian peacemaking in 2002.<sup>216</sup>

These included first, the *Department for Development Cooperation Policy*, which financed research and support for the private sector and international NGOs in developing countries. Second, the *Department for Human Rights, Humanitarian Affairs and Democracy*, which directly financed peace and reconciliation support such as demobilization, demining, and assistance to refugees. Third, the *Unit for Peace and Reconciliation* within the Department for Human Rights, Humanitarian Affairs and Democracy, established in 2002 to gather together lessons learnt on Norway's involvement in peace processes and encourage a long term and consistent approach to Norwegian peace process support. Fourth, the *Security Policy Department's Section for Global Security Issues and Nuclear Safety*, which had responsibility for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants, and security sector reform alongside the Department for Development Cooperation Policy. Fifth, the *Department for Bilateral Affairs* had regional sections with "overriding responsibility for Norwegian policies towards individual countries, and thus also for peace and reconciliation issues in these countries." Each section draws up policy guidelines for individual countries, but depending on the conflict, peacemaking will be undertaken through other units of the MFA such as the Peace

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212 Wenche Hauge, *Norwegian Peacebuilding Policies: Lessons Learnt and Challenges Ahead*, Evaluation Report 2/2004, Commissioned by the Evaluation Department of the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brattvaag: NMFA, 2004, 11.

213 *ibid.*, 12.

214 *ibid.*

215 *ibid.*

216 Hauge, *Norwegian Peacebuilding Policies*.

and Reconciliation Unit. The Department for Bilateral Affairs had budget responsibility for transitional assistance and for development assistance administered by regional departments within NORAD, and "in many ways represents the most direct link between the MFA and NORAD."<sup>217</sup> Finally, the *Department for Multilateral Affairs* was responsible for the majority of development assistance channelled through the UN and international financial institutions. In 2002, NORAD also established the position of technical adviser covering peacebuilding within the Technical Department.

These structures were further reviewed and streamlined, with a focus on coordinating their activities through the release of the 2003 comprehensive report on peace involvement prepared by the MFA<sup>218</sup> and the 2004 *Strategic Framework for Peacebuilding* by the Ministry for International Development.<sup>219</sup>

The important task of evaluating and learning from past and ongoing Norwegian peacemaking attempts also evolved considerably. Prior to February 2004, the MFA had a dedicated Evaluation Section, which was "responsible for initiating and administering evaluations of Norwegian development assistance and foreign policy."<sup>220</sup> This Evaluation Section was subsequently moved to NORAD, and its mandate broadened to cover development policy and humanitarian aid. Evaluations are undertaken by external consultants and delivered as a published report.

At the time of writing in 2016, the MFA has continued to evolve and now hosts a Department for UN and Humanitarian Affairs under Director General Kjersti E. Andersen which "works actively to strengthen the UN, promote more effective global governance and enhance the rule of law as globalisation and internationalisation increase. It coordinates and further develops Norway's humanitarian, peace and reconciliation efforts."<sup>221</sup>

Within this Department is a section "dedicated to peace and reconciliation work", with 14 employees and a budget of around AUD \$105 million for efforts to prevent and resolve conflicts, which is tasked with providing a long term and consistent approach to Norwegian facilitation in peace processes and close coordination with the NGO sector.<sup>222</sup> One of the important features of the peace and reconciliation unit's work is to cooperate with and draw upon the "sizeable community of organizations in Geneva and elsewhere which specialize in facilitation, converging on organizations such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and Centre for Human Development."<sup>223</sup>

Norway's focus on preventing and resolving conflict is also reflected in a concentration of its ODA in fewer countries. Of the 12 countries identified by Norway as 'focus countries' in 2015: Somalia, South Sudan, Palestine, Afghanistan, Haiti, Myanmar, Malawi, Nepal, Mali, Ethiopia, Mozambique and Tanzania, six are identified as 'fragile states' facing risks or currently experiencing violent conflict.<sup>224</sup> Norway has also introduced an increased focus on supporting compliance with UN Security Council resolution 1325 which emphasises the need to mainstream a gender perspective in peacekeeping and "stresses the importance of women's equal participation and full involvement in the resolution of conflicts and in peacebuilding."<sup>225</sup> Norway has also been a strong supporter of the UN Joint Programme on Building National Capacities for Conflict Prevention and in particular the deployment of Peace and Development Advisors with specific roles to assist host countries in the area of conflict prevention and reconciliation.<sup>226</sup>

Norway's institutional structures to support peace processes have therefore been characterised by

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217 *ibid.*, 13-14.

218 ('Fred og forsoning. Norske erfaringer som tilrettelegger. Sluttrapport').

219 Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Peacebuilding – a Development Perspective*, Oslo: NMFA, 2004.

220 Norwegian Government, 'Evaluation Reports and Annual Reports', published 20 Oct 2004, <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/dokumenter/Evaluation-reports-and-Annual-reports/id420313/>, accessed 15 June 2016.

221 Government of Norway, 'Department for UN and Humanitarian Affairs', [https://www.regjeringen.no/en/dep/ud/organisation/departments/department\\_un\\_peace\\_humanitarian/id87006/](https://www.regjeringen.no/en/dep/ud/organisation/departments/department_un_peace_humanitarian/id87006/), accessed 15 June 2016.

222 Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (NMFA), 'What characterises Norway's peace and reconciliation work?', <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/topics/foreign-affairs/peace-and-reconciliationefforts/innsiktsmappe/norway-peace-work/id446704/>, accessed 25 Aug 2015.

223 Neumann, 'Institutionalizing Peace and Reconciliation diplomacy', 16-17.

224 Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (NMFA), *Peace, Security and Development: Report on Policy Coherence for Development 2015*, Chapter 13 from the 2016 Budget Proposal from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Oslo: NMFA, 2015, 3.

225 *ibid.*, 8.

226 *ibid.*, 18.

a combination of continuity and change. One of the most important features of the institutions surveyed is their adaptability over time in response to lessons learnt from a range of diverse conflict situations and interventions. Underwriting this ability of sustained institutional development has been a shared political consensus of the priority which Norway should give to peacemaking within the country's foreign affairs. This shared consensus has not remained static. From early motivations which primarily framed peace diplomacy in terms of a moral imperative based on good international citizenship, Norwegian spending and preparedness for peacemaking has increasingly become justified in terms of core national interests, both in terms of the security impact on Norway and the world of terrorism, forced migration and transnational crime that is linked to violent conflict, poverty and the lack of effective, accountable and inclusive governance in other states, and as a niche diplomacy which enables Norway, with a small population and relatively limited hard power capabilities, to 'punch above its weight' in international affairs and have its voice heard in a range of international fora in ways that would otherwise be difficult to achieve.<sup>227</sup>

## LESSONS AND THOUGHTS FOR AUSTRALIA



Why did Norwegian facilitation of the Oslo Process in 1993 and Australian facilitation of the Cambodian peace settlement in 1991 during periods of middle power activism in both countries subsequently lead to such different foreign policy courses in regard to peacemaking for the two countries? The Norwegian experience of placing peacemaking at the forefront of foreign policy holds a number of important lessons for Australia.

The first is that Norway's peacemaking is underwritten by considerable funding. This is an obvious point, but a central one. It relates not to the capacity of each country, but to the political and budget priority which each country has set. The second is that peacemaking does not stand alone within Norwegian foreign policy. It is inextricably linked to Norway's generous bilateral aid program to conflict affected countries, its firm support for the United Nations system, and the primacy of conflict management within an international rules-based order underpinning Norway's access to an extended maritime zone.

While Australia can take several lessons from Norway's experiments in the delivery and institutionalisation of peacemaking in response to overseas conflicts, there are also distinct differences between the countries' political cultures, geopolitics and national priorities which constrain the direct application of Norwegian models to an Australian context.

The more general lesson is that the tension between a flexible and effective framework for peacemaking which draws upon the NGO and development community and resists potentially harmful procedural capture by the state, and the need to create durable state institutions in order to sustain peacemaking within foreign policy, retain knowledge and learn from past mistakes is a real problem, but one that can be managed.

Dan Smith, the current Director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, in an independent review of the strategic framework for peacebuilding in Norway, Germany, UK and the Netherlands provides a clear approach which may enable Australia to build peacemaking institutions which retain the flexibility and field driven prerequisites for appropriate conflict interventions.<sup>228</sup>

The first step in this process would be to establish a firm divide between: a) *a general strategic framework for peacemaking* within a state to ensure consistency and coherence, evaluate and learn

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227 Katarzyna Pisarska, 'Peace Diplomacy and the Domestic Dimension of Norwegian Foreign Policy: The Insider's Accounts', *Scandinavian Political Studies* 38 (2), June 2015, 198-215.

228 Dan Smith, *Towards a Strategic Framework for Peacebuilding: Getting Their Act Together*, Evaluation Report 1/2004, Brattvaag: Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2004.

from past successes and failures, and resource specific interventions, and; b) *the specific strategies adopted for peacemaking in response to a given conflict*, which cannot be pre-determined and must be tailored in response to each specific context with reference to the capacity and guidelines determined by a state's general peacemaking strategy.<sup>229</sup>

The general strategic framework for peacemaking could then include:

- A statement of political principles and worldview as it relates to conflict and conflict intervention.
- The Australian government's understanding of the concept of peacemaking and its purpose.
- The importance of tailoring, and the procedures by which, a specific peacemaking response could be tailored to a given context – including the need for a conflict analysis, needs assessment and feasibility assessment.
- The conditions in which Australia would consider whether to launch or support peacemaking interventions.
- An identification of the main peacemaking capabilities available to the government and our strengths and weaknesses in relation to alternative or complementary third parties.
- A statement outlining Australia's approach to continuously improving its ability to support peace processes, in particular through evaluating and learning from national and international experience.<sup>230</sup>

The NMFA commissioned review emphasised that what this **general strategy** cannot do is "specify the purpose and shape of each intervention except in the most general terms."<sup>231</sup>

There is therefore a need for a specific **intervention strategy** for each conflict to which Australia seeks to respond, which would be guided by the principles set out in its overarching peacemaking strategy, and include a strong focus on creating a strategy 'owned by those who implement it', close coordination with local, regional and international partners, and which draws upon both in-depth country and regional knowledge. This would include knowledge in DFAT country desks and Embassies, and in NGO and aid communities with long standing connections to the affected communities. It would also include drawing on in-depth knowledge of peacemaking toolkits which could be provided through a standing mediation support unit within DFAT or through a defined peacemaking division within the Australian Civilian Corp which greatly expands upon and resources personnel in existing stabilisation rosters.

Adapted from the NMFA commissioned review, each tailored intervention strategy would:

- Establish a strategic planning and coordination mechanism;
- Undertake conflict analysis;
- Undertake an intervention assessment, including a needs assessment

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229 *ibid.*, 13.

230 *ibid.*

231 *ibid.*, 11.

and a feasibility assessment;

- Establish the goals of an intervention and ensure coherence with a state's general peacemaking strategy;
- Consult with relevant IGOs and NGOs on cooperative implementation of a strategy;
- Establish an implementation and output timetable in relation to available resources;
- Ensure coherence and complementarity of Australian intervention strategy and timetable in relation to broader peacemaking efforts; and,
- Establish mechanisms for monitoring, evaluation and assessment.<sup>232</sup>

To ensure the effectiveness of a country's general peacemaking and specific intervention strategies a degree of institutionalisation is required, comprising a modest standing capability coupled with surge capacity to equip intervention strategies.

Based on an evaluation of Norwegian approaches to support for peace processes, NMFA commissioned reviews of strategic peacebuilding frameworks in Norway, Germany, UK and the Netherlands, and prior evaluations of Australian peacemaking capacity by Martin, Shea and Langmore,<sup>233</sup> this level of institutionalisation would entail the following:

- A standing inter-departmental committee and/or DFAT unit that would take overall carriage of Australia's peacemaking strategy, coordinate the initiation of personnel required to create and implement intervention strategies, periodically review capabilities against intervention performance, and ensure coherence between intervention strategies and Australia's broad peacemaking strategy.
- An analytical unit of the standing committee with an ongoing role to (directly or through subcontracting) monitor conflict situations, undertake conflict analysis, and undertake intervention need and feasibility assessments.
- A strategic evaluation group with an ongoing role to evaluate the overall *impact* of peacemaking intervention strategies on a country or region. This evaluation would be distinct from the evaluation of *outputs* of individual intervention strategies, which would be subject to a separate evaluation process and method.
- A mediation standby roster providing a pool of pre-vetted, rapidly deployable specialists in various peacemaking methodologies and country experts (for instance by redefining and expanding the existing stabilisation section of the Australian Civilian Corp).
- Core funding to support the standing committee, evaluation group and standby rosters.

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<sup>232</sup> *ibid.*, 15.

<sup>233</sup> Aran Martin, Nathan Shea and John Langmore, 'International mediation and Australian Foreign Policy: building institutional capacity to respond to overseas conflict', *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 71 (1), 2017, 88-104.

- A contingency funding pool to ensure the standing committee can provide the right resources, at the right time, to a task force drawn from the mediation standby roster to design, implement and evaluate tailored, timely and context-specific interventions.

Adopting this structure would have the potential to capture the best aspects of Norway's approaches to state support for peace processes developed since the end of the Cold War, while at the same time balancing the tension between a flexible institutional structure that maximises the potential to draw upon and support civil society and international organisations to play constructive roles in armed conflicts of concern to Australia, the need to ensure predictability and a long term approach to peacemaking within state foreign policy, and the ability to draw upon acquired knowledge and skills in order to rapidly launch and sustain effective strategies to prevent and resolve international conflicts for humanitarian reasons and to support Australia's fundamental interest in maintaining a peaceful and prosperous world.

# SOUTH AFRICA





## Synopsis

Since ending apartheid, South Africa, as an emerging middle power and despite spending excessively on conventional military forces, has also been actively engaged in multilateral peace operations in the DRC, Burundi and Darfur. It has been a major player in developing the Africa Union.

However the continuing high extent of economic inequality stimulates internal violence, which illustrates the importance of economic recovery for peacebuilding. Given the high opportunity cost of military expenditure and South Africa's safety from external aggression, there is a case for even reducing military expenditure from the current 1.1 per cent of GDP.

Experience suggests that military interventions are commonly less cost-effective than non-violent means of conflict transformation. There has been a downward trend in one-sided violence in Sub-Saharan Africa since 2002. Security depends on effective functioning of social services as well as the economy and all branches of the governance and justice sectors. Preparation of national policies for achieving sustainable peace is vital, and inclusive dialogue can be a valuable tool.

# South Africa's initiatives for peace: the case for a greater balance between military and non-military efforts

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## INTRODUCTION



The aim of this paper is to provide a short review of South Africa's involvement in peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding since the advent of democracy in 1994 and to suggest, by way of a constructive critique, some alternative approaches in keeping with the country's foreign policy priorities. The meaning of the three concepts first need to be clarified.

*Peacekeeping* typically refers to the deployment of military personnel whose role is to prevent violence occurring between two or more armed groups. By so doing, they save the various costs of armed conflict and can provide a breathing space for peacemaking efforts to proceed. Peacekeeping involves conflict management.

*Peacemaking* refers to diplomatic efforts, typically involving negotiation and mediation, which brings parties to a conflict together for discussion and dialogue with the hope of reaching a peace agreement. Peacemaking aims for conflict resolution, by finding an outcome which leaves all parties satisfied.

*Peacebuilding* can have a preventive and a treatment/recovery emphasis. While it is obviously true that prevention of armed conflict is far less costly than rebuilding a country after armed conflict, an effective recovery process is likely to help prevent future armed conflict. Peacebuilding in its preventive sense implies some attempt to identify and address the underlying causes of conflict while recovery processes can include opportunities to set up new structures which redress these causes.

Each of these three, it should be noted, can occur at the macro-level involving governments and leaders of factions but also at the micro-level, where it may involve community conflict management and resolution structures such as *baraza*, which operates in various forms throughout central and east Africa.

