

Conflict Resolution:
Peacebuilding vs. Peacekeeping

A personal journey to finding Justice & Peace

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'WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED
~ to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in
our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and
~ to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of
the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations
large and small, and
~ to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the
obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can
be maintained, and
~ to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger
freedom,
AND FOR THESE ENDS
~ to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as
good neighbours, and
~ 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,
and
~ to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and
social advancement of all peoples,
HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH
THESE AIMS'

~ Charter of the United Nations

INTRODUCTION:

I am writing this for me. The purpose of this is for me to come to terms with these principles. There is no intended primary audience; however, I do encourage individuals who are questioning their beliefs regarding justice and peace to read my personal journey. It may or may not apply to them but it might let them see that this is how I came to terms with these principles and came to have the opinions and beliefs that I have now. They might or might not understand or find it logical how I came to the conclusions I did but it was intended for me. I am looking at what is considered the 'basic' levels of JUPS; however I feel they were not

explained properly, effectively and enough for me to believe in them thus, I will be explaining them fairly extensively because if I am to come to any conclusions then these are the building blocks for me to fully believe in Justice and Peace.

This project won't positively affect the subjects of conflicts in the short term because it shows that how we handle conflict resolution is essentially wrong. I hope that after some time, these organizational failures will be corrected making conflict resolution more effective and successful in the long term. Hopefully after these changes have been made, conflict resolution will be more than a band – aid.

In recording this personal journey my assumption is that I will probably end up coming away from this experience with very different concluding thoughts and understanding than and ended up somewhere completely different from where I thought this journey would take me.

I will be the primary benefactor of this project. Knowing these things and writing them down will contribute to making me a better, more effective and more rounded person. I will be a more rounded person because I will finally be successful in the goal I had set for myself two years ago when I first decided to obtain a Justice and Peace Studies Certificate which is to look at the issues I understood from the Security Studies perspective but this time from the “opposite end of the spectrum” giving me a more rounded perspective. I am a more effective person because now I truly believe in those views and opinions. I understood the

principles and ideas we focused on in JUPS classes but I always doubted them and never really believed in them but now I can believe in the things I say. I am a better person because I feel I have become so much more knowledgeable about the issues where justice and peace have been threatened and because I believe in these principles I have gained a deeper and more sincere concern for the issues, the resolution and the people involved.

One of the main reasons it took me such a long time to start putting my findings / opinions down on my paper to actually start writing my thesis is because even though I questioned and doubted the existence of justice and peace in the world we live in I subconsciously wanted to find that justice and peace do exist and there have been situations to prove that.

If you are looking to read something on peacebuilding, peacekeeping or conflict resolution then I would suggest you stop reading now. If you are trying to read a piece of literature that will tell you a definitive answer of whether justice and peace exists in the world then you have chosen the wrong thing to read. But if you are looking for an individual's personal discovery about justice and peace then you're at the right place. The next X number of pages is my personal journey and discovery for me to come to my own conclusions about these two principles: justice and peace. I realized that in the past two years I have taken numerous JUPS classes, gone to hear a range of speakers and I have spent an extensive period of time reading and researching about justice and peace but I realized that I

was having so much difficulty because I realized that the my past academic experiences never actually looked at Justice and Peace. Instead it focused on many of (not all) the issues that are related or arise because justice and peace has been threatened. Thus, I never felt like I actually understood these two concepts and when it came down to choosing a topic and actually writing my thesis I didn't know where to begin. Because I didn't even understand the two basic concepts I was supposed to write about. As I began researching more and coming upon more information and became more knowledgeable about these two concepts I realized that there is no such thing as achieving justice and peace. There are no situations where there is complete justice and peace.

I decided to pursue a certificate in JUPS because it looks at some of the situations / issues that I have focused on in my classes in I Security but from the opposite perspective. They were unlike anything I've ever done. Thus, given my knowledge on the issues I doubted / questioned the existence of justice and peace. Do they actually exist in the world we live in or are they merely illusions / ideals / "shoulds"? Do these two terms exist as final entities / situations or do they exist in the continuous pursuit of them? Why do we give one greater importance than the other? Do we? Is it because we are thought that conflict is bad and that it has become so ingrained in us that we choose to go the 'easier' route by pursuing peace instead of justice in a situation?

Often times the institutions, organizations, systems and processes we have in place to deal with issues such as justice and peace do not work because problems arise with the most basic unit within them: the people. If the people do not believe in the issues they are working for and their organizations, etc then these institutions are doomed for failure. Look at IO notes regarding organization failures / problems. I have read a vast amounts of literature, take classes focused on Justice and Peace and listen to individuals speak about justice and peace but so far, I am not entirely convinced that Justice and Peace in fact do exist and if so, that the institutions and systems we have in place actually work effectively. Thus, I am embarking on this personal discovery because so that at the end of the day I can truly believe in something and make it be a part of me and something that I hope to commit myself to in the various ways that you can.