## Peacekeeping

The role of the South African Defence Force under apartheid was twofold. First, it protected the country's borders from the perceived threat of communism, most clearly exemplified by the SADF's 'border wars' between 1966 and 1990 in Namibia and Angola against SWAPO, Angolan government forces and their Soviet-backed Cuban allies. Second, it maintained the regime in power by helping enforce various apartheid laws and by combatting the threat posed by terrorists, including those of the armed wing of the African National Congress, *Umkhonto we Siswe* – 'the spear of the nation' – between 1960 and 1991.

The interest of the new South African National Defence Force in peacekeeping in the modern sense was first documented in its submissions to the 1996 *White Paper on Defence* which led to the infamous 'arms deal' of 1999. It is interesting to note that the naval vessels and combat aircraft which made up the arms deal were state of the art items suitable for fighting in a conventional war, even though these have been rare for decades and almost non-existent since the end of the Cold War. The weapons acquired have been of virtually no use in South Africa's subsequent peacekeeping efforts. The 1996 White Paper was followed in 1998 by the *White Paper on South African Participation in International Peace Missions*.

South Africa has been active in the provision of peacekeepers, also known as peace operations, since 1999, when it first deployed troops under the UN to the Democratic Republic of Congo. Since then, its deployments have ranged between 1,500 and 2,500 in any year and these seem to represent the maximum which the SANDF can provide by way of peacekeepers. Although South Africa can be regarded as an important contributor of peacekeepers on the continent, with 1,426 uniformed personnel as at June 2016 (of whom 1,355 are with MONUSCO in the Democratic Republic of Congo), its contribution is modest. For example, it provides only 7.6 per cent of MONUSCO's uniformed personnel although, up until the end of March 2016, it also had over 700 uniformed personnel with the joint UN/Africa Union operation in Darfur, out of a total of over 17,000 peacekeepers.<sup>234</sup>

Lotz and colleagues identify a strong connection between South Africa's foreign policy and its involvement in peace operations:

South African deployments to Burundi and the DRC were characterised by Pretoria's leading role as a facilitator in the peace processes in both countries, whereas the South African deployment to Darfur paved the way for South Africa to play a leading role in the resolution of conflicts in the Sudan(s).

[Peacekeeping] is linked to its growing self-image as an emerging "middle power," and as an African power, in the international arena. Consequently, South Africa views such operations as a foreign policy tool which can support its ambition to play a leading role in multilateral forums.<sup>235</sup>

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234 United Nations, Contributors to United Nations peacekeeping operations, 2016. [http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/2016/jun16\\_1.pdf](http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/2016/jun16_1.pdf), accessed 3 August 2016.

235 W. Lotze, C. de Coning and T. Neetjling, Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: South Africa, 2015. <http://www.providingforpeacekeeping.org/2014/04/03/contributor-profile-south-africa/>, accessed 2 August 2016.

## Peacemaking

The 2011 *White Paper on Foreign Policy*<sup>236</sup> identified five priorities for South Africa in pursuing an active engagement in world affairs: Giving first place to issues affecting the African continent; Cooperating with other countries of the South in addressing underdevelopment; Promoting global equity and social justice; Partnering countries of the North to build a better world; and Strengthening multilateral bodies such as BRICS.

South Africa has been a major player in the development of the African Union and pressed hard for the appointment of a South African - Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma – to the chair of the Africa Union Commission between 2012 and 2016. Its annual financial contribution represents around 15 per cent of the AU's total income.

South Africa hosted and participated in the Inter-Congolese Dialogue between various countries and factions in the Democratic Republic of Congo for more than three years which led to the signing of the 'Global and All-inclusive Agreement' in April 2003.<sup>237</sup> Part of the final agreement involved the deployment of UN peacekeeping forces (MONUC, later MONUSCO) to protect the transitional institutions and ensure security in the capital, Kinshasa. South Africa also contributed R126 million to assist with the country's 2011 election.

South Africa played an important role in helping end Burundi's civil war which led to the signing of the Arusha agreements, initially in 2000 and finally in 2005. The then Deputy President, Jacob Zuma, worked alongside former president Nelson Mandela, who co-mediated the first Arusha agreement in 2000 together with Tanzania's Julius Nyerere.

Despite such history, South Africa's diplomatic standing in Africa, according to the Institute for Security Studies, is '... a far cry from what it was a decade or so ago [when] Nelson Mandela served as an inspiration to war-torn countries ... No one can claim his stature now.'<sup>238</sup> Within the 54 members of the AU, there has been growing disquiet over the 'increasing influence of Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma and her inner circle of advisers in extending South Africa's influence over the AU, to the detriment of other nations' interests'.<sup>239</sup>

## Peacebuilding

While South Africa has certainly been involved in peacekeeping and peacemaking on the continent since the late 1990s, it has done little directly by way of peacebuilding.

Peacebuilding, as noted, most commonly refers to the processes involved in the recovery of communities and nations after armed conflict. These processes are likely to involve a wide range of activity, including: Disarmament, demobilization and re-integration of ex-combatants; Re-establishment of the rule of law, police and the judicial systems, and the public service in general; Establishment of a new government; The repair and reconstruction of infrastructure, including roads, schools and clinics; Transitional justice mechanisms to deal with perpetrators of violence; and, the healing of individuals, communities and nations from the trauma of armed conflict.

South Africa has, of course, its own recent experience of peacebuilding in the transition from apartheid

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236 Department of International Relations and Cooperation, South Africa (DIRCO), *White Paper on South African Foreign Policy - Building a Better World: The Diplomacy of Ubuntu*, 2011. <http://www.gov.za/documents/white-paper-south-african-foreign-policy-building-better-world-diplomacy-ubuntu>, accessed 16 August 2016.

237 E. Rogier, *The inter-Congolese dialogue: a critical overview, 2003*, [www.issafrica.org/uploads/CHALLENGESPEACEINTERCONGO.PDF](http://www.issafrica.org/uploads/CHALLENGESPEACEINTERCONGO.PDF), accessed 23 August 2016.

238 Institute for Security Studies, 'Zuma's lost opportunity in Burundi', *ISS Today*, 11 March 2016, <https://www.issafrica.org/iss-today/zumas-lost-opportunity-in-burundi>, accessed 24 August 2016.

239 Elissa Jobson, 'US envoy warns AU about SA', *Business Day*, 6 September 2013, [www.pressreader.com/south-africa/business-day/20130906](http://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/business-day/20130906), accessed 24 August 2016.

to democracy which involved most of these activities. Of most significance, perhaps, were the negotiations between 1990 and 1994 culminating in the elections of 1994, the reintegration of various military formations into the new South African National Defence Force and the attempt to deal with human rights violations during apartheid by the Truth & Reconciliation Commission.

The hope that the transfer of political power to the black majority would result in acceptance and friendship between the ethnic groups has not been met, despite the inspirational leadership of individuals such as Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu. This can be attributed to the fact that the negotiations of the early 1990s left economic power very largely in the hands of the white minority.<sup>240</sup>

The 2015 *Reconciliation Barometer* (cited in Hofmeyer and Govender) found that South Africans believe economic inequality to be the greatest obstacle to reconciliation. From a nationally representative survey, it concluded that:

... most South Africans (61.4%) agree that reconciliation remains impossible for as long as those disadvantaged under apartheid remain poor... the majority of South Africans not only continue to value the importance and necessity of reconciliation, but they also attach significant connotations of redistributive justice to it. This has considerable implications in a country that routinely vies for the inglorious honour of being the world's most unequal nation.<sup>241</sup>

Given the well-established connection between economic inequality and inter-personal violence, it is unsurprising that South Africa is one of the world's most violent countries.<sup>242</sup> Its failure to build on the foundation of goodwill left by the likes of Mandela and Tutu and so produce a 'rainbow nation' has had important implications for its standing in Africa. The credibility of South Africa's peacebuilding capacity elsewhere in the continent has been tainted by its track record in building peace domestically.

It is clear that the tasks of peacebuilding are formidable and costly and, depending on the duration and severity of the armed conflict, may take decades to achieve. The 'liberal peace' approach has been to rely on democratic elections and free market capitalism as the appropriate mechanisms for political and economic recovery respectively. In part influenced by the debacle of Iraq's recovery after the US-led invasion in 2003, there has been a move towards the planning of recovery processes.

Typically, the liberal peace approach has emphasized the holding of elections as soon as possible. However, given that the win/lose nature of elections is likely to leave large minorities of the population unhappy and perhaps ready to recommence fighting, Paul Collier has persuasively argued that first priority should be given to economic recovery.<sup>243</sup> People who are satisfied with their economic position are less likely to return to violence. Such an approach might involve governance by the UN for such time as there has been sufficient progress in rebuilding economic security to provide a foundation for peaceful elections whose outcomes will be accepted.

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240 For a popular account of the decision and its consequences, see Naomi Klein, 'Chapter 10 Democracy Born in Chains: South Africa's Constricted Freedom.' In *The Shock Doctrine*, Penguin Group, 2008, 194-217.

241 J. Hofmeyer and R. Govender, 'National reconciliation, race relations, and social inclusion. South African Barometer', *Briefing Paper* 1. Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2015.

242 R. Wilkinson and K. Pickett, *The spirit level: why equality is better for everyone*, London: Penguin, 2010.

243 Paul Collier, *War, guns and votes: democracy in dangerous places*, London: Vintage, 2010.



## The high cost/low effectiveness of the military

According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute's military expenditure (milex) data base, South Africa spent R44 579 million (US\$3 381 million) on defence in 2015; this amounted to around 20 per cent of total milex by all 47 countries in sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>244</sup> Although South Africa's milex fell significantly in real terms during the 1990s, it has risen since 2000, despite a dramatic fall in the number of armed conflict worldwide since 1990, and in sub-Saharan Africa since the late 1990s. Worldwide, it seems, the military is used to a certain level of spending, irrespective of the need. And when there are no threats, these are invented in order to justify maintaining or increasing milex.<sup>245</sup>

It is often thought that the military is a special case – because everything else depends on the country being able to survive by being able to defend itself against potential invaders. If invasion was a threat facing South Africa, this argument might have some merit but the country is one of the safest from invasion. Therefore, the military has no claim to be more special than any other government department. Military expenditure – both current and capital – should follow the same rules as any other government expenditure category i.e. there must be a clear justification for the expenditure. Then some other body (normally the Ministry of Finance) needs to estimate the opportunity costs of this expenditure i.e. what will have to be foregone as a result of spending a particular amount on the military? Milex must be cost effective in terms of (a) total expenditure and (b) expenditure allocations within the military budget. The economist's question – which needs to be constantly asked – is 'Could we meet any particular objective more cost effectively?'

It is often asserted that South Africa 'should' spend 2 per cent of its GDP on defence, compared to its current level of 1.1 per cent. In fact, 2 per cent was the *maximum* milex allocation which some international agencies used in the early 1990s to help decide whether a country would be given financial assistance; it has no more validity than any other figure. The illogicality of such rules of thumb is illustrated by comparing South Africa with its neighbour Lesotho, which spent 2.2 per cent of its GDP on defence in 2015; this represented a third of one per cent of South Africa's milex.

How can an appropriate level of milex be determined? The strategic location of some countries means that a case for a higher level of milex can be made but it is very difficult to make such a case for post-apartheid South Africa, especially given the reduction in the number and intensity of armed conflicts on the continent and worldwide. Of course, this situation might change in the future but it would be impossible for a threat from elsewhere in Africa to develop quickly, e.g. by a build-up of forces to the extent that they posed a threat, without our being forewarned in sufficient time to expand the country's defensive capabilities.

Turning the focus to effectiveness, the military's track record in winning wars and creating a democratic peace is not impressive. Afghanistan has proven an impossible war to win and Iraq – on a number of social and economic indicators – is in a far worse situation now than it was under Saddam Hussein. US military attempts to impose 'democratic' regime changes in a number of countries have few success stories.<sup>246</sup> The main locations to which South Africa has committed peacekeepers – the eastern DRC, the Darfur region of Sudan and Burundi – are still bedevilled by violence and instability.

It is true that South Africa's military has other roles, particularly the provision of peacekeeping forces. This is viewed as part of the country's responsibility to building peace as an aspiring participant on the world stage. Here again, the cost effectiveness question needs to be asked. Could we contribute

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244 SIPRI, 2016.

245 C. Conetta and C. Knight, 'Inventing threats', *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 54 (2), 1998. For a review of the main drivers of South Africa's military expenditure, see G. Harris, 'What drives military expenditure? A South African case study', *Journal of Interdisciplinary Economics* 21 (3), 2009, 197-209.

246 J. Dobbins, 'America's role in nation-building: from Germany to Iraq', *Survival* 45 (4), 2003, 87-110; M. Pei and S. Kasper, *Lessons from the past: the American record on nation building*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Policy Brief no. 24, 2003.

to peace more effectively and at lower cost, perhaps by using non-military approaches?

In addition to cost effectiveness, the principles of security sector reform (SSR) can be applied to a country's security sector to help achieve a rational allocation of resources. The distinctive emphases of SSR are: An expansion of the security sector to include a number of government bodies (police, the intelligence services, judiciary) rather than the military alone; A more clearly defined relationship between these different security sector bodies; A more clearly defined relationship between the security sector and the various institutions of a democratic state – the government, parliament, judiciary and civil society; and a more clearly defined relationship between national security objectives and budget allocations to the security sector.

Under SSR, the various tasks of national security are assigned to specific security sector bodies. Each body has known and unique objectives and each is accountable for meeting those objectives. A high degree of transparency is necessary. Under such a rational approach, the economist's question about the most cost effective way of achieving a given objective can be meaningfully addressed. Without such an approach to the security sector, there will be, at best, inefficiency and ineffectiveness i.e. more resources will be used than are necessary and a lower level of security will be achieved.

## The increasing relevance of non-military approaches

### *There have been significant changes in the peace and security environment*

It is well known that since the end of the Cold War around 1990, wars between states have been rare. In Africa, the only such war was that between Eritrea and Ethiopia between 1998 and 2000, although countries have sent forces into other countries, such as the DRC, for short periods of time.

In addition, civil wars have changed in character. Whilst previously they were typically between governments and opponents wanting either to take over government or to secede, the past 20 years have seen the emergence of different kinds of wars within countries. The most recent report of the Human Security Report Project,<sup>247</sup> using data from the Uppsala Conflict Data Program and the Peace Research Institute Oslo, categorises violence under three headings. State based conflicts occur when one of the parties is the state, non-state based conflicts, which involve parties other than the state and one-sided violence against civilians, which may be carried out by states or non-state actors. The evidence for the period 1946-2011, as reported by the Human Security Report Project can be summarized as follows: (i) The number of state-based conflicts worldwide peaked in the early 1990s, declined and has hovered at an average between 30 and 40 conflicts at any time. The vast majority of these have been low intensity and concentrated in peripheral areas rather than high intensity conflicts which result in more than 1,000 battle deaths in a year. The average state based conflict caused 600 battle deaths in 2011. (ii) Non-state conflicts increased between 1989 and 2011; these are often short lived and end within a year. Non-state based conflicts caused a little under 6,000 battle deaths in sub-Saharan Africa in 2011. (iii) There has been a downward trend in one-sided violence in sub-Saharan Africa since 2002, with under 1,000 deaths per annum in total in 2010 and 2011.<sup>248</sup>

An obvious form of violence in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is terrorism - 'the wrongful use of violence in order to intimidate civilians or politicians for ideological, religious, or political reasons with no regard for public safety'<sup>249</sup>. Total deaths from terrorism averaged 18,600 per annum between 2006 and 2013. Terrorist attacks, as reported in the *Statistica database*,<sup>250</sup> numbered 11,774 in 2015, of which 44 per cent occurred in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan. One sub-Saharan African country, Nigeria, was in

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247 Human Security Report Project, *Human security report 2013: The decline in global violence: evidence, explanation and contestation*, Vancouver: Human Security Press, 2013.

248 Ibid.

249 Statistica, *Facts and statistics on Terrorism*, <https://www.statista.com/topics/2267/terrorism/>, accessed 29 August 2016.

250 Statistica database, 'Terrorist Attacks by Country', <http://www.statista.com/statistics/236983/terrorist-attacks-by-country/>, accessed 29 August 2016.

the top ten countries, with 589 attacks. It is doubtful that bigger militaries are the most effective way of combatting terrorism. Indeed, the 'war on terror' initiated by the US in 2003 following the Twin Towers attack has provided justification for many countries increasing their military expenditures and acquiring weapons which are of no conceivable use against terrorists. And as has been observed many times, violent approaches to terrorism may well have been counter-productive by providing increasing numbers of people willing to engage in terrorist acts.

There have also been significant changes in the way peace and security are conceived. More than 20 years ago, the *Human Development Report*<sup>251</sup> clearly explained that security means much more than the protection of a country's borders against invasion. It identified seven dimensions of security - economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political - most of which are far more significant to the lives of the vast majority of people in developing countries than the threat of invasion or overthrow of government.

In fact, probably because of the widespread reporting of violence, it has surprised many that there is strong evidence that over the long term, humankind is becoming less inclined to resort to violence. Most recently, the evidence for this proposition was presented by Steven Pinker in a book titled *The better angels of our nature*.<sup>252</sup> His evidence and reasoning, and those of his critics, are carefully reviewed by the 2013 Human Security Report Project.<sup>253</sup>

Pinker attributes this change to 'a civilizing process' which began in Europe in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, a 'humanitarian revolution' in the Enlightenment of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and a series of rights movements which began in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and which are continuing.

Since 2011, state-based conflict has increased since 2014 as a result of the Russia-Ukraine conflict and conflicts involving radical Islamists, in a number of countries but these, in Pinker's opinion, do not begin to undo the progress made. Each other form of violence has 'stuck to its recent low or declined even further'.<sup>254</sup>

### ***There is evidence that nonviolent campaigns are far more effective than violent campaigns***

A pathbreaking piece of research which challenges conventional wisdom concerns the effectiveness of nonviolent campaigns. Chenoweth and Stephan compiled a dataset of 323 violent and nonviolent resistance campaigns between 1900 and 2006 which aimed at bringing about regime change, expelling foreign occupiers and secession.<sup>255</sup> Careful criteria were developed for classifying campaigns as violent or nonviolent and for judging their success, limited success and failure. The main finding was that nonviolent campaigns were successful 53 per cent of the time compared with 26 per cent for violent campaigns. There is evidence that the gap is increasing in favour of nonviolence. Between 2000 and 2006, non-violent campaigns were successful in 70 per cent of cases compared with 15 per cent for violent campaigns. They attribute this success to the mass participation which characterises nonviolent campaigns as opposed to violent campaigns.

This decline in violence and the conscious choice of individuals and groups to live nonviolently brings to mind the prediction of the late Dietrich Fischer concerning the future of war:

... just as in the course of history, humans have abolished a number of institutions we now consider inhuman: cannibalism, ritual sacrifice, slavery, absolute monarchy, and most recently colonialism, it is possible, even likely,

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251 UNDP *Human Development Report* 1994, [http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/255/hdr\\_1994\\_en\\_complete\\_nostats.pdf](http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/255/hdr_1994_en_complete_nostats.pdf), accessed 29 Oct 2016.

252 Steven Pinker, *The better angels of our nature*, London: Penguin, 2011.

253 Human Security Report Project, *Human security report 2013*.

254 Steven Pinker, 'Now for the good news: things really are getting better', *The Guardian*, 11 September 2015. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/sep/11/news-isis-syria-headlines-violence-steven-pinker>, accessed 7 September 2016.

255 E. Chenoweth & M. Stephan, *Why civil resistance works: the strategic logic of nonviolent resistance*, Columbia, NY: Columbia University Press, 2011.

that someday war will follow and will be considered as equally abhorrent as we consider cannibalism today.<sup>256</sup>

### *There is new thinking about transforming conflict*

The main writer on conflict transformation is John Paul Lederach,<sup>257</sup> who understands conflict resolution as involving a solution which is satisfying to the parties involved in a conflict. While this may well stave off violence, it may do little or nothing for what Lederach sees as the higher objective necessary for sustainable peace – building or rebuilding a relationship of respect, even friendship, between parties.

There are strong echoes of Gandhi and King here. In brief, they did not ostracize or shun their opponents but interacted with them. They recommended love—an intense ‘friendly feeling’—for their opponents and worked to build friendships with them. They were transparent about their own strongly held beliefs and hopes and did not compromise on them; but they did not try to defeat their opponents and looked for win-win outcomes.

The following quotations, selected from Mary King, illustrate this point.<sup>258</sup>

My attitude to the English is one of utter friendliness and respect. I claim to be their friend, because it is contrary to my nature to distrust a single human being or to believe that any nation on earth is incapable of redemption. ... My hope about them is that they will at no distant date retrace their steps, revise their policy of exploitation of undisciplined and disorganized races and give tangible proof that India is an equal friend and partner in the British Commonwealth to come. (Gandhi, 1925)

... non-violent non-cooperation must have its roots in love. Its object should not be to punish the opponent or to inflict injury upon him. Even while non-cooperating with him, we must make him feel that in us he has a friend and we should try to reach his heart by rendering him humanitarian service whenever possible. In fact it is the acid test of non-violence that in a non-violent conflict there is no rancour left behind, and in the end the enemies are converted into friends. (Gandhi, 1938)

When the opportunity presents itself to defeat your enemy ... you must not do it. For love in the final analysis means understanding and creative goodwill to all men; it simply means that you will do nothing to defeat anybody. (Martin Luther King 1958)

### *There are cost effective non-military ways of building peace*

One assessment of the cost effectiveness of a number of non-military approaches compared to that of the conventional military is summarised in the following table. As discussed, the military is high cost and at best only moderately effective. The alternatives are categorized as transforming military, reducing the number of disputes and building conflict resolving capacity. All appear superior to the conventional military in cost effective terms.

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256 D. Fischer, ‘On the relative cost of mediation and military intervention’, *The Economics of Peace & Security Journal* 1 (2), 2006, 16.

257 John Paul Lederach, *Building peace: sustainable reconciliation in divided societies*. Washington, DC: United States Institute for Peace, 1997; John Paul Lederach, *The little book of conflict transformation*, Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 2003.

258 Mary King, *Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr.: The power of nonviolent action*, Paris, UNESCO, 1999, 240, 257, 260.

**Table 1: Alternative ways of achieving security: relative costs and effectiveness<sup>259</sup>**

COSTS	METHOD	LIKELY EFFECTIVENESS
High	Conventional military	Low-moderate
	Transforming the military:	
Reduced	Non-offensive defence	Increased
Reduced	Civilianising military functions	Increased
Low	Social defence	Moderate
	Reducing the incidence of disputes:	
Moderate	Befriending neighbours	Moderate-high
High	Promoting democracy and development	High
	Building dispute-resolution capacity:	
Moderate	Education in conflict resolution and management	High
Low	Establishing conflict resolving Institutions	Moderate

## WHAT CAN SOUTH AFRICA DO TO MORE EFFECTIVELY BUILD PEACE?

It needs to be stated that peacekeeping forces may be necessary to help provide a breathing space for parties involved in a conflict to reflect and perhaps engage in dialogue with their opponents and for the population to engage in their livelihoods. However, peacekeeping forces alone are not likely to achieve sustainable peace.

Drawing on the foregoing data, four suggestions can be offered. The first is to try to come to a widely-accepted understanding about the sort of society which people want in, say, 10 or 20 year's time. The process by which this understanding is reached is hugely important. Insistence on consultation, inclusivity, dialogue and respect for each other during such a process can provide an example of how future conflicts can be effectively and non-violently dealt with. South Africa could assist by offering training in the facilitation skills which would underpin such a process.

The second suggestion is a plan to move the country towards this type of society. The plan for sustainable peace will be realistic in terms of the time (there are no quick fixes when it comes to recovery from armed conflict), will include performance indicators and targets and estimates of the human and financial resources required. The plan also needs to be a product of consultation, inclusivity, dialogue and respect. It should not be owned by the elites. South Africa could assist by offering training in the skills of strategic planning.

Third, there will be a need for training people in a range of recovery and development skills which can occur in and outside the country and involve local and foreign instructors. South Africa could send instructors and offer places to foreign students in South Africa.

The fourth suggestion focuses on the higher task of conflict transformation. How will former

259 Table adapted from G. Harris, *Achieving security in sub-Saharan Africa: cost effective alternatives to the military*, Pretoria: institute for Security Studies, 2004, 200.

enemies come to relate to one another in mutual respect, even friendship? How will truth, justice, forgiveness, reconciliation and healing be encouraged? Infrastructures for peace will be necessary, both temporarily and permanent. A few countries have a government ministry responsible for reconstruction and recovery after armed conflict and/or peacebuilding. The case has been made for sub-Saharan Africa and South Africa could take a lead by establishing one.<sup>260</sup> How much of this will come from government leading and how much will emerge spontaneously from bottom-up, perhaps with input from faith communities? South Africa could share the strengths and limitations of its Truth & Reconciliation Commission and host foreign students evaluating the various ways of building reconciliation.

It is evident that this understanding of sustainable peace has only a modest role for the military. It is therefore appropriate for governments, both those directly-affected by armed conflict and those which assist their recovery, to make significant financial resource reallocations away from the military and towards the ministries and civil society organisations responsible for carrying out the plan for sustainable peace.

There seems to be support for such an approach from a nationally-representative survey of public knowledge and preferences regarding foreign policy,<sup>261</sup> which found that South African's opinions were quite strongly influenced by ideological preferences. 'Humanitarians' were supportive of helping other African countries by giving them aid (66% of all respondents agreed to this) while 'protectionists' favoured limited contact with other countries, including giving aid and sending peacekeepers. Interestingly, 40 per cent of all respondents were in favour of sending peacekeepers to help keep peace elsewhere and 41 per cent were not.

Finally, South Africa has developed a reputation of strongly pushing its own economic and political agendas, to the point where some regard it as a bully. Given the levels of violence within South Africa, it needs to offer peacebuilding support with an appropriate measure of humility.

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260 G. Harris, 'Ministries of peacebuilding in sub-Saharan Africa: rationale, function and establishment', *African Security Review* 20 (1), 2011, 122 – 133.

261 B. Roberts, J. Struwig, S. Gordon and N. Bohler-Muller, 'Contemporary South African foreign policy; public knowledge, beliefs and preferences', *Human Sciences Research Council Policy Brief Series 2014/15(13)*, Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2015.



 **UNITED KINGDOM**

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## Synopsis

The UK Government has historically invested and continues to invest both substantial resources and significant political capital in conflict prevention and resolution. Factors which have influenced the British approach to mediation and peace processes include: its imperial history, evolving foreign policies, influential domestic and international conflicts, permanent membership of the UN Security Council and its peacebuilding architecture. The present Conservative Government is proud that it meets the NATO goal of two per cent of national income for defence and the UN target of 0.7 per cent for official development assistance (ODA). UK international strategy integrates defence, diplomacy, ODA and intelligence through organisational structure and policy formation.

The views of foreign affairs, defence and development are given equal status in decision making because the relevant Secretaries of State are permanent members of the National Security Council which is chaired by the Prime Minister, providing a strong basis for political leadership and a whole-of-government approach to peace processes. Half Government ODA is spent in conflict affected and vulnerable countries, more than \$A2 billion through the Conflict, Stability and Security Fund. This focuses on conflict prevention and rapid responses to crises, often through diplomats working behind the scenes in collaboration with, and financially supporting multilateral organisations, other countries and NGOs. A recent example of UK leadership was adoption of Security Council Resolution 2171 on 21 August 2014 on comprehensive strengthening of UN and member state commitment to peaceful conflict resolution.

Analysis of effectiveness is undertaken through the Joint Assessment of Conflict and Stability mechanism. If Australia wished to strengthen its architecture and approach to mediation and peacebuilding it would first have to determine the remit it wants to exercise internationally and then design a system fit for that ambition. For any structure to be effective it needs political authority and the equal views of foreign affairs, defence and development have to be represented. The paper concludes with some concrete operational suggestions for increasing effectiveness.

# United Kingdom: Architecture and Approaches to Mediation and Peacebuilding

Researched and drafted by Michele Law on behalf of Conciliation Resources. Edited by Ciaran O'Toole and Teresa Dumasy, Conciliation Resources.

## DEFINITIONS AND METHODOLOGY

For this paper 'mediation' is defined as an intervention that may be used to resolve disputes that arise in peace building. 'Peacebuilding' is the application of a series of interventions aimed at moving groups from conflict to peace, and at embedding that peace for the long term. It is worth noting that UK Government policies and strategy documents do not generally use the terms 'peacebuilding' and 'mediation' in reference to its own work on conflict. More commonly references are to 'upstream conflict prevention'. In the case of the Department for International Development (DFID), peacebuilding is referred to in relation to 'peacebuilding and statebuilding', although peacebuilding alone does not feature strongly in its portfolio of instruments and programmes.

This paper was written on the basis of un-attributable interviews with key United Kingdom (UK) Government, parliamentary, non-government organisations (NGO) and United Nations (UN) staff, and a desk based review. WebLinks to documents are provided in footnotes.

## INFLUENCES ON THE UK APPROACH TO CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Factors influencing the UK's approach to conflict resolution include its history and context; its foreign policy; influential domestic and international conflicts; and how the UK relates to the UN system and its peacebuilding architecture.

### (1) History and Context

The UK once exercised sovereignty over the now Commonwealth countries giving it a sense of remaining global authority. As Commonwealth members attained independence, the UK's global influence diminished. In 2011 it had a population of 63 million composed predominantly of white British 80.5 per cent, followed by any other white 4.4 per cent then Indian 2.5 per cent and Pakistani 2.0 per cent.<sup>262</sup> This shows a decrease in people

262 UN Stats, <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/vitstats/serATab2.pdf>.

identifying as white British of 7% from 2001. According to the UK Office of National Statistics (ONS) the UK population is ageing. From 1974 - 2014 the average age rose from 33.9 to 40 years - an increase of 6 years.<sup>263</sup>

### *Migration and asylum*

According to the Migration Statistics Quarterly Report (MSQR) at February 2016 net migration in 2015 was 323,000, an increase of 31,000 from 2014.<sup>264</sup> The issue of migration and asylum seekers has become more politically charged since the Syrian war and the associated refugee crisis. According to the Office of National Statistics, asylum applications increased by 38% to 34,687 in the year ended March 2016, the highest number of applications since the year ended September 2004 (36,305).<sup>265</sup> The highest grant rate (87%) was made to Syrian applicants. The UK electorate's sensitivity to the 'refugee issue' influences the UK's approach to mediation and peacebuilding. For example, the UK's present approach to the conflict in Syria, is not to open its doors to refugees as has Germany, but instead to invest heavily in the humanitarian cause 'at source' (i.e. funding for refugee camps) to prevent refugees making the journey to Europe and seeking asylum in the UK.

### *Form of governance and Conservative Party leadership*

The 2010 - 2015 government was a coalition between the Liberal Democrats and the Conservative Party. The present government is by a Conservative majority, ruling on its own policy agenda without recourse to cross-party support. As a result the recent approach to mediation and peacebuilding aligns with Conservative Party thinking.

### *Defence and ODA spending*

The *SIPRI Military Expenditure Database* records that in 2015 UK defence spending was US\$55.46bn or 2% of GDP.<sup>266</sup> UK defence expenditure continues to hover around the 2% mark, down from a height of 2.5% in 2009, which in real terms was US\$57.92bn. Again according to SIPRI, this made the UK the 5th largest military spender after the USA, China, Saudi Arabia, and Russia (estimated figures) in 2015.

Last official 2014 *OECD* figures for UK ODA show the UK provided US\$19.4 billion in net ODA or 0.71% of Gross National Income (GNI), which was a 1.2% increase in real terms from 2013.<sup>267</sup> That made the UK the 5th largest DAC contributor in terms of ODA as a percentage of GNI and the second largest by volume. It is one of only five members to have met the UN target of 0.7% of ODA/GNI. In March 2015 the UK passed legislation requiring the 0.7% target to be met annually. Preliminary DFID statistics on ODA are now available for 2015 and finalised ONS statistics will become available in October 2016.<sup>268</sup> OECD calculations show a trend in UK ODA expenditure away from multilateral institutions to bilateral arrangements, and DFID's share of spend is dropping as more ODA is channelled through the FCO, Defence and the Home Office.<sup>269</sup> The UK prides itself on being the only country to meet the NATO target spending of 2 per cent of GDP on defence and the UN target of 0.7

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263 UK Office of National Statistics, <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160105160709/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/pop-estimate/population-estimates-for-uk--england-and-wales--scotland-and-northern-ireland/mid-2014/sty-ageing-of-the-uk-population.html>.