CHAPTER ONE:

The importance of defining

Justice and Peace:

A continuous battle in conflict resolution is determining the role of justice and peace. In the international system, the main international organization is the United Nations (UN). It was created as a, 'means to

help resolve international conflicts and formulate policies on matters affecting all of us,' and in an environment where all the Member States, despite their size, wealth, political views and social systems have, 'a voice and a vote in this process.'¹

The UN was created on October 24th 1945 with the ultimate goal of peace and to save the world from scourge of war on the basis of, '*preserving peace through international cooperation and collective security.*' The 51 founding nations were committed to this ideology and it became an underlying principle. The UN charter was created to reflect the organization's goal and function. Thus, the Charter outlines the UN's purposes to be: '*to maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among nations; to cooperate in solving international problems and in promoting respect for human rights; and to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations.*'²

The UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are the building blocks of the UN. A key phrase that is repeated throughout these two documents is, 'maintaining international peace and security'; however, there are inherent problems with the UN. This is because even though the UN sets the preservation of peace as a goal it never once defines "peace". Chapter seven of the UN Charter is titled, '*Action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of peace, and acts of aggression,*' and it is devoted to determining, '*the existence of any threat*

¹ How the UN Works <http://www.un.org/Overview/brief1.html>

² How the UN Works <http://www.un.org/Overview/brief1.html>

to the peace,' and the measures that should be taken to restore and maintain international peace and security but it does not define peace.³

Through the years the UN has been consistent with their origins. On June 12th 1941, nine exiled governments which consisted of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia and France along with representatives of Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa signed a declaration which has come to be known as the Declaration of St. James's Palace. They truly believed that, *'the only true basis of enduring peace is the willing cooperation of free peoples in a world in which, relieved of the menace of aggression, all may enjoy economic and social security,'* and they believed that it is their, *'intention to work together, and with other free peoples, both in war and peace, to this end.'* It is important to take note of the statements these nations made in the Declaration of St. James's Palace because in many ways it still remains the UN's stance on peace.⁴

Chapter Fourteen in the Charter of the United Nations outlines the International Court of Justice. According to Article ninety – two in the Charter, *'The International Court of Justice shall be the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. It shall function in accordance with the annexed Statute, which is based upon the Statute of the Permanent Court*

³ Dozen Good Reasons to Get US Out! Of the United Nations
http://www.getusout.org/artman/publish/article_121.shtml

⁴ The Declaration of St. James's Palace
<http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/history/>

*of International Justice and forms an integral part of the present Charter.*⁵

The International Court of Justice replaced the Permanent Court of International Justice in 1946 operating under a Statute very similar to that of its predecessor which is an essential part of the Charter of the United Nations. The court has two main functions. Its roles are, *'to settle in accordance with international law the legal disputes submitted to it by States, and to give advisory opinions on legal questions referred to it by duly authorized international organs and agencies.'*⁶ The International Court of Justice is the only judicial organ in the world with the, *'capacity for dealing with the problems of the international community as a whole and offers States so wide a range of opportunities for promoting the rule of law.'*⁷

The United Nations draws a direct correlation between justice and peace in the relationship between the International Court of Justice and the United Nations' goal of maintaining peace. The United Nations believes that by resolving disputes the Court will, *'thereby contribute to the maintenance of peace and to the development of friendly relations among States'*.⁸

⁵ Charter of the United Nations Chapter 14

<http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/index.html>

⁶ International Court of Justice: General Information <http://www.icj-cij.org/icjwww/igeneralinformation/icjgnnot.html>

⁷ International Court of Justice: International Law <http://www.icj-cij.org/icjwww/igeneralinformation/ibbook/Bbookframepage.htm>

⁸ International Court of Justice: International Law <http://www.icj-cij.org/icjwww/igeneralinformation/ibbook/Bbookframepage.htm>

The UN Charter states, *'We the peoples of the United Nations determined to establish conditions under which justice and respect for obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained,'* and, *'for these ends to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security.'*⁹ It is interesting that an organization like the UN which is intense on definitions to the point where member – states have extensive discussions and debates over wordings and definitions do not have specific definitions for the words on which the organization is founded on and strives to achieve: justice and peace. Without definitions for these principles it would be impossible to effectively fulfill their mission.

In the Declaration of St. James's Palace, the nations involved connected peace to nations, *'relieved of the menace of aggression, all may enjoy economic and social security,'*¹⁰ By doing this they are implying that economic and social security equate to peace.

Part of the International Court of Justice's function is to settle the legal disputes in accordance with international law. This is problematic because it means that the International Court of Justice is, *'an organ of international law.'*¹¹ It becomes difficult to bring justice to conflict situations when there is no definition of justice to work with. An area

⁹ Charter of the United Nations Preamble
<http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/>

¹⁰ The Declaration of St. James's Palace
<http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/history/>

¹¹ International Court of Justice: International Law <http://www.icj-cij.org/icjwww/igeneralinformation/ibook/Bbookframepage.htm>

where problems can arise is in determining what international law consists of. According to the Statute of the International Court of Justice international law is derived from four main sources. These are:

- "(a) international conventions, whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting States;*
- (b) international custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law;*
- (c) the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations;*
- (d) subject to the provisions of Article 59, judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law"*¹²

It is problematic that the International Court of Justice does not have an official definition for justice and that international law is derived from the four sources as stated above because these sources are influenced by societies, cultures and individual ideologies therefore making them far less objective than what they should be and in the process in which they are being used. One of the sources of International Law is, *'the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations.'*¹³ This is not a situation where, *'justice is blind'*. If the International Court of Justice is truly trying to find true justice and settle conflicts they first need to realize that their sources of international law need to be changed because they are biased and skewed. They are inherently placing labels on civilized and non – civilized nations and placing values on civilized principles over those of

¹² Statute of the International Court of Justice http://www.icj-cij.org/icjwww/ibasicdocuments/ibasictext/ibasicstatute.htm#CHAPTER_II

¹³ Statute of the International Court of Justice http://www.icj-cij.org/icjwww/ibasicdocuments/ibasictext/ibasicstatute.htm#CHAPTER_II

non – civilized nations. This is problematic especially when the United Nations is an organization created to give each member state an equal voice despite their differences.

It is also incorrect to use these as sources of International law because even if we assume the statute's assumption that the '*general principles of law recognized by civilized nations,*' should be of greater value than those of non – civilized nations it is important to realize that because these are principles that work in some countries do not necessarily work in other nations given their culture, society, or socio – economic standing.

If an organization has set goals and a clear mission but it does not clearly define key principles then the organization is doomed to fail and will never be as effective in achieving its goals and mission.

It is also essential to look at how certain individuals relate to these key principles and how they define these terms. It is important to define key terms such as justice and peace but to be more effective in achieving these goals it is necessary to look at how people relate to them personally and on an individual level and look at how one's society and culture has influenced this relationship. Anthropological linguists have been studying the relationship between language and culture. The structure of a, '*particular language is determined by or determines the form and content of the culture with which it is associated*'¹⁴. This shows how important the role of culture has on how individuals within that culture and society

¹⁴ Encyclopedia Britannica Anthropological Linguistics
<http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-35130>

perceive certain words. Therefore, even though it is helpful to have a specific formal definition to follow it is still important to see how that fits with how individual people within the conflict define these terms. If the UN or the International Court of Justice makes certain judgments about a situation and they determine a conflict to be settled justly the people in the conflict need to have the same understanding. If the people involved in the conflict do not feel the conflict has been resolved then to the issues that caused the conflict still continues and remains to be a problem. The conflict has not been resolved instead the conflict manifests itself in a potentially less obvious and less violent manner.

Even though the United Nations looks at situations on a state level it is important to remember that at the core of everything is the individual, the people. Therefore even though conflicts can be looked at it in terms of intra – state conflicts or situations where there are disputes between states it is inevitably a conflict between individuals for personal reasons.

CHAPTER TWO:

Looking at Conflicts on a Personal Level:

It is essential that the international community and the United Nations realize that we cannot allow for conflicts to manifest itself in a less violent and less obvious manner. This is because if we tolerate mundane violence often times there will be a paradigm shift and mundane violence becomes

the new point of reference for 'normal'. By doing this we will be continuously accepting new levels of violence thus move more and more towards greater and increased levels of violence.

Catastrophic destruction or spectacular violence and everyday or mundane violence could be considered on opposite ends of the spectrum, or it could be considered inter-related with mundane violence as the source and justification for spectacular violence. Unfortunately, we tend to privilege spectacular violence over mundane violence. This is because to a certain extent we do not notice mundane violence to be something that necessitates any action on our part or even acknowledgment because sadly, these acts of mundane violence are so continuous and frequent that we have become immune to them. For example, people may be shocked by such things as photos depicting the gruesome effects of war but after being exposed those photos for long periods of time, people stop being shocked and they need something even more spectacular and with more catastrophic destruction in order to be shocked.¹⁵ People give spectacular violence greater privilege over mundane violence because the effects of spectacular violence overwhelm them causing them to actually realize the situation exists.