264 Migration Statistics Quarterly Report, [www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/migrationstatisticsquarterlyreport/february2016](http://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/migrationstatisticsquarterlyreport/february2016).

265 Home Office, National Statistics Summary, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/immigration-statistics-january-to-march-2016/summary>.

266 SIPRI Military Expenditure Database, <https://www.sipri.org/databases/milex>.

267 OECD, DAC Country Profile, United Kingdom, <http://www.oecd.org/dac/unitedkingdom.htm>.

268 Preliminary figures for 2015/16 show that over the past year the amount of ODA provided by the UK Government has increased by 4.4%. This represents an increase of £513 million, up from £11,726 million in 2014 to £12,239 million in 2015, [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/512978/Provisional-UK-Official-Dev-Ass-Proportion-Gross-Nat-Income2015a.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/512978/Provisional-UK-Official-Dev-Ass-Proportion-Gross-Nat-Income2015a.pdf).

269 Interestingly in 2015 62.9% of UK ODA was bilateral, up from 58.3% in 2014, whilst multilateral spend fell from 41.7% to 37.1% of UK ODA. In 2015 79.8% of UK ODA was provided by DFID, down from 86.0% in 2014. This decrease was associated with an increase in the share of non-DFID departmental ODA, which went up from 14% to 20.2%. The amount of UK ODA provided by DFID decreased by £318 million from £10,084 million in 2014 to £9,767 million in 2015.

per cent of GNI on development.<sup>270</sup>

### **Global Peace and Index Ranking (Institute for Economics and Peace, IEP)**

In 2015 the UK ranked 39th out of 162 countries assessed by the IEP in terms of the overall level of peace. The UK has experienced significant decreases in interpersonal violence and homicide-related costs, and an actual decrease of 30% in homicides from 2014. It also shows a trend of decreasing violence containment expenditure, though it still is ranked 10th in the world. IEP notes that threats of terrorism have increased in the UK and across Europe, and that recently 400 recruits from the UK have joined Daesh (Islamic State) (out of a total of 1800 from Europe). The heightened risk of terrorist activity within the UK has in part justified the increased levels of spending on conflict zones in an effort to reduce the risk to domestic security.

## **(2) UK foreign policy**

The UK continues to play a globally influential role in international relations through its membership of NATO and, to date, the European Union, its permanent seat on the UN Security Council, its 'special relationship' with the United States, and through a widespread diplomatic presence. It is also a leading country within the Commonwealth. The Government perceives its strong international reach as supporting UK business and commercial interests.

The UK's foreign policy is set out in the *Strategic Defence and Security Review (SDSR)* and *National Security Strategy*, DFID's *2015 Aid Strategy*, and in commitments in the Conservative Government Manifesto. According to the *SDSR* UK foreign policy is threefold: (1) To protect UK people, both inside and outside the UK, with an emphasis on a maintaining a strong armed force and its nuclear deterrent, combating extremism and terrorism, cyber-crime, and serious and organised crime, as well as ensuring that the state is resilient and has adequate crisis responses to man-made or natural disasters; (2) To maintain its global influence by working with partners, by strengthening the rules-based international order and its institutions, and by tackling conflict and building stability overseas; and, (3) To promote UK prosperity by ensuring that economic and national security go hand-in-hand, whereby a strong economy enables investment in security and global influence. The DFID Aid Strategy more closely ties aid in support of foreign policy and national security (see Section 4 (Policies) for further information).<sup>271</sup>

The FCO website<sup>272</sup> lists a further 22 policies that together make up its foreign policy. Those of more relevance show the UK's approach to mediation and peacebuilding include policies on Afghanistan<sup>273</sup>, conflict and fragile states<sup>274</sup>, counter-terrorism<sup>275</sup>, the Falklands, and human rights<sup>276</sup>. The Conservative Manifesto aligns with the approach taken in the *SDSR*.

## **(3) Domestic and international disputes**

### **Domestic**

Domestic conflicts that have especially influenced the UK approach to conflict resolution are Northern Ireland and the independence processes of Commonwealth states. Northern Ireland is cited as an example of the UK's ability to mediate and build peace domestically. Protagonists from international

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270 Foreword by the Prime Minister to the National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review 2015, [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/478933/52309\\_Cm\\_9161\\_NSS\\_SD\\_Review\\_web\\_only.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/478933/52309_Cm_9161_NSS_SD_Review_web_only.pdf).

271 National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review 2015, [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/478933/52309\\_Cm\\_9161\\_NSS\\_SD\\_Review\\_web\\_only.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/478933/52309_Cm_9161_NSS_SD_Review_web_only.pdf).

272 Foreign and Commonwealth Office, <https://www.gov.uk/government/policies?organisations%252525255B%252525255D=foreign-commonwealth-office>.

273 UK Government, Policies, *Afghanistan*, <https://www.gov.uk/government/policies/afghanistan>.

274 UK Government, Policies, *Conflict in fragile states*, <https://www.gov.uk/government/policies/afghanistan>.

275 UK Government, Policies, *Counter-terrorism*, <https://www.gov.uk/government/policies/counter-terrorism>.

276 UK Government, Policies, *Human Rights*, <https://www.gov.uk/government/policies/human-rights-internationally>.

conflicts are taken to Northern Ireland to be exposed to a comparative experience. The independence process for Commonwealth states was not necessarily conflictual, but had significance as each colony redefined its relationship with the UK, and each state - including the UK - redefined their status in the world.<sup>277</sup>

The history of colonialism influences the UK's approach to conflict resolution in that it often feels precluded from taking on the role of an independent mediator due to its reputation as a former colonial power. However, its historical links to the Commonwealth gives the UK a heightened sense of responsibility to take more of an interest in conflict in these countries. In countries where English is an official language and governance and legal frameworks were modelled on the UK, the UK has a comparative advantage.

### **International**

The most significant historical conflicts of influence on the UK approach to conflict resolution were World War One (WW1) and World War Two (WW2). Although memory of the wars is diminishing with time, the severe cost to the UK of a 'real war' remains vivid in the national memory, and is still talked of today by many grandparents (including those in former colonies, whose grandparents fought in WW2 for the UK). The UK's military strength has to a large degree been built through these conflicts, and the UK military forces enjoy high levels of public trust. The UK also played a leading role in setting up the international architecture in support of peace after WW2, especially through the formation of the UN and securing a permanent seat in the Security Council.

Engagement and interventions by the UK Government in conflicts over recent years have shaped its attitude, approach to and tools for conflict resolution and peacebuilding and mediation. Examples include the UK intervention in the Sierra Leone civil war (1991-2002), which led to the articulation of security sector reform as a development tool in peace- and state-building, and is regarded as an example of a more coherent approach which joined diplomacy, defence and development. UK military intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq conflicts significantly lowered political and public appetite for the deployment of UK ground troops to conflict zones overseas, as seen in the limited response to the recent conflicts in Libya, Yemen, Somalia, and Syria. These experiences prompted iterative reforms to the UK approach and architecture for engaging on conflict, and an internal questioning and appetite for effective responses.

#### **(4) Relations with the UN system and its peace architecture**

One of the UK's foreign policy objectives is to support the rules based international system. The UK uses its influence as a permanent Security Council member and large spender of ODA channelled through UN agencies, to try and make the UN fit for purpose and - critically - that it works in alignment with the UK's foreign policy objectives.<sup>278</sup> For example, gender and conflict is a key policy priority of the current Government and the UK is the permanent penholder in the Security Council for Women Peace and Security.

The UK likes to work through the UN to advance mediation and peacebuilding. It helped create the UN and is committed to its on-going role as international keeper of the peace. The UK influences the UN through its Missions in New York and Geneva. It also seconded staff into critical roles, for example DFID has previously seconded staff into the Peace Building Support Office and UNDP Bureau for Development Policy on Rule of Law issues. A valuable example of UK initiative in strengthening the recognition, use and effectiveness of the UN system and of member states of peace processes was Security Council Resolution 2171 adopted on 21 August 2014 which it drafted and led while chairing the Council. This comprehensively addresses the goals and means available to the Council and all UN

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277 Gibraltar and the Falkland Islands are also relevant as examples where the UK intervened on sovereignty grounds.

278 The UK is a P5 supporter to both the Regular and Peacekeeping budgets. The formula for the latter requiring all P5 members to pay a proportionately higher amount due to the influence they exert over peacekeeping. The UK also makes extra budgetary (XB) contributions on a strategic ad hoc basis where to do so would forward the UK's own interests.

member states for conflict prevention and resolution and strengthens commitment to their active use.

The UK supported the establishment of the UN Peacebuilding Architecture review.<sup>279</sup> The *High Level Independent Report on Peace Operations Report* (HIPPO Report) issued last year called for a strengthening of the UN's resources in the areas of conflict prevention and mediation.<sup>280</sup> The UK supported the findings of the HIPPO Report stating it wanted to see "preventive diplomacy brought back to the fore", but did not make extra-budgetary commitments in the Fifth Committee.<sup>281</sup> The UK is currently the biggest donor to the Department of Political Affairs (DPA) and negotiations are underway for a three-year commitment (2016-2018) of US\$11 million. The UK's relationship with the UN regarding its peace architecture can be characterised as broadly supportive, but also opportunistic - if the UN is acting in a manner inconsistent with UK national interest, the UK will resist.

## UK APPROACH TO MEDIATION AND PEACEBUILDING



The UK's approach to mediation and peace-building is found in: (1) its policies, which set its strategic direction; (2) its architecture, which provides it with structure and staffing to implement that strategic direction; (3) its access to funding which determines the level of UK engagement; (4) its tools of analysis and repository for lessons learning, which influences the competency of high level decision making and detailed planning for and implementation of interventions; and (5) how transparent the approach is and whether it benefits from sufficient levels of accountability and oversight, which affects levels of trust and how it is perceived.

As noted in definitions above, 'upstream conflict prevention' and 'conflict resolution' are the preferred terminology within the UK Government and its policy documents. 'Mediation' or 'mediation support' is not identified in policies as a domain of UK expertise or priority: however actual spend in CSSF (see later) shows that in practical terms there is much support behind the scenes for mediation efforts.

### Policies

The important UK policies are the *Conservative Government Manifesto 2015*,<sup>282</sup> *National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review (SDSR) 2015*,<sup>283</sup> the *UK Aid: tackling global challenges in the national interest (UK Aid Strategy) 2015*.<sup>284</sup> Still relevant at the '2nd tier level' is HMG's *Building Stability Overseas Strategy (BSOS) 2011*<sup>285</sup> and DFID's *2010 Building Peaceful States and Societies Practice Paper*.<sup>286</sup> The policies are notably high-level and broad, with relatively little publicly available information on how they translate in practice. This has exposed the Government to questions about the transparency and accountability of its policies.

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279 United Nations, 'The United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture', Oct 2010, [http://www.un.org/en/peacebuilding/pbso/pdf/pbso\\_architecture\\_flyer.pdf](http://www.un.org/en/peacebuilding/pbso/pdf/pbso_architecture_flyer.pdf), accessed 29 Oct 2016.

280 United Nations, *HIPPO Report*, [https://www.un.org/sg/en/pdf/HIPPO\\_Report\\_1\\_June\\_2015.pdf](https://www.un.org/sg/en/pdf/HIPPO_Report_1_June_2015.pdf).

281 Since this report was written the Oxford Research Group has also released a particularly valuable paper, which adds significantly to the review of peacekeeping by the UK: David Curran and Paul D. Williams, *The UK and UN Peace Operations: A Case for Greater Engagement*, May, 2016.

282 *The Conservative Manifesto*, <https://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/manifesto2015/ConservativeManifesto2015.pdf>.

283 *UK Government*, [www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/478933/52309\\_Cm\\_9161\\_NSS\\_SD\\_Review\\_web\\_only.pdf](http://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/478933/52309_Cm_9161_NSS_SD_Review_web_only.pdf).

284 *UK Aid Strategy, 2015*, [www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/478834/ODA\\_strategy\\_final\\_web\\_0905.pdf](http://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/478834/ODA_strategy_final_web_0905.pdf).

285 *Building Stability Overseas Strategy*, [www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/32960/bsos-july-11.pdf](http://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/32960/bsos-july-11.pdf).

286 DFID's *2010 Building Peaceful States and Societies Practice Paper* ([www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/67694/Building-peaceful-states-and-societies.pdf](http://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/67694/Building-peaceful-states-and-societies.pdf)) provided a clear framework for implementation, including addressing the causes and effects of conflict and fragility and the need to build strong conflict resolution mechanisms; supporting inclusive political settlements and processes; developing core state functions (ROL, SSR, Governance); and responding to public expectations. The 2010 paper is now outdated and there is no plan for a revision.

### *Conservative Manifesto and Aid Strategy:*

The Conservative Manifesto requires 50% of ODA to be spent in conflict and fragile countries, but also includes many traditional development commitments, for example in health and education, which are harder to spend in these contexts. The UK Aid Strategy reconfirms that the traditional development goals in the Manifesto will be met, but also aligns ODA spending firmly in support of national security interests in fragile states or regions – and overall UK foreign policy. The four priorities listed in the UK Aid Strategy are: ‘strengthening global peace, security and governance’; ‘strengthening resilience and response to crisis, including more support for ongoing crises including those in Syria and other countries in the Middle East and North Africa region’; promoting global prosperity; and tackling extreme poverty and helping the world’s most vulnerable (p. 3). As no detailed costing was done for the achievement of these ambitious targets this is putting a squeeze on the DFID budget.

### *SDSR and Building Stability Overseas Strategy (BSOS):*

The *SDSR* is the highest-level HMG umbrella policy document through which to assess the UK approach to mediation and peacebuilding. While the *SDSR* confirms that the UK will take a heightened interest in conflict and building stability, for example, the creation of the £1.3 billion Conflict, Stability and Security Fund (CSSF); increasing the previous 30% commitment to spend ODA in fragile states or regions to 50% of ODA (p.11); and recording that it is “in our national security interests to tackle the causes and to mitigate the effects of conflict”<sup>287</sup>, the only express reference to mediation and peacebuilding is in support of the UN’s role in ‘mediation’ and ‘peacebuilding’.<sup>288</sup>

The *SDSR* instead makes explicit reference to the UK being a “global leader through our comprehensive 2011 *Building Stability Overseas Strategy (BSOS)*, which covers early warning, crisis response and prevention, coordinated through NSC-led strategies for countries and regions at risk of instability BSOS”.<sup>289</sup>

Dating from 2011 the BSOS is still the only second tier HMG policy indicating the UK’s approach to achieving its national security interests. Today officials still consider it is relevant when deciding how to implement the *SDSR*. However, it has reduced influence, being seen to provide almost ‘optional guidance’, and Regional Strategies are free to adopt strategies outside its remit. There is also no way of monitoring the NSC’s confidential discussions so it is hard to see whether BSOS informs high-level discussions.

BSOS commits the UK to focus on three-mutually supporting pillars to tackle instability and conflict. These are early warning mechanisms,<sup>290</sup> rapid crisis prevention and response,<sup>291</sup> and investing in upstream prevention by investing in state-building.<sup>292</sup> The UK is required to work in the fragile and conflict-affected countries or regions that most affect the UK’s security interests. It is committed to working in a joined up whole-of-government way through multilateral organisations and international partners.<sup>293</sup> BSOS commits the UK to “support efforts to strengthen and develop effective conflict management and peacebuilding capacities within communities, countries and regions”<sup>294</sup> and to promote a more joined up approach to peacebuilding and state building in the UN.<sup>295</sup>

The emphasis of the *SDSR* is on working through others to achieve UK aims. The omission of UK as mediator indicates that its approach to mediation is to work more behind the scenes, unlike Switzerland and Norway, who have an overt international focus in this area. An example is the Sudan

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287 *SDSR*, p.63, para 5.116.

288 *SDSR*, p.60, para 5.91.

289 *SDSR*, p.63, para 5.117.