The consequences of being indifferent to one of the two types of violence are extensive. If we continue with current trends and give privilege to spectacular violence while being indifferent to mundane

¹⁵ Sontag, Susan Regarding the Pain of Others 6 - 16

violence we are only fueling the creation of continuous spectacular violence. This is because there is a direct correlation between mundane violence and spectacular violence. Mundane violence exists during “peace times” while spectacular violence often takes place during “war times”. However, how people behave and the events and actions that are considered normal and acceptable determine how people will behave under stress such as during “war times”. For example, in many conflict areas, women are treated differently than men during “peace times”. Women are the victims of acts of sexual violence, inequalities in rights and physical violence. These are considered mundane violence. Therefore in “war times” men feel they are able to treat women like this if not with more spectacular violence because their everyday behavior re-enforces their beliefs.¹⁶

In order to correct the difference in attitude toward mundane violence and spectacular violence along with the ignorance of the correlation between mundane violence during peace times and spectacular violence during war times there must be a change in the way states and the United Nations look at justice, peace and conflict. There must be a realization that mundane violence is still violence along with inequalities between people based on gender, ethnicity and race are not acceptable. Just because a conflict manifests itself in mundane violence that we as a people have come to accept does not mean that we are in

¹⁶ Jefferson, LaShawn R. In War as in Peace: Sexual Violence and Women’s Status

peace times. This will be a slow process which may only become successful after being persistent and consistent for several generations because the belief that mundane violence and the inequality of rights is acceptable is very well ingrained in people's traditions, culture and heritage.

CHAPTER THREE:

Problems with the United Nations as an International Organization

The United Nations in its current state, lay out and guidelines are ineffective as a major international organization in conflict resolution because it exhibits bureaucratic pathologies. Barnett and Finnemore used studies in sociology and anthropology to explore international organizations. In Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics Barnett and Finnemore present a constructivist look at the typical realist and neorealist argument that international organizations are entirely subservient to their member states but more importantly they look at issues that plague international organizations from being as effective as they could or should theoretically be¹⁷. They use the term pathologies, *'to describe such instances when International Organization dysfunction can*

¹⁷ Ferguson. Institutions with Authority, Autonomy, and Power

*be traced to bureaucratic culture.*¹⁸ Barnett and Finnemore identify five pathologies that are most commonly found in international organizations. These are: *‘the irrationality of rationalization, universalism, normalization of deviance, organizational insulation and cultural contestation’*¹⁹.

The first pathology is “Irrationality of rationalization” takes place when there are inflexible rules and procedure. Often times this occurs when there is a confusion of the means and the ends. There is a confusion of the effort toward the objective as an end in itself.

The second is “Bureaucratic universalism” is insensitivity to particularistic situations and instead there is just mindless consistency. In international organizations such as the United Nations there are many rules of procedure and protocol. There are very set ways on how certain issues or situations should be handled; however it is essential to realize that even though one solution works and is successful in resolving an issue the level of success does not often translate into success in resolving similar issues in other situations. A standard operating procedure applied in a different context is often not helpful.

The third pathology is “Normalization of deviance” occurs when there is too much bending of established rules and procedures. This could be thought of as being the opposite of “irrationality of rationalization”. “Normalization of deviance” is taking action and doing things that are not

¹⁸ Barnett & Finnemore. The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations, 702

¹⁹ Barnett & Finnemore. The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations, 719

helpful to the central purpose on the basis of normalizing deviance. If an action leads to an outcome that was unexpected but not disastrous or an absolute failure then that can become the basis of your expectations in the next iteration of that action. Over time, the organization can become normalized to almost anything.

The fourth pathology is “Organizational insulation” occurs because there is a lack of feedback largely due to too much professionalism, lack of competition, and no external evaluation. By having little or insufficient feedback from others the organization often develops groupthink. Groupthink is a concept identified by social psychologist Irving Janis in 1972. Groupthink is used to identify situations when,

“A group makes faulty decisions because group pressures lead to a deterioration of mental efficiency, reality testing, and moral judgment. Groups affected by groupthink ignore alternatives and tend to take irrational actions that dehumanize other groups. A group is especially vulnerable to groupthink when its members are similar in background, when the group is insulated from outside opinions, and when there are no clear rules for decision making.”²⁰

The fifth and final pathology is “Cultural contestation” arises when there are internal divisions. This results in the organization not acting as a unitary actor. This division often occurs because there are different interests, and constant political contestation of agenda. Barnett and Finnemore state that these pathologies are derived from features of a

²⁰ What is Groupthink? <http://www.psysr.org/groupthink%20overview.htm>

bureaucracy itself therefore, it is expected that they are present in any bureaucracy to a limited degree²¹

The second reason the United Nations is ineffective as a major international organization in conflict resolution is because of its one of its main goals: to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war to maintain international peace. Due to this goal, in the United Nations, peace is the primary and immediate focus before justice. The primary focus was preserving peace. By focusing on just peace as opposed to justice and peace the premise it begins with is already skewed and biased.