290 BSOS, p.20.

291 BSOS, p.22.

292 BSOS, p.24.

293 BSOS, p.30.

294 BSOS, p. 26, para 9.7.

295 BSOS, p. 30, para 10.4.

Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) where the UK appointed a Special Representative and, along with Norway and the USA, worked in support of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the UN to encourage the protagonists to stay in the negotiation process. The UK worked with the Government of Sudan, and the US Government with the South Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement. At present approximately 30% of CSSF spending is in support of mediation efforts. Through that spend CSSF provides ongoing support to the peace process in Sudan/South Sudan.

In the Philippines, the UK played an active and important role alongside other external governments in the International Contact Group (ICG), supporting the Malaysian facilitation of the talks between the Government of Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. Unusually, the ICG also comprised four international NGOs, one of which is the UK-based Conciliation Resources; this innovative form of 'hybrid' mediation support mechanism worked well in supporting a more inclusive peace process.<sup>296</sup>

## Architecture

At the top of the UK architecture for engagement on conflict is the National Security Council (NSC)<sup>297</sup>, which is responsible for implementation of the SDSR and is chaired by the Prime Minister. Other permanent members of the NSC are the Secretaries of State for Defence, Foreign and the Commonwealth Affairs, and International Development. There are 5 sub-committees and Ministers responsible for other portfolios attend on a needs basis, as do the Chief of the Defence Staff and Heads of Intelligence Agencies. The NSC Secretary is the National Security Adviser, who in turn chairs the senior officials NSC meetings, held weekly. The NSC Secretariat is housed in the Cabinet Office.

The agenda of the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC)<sup>298</sup>, also staffed through the Cabinet Office, and with preliminary meetings held at senior official level, is supposed to follow as much as possible that of the NSC, providing it with an early warning mechanism and intelligence analysis.<sup>299</sup> When the NSC sits in emergency it does so in the Cabinet Office Briefing Room, commonly known as 'COBRA'.

Supplemental to the NSC process, other NSC-relevant departments will meet through their own management mechanisms. However, the NSC is supposed to ensure that where a whole-of-government approach is required on any issue, this is provided.

The Stabilisation Unit is an operational unit reporting to three government departments: FCO, DFID and MOD. It maintains a roster of deployable experts, conducts analysis, evaluation and other scoping exercises for its home Departments, as well as housing a Lessons Unit, which supports knowledge sharing and training across government.

The UK is home to some of the leading peacebuilding and mediation support NGOs (including International Alert, Conciliation Resources, Saferworld, Peace Direct, Concordis, and Intermediate) and is where the field of conflict transformation and peacebuilding emerged. Universities such as Bradford, London School of Economics, School of Oriental and African Studies and Manchester University have significant expertise on both theory and practice of peacebuilding. The UK Government has invested both financially and politically in the development of the peacebuilding NGO sector over the last 20 years and draws on the lessons, expertise and experience of the sector in the formulation of its policies and practice. NGOs generally enjoy close working relationships with officials and there is a degree of interchange in personnel between government and NGOs.

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296 For the information and lessons, see: <http://www.c-r.org/where-we-work/southeast-asia/international-contact-group-mindanao> ; <http://asiafoundation.org/2012/10/17/internationals-malaysia-and-negotiations-for-peace-in-the-philippines/> and: <http://www.c-r.org/resources/innovation-mediation-support-international-contact-group-mindanao>.

297 UK Government, *National Security Council*, <https://www.gov.uk/government/groups/national-security-council>.

298 UK Government, *Joint Intelligence Committee*, <https://www.gov.uk/government/groups/joint-intelligence-committee>.

299 See the 2011 *Review of how the central national security and intelligence machinery and structures can best support the NSC*, [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/61948/Recommendations\\_Supporting\\_the\\_National\\_Security\\_Council\\_The\\_central\\_national\\_security\\_and\\_intelligence\\_machinery.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/61948/Recommendations_Supporting_the_National_Security_Council_The_central_national_security_and_intelligence_machinery.pdf).

## Funding

The principle funding mechanism for the UK approach is the Conflict, Stability and Security Fund (CSSF), currently allocated £1.033 billion (FY 2016-17) and set to rise to £1.9 billion over the course of the Government's term. The CSSF began operating in 2015 as the successor to the Conflict Pools, which was a tri-departmental pooled funding stream (MOD, FCO and DFID) for work on conflict prevention and peacebuilding. The CSSF has a broader remit, and all NSC departments technically have access to it, though in practice those that make use of it are MOD, FCO, DFID, Home Office and National Crime Agency (NCA).

There is no one repository of information officially published about the CSSF and the .gov website is hard to navigate and lacks transparency. A ministerial statement to Parliament<sup>300</sup> announces the fund, describes it briefly and records the funding break down between peace-keeping and multilateral activities (£462 million), regional and country strategies (£482.8 million), security and defence (£75 million), and delivery support (Stabilisation Unit (SU) and the National School of Government International) (£13.2 million). Approximately 60% is non-ODA and 40% is ODA and 1/3 is allocated to NSC departments; 1/3 to multilateral agencies; and the remainder to contractors (non-governmental organisations and private contractors). A Stabilisation Unit 'Tips' paper<sup>301</sup> describes the type of interventions it is aimed at funding and some insight can be gleaned through the FCO call for bids to be part of the 2015/2016 Framework Agreement<sup>302</sup>, in-country advertised Calls for Bid Proposals (e.g. South Sudan) and various pieces of analysis conducted by NGOs.<sup>303</sup>

CSSF spending strategy is set by regional boards with senior representation from NSC members who are responsible for the collation of compulsory annual regional strategies, which may be augmented by voluntary in-country strategies. Strategies are produced to cover a three year period and may be updated annually. Bids must align with these priorities. As NSC agendas are confidential it is hard to see how frequently CSSF issues are discussed at the leadership level. It is known though that the CSSF is formally raised twice a year in the NSC to determine the country focus, set the budget, and look at regional strategies.

Implementers receive CSSF funds if they are listed on the Framework Agreement, join with providers listed on the Framework Agreement, or respond successfully to in-country CSSF Calls for Bid Proposals for tenders under £100 000. Decisions on proposals for funding are made by cross-functional teams either in London or at post, which reflects the different ways of working between FCO (centralised) and DFID (decentralised), and how much capacity there is at post. For example, in Pakistan decisions are all made at post as there is a fully integrated Delivery Unit. Final contracting, ongoing procurement management, and monitoring and evaluation are then the responsibility of the lead department.

In 2012 the Independent Commission for Aid Impact (ICAI) criticised the previous Conflict Pool's lack of monitoring and evaluation of the overall impact of the fund, and the lack of indicators to measure the quality of its portfolio and processes.<sup>304</sup> The CSSF is a new fund. Programmes are subjected to normal departmental oversight and monitoring and evaluation processes, however there is currently no centralised oversight function to monitor how the fund overall is making progress as against the SDSR. The upcoming Inquiry may lead to reforms here.

Funding for NGO work on peacebuilding and mediation support comes through the CSSF, DFID and some FCO bilateral funds in country. DFID has to date provided the main source of core unrestricted funding through its 3-4 years Programme Partnership Agreements with civil society organisations, which run to the end of 2016. This funding mechanism is well suited to the need for agile and flexible responses to conflict risks and peacebuilding opportunities, and to the long-term nature of the work.

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300 UK Parliament Website, [www.parliament.uk](http://www.parliament.uk).

301 UK Government, *Stabilisation Unit*, <http://sclr.stabilisationunit.gov.uk/publications/cssf-tips>.

302 Government Online, *FCO Conflict Stability and Security Fund Framework*, <http://www.government-online.net/fco-conflict-stability-and-security-fund-framework/>.

303 For example: *Conciliation Resources*, <http://www.c-r.org/resources>.

304 Evaluation of the Inter-Departmental Conflict Pool, ICAI 2012, p 17, at 2.75 - 2.77, <http://icai.independent.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/Evaluation-of-the-Inter-Departmental-Conflict-Pool-ICAI-Report.pdf>.

CSSF funding is allocated to projects and programmes, with limits on the level of core costs that can be integrated into the budget. The trend in funding under CSSF appears to be towards funding fewer and larger scale projects.

#### (4) Tools of analysis and repository for lesson learning

##### *Analysis*

The main HMG tool for analysis is the Joint Assessment of Conflict and Stability mechanism (JACS). A detailed briefing on what a JACS requires is provided for in the SU's "What Works" series of publications entitled *Analysis for Conflict and Stabilisation Interventions* and a further Issues Note *Analysis, Planning and Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E)*.<sup>305</sup> The draft methodology was published by HMG for peer review and the NGO community provided comments.<sup>306</sup>

The JACS is the successor to the Strategic Conflict Assessment tool, which was a DFID methodology for conflict analysis. It was designed to encourage better joint analysis on a whole-of-government basis; more flexibility, adaptability, and easy application in order to encourage quick up-take at country-level; and more reliance on internal staff rather than consultants in its application to build up internal expertise. The JACS is an approach that can be applied at different stages of a conflict to explore different issues, e.g. cross border issues, or drivers of radicalisation. It has to answer clearly-defined questions and a strategy must sit alongside it to ensure that it feeds into future decision-making on resourcing and policy issues. The process can be light touch or in-depth, depending on available timescales and customer needs, and is focused at the strategic level.

The JACS has three stages: (1) determination of the status quo and drafting of a clear TOR; (2) analysis including desk and field studies, examining the causes, actors/dynamics, sources of institutional resilience/opportunities for peace, mapping of other external interventions and recommendations for UK Government action; and (3) the strategy to ensure that the findings inform future UK policy and action, e.g. Departmental priorities/country programmes, and CSSF Regional and Country Strategies, CSSF direction/funding decisions and NSC decision-making on SDRS issues.

Government officials feel that the JACS process is working well. It remains an optional analysis tool. However, the Joint Programming Board, which sits in the Cabinet Office and plays a function in vetting Regional and Country strategies, will often require that a JACS be undertaken when strategies show that one has not yet been done. Work on tools for gender-sensitive conflict analysis as part of or to complement the JACS is underway, led by the SU. As part of the process for JACS, officials are required where possible to consult with those outside Government, including international and local NGOs working on the conflict in question. In practice, this engagement has been patchy.

Sitting beneath the JACS at the Departmental level, FCO and the Ministry of Defence undertake diplomatic related intelligence gathering and DFID applies two further tools that have an implication on how it undertakes peacebuilding within its own programming. These are the mandatory DFID Country Poverty Reduction Diagnostic (CPRD)<sup>307</sup> - which underpins country operation plans and provides the frame of reference to inform the choice or area of individual intervention and prioritises cross-cutting risks (e.g. gender, conflict, security, climate change and environment) and the optional Inclusive Growth Diagnostic,<sup>308</sup> which allows DFID to better understand opportunities and constraints to inclusive growth.

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305 UK Government, *Stabilisation Unit, Stabilisation Series - UK Approach and Principles of Stabilisation*, <http://sclr.stabilisationunit.gov.uk/publications>.

306 For example: Conciliation Resources: [http://www.c-r.org/downloads/Peer\\_review\\_JACS\\_ConciliationResources.pdf](http://www.c-r.org/downloads/Peer_review_JACS_ConciliationResources.pdf); and Saferworld: <http://www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/view-resource/626-jacs-a-a-new-approach-or-sca-repackaged>.

307 See [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/557366/Smart\\_Rules-Oct2016.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/557366/Smart_Rules-Oct2016.pdf).

308 See <http://www.theigc.org/blog/dfids-approach-to-economic-development/>.

One of the intentions is that the JACS, and other analytical tools, inform decision-making through objective gathered analysis and intelligence. However, sometimes personality overrides analysis. For example, the scale of recent UK engagement in Somalia, now something of a flagship, was in large part championed by the relevant UK Ambassador and Head of DFID.

### *Lesson Learning*

The UK Government prides itself on being a global leader on policy and practical guidance in the areas of peacebuilding and state-building, and working in conflict and fragile contexts. It seeks to be a driving force behind international policy development, its cohesion and practical collaboration on these issues. At the moment the lack of ministerial appetite for development of published policies, combined with the transactional cost of engaging across Whitehall due to the new NSC structure is impacting its international leadership role. While each Department plays its role, the formal repository for lessons learned and space to develop relevant guidance lies with the Stabilisation Unit<sup>309</sup> and in particular its Lessons Team. In addition the Government and Social Development Resource Centre (GSDRC)<sup>310</sup> is an excellent resource, especially for civil servants who can request guidance and research through a drawdown contract.

### **(5) Level of transparency, oversight and accountability**

The SDSR is the only high-level published policy clearly stating the UK's approach to mediation and peacebuilding. There is no requirement for overarching monitoring and evaluation of the CSSF and a parliamentary inquiry into the fund was just starting when this paper was being written. The cross-governmental nature of the CSSF has created its own difficulties in establishing the operation and internal modalities of the Fund, and as far as the information available indicates, issues of transparency, oversight and accountability have yet to be clarified. In 2016 the Joint Committee on National Security will conduct an inquiry into the CSSF, and has launched a public consultation in advance of the process.

## **CONCLUSION: REFLECTIONS AND ANALYSIS**



The UK Government is supportive of mediation as a tool of conflict prevention and resolution, although it more readily works behind the scenes at diplomatic level in a mediation support role, to the UN or a regional body, for example, rather than as the mediator itself. The Government also supports international NGOs in their role supporting peace processes, be it at Track 1.5, 2 or 3 levels.

The UK Government has historically invested and continues to invest both substantial resources and significant political capital in conflict prevention and resolution (terms it is more at ease with than 'peacebuilding'). It favours working through international agencies and multilateral organisations, though a recent slight increase in the proportion of ODA spending to be allocated bilaterally may indicate a trend towards direct engagement. In peacebuilding the UK sees itself as a global leader, active in the creation of the UN architecture of peace building as well as the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) International Network on Conflict and Fragility (INCAF) and home to some of the leading peacebuilding NGOs and expertise. The policies, structures and funding streams for peacebuilding and conflict prevention have undergone significant change over the last 3 years, in part to adapt to new and emerging threats, some of them emanating from the Syrian conflict and

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309 See <http://sclr.stabilisationunit.gov.uk>.

310 See <http://www.gsdr.org>.

Ukraine.

The UK's strategic policy - the *SDSR* - has made conflict and fragility a matter of national security. There is, however, a dearth of sub-level policies underpinning the high-level commitments and helping to translate them into operational and thematic priorities. Clarity about the level of priority given to peacebuilding and mediation in the future, alongside counter-terrorism actions, the 'prevention of violent extremism' strategies, and humanitarian relief, remains unclear.

Within government, since 2014 the architecture for UK engagement in conflict-affected countries stretches from the NSC and reaches down through relevant departments to country offices on the ground. It appears to be a truly whole-of-government architecture, where there is join-up between departments at different levels, for example on CSSF Regional Boards or in Joint Delivery Units on the ground. At the same time, staff will always be susceptible to centrifugal forces, drawing them to favour their own department approach over the centralised process. As the FCO, MOD, Home Office, and NCA become responsible for more ODA/non-ODA spending in this area through CSSF allocations, it will require staff to acquire new skills, particularly in programme management. A further challenge is the low numbers and high-turnover of staff in the NSC Secretariat staff dedicated to the *SDSR*.

The UK architecture has the necessary political authority to make a difference because of the high level role the Prime Minister plays as NSC chair. Also the views of foreign affairs, defence and development are given equal status in decision making because the relevant Secretaries of State are permanent members of the NSC. Enormous funds are then dedicated to the UK approach through the CSSF and independent Departmental funding. This enables the UK Government to engage meaningfully when it chooses to, which it often does through other institutions, for example the UN, or other countries and NGOs. In taking decisions on where and how to act the UK does make use of the JACS - a well-respected whole of government tool, as well as normal diplomatic analysis and supplementary DFID tools of analysis. At the same time decisions can be both driven and hampered on the basis of personal influence, with a strong Ambassador, Head of DFID, or the Prime Minister himself, being very influential in determining what action the UK will take on the ground. Somewhat linked, transparency, oversight and accountability remain issues for concern in the UK approach and the Joint Committee on National Security Inquiry into the CSSF could helpfully suggest improvements.