The Security Council's main focus is maintaining international peace and security. The Council can convene at any time and whenever peace is threatened. A typical protocol for the Security Council to follow when the Council encounters a situation where there is a threat to international peace is, 'it first explores ways to settle the dispute peacefully. It may suggest principles for a settlement or undertake mediation. In the event of fighting, the Council tries to secure a ceasefire. It may send a peacekeeping mission to help the parties maintain the truce and to keep opposing forces apart.'²²

The international system places greater value on peace than justice because the entire basis of the main institution in the international system

²¹ Barnett & Finnemore. The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations, 719

²² How the UN Works <http://www.un.org/Overview/brief1.html>

is to reach the ultimate goal of peace. Placing peace over justice is not justified for several reasons, one of which is that the conflict is not resolved in the long term if the perpetrators are not brought to justice. This long term versus the short term issue is also closely related to why peacekeeping operations fail thereby creating greater incentives for peacebuilding operations as opposed to peacekeeping operations.

One of the UN's functions is to serve as a unit to encourage international cooperation. The UN deals with international issues on multiple levels and for multiple reasons. These range from economic ties to common values to geopolitical ties. States tend focus on these ties to a great extent; in fact, states end up determining their most of their actions based on these ties instead of taking the necessary measures to resolve situations of conflict, and therefore remain true to the initial purpose of these ties.

International System:

International Organizations are often affected by "institutional stickiness". According to Keohane, "Institutional stickiness" occurs because of self preservation and the need for international organizations to produce outcomes. Institutions are created to reproduce an outcome. By doing this, ideally the favored outcome will be more likely to be produced thereby making the organization more efficient and effective. Unfortunately, no matter how selfless a cause, a vast majority of international organizations are interested in self preservation.

International organizations believe that self preservation is necessary for there to be a stability of change that is constituted by their presence. Instead of only producing the desired favored outcomes, the international organization will also produce other outcomes that can be thought of as “by –products”. It gets itself in to a “sticky” situation because the organization or the people within the organization are able to find a purpose for this outcome and therefore giving it a purpose to continue reproducing this outcome.

This can be best seen in ad hoc groups. Ad hoc groups are often created to serve for a specific given of time and after it has achieved its goals the group disappears and it ceases to exist; however, often times, these ad hoc groups want to continue existing because of self preservation and it draws connections between the outcomes it can produce and the international organization’s main purpose.

The United Nations exhibits “institutional stickiness” because it often creates departments and commissions that after they have served its purpose continue to exist and become a permanent part of the United Nations. It is important to be careful that by doing this, the United Nations does not end up taking action that is inconsistent or antithetical to their purpose or their common outcome.

CHAPTER FOUR:

Conflict Resolution: Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding

Peacekeeping is one of the many ways the United Nations helps countries in conflict *'create conditions for sustainable peace'*. UN Peacekeeping forces consist of soldiers and military officers, and police and civilian personnel. These forces *monitor and observe peace processes that emerge in post – conflict situations and assist conflicting parties to implement the peace agreement they have signed*. They help *promote human security, confidence – building measures, power - sharing arrangements, electoral support, strengthening the rule of law and economic and social development*. Since the UN Security Council has the *power and responsibility to take collective action to maintain international peace and security* they are often the ones to authorize peacekeeping operations.²³

According to the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, the Department is, *'dedicated to assisting the Member States and the Secretary-General in their efforts to maintain international peace and security'*. The presence of Peacekeeping operations help introduce,

²³ What is peacekeeping? <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/fag/q1.htm>

'the UN as a third party with a direct impact on a political process.'

Peacekeeping missions are required to:

- *Deploy to prevent the outbreak of conflict or the spill-over of conflict across borders;*
- *Stabilize conflict situations after a cease fire, to create an environment for the parties to reach a lasting peace agreement;*
- *Assist in implementing comprehensive peace agreements;*
- *Lead states or territories through a transition to stable government, based on democratic principles, good governance and economic development.*²⁴

Injustice can take place in many forms. It can be found when inadequate political structures prevents an orderly transfer of power, when dissatisfied and vulnerable populations are manipulated and when competition for scarce sources increases the frustration among those in poverty. This causes, human suffering, often on a massive scale, threats to wider international peace and security, and the destruction of the economic and social life of entire populations.