Australia can draw lessons from the UK approach. Fundamentally, however, if Australia wishes to redesign its architecture and approach to mediation and peacebuilding it should first determine the remit it wants to exercise internationally and then design a system fit for that ambition. For any structure to be effective it needs political authority and the equal views of foreign affairs, defence and development need to be represented. Australia should ensure that the Prime Minister is actively engaged and that the role of development within the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Trade is elevated to ensure it is on an equal footing to foreign policy and defence.

Understanding that, Australia does not need to replicate all aspects of the UK system - which is very ambitious and comes with large transaction costs - for it to engage internationally on these issues.

Operational lessons:

- Cross-government strategies for whole-of-government engagement in conflict-affected countries have the potential to ensure consistency and coherence of approach, maximise the impact of resources, and take longer-term approaches to address root causes. However, political priorities and crises can undermine this.
- The need for sub-level or Tier 2 policies and strategies to help translate high-level strategic policy on security and defence into operational priorities and to guide top-level decision-making;

- Pooled government funding mechanisms for conflict prevention and peacebuilding encourage a more holistic and less siloed approach to complex conflicts, particularly when based on jointly owned conflict analysis, but is a more complex institutional architecture to manage;
- Conflict analysis which is conducted in-house is more likely to translate into practical action and programmes and have the buy-in from relevant government departments – a number of tools exist which can be drawn on, including for gender-sensitive analysis;
- Clarity on language (conflict prevention, resolution, peacebuilding, diplomacy, mediation, etc) can be helpful in clarifying the intention and objectives of the approach, and help evaluate success better;
- A body of independent expertise outside government, at NGO, academic and analytical level, is a valuable and complementary resource to government in responding to today's conflicts: in terms of providing different insights and innovation, implementation of peacebuilding and mediation programmes at multiple levels of society, including with locally based actors and organisations, as well as a constructive challenge to policy. The design of funding mechanisms can be crucial in terms of developing and enabling that capacity.



 **UNITED STATES**

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## Synopsis

The US intelligence community is the primary actor in conflict identification and analysis in the country, which despite recurrent problems such as 'stovepiping' and groupthink, provides policy makers with information for making decisions relating to peacemaking and peace process facilitation. The Department of State is the primary US actor responsible for peace process support, but despite this role has no dedicated peace process support office or bureau. The Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations (CSO) is the closest fit, but primarily focuses on conflict assessment prior to a peace process and peacebuilding and stability operations after a peace agreement is reached. Instead, peace process facilitation is undertaken by impermanent actors including the Secretary of State, Special Envoys and Representatives and country teams within the State Department.

The Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation (CMM) within USAID also plays a role in peace process facilitation, notably through the creation of technical briefs on negotiation facilitation, and training on mediation and conflict resolution for government agencies. These institutional structures combine to form a trend where efforts to support peace processes are pursued in a relatively ad hoc manner. This has led to a largely reactive approach to peace process facilitation. It also means facilitation relies less on a reputation for expertise, legitimacy, and impartiality cultivated by some smaller states, and more on American diplomatic, economic and military clout to influence outcomes. This is not an approach likely to be successfully replicated by other states.

To better support peace processes, an institutional home for peace process support within the Department of State or USAID which cultivates specific knowledge and skills in mediation, conflict resolution and peace agreement design would be desirable. For middle power and smaller states, the US case study indicates that the less states are able to call upon economic and military power as a source of leverage, the greater the importance of relying on normative leverage. This highlights the importance of institutionalizing peace process facilitation within foreign policy in order to create a reputation for expertise and impartiality.

# US Institutional Support for Peace Processes

Jay Benson, One Earth Future Foundation

## INTRODUCTION

The United States plays an important role in the support of peace processes around the globe. This case study provides a concise overview of US government (USG) efforts to provide active support for peace processes, assesses the strengths and weaknesses of USG peace process facilitation and draws lessons for how the USG and other states active in non-military peacemaking can improve their institutional support of peace processes. The case is not intended as an exhaustive survey of all American peacemaking efforts, but rather a broad synthesis which seeks to identify overall trends in US efforts to support peace process the world over.

## CONFLICT IDENTIFICATION AND ANALYSIS

Conflict identification and analysis in US foreign policy is primarily conducted by the US Intelligence Community (IC). The Intelligence Community is a collection of sixteen agencies specializing in intelligence collection and analysis for policy makers across a spectrum of issue areas.<sup>311</sup> These agencies vary from technically focused organizations such as the National Security Agency and National Geospatial Intelligence Agency to more issue specific groups such as Coast Guard Intelligence and the Office of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence within the Department of Energy. These agencies collectively command considerable resources. In 2014, the most recent year for which official figures are available, the combined Intelligence Community budget totalled \$67.9 billion.<sup>312</sup> Some of the most active agencies in the identification and analysis of global conflicts are the Central Intelligence Agency, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the National Geospatial Intelligence Agency and the Department of State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research.

The US intelligence community is a well-resourced collective with an immense pool of information and analytical skillsets from which American foreign policy makers can draw when examining global conflicts. Like any organization tasked with analysing complex issues with limited information in a high stress and politically charged environment, there are certain recurrent problems such as stove piping, group think and politicization of intelligence which have, at times, detracted from the IC's ability to provide accurate information and analysis to American policy makers working on issues of peacemaking. That said, the USG certainly commits substantial resources to analysis of conflict dynamics and actors,

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311 Office of the Director of National Intelligence, "Members of the IC," accessed June 15, 2016, <https://www.dni.gov/index.php/intelligence-community/members-of-the-ic>.

312 Office of the Director of National Intelligence, "US Intelligence Community Budget," accessed 14 June 2016, <https://www.dni.gov/index.php/intelligence-community/ic-policies-reports/ic-policies-2?highlight=WyJidWRnZXQiXQ>.

resulting in policy makers who are provided with excellent information for making decisions related to peacemaking in general and peace process facilitation more specifically.

## INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT FOR PEACE PROCESSES

The primary actor in the USG's efforts to support peace process around the world is the Department of State. However, given the importance of peace process facilitation, it is surprising that among its sixty-three thematic, geographic and administrative bureaus and offices, none focuses primarily on supporting peace processes. The closest thing to such a specialized division is the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations (CSO). CSO's purpose is to "help the US government anticipate, prevent and respond to conflict and promote long-term stability."<sup>313</sup> However, even the CSO does not deal primarily with actual diplomatic peacemaking. Rather, the majority of its efforts seem to be focused on conflict assessment before any peace process begins and peacebuilding and stability operations after a peace agreement has been reached.<sup>314</sup>

Actual facilitation of peace processes is undertaken by a variety of impermanent actors within the Department of State including the Secretary of State, Special Envoys and Representatives and country teams. The Secretary themselves often plays a major role in American efforts to assist peace processes. Trips taken by the Secretary to attempt to bring sides together and facilitate peace agreements have been a significant element of US support for peace processes in Syria,<sup>315</sup> Ukraine,<sup>316</sup> Israel-Palestine<sup>317</sup> and many of the other major conflicts where the US has attempted to facilitate a peace agreement. In cases of particularly high profile or long-running conflicts the Department of State will sometimes appoint Special Envoys or Representatives to play a similar role to that of the secretary in personally meeting with leaders in an attempt to facilitate a peace agreement. Current examples of these include Special Envoys for Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations and Libya and Special Representatives for the Central African Republic and Somalia.<sup>318</sup> In many cases facilitation of peace processes is undertaken by the in-country embassy teams which often include staff from the Department of State, USAID and other USG agencies who have developed expertise in local politics and conflicts.

Beyond Department of State diplomats the main actors in American efforts to support peace processes are development and conflict professionals in USAID. Though the primary focus of USAID is humanitarian, development and stability programs which do not directly affect ongoing peace processes, the agency has developed some specialized programs designed specifically to help facilitate active peace processes. The division of USAID whose work focuses most closely on peace process facilitation is the Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation (CMM). The CMM "provides analytical and operational support to USAID overseas missions, development officers and program partners to enable the Agency to better address the causes and consequences of violent conflict."<sup>319</sup> The work of CMM most directly applicable to the support of peace processes is their creation of technical briefs<sup>320</sup> which provide general guidance and resources on how to facilitate productive negotiations, as well as trainings in mediation and conflict resolution for other government agencies working in support of peace processes. However, like the CSO in State, the CMM's primary focus appears to be on programs not directly related to the technical aspects of peace process facilitation, mediation and negotiation.

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313 US Department of State, "Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations," accessed 13 June 2016, <http://www.state.gov/j/cso/>.

314 US Department of State, "Conflict Prevention and Crisis Response: Responding to Emerging Instability Overseas," accessed 13 June 2016, <http://www.state.gov/j/cso/what/index.htm>.

315 Ilya Arkhipov and Henry Meyer, "Russia, US Set August Deadline to Push Syria Peace Talks," *Bloomberg*, 25 March 2016, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-03-24/russia-u-s-agree-to-push-syria-peace-process-in-kremlin-talks>.

316 "Ukraine Crisis: Deal to 'de-escalate' agreed in Geneva," *BBC*, 17 April 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-27072351>.

317 "Kerry Arrives in Israel for Talks With Netanyahu, Abbas," *NBC News*, 24 November 2015, <http://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/kerry-arrives-israel-talks-netanyahu-abbas-n468726>.

318 U.S. Department of State, "Alphabetical List of Bureaus and Offices," Accessed 14 June 2016, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/rls/dos/1718.htm>.

319 United States Agency for International Development, "Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation," accessed 13 June 2016, <https://www.usaid.gov/who-we-are/organization/bureaus/bureau-democracy-conflict-and-humanitarian-assistance/office-0>.

320 "Key Considerations When Supporting Peace Processes," *United States Agency for International Development Technical Brief*, March 2013, <https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1866/Peace%20Processes%20Technical%20Brief%20FINAL.pdf>.

## ASSESSMENT OF USG SUPPORT FOR PEACE PROCESSES



One trend that comes to light when examining American institutional support for peace processes is that such efforts appear to be pursued in a relatively ad hoc manner. When conflicts reach a point where peace processes are considered, the primary facilitator seems to be the Secretary of State, Special Envoys and Representatives or in country embassy teams. All of these actors are immensely skilled and particularly in the case of Special Envoys/Representatives and embassy teams they are likely to be intimately familiar with local conflict dynamics. However, they are also actors which are driven primarily by a single individual on temporary placement. And while these various actors have a valuable wealth of area knowledge, few specialize in support for peace processes. There is no institutional home for USG efforts to support peace processes around the globe. The Department of State's CSO and USAID's CMM described above approximate such a role, but both still focus primarily on aspects of the peace building other than direct facilitation of peace processes themselves. This has led to a largely reactive approach to peace process facilitation, with American foreign policy officials largely stuck reacting to the crisis of the day.

Not only does this lack of an institutional home for support of peace processes lead to a reactionary approach, it means that American efforts to facilitate are not primarily based on an existing reputation of expertise, legitimacy, and impartiality in peace process facilitation such as that which some smaller states active in peace process support have developed. Lacking such normative influence, policy makers must rely on American diplomatic, economic and military clout to influence outcomes in peace processes. While this approach may be effective in applying leverage to parties to a conflict, it is something of a blunt tool of foreign policy and more importantly it is not an approach likely to be successfully replicated by other states.

## LESSONS LEARNED



Having looked at how the US provides institutional support for peace processes, we can draw several lessons on how such efforts can be improved both within the US and across the globe.

Supporting peace processes requires specific knowledge and skills in mediation, conflict resolution and peace agreement design if such efforts are going to be as effective as possible. In order for American efforts to support peace processes to reach their full potential, they need an institutional home within the USG. An office within State or USAID whose sole focus is on efforts to support peace processes could serve as a pool of institutional expertise and critical skill sets, thereby making American facilitation more focused, consistent and proactive while helping the USG to better address long term conflicts/peace processes. Without institutionalizing American support for peace processes in this manner, the quality of American facilitation will likely vary considerably with the level of personal and financial resources that can be brought to bear on a given conflict through the current system of ad hoc diplomatic mobilization.

There are also lessons to be learned for other states seeking to play an active role in supporting peace processes. Though the American approach of ad hoc support for peace processes has resulted in some significant successes, this is unlikely to be a model which is easily replicable for other states. Simply put, few states have the kind diplomatic, economic and military clout the US can bring to bear when applying leverage to conflict actors.

Few states have the ability to use such robust coercive methods of persuasion to affect peace process outcomes. Therefore, middle powers and smaller states which seek to play an active role in global peace process facilitation will need to rely more heavily on normative authority derived from a reputation for impartiality and expertise in peace process facilitation. This is not to say that middle power and small states cannot use economic and military power as a source of leverage, simply that

they will need to do so much more sparingly, and most likely only in instances of conflict within their region, where they are likely to have stronger economic and security ties. For such states, the need to rely more heavily on normative leverage further highlights the need for institutionalizing peace process facilitation, thus creating a reputation for expertise and impartiality. Smaller states are unlikely to be able to replicate the United States' relative success via a similarly ad hoc approach to support for peace processes.

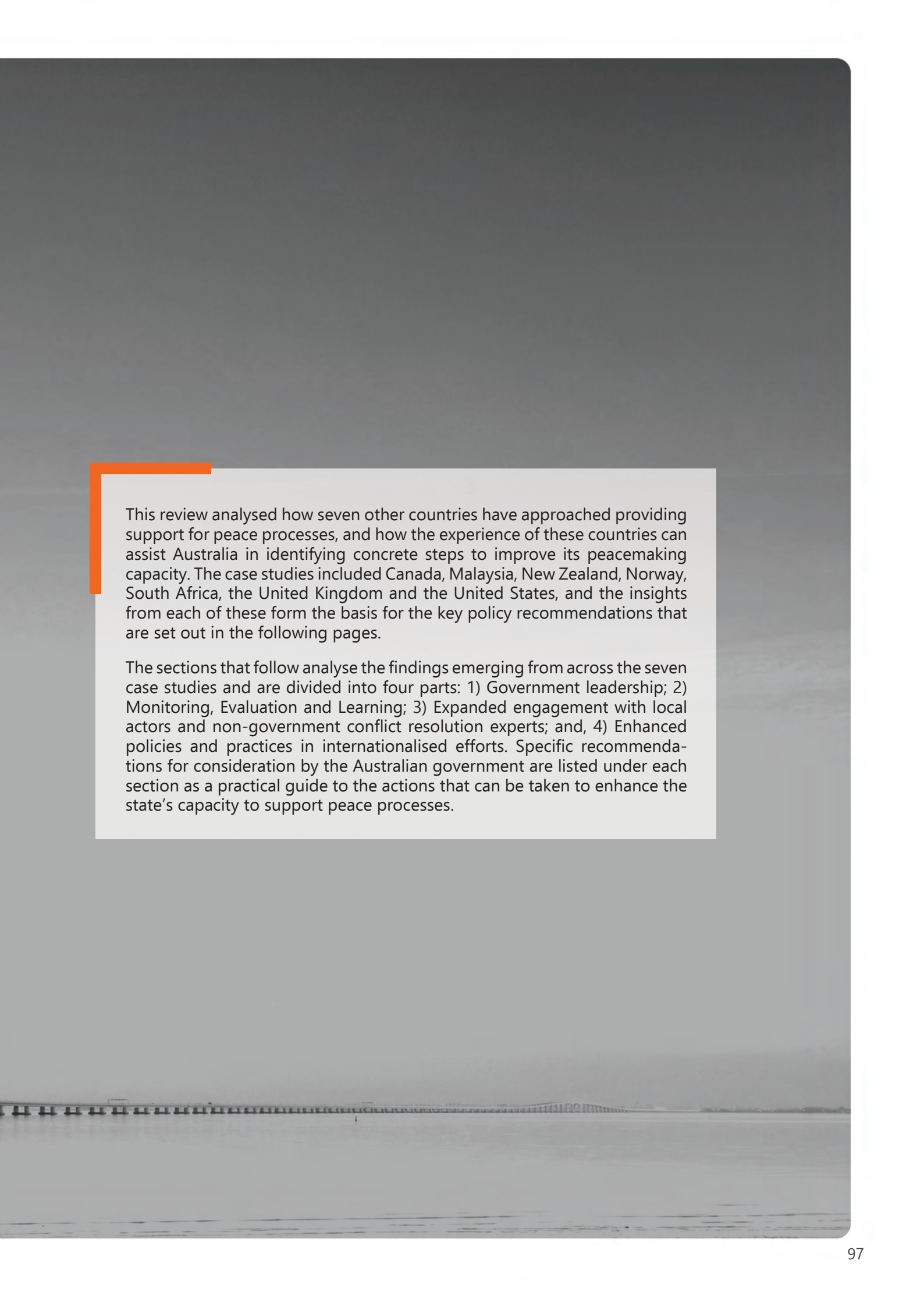
## CONCLUSION



American efforts to facilitate peace processes around the globe have resulted in moderate success. The Intelligence Community provides American policy makers with excellent conflict analyses as a basis for decisions on diplomatic peacemaking and despite the ad hoc nature of peace process facilitation, the US has been able to apply diplomatic, economic and military leverage in support of peace processes with some positive results. However, there is substantial room to better institutionalize, and thus improve the efficacy of, peace process facilitation within the USG. What's more, while the current American structure of supporting peace processes may yield some positive results, it is not an easily replicable model for other states active in peace process facilitation. For such countries, the creation of an institutional home for peace process facilitation which can coordinate and serve as technical experts for support of peace processes will be all the more important.

A grayscale photograph of a cable-stayed bridge over water. The bridge features a prominent central pylon with two towers connected by a horizontal beam, with numerous stay cables fanning out to support the deck. The bridge extends into the distance, supported by a series of smaller piers. The water is calm, reflecting the bridge's structure. The sky is a uniform light gray. Overlaid on the image is the text 'FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS' in a bold, orange, sans-serif font.

# FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A long bridge spans across a wide body of water under a grey sky. The bridge has many supports and extends far into the distance. The water is calm and reflects the light. The sky is overcast and grey.

This review analysed how seven other countries have approached providing support for peace processes, and how the experience of these countries can assist Australia in identifying concrete steps to improve its peacemaking capacity. The case studies included Canada, Malaysia, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States, and the insights from each of these form the basis for the key policy recommendations that are set out in the following pages.

The sections that follow analyse the findings emerging from across the seven case studies and are divided into four parts: 1) Government leadership; 2) Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning; 3) Expanded engagement with local actors and non-government conflict resolution experts; and, 4) Enhanced policies and practices in internationalised efforts. Specific recommendations for consideration by the Australian government are listed under each section as a practical guide to the actions that can be taken to enhance the state's capacity to support peace processes.

## PART 1.

# GOVERNMENT LEADERSHIP

Government leadership is central to establishing effective peace support processes. This involves inclusion of all relevant ministers in a cabinet peace and security committee chaired by the Prime Minister; and articulation of a national peace, stability and security strategy.

The centrality of Government leadership to establishment of effective national peace-building processes was particularly evident in the institutional arrangements in the UK and Canada. In the UK the architecture of engagement on conflict is through the National Security Council which is chaired by the Prime Minister and includes not only the Defence and Foreign and Commonwealth Office Secretaries of State but also the Secretary for International Development. This provides a comprehensive basis for conflict engagement which includes experts in conflict resolution. The British see this as vital for conflict analysis as well as for consideration of the range of possible approaches and potential interventions.

The current government in Canada has shown leadership in directing defence, development, trade and diplomacy to strengthen coherence. It is reflected in the recent establishment of the Peace and Stabilization Operations Program that includes peace, security and stability as its central core. The Canadian case study also indicates the importance of accountability in peacemaking portfolios, including by assigning overall responsibility to a senior government minister as a portfolio responsibility.

A sound approach to peacemaking depends on political leadership including consideration of peacemaking amongst the options explicitly available for addressing conflict. This means ensuring that it is included in comparative evaluations with other more costly forms of intervention. This could include bringing professional experts on conflict analysis and peacemaking design and delivery into national decisions on approaches to conflict and peacemaking.

Political leadership, from the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs down, need to identify conflict prevention and resolution as significant aspects of foreign policy for the development of both general and specific peacemaking strategies.

### General and Specific Peacemaking Strategy

The Norwegian case strongly emphasised the need to make a conceptual and institutional distinction between a state's general peacemaking strategy and tailored conflict specific intervention strategies. No pre-determined one-size-fits-all approach to peacemaking is suitable given the unique nature of each conflict situation, but at the same time tailored peacemaking interventions will quickly descend into ad-hoc and reactive approaches unless they are grounded in an overarching and clearly defined peacemaking strategy integrated with broader foreign policy. This would be valuable to consider as strategic development of the role of conflict resolution in Australian foreign policy continues to develop.

### Foreign Policy and Peacemaking

The preparation of the 2017 White Paper on Australian foreign policy provides an ideal opportunity to systematically review the role of peacemaking within Australia's foreign policy and to identify appropriate means of increasing Australian support for peacemaking. This approach would ensure whole-of-government cooperation in planning and implementing enhanced peacemaking processes.

A comprehensive White Paper could include an extensive discussion. There could be value in including community consultation as part of the process of preparing the Paper. The Norwegian and Canadian case studies point to the value of reflective evaluation of overall foreign policy while considering the place of peacemaking.

There is a necessity for rigorous assessment of the national interest, and of balancing the interests of alliance partners with national interests. This is particularly important in evaluating the benefits and costs in international intervention of any kind, but particularly of military action. See the chapters on Canada (Afghanistan), the UK and South Africa. However alignment with other countries need not automatically constrain useful engagement in some situations. Norway's membership of NATO has not prevented its valuable contribution to addressing many conflicts. Former colonial governance obviously sets limits in certain contexts, such as Australia in relation to PNG; but not in others, such as Cambodia. NZ was far more influential in Bougainville than Australia could have been. NZ also demonstrated the cultural value of having Indigenous - Maori - troops amongst their peacekeepers.

### Whole of Government Approaches

All case studies pointed to the importance of whole of government approaches to peacemaking, which incorporate the Prime Minister's, foreign affairs, development, defence, policing, intelligence, trade and sometimes migration departments. The issue of how approaches can be strategic and enable context-specific, coordinated whole-of-government approaches was a very important issue to emerge. Some countries refer to this explicitly in the way their approaches are being developed (Canada, Norway, UK, US) whilst others refer to this implicitly (SA, Malaysia).

Enhanced interdepartmental cooperation is recognised as being imperative in relation to conflict resolution because all of Prime Minister and Cabinet, DFAT, Defence, intelligence agencies and sometimes other functional departments must act in close cooperation. The UK paper shows the high value of reviewing security issues in a wider frame than simply defence - the Strategic Defence and Security Review process. The British put substantial emphasis on early warning mechanisms, rapid crisis prevention and response, and investing in upstream prevention. This involves diplomatic and intelligence officers as well as international development staff in the Joint Intelligence Committee. Another British interdepartmental mechanism is the Stabilisation Unit.

DFAT recently supported the examination of the governmental organisational structures that were used in three Australian-led interventions that commenced in the late 1990s and early 2000 in the Southwest Pacific regions of Bougainville, East Timor, and the Solomon Islands, noting that interagency efforts requiring participation of many parts of the Australian Government characterised each of these operations.<sup>321</sup> Building on an examination of past experience and horizon scanning for how this can be enhanced will need to be a focus for whole-of-government efforts on regional security.

Another consideration for Australia is where it is best placed to contribute. Traditionally Australia has focused on the Asia Pacific region, though the interconnectedness of conflicts globally raises the need for ongoing analysis of where and how Australia may be placed for conflict preparedness and to support peace process.

### Policy Cost/Benefit Analysis

An issue that requires attention when establishing coherent whole of government approaches is the need to consider the strengths and weakness of various options available and their cost-effectiveness. The importance of evaluating the cost-effectiveness of military expenditure and the balance between the various other arms of foreign policy - diplomacy, intelligence, conflict resolution, development assistance, education, trade, consular services - is significant.

Canada, South Africa and New Zealand case studies reinforce the need to undertake an objective cost-benefit analysis of spending on various state approaches to addressing conflict in relation to the outcomes achieved. The South African paper quotes sources showing that disproportionate budget allocations to military responses have not proven to be cost effective during the past two decades.

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321 John Gordon and Jason H. Campbell, *Organising for Peace Operations: Lessons Learned from Bougainville East Timor and the Solomon Islands*, RAND Corporation: Santa Monica, Calif, June 2016.

UK, Canada and Norway case studies indicate the substantial budget commitments these states are making towards peacemaking, and the spending choices required to allocate funding from revenue sources to sustain this. These involve a decision about whether the government wants to be a contributor to conflict resolution and stabilisation, and after appropriate reflection, how to do this most effectively.

### **Departmental Focal Point**

Canada and Norway case studies strongly indicated the value of creating a focal point within the Foreign Affairs Department for: reporting on engagement with conflict; advising on methodologies; and as a locus for expertise on means of addressing conflict. The US report also commends the value of an office within a foreign ministry whose 'sole focus is on efforts to support peace processes' and which could serve as a pool of institutional expertise and critical skill sets ...'.

At present DFAT has an internal coordination mechanism for those sections where emphasis exists on policy approaches to conflict and fragility and early recovery, though this is not a formal Section within DFAT. There may be foundations amongst these three sections and others for the formulation of a specialised section within DFAT.

Again, political leadership is an integral component of coordinated and coherent policy and organisational change.

### **Diplomatic Training**

Beyond diplomatic training there is a necessity for training in conflict resolution knowledge and skills (from preventative diplomacy, facilitation, negotiation and mediation) for peacemaking, peacebuilding and peacekeeping practice.

Additional training and preparedness is required to enhance the ability of personnel to engage effectively in a range of conflict resolution activities. This was identified by both Canada and Norway.

DFAT currently offers some training that relates to conflict resolution skills beyond diplomatic training, however these are limited and require further support and development. The recently established Diplomatic Academy is an ideal training facility to develop and deliver a range of complementary yet specialised modules (from preventative diplomacy, facilitation, negotiation and mediation) for peacemaking, peacebuilding and peacekeeping practice. These could be offered for Diplomacy as well as Trade, and Development Aid personnel.

## **RECOMMENDATIONS ON GOVERNMENT LEADERSHIP**



Government leadership is central to establishing effective peace support processes. This involves inclusion of all relevant ministers in a cabinet peace and security committee chaired by the Prime Minister; and articulation of a national peace, stability and security strategy (See UK chapter). Security Council Resolution (SCR) 2171 includes a comprehensive listing of conflict prevention and resolution mechanisms suitable for strengthening national and multilateral commitment to peaceful conflict resolution. Preparation of the 2017 White Paper on Australian foreign policy provides an ideal opportunity to systematically review the role of peacemaking within Australia's foreign policy and to identify appropriate means of increasing Australian support for peacemaking. This approach would ensure whole-of-government cooperation in planning and implementing enhanced peacemaking processes.

- Recommendation 1.1** The 2017 White Paper would be the ideal place to clarify the aims, role and mechanisms for peacemaking within Australia's foreign policy.
- Recommendation 1.2** The Minister for Foreign Affairs needs to initiate a national high-level peacemaking strategy to anchor conflict specific, tailored interventions.
- Recommendation 1.3** Recognition of the importance of preparing strategic and coordinated 'whole of government' approaches to conflict management is necessary.
- Recommendation 1.4** Develop a systematic approach to estimating the strengths and weaknesses, including cost-effectiveness of potential state responses to conflict.
- Recommendation 1.5** Nominate or create a departmental section with overall accountability for reporting and advising on Australian peacemaking policies and procedures and adequately resource the section to undertake this role.
- Recommendation 1.6** Develop current diplomatic training to include mediation and conflict resolution skills.

## **PART 2.** **MONITORING, EVALUATION AND LEARNING**

### **Reviewing Australian Peacemaking Experience**

The purpose of this review was to study a selection of relevant countries to learn how they are providing support to international peace processes. It quickly became clear that few countries had already conducted such an analysis or systematically attempted to capture and articulate their experiences. The case studies drew on a range of documentation, supplemented with interviews where possible to try to obtain a picture of the various forms of engagement in international conflict resolution activities. Interestingly, while all countries had multiple experience of such engagement, and valued the importance of it to their domestic, regional and global relationships there was little coherent capture of the experiences in foreign affairs departments or other governmental agencies. There was limited evidence available of systematic monitoring and documenting of instances of state support for peace processes, or of reflections by personnel with such experiences or specialised capacities in this area. Some reasons for this may be that many experiences could be described as 'ad hoc' because they occurred outside of formal arrangements.

Other reasons include a lack of policy and protocol to document and monitor engagement; and at a higher level an absence of strategic prioritisation of such engagement directing these. What emerges across the case studies is the potential value of reviewing the range of forms of peace processes that have been supported by states. Systematic analysis of these experiences could be valuable in reviewing their effectiveness and be instructive in organisational learning and planning and for developing policies and practices into the future. Monitoring and documenting existing conflict resolution experiences can also help inform areas where capacities for such engagement can be enhanced: through personal training and support, systemic organisation and support, and in directing strategic policy development and practice.

The most articulated approaches come from Norway, Canada and the UK, despite all countries having engaged in a range of ways in peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding interventions. But even the Norwegian and Canadian case studies strongly indicate the need for increased attention to recording past experience in peacemaking, reviewing and deriving lessons learnt from that experience, recording and retaining this knowledge and integrating understanding back into policy and practice. The most immediate recommendation for Australia would be to consider conducting a similar study to that by Peter Jones of Canada's peacemaking experience over the past 25 years.

Australia has provided various types of support to a range of peace processes in countries over the years.<sup>322</sup> More recently, DFAT's support to Myanmar, Sri Lanka, the Philippines and Bougainville as well as support to Thailand, East Timor and the Solomon Islands have included some engagement with conflict evaluation and sometimes support for peace processes. Given the range of conflict contexts that these have been undertaken in, and the lack of documentation of the nature of the support it is presently difficult for DFAT to elicit lessons about how decisions were made about what to support and what worked well and why. A study such as that by Peter Jones in Canada would include recording these experiences and attempt to strengthen reflection about the experiences shared and whether there are any lessons. DFAT could undertake or commission a comprehensive review of the experience of Australian government personnel engaged in peacemaking activities since 1991 on relatively short timelines.

### Definitions and Terms

Conflict resolution as a broad description of a range of approaches can describe preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. There is also a range of ways that government officials and personnel may engage directly or support peace processes such as through Track I, II or III efforts. The differences in terms and definitions can reflect differences in conceptualisation as well as orientation to conflict. It is worth elaborating and clarifying terms when describing the range of approaches a state employs.

Conflict prevention, preventative diplomacy, conflict resolution, peacemaking, negotiation, mediation, facilitation, conciliation and peacebuilding all reflect different efforts to address conflict described in the case studies presented. For example, the UK prefers Conflict Prevention and Conflict Resolution rather than Peace Building to describe the focus of its support. The instance of Malaysia's involvement as a third-party in the GHP – MILF peace talks emphasizes the role of facilitation and support over mediation efforts.

As policies and departmental foci change and merge, as in the case of DFAT, it is worthwhile to develop shared understanding of key terms, how these are seen to be conceptualised and operationalised. It also relates to how activities are monitored and documented. Whilst there are various external sources that guide this (the UN most notably) it is also worthwhile to have inter-departmental coherence around how these relate to other core terms such as 'fragility', 'stability', 'security' and 'resilience'. The term 'Preventative Diplomacy' is commonly used in DFAT and the Australian governmental context but to what extent is it understood and how distinguished from other terms and approaches used?

### Conflict Intelligence and Analysis

Highly professional organisational arrangements, institutions and tools of analysis are required for understanding conflicts and identifying approaches for addressing them. Other than the UK, few case studies could identify clear processes and institutional capacity for in-house conflict analysis. That is, the importance of comprehensive approaches to understanding conflict contexts, actors and the range of approaches available for engagement is clear. The UK is home to leading CR NGO's who work closely with the government. Canada indicates it is valuing such consultation.

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322 A. Martin, N. Shea and J. Langmore, 'International mediation and Australian Foreign Policy: building institutional capacity to respond to overseas conflict', *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 71 (1), 2017, 88-104.