There are three main reasons it is essential the international community take action to resolve conflict situations. Firstly, it is our duty as human beings to help those whose human rights are being violated. Secondly, very few conflicts today are considered 'local'. If the international community does not try to resolve the conflicts in a peaceful manner it may become wider conflicts that can destabilize neighboring states and spread throughout entire regions. Lastly, the international community has experienced the scourge of war which has, *'brought untold*

²⁴ United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations Mission Statement <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/info/page3.htm>

*sorrow to mankind*²⁵ and after weighing the risks of action against inaction the United Nations has chosen collective security.²⁶

According to studies done by the UBC's Human Security Center and the Rand Corporation there has been a strong inverse relationship between peacekeeping deployments and war casualties resulting in a situation where as peacekeeping increases, war casualties decreases in both the short and long term. The studies show that UN peacekeeping is a *highly efficient means of placing post – conflict societies on the path to enduring peace and democratic government, and the most efficient form of international intervention so far devised*²⁷

Peacekeeping has evolved from traditional peacekeeping to a multidimensional peacekeeping. Peacekeeping was first developed during the Cold War to, 'ease tensions and help resolve conflicts between States by deploying unarmed or lightly armed military personnel'. They were only deployed when a ceasefire was in place and the parties involved in the conflict had given their consent. An essential principle that has remained a part of peacekeeping till this day is that peacekeepers were not expected, 'to fight fire with fire'. Today, peacekeeping has become multidimensional. UN peacekeeping missions became more involved with implementing comprehensive peace agreements between parties in intra –

²⁵ Charter of the United Nations
<http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/index.html>

²⁶ Why is UN peacekeeping essential?
<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/faq/q2.htm>

²⁷ Does UN Peacekeeping Work?
<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/faq/q3.htm>

state conflicts. Non – military elements became a greater focus in peacekeeping to ensure sustainability.²⁸

In the past few years there has been a large increase in the demand for United Nations peace operations. Some of the challenges the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations faces are that the new missions are more complex and multidimensional than previous ones, it requires massive deployments of military and civilian personnel and UN peacekeepers have been charged with sexual exploitation and abuse charges. Despite all these challenges, the surge in demand demonstrates that, *that countries emerging from conflicts need United Nations assistance and reflected the confidence of Member States in UN peacekeeping as the right tool to handle these difficult tasks*.²⁹ Figure A³⁰ shows the timeline of all United Nations Peacekeeping operations since the beginning of the department. From this timeline, it shows the sudden surge of demand for UN Peacekeeping operations. Figure B³¹ shows the number of UN Peacekeeping Operations at the end of each year.

²⁸ How has peacekeeping evolved?

<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/faq/q4.htm>

²⁹ What are the current challenges to successful peacekeeping?

<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/faq/q6.htm>

³⁰ UN Operations Timeline

<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/timeline/pages/timeline.html>

³¹ Center for Defense Information: Organizing for Peace

<http://www.cdi.org/dm/2001/issue1/peace.html> 50

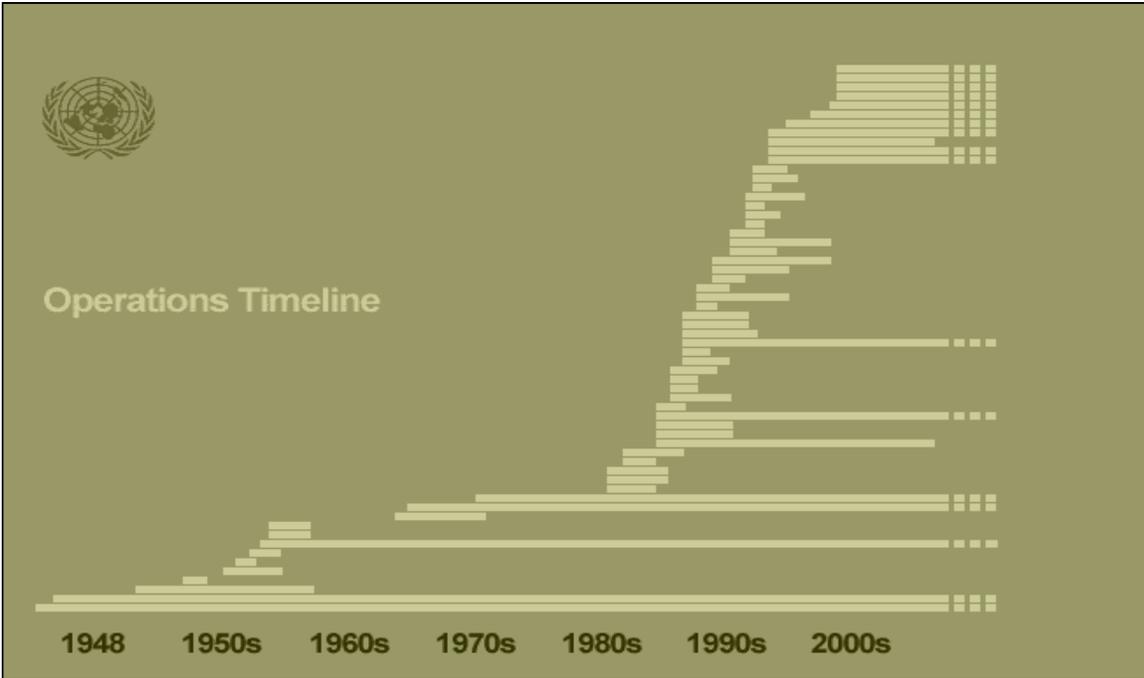


Figure A: Timeline of All United Nations Peacekeeping Operations

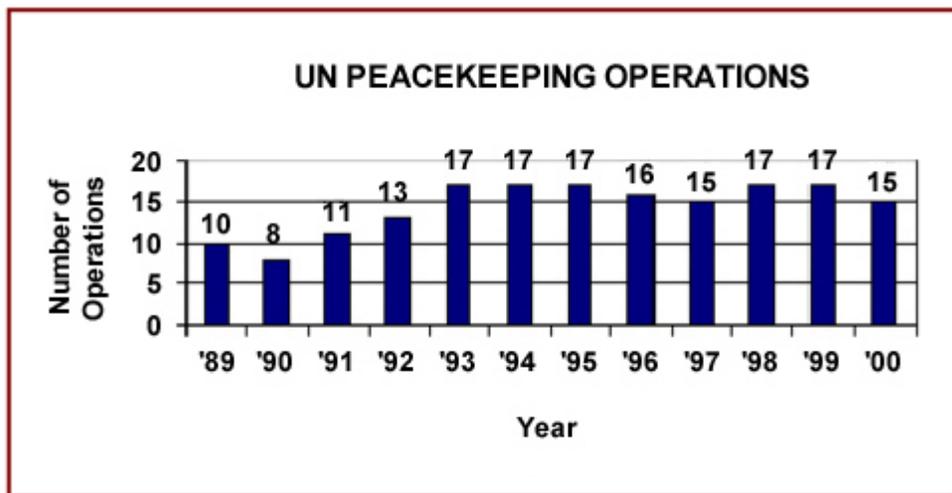


Figure B: The Number of UN Peacekeeping Operations at the end of each year

Often times peacekeeping operations consist of establishing security. For the United Nations, “security” comes in the form of establishing “a secure environment”. In the initial period, the operations may require large numbers of troops, ‘to provide stability and security’. This situation continues until they are able to create a credible local police force and ex – combatants are demobilized. In evolving towards multidimensional peacekeeping the United Nations has started to look at other aspects of conflict resolution.³²

The Secretary – General appointed a high – level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change with the task to come up with new proposals for collective action. Their findings were used in the 2005 “In Larger Freedom” report which looked at the relationships between development, human rights and security as the key factors for looking at global problems. These proposals were part of the agenda at the September 2005 World Summit where world leaders endorsed some of them because they believed in the value of the UN peacekeeping and the importance of preventing post – conflict countries from regressing back into being a conflict – stricken nation.³³

³² What are the criteria for a successful peacekeeping operation?
<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/faq/q7.htm>

³³ What are the criteria for a successful peacekeeping operation?
<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/faq/q7.htm>

The Peacebuilding Commission was established, *'as a forum for international players to work out a common strategy for countries emerging from conflict, to ensure they do not lapse back into war'*³⁴.

It is key that peacekeeping operations look at resolving all aspects of the conflict in order for long term peace to prevail. The United Nations realizes that, *'real peace takes time, building national capacities takes times, rebuilding trust takes time'*.³⁵ Aside from bringing short term peace to the situation by stopping violent acts from occurring the United Nations stresses on aspects that pertain to rebuilding the country so that long term peace can endure. The United Nations believes that basic services and the government need to be restored. Previously, it was difficult to persuade member – states to support this goal but now, *'there is a growing consensus on the need for the UN to shore up basic state services, including the judiciary, civil administration and public utilities and to return post – conflict societies to normality and stability as quickly as possible.'*³⁶ This coincides with, *'including the rule of law as a critical part of mission planning.'* This is essential in establishing the ability to support the police, judiciary and corrections in ongoing operations because in post – conflict societies a judicial system must make independent and fair justice from the beginning. These situations may require establishing a