The British case study describes the Strategic Conflict Assessment tool well. 'Conflict analysis which is conducted in-house is more likely to result in practical action'. Operational lessons from the UK are also well described.

In the US conflict analysis is principally conducted by the intelligence agencies. The Malaysian and UK cases demonstrated the important role which intelligence agencies play in analysing and informing approaches to respond to conflict situations. There is a need to review and unpack the systemic effects of the close relationship between intelligence analysis, information provided to decision makers, and a bias toward military responses to conflict.

There is also the need to link intelligence and analysis to strategic decisions and interventions.

## RECOMMENDATIONS ON MONITORING, EVALUATION AND LEARNING



DFAT's preparedness would be strengthened by upgrading overall funding and diplomatic staffing and by establishing a unit specialising in increasing expertise in handling conflict, advising diplomats and others about options, providing conflict resolution training, liaising with UN, other national agencies and conflict resolution NGOs and gathering departmental and other information about experience. Most importantly, improving practice is extremely difficult without detailed knowledge of what that practice has been in the past. A valuable initial task would be conducting a comprehensive review of Australia's governmental support for peace processes over the past 25 years.

### **Recommendation 2.1**

Conduct a comprehensive review of Australia's governmental support to peace processes over the past 25 years in order to record and build on past experience.

### **Recommendation 2.2**

Clarify the meaning of terms and define each concept as a foundation for developing policy.

### **Recommendation 2.3**

Review the role of intelligence and capacity for conflict analysis in shaping responses to conflict.

## PART 3.

# EXPANDED ENGAGEMENT WITH LOCAL ACTORS AND NON-GOVERNMENT CONFLICT RESOLUTION EXPERTS

### Engagement with Local Actors and Diasporas

Close engagement with conflict participants is essential. Working with leadership can be vital but committed engagement with those most directly involved on the ground is also essential. This was especially clear in the Canada, Norway and UK cases.

Canada and New Zealand case studies point to the need for better engagement by Foreign Affairs Departments with local populations in countries affected by conflict, and also with diaspora communities, when designing and implementing conflict resolution and peacebuilding strategies.

### Diplomatic Missions and Engagement

The British and Canadian experience demonstrates the importance of expert and well-staffed diplomatic missions. The lesson for Australia from this is the necessity for substantially improving the funding of the diplomatic service so that more missions can be opened and some of those most important to Australian interests (such as that at the UN) can be strengthened. Arguably the balance of funding between the DoD and DFAT is skewed too far towards Defence.

### National and International Peacemaking Capacity

Peace-making is the art of coming to agreement and negotiating ceasefires or treaties, to end hostilities. Peacekeeping seeks to provide support, often through force presence, to maintain those agreements. Peace-making and keeping serve to limit violence through managing and controlling a potentially dangerous situation. Peacebuilding goes beyond peace-making or keeping and can occur before, and during as well as after a war and for this reason is often now described as sustaining peace. Sustaining peace is about creating societies that are fair, responsive to peoples' needs and cohesive. It is about addressing the structural factors that can cause conflicts, bridging differences and creating connections within and between peoples and nations that can sustain peace.<sup>323</sup> Peacebuilding approaches are essential for longer-term sustainable peace and conflict prevention.

A long term approach to engaging in conflict situations is vital. The UK, Norway, Canada and New Zealand case studies point to the emergence of peacemaking efforts out of long term development and peacekeeping or other relationships. Case studies such as those involving Norway also point to the long term nature of engagement in peacemaking initiatives.

Creating time and physical space for dialogue and negotiation is necessary. Mediation is commonly a tediously long process, sometimes with various episodes, so a substantial commitment of professional time and attention can be required to make any progress. Various examples point to successive episodes, organised in evolving ways as a common experience necessary to incremental movement. The process of building trust can be very gradual, as demonstrated in case studies including Norway, Canada and NZ.

The necessity for building familiarity with the extensive range of options for preventing and addressing conflicts can be enhanced through expanded engagement with international practices. The current UN view about the necessity for concentrating attention on means of preventing violent conflict, what the British call 'upstream conflict prevention' is one such area. The value here of the experience of Norway and the UK shows that this is often 'quiet diplomacy', confidential, or at least out of the public eye.

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323 Diane Bretherton and Tania Miletic, 'Peace Day: An Opportunity for Reflection', *Australian Outlook - Analysis*, September 21 2016, [http://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australian\\_outlook/peace-day-an-opportunity-for-reflection](http://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australian_outlook/peace-day-an-opportunity-for-reflection), accessed on 20 December 2016.

Related to preventative orientations is the focus on providing support to longer-term peacebuilding efforts where there is or has been conflict to ensure that there is understanding of the underlying issues, relationships and structures which may require attention and which may involve change. Deepening an understanding and appreciation of opportunities to support such longer-term efforts may require more research, analysis and discussion about peace-building strategies. The recent UN Reports and reviews have much of value to say about these issues. The cases of Norway, UK, Canada and NZ are also instructive.

DFAT currently supports peacebuilding efforts in Myanmar and in other places moving away from civil conflict towards a more sustainable peace. These are making valuable contributions and could be enhanced and expanded. There is a need for Pacific peacebuilding efforts in Fiji, Solomon Islands, PNG and Bougainville for example where local and international NGOs continue to address difficult issues such as the long-term consequences of violent conflict, climate change and gender-based violence through peace education and conflict resolution training.

A comprehensive review of Australian experience with conflict resolution and peace building would have great value in helping design institutional and policy initiatives in the area.

### **Non-government personnel rosters**

All case studies point to the need to draw from, build upon and resource non-state conflict resolution capacity. The Canada and Norway case studies indicate the centrality of mapping and drawing upon existing specialist academic and INGO personnel resources for peacemaking, building those personnel capacities, and establishing mechanisms to rapidly draw upon those personnel.

The UK case study states that 'A body of independent expertise outside government at NGO, academic and analytical level is a valuable and complementary resource to government.' The value of Track II and INGO initiative, and of close engagement of government with professional conflict resolution NGOs also features prominently in the Norway, Canada and UK case studies. It is clear from many cases that multidimensional action is often of value including governments, expert NGOs, academic specialists, and necessarily those most directly involved. The potential for involvement of academic and private sector consultants is extensively described in both the UK and Norway chapters.

## **RECOMMENDATIONS FOR EXPANDED ENGAGEMENT**



Australia's capacity to contribute to international conflicts can be drawn from national and international resources. Mapping existing national capacity from both local actors and diaspora communities in Australia as well as Australian international expertise abroad can increase and enhance existing efforts. Establishing a national mediation standby roster or restructuring the Australian Civilian Corp Stabilisation Roster List to include peace and conflict expertise would enable identification of non-government expertise which could be activated quickly.

- Recommendation 3.1** Increase engagement with local actors and diasporas from conflict affected areas.
- Recommendation 3.2** Map, build and draw on national and international peacemaking capacity and resources to enhance engagement and capacity.
- Recommendation 3.3** To identify and draw on non-government expertise consider a national mediation standby roster or expand fields expertise in conflict prevention and resolution as a speciality in the Australian Civilian Corps Stabilisation Roster List.

## PART 4.

# ENHANCED POLICIES AND PRACTICES IN INTERNATIONALISED EFFORTS

### International Coordination and Engagement

Increasingly, engagement in conflict resolution efforts are dynamic and involve multiple approaches (including Tracks I, II, III); these are increasingly hybrid in nature involving states, INGOs, academic and CSO actors. A range of ways that states can directly and indirectly support peace processes exist within the field of conflict resolution.

The necessity for international governmental, academic and NGO networking; and thus the value of Track II initiatives for widening the range of possibilities and in providing a framework for more formal inter-governmental negotiation is effectively described in the reports on Norway, Canada and NZ. Regional engagement is also obviously vital as has been the case for Canada, NZ and South Africa. Case studies point to the importance of international coordination and integration of state-led peacemaking with UN and regional organisation efforts.

The reports on several countries emphasize the value of working to support peace efforts through multilateral institutions such as the UN; and view multilateralism as a significant way for middle-power countries to influence global affairs and conflicts with significant asymmetries. They also discuss the importance of multilateral engagement in order to share with a diverse range of countries in the processes of peace-making, balancing alliance and national interest commitments, and learning from a wide range of experienced personnel (see Canada, UK, and NZ case studies).

Direct government engagement in peace processes can sometimes be in collaboration with other countries as is the case in the UK and Norway. Malaysia's engagement with the Philippines on Mindanao is an example of governmental participation in an internationalised peace process, as it was for Norway in several of the cases described.

### Support for UN Peace Operations

Australia has been actively involved in peace operations for nearly 70 years. Australian peacekeepers are serving in the Middle East UN Truce Supervision Organisation (UNTSO), the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), the UN Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS), and the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL).<sup>324</sup> In our region, Australia has played a leading role in regional missions in Solomon Islands, Timor-Leste and Bougainville, and Papua New Guinea. Australia is the 11th largest financial contributor to the UN peacekeeping budget, but is only the 86th contributor of personnel. It is engaged and committed to implementing the recommendations of the UN Peace Operations Review. Following the September 2015 Leaders' Summit on Peacekeeping Australia's pledges include to build the capacity of UN troop contributing countries in our region and increase expertise on countering improvised explosive devices.

Building on the Official History of Australian Peacekeeping project, Australia's peacekeeping experience could be further reviewed for its current training and preparation for engagement in contemporary peacekeeping missions. The ways that Canada, UK, US and South Africa have progressed this were raised in the country reports. Countries such as the UK and Canada have recognised that the higher level UN support to peacekeeping operations and the national experience and level of deployment over time are not always coherent. In the case of Canada, despite public support for peacekeeping and a strong history of leadership in peacekeeping, the current state of its deployment, training and preparedness for current missions is low. The Canadian case study mentions a 2016 report titled "Unprepared for Peace" that provided the Canadian government with a range of recommendations to enhance both preparation and engagement in contemporary conflict settings.

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<sup>324</sup> DFAT *Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding*, <http://dfat.gov.au/international-relations/security/peacekeeping-and-peacebuilding/Pages/peace-and-conflict.aspx>, accessed on 20 December 2016

## Women, Peace and Security

The necessity for women to be centrally involved in conflict analysis, management and resolution was emphasised in only a couple of the reports – Canada and the UK. A high priority is commitment to engagement with SCR 1325 and with the UN Report on Women, Peace and Security. It is clear that most countries have more to learn about how to implement this commitment. The 2016 UN Global Report on Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace is an excellent guide to all countries, including Australia. The DFAT Gender Equity Branch, has been especially focussed on SCR 1325. This focus on elevating gender perspectives across all governmental departments engaged in conflict settings needs to be continued as a means of engaging women fully and equitably in peace-processes.

## Domestic Policy in International Peacemaking

Case studies such as Canada, Norway, South Africa and New Zealand point to the value of drawing on national processes of peacebuilding and reconciliation in learning how to improve international peacemaking efforts. For Australia this could draw upon its more than a century of experience of collective bargaining, mediation, conciliation and arbitration in workplace relations. Other areas of relevant domestic policy include multiculturalism, federalism, sustainable development and steps forward in indigenous reconciliation.

There would be significance beyond the simply national in effective, generous, wise and consistent national Indigenous policy, for it is a dimension in which other countries look with scepticism on Australia's past record.

## UN Sustainable Development Goals

The inclusion of peace in Goal 16 of the SDGs recognises the long reaching consequences of conflict and violence for development outcomes. Violence impedes and hinders development through direct destruction as well as through systems and practices that create injustice, poor management of resources, unequal social and economic conditions, and can undo years of development gains.<sup>325</sup> As former, UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon emphasised on 21 September 2016:

Sustainable development contributes decisively to dissipation and elimination of these causes of conflict and provides the foundation for a lasting peace. Peace, meanwhile, reinforces the conditions for sustainable development and liberates the resources needed for societies to develop and prosper. Every single one of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals is a building block in the global architecture of peace. It is critical that we mobilise means of implementation, including financial resources, technology development and transfer, and capacity-building, as well as the role of partnerships. Everyone has a stake and everyone has a contribution to make.

Other dimensions of foreign policies normally overlap with peace processes, most obviously human rights, R2P, 'state building' (as the British call it), development, climate change, in fact most of the SDGs in one way or another in various situations.

The recognition of the inter-relationship of conflict resolution with ODA was made in both Norway and UK case studies. The UK aid strategy puts 'strengthening global peace, security and governance as the first priority of the British aid program'. This is well reflected by the UN focus on the sustainable development goals. In 2015, Australia and many other countries adopted the set of 17 goals to end poverty, protect the planet, and ensure prosperity for all as part of a new sustainable development agenda. Focussing more attention on peace-processes is a necessary condition for their effective implementation.

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325 Bretherton and Miletic, 'Peace Day', 2016.

# RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ENHANCED INTERNATIONALISED EFFORTS



States can enhance policies and practices nationally and internationally in coordinated efforts to address peace and security issues through multilateral organisations, international coordination and engagement of academics and INGOs. To support peacemaking efforts, it would be timely to build upon the *Official History of Australian Peacekeeping* to review upgrading Australia's currently diminished contribution to UN peace operations. SCR 1325 and the 2016 UN Global Study: Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace also provide excellent guides to means of engaging women fully and equitably in peace-processes.

- Recommendation 4.1** Increase support for peace processes through multilateralism, international coordination and engagement of academics and INGOs.
- Recommendation 4.2** Build upon the Official History of Australian Peacekeeping project by reviewing Australia's current peacekeeping capacity and contribution to UN peace operations.
- Recommendation 4.3** Increase support for SCR 1325 in line with the 2016 UN Global Study: Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace towards engaging women fully equitably in peace-processes
- Recommendation 4.4** Domestic policy in areas such as Indigenous Affairs and multiculturalism are important foundations in the context of contributions to international peace processes.
- Recommendation 4.5** The UN Sustainable Development Goals recognise the central importance of peace to sustainable development. Incorporating them into national peacemaking strategies is integral to how the Australian government can work to fulfil its commitment to achieve these goals.

## CONCLUSION



In response to recent escalation in the rates of global conflict and violence and associated numbers of people killed, wounded and forcibly displaced, UN member states have been grappling with the question of how to build the national and collective capacity to more effectively prevent and resolve conflicts in a timely fashion.

This report, commissioned by the Development Policy Division of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and prepared by the Australian International Conflict Resolution Project at the School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Melbourne reviewed the existing practices in state approaches to support for peace processes in seven states, including Canada, Malaysia, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, UK and the US from 1991 to 2016. The review was designed as a short, timely attempt to provide an initial scan of existing literature, supplemented by interviews when necessary, and should be read as only the beginning of a more fundamental effort to understand and build capacity for effective conflict prevention and resolution within state foreign policy.

Despite these limitations, we hope the analysis and recommendations emerging from the review will prove useful to the Australian Government and other interested states and parties as they seek to design and improve their policies and capabilities to assist in the peaceful prevention and resolution of international conflict.

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# FURTHER INFORMATION

The Australian International Conflict Resolution Project (AICRP) at the School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Melbourne consists of Professor John Langmore, Dr Aran Martin, Dr Tania Miletic and Mr Nathan Shea.

The Project is engaged in a comprehensive, empirically grounded review into Australia's capacity to conduct international mediation and peacemaking activities. The project focuses on government capacity to undertake peacemaking activities in the region and beyond, while also making a needs-based assessment of Australian peacemaking services in specific regional conflicts.

The project has an **Advisory Board** that comprises world class expertise from:

Professor Alex Bellamy, Director, Centre for Responsibility to Protect, University of Queensland, Brisbane

Professor John Braithwaite, School of Regulation and Global Governance (RegNet), Australian National University, Canberra

Mr Cameron Chisolm, International Peace and Security Institute, Washington D.C

Professor Kevin Clements, Director, National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Otago, Dunedin

Dr James Cockayne, Director, Office of United Nations University to the UN, New York

The Hon Gareth Evans, Chancellor of the Australian National University, Melbourne

Dr Jeremy Farrall, Asia-Pacific College of Diplomacy, Australian National University, Canberra

Dr Stewart Firth, College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University, Canberra

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