³⁴ What are the criteria for a successful peacekeeping operation?
<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/faq/q7.htm>

³⁵ What are the criteria for a successful peacekeeping operation?
<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/faq/q7.htm>

³⁶ What are the criteria for a successful peacekeeping operation?
<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/faq/q7.htm>

tribunal to redressing past war crimes or for a truth and reconciliation commission. Going hand in hand with a fair judicial system are fair elections in a democratic society. United Nations peacekeeping missions can help conduct or support local elections. It is a long process because it is important to create the right conditions. This includes establishing, *'an acceptable level of security, a legal framework, a transparent voter registration process and a constitution drafted and accepted by all parties.'*³⁷

It is extremely problematic the way success of United Nations peacekeeping operations is measured. United Nations peacekeeping operations can be considered successful in the short term, *'if the mandate given to it by the Security Council was effectively fulfilled.'*³⁸ Given this, their efforts in a post – conflict situation is evaluated by the ability of the country, *'involved to sustain long – term peace and stability, and embark on the road to rebuilding and development'*³⁹

Since 1948 there have been 60 peacekeeping operations⁴⁰. There have been numerous successful operations. In 2005, UN peacekeepers ended their mission in Timor – Leste and Sierra Leone successfully. They helped the transition to democratic rule in Namibia, El Salvador,

³⁷ What are the criteria for a successful peacekeeping operation?

<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/faq/q7.htm>

³⁸ How do you measure success in peacekeeping and what are some recent examples? <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/faq/q18.htm>

³⁹ How do you measure success in peacekeeping and what are some recent examples? <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/faq/q18.htm>

⁴⁰ United Nations Peacekeeping Operations
<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/bnote.htm>

Nicaragua and Guatemala. In Cambodia, the foreign forces withdrew and in 1993 the peacekeeping forces conducted elections that finally put an end to the Khmer Rouge. The UN helped ensure prevailing peace with having sustained economic growth in Mozambique. With this, it became the symbol of hope in Africa.

Unfortunately, the UN also has several operations which failed. In these operations, the countries, *'lapsed back into conflict a few years after the UN mission was completed: "Successful operations... in which the patient dies."*⁴¹ These failures include Haiti and Liberia in the 1990s where there was a difference between the security stabilization work and the work the peacekeeping forces did in governance building and development.

Recently completed operations in Sierra Leone and Timor – Leste consisted of multidimensional peacekeeping which included peacebuilding strategies that are still under implementation. In Sierra Leone the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone was there with the primary aim of ending an eleven – year civil war and helping it enter a period of democratic transition. Starting in 2002, there has been an improved security environment in Sierra Leone and they continue to work towards consolidating peace and national reconciliation. The UN has since helped reconstruct roads, renovate and build schools, houses of worship and clinics, implemented agricultural projects and welfare programmes. They

⁴¹ How do you measure success in peacekeeping and what are some recent examples? <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/faq/q18.htm>

have also helped Sierra Leone ensure that the rights of its citizens are protected and to bring justice to those who are responsible for violations of international humanitarian law. The United Nations Integrated Office for Sierra Leone is now there to strengthen the peace by helping the government uphold human rights, develop the economy and improve transparency and hold elections in 2007. The operation in Sierra – Leone may serve as an example for the UN’s new emphasis on peacebuilding.⁴²

Given these examples of successful operations and failed operations it is clear that, *‘Building peace from the ashes of war takes time and the international community must be willing to work with local institutions until they are ready to shoulder responsibility for democratic governance, the rule of law and continued economic development’*.⁴³ In order for peacekeeping operations to work they, *‘must be linked to a longer term plan for achieving real stability’*.⁴⁴

As can be seen from Figure A and Figure B, there has been a surge in demand for UN Peacekeeping operations; however, these operations are also lasting much longer than they did in the past. This is because peacekeeping operations are no longer merely focused on short term peace that was the focus in traditional peacekeeping and instead it looks

⁴² How do you measure success in peacekeeping and what are some recent examples? <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/faq/q18.htm>

⁴³ How do you measure success in peacekeeping and what are some recent examples? <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/faq/q18.htm>

⁴⁴ How do you measure success in peacekeeping and what are some recent examples? <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/faq/q18.htm>

a longer term sustainable peace that can be achieved through multidimensional peacekeeping and peacebuilding.

The United Nations Peacebuilding Commission focuses on post – conflict recovery. It steps in after there has been establishment of a peace accord and a cessation of violence. Its primary aim is to, ‘strengthen a country’s own capacity to recover after conflict and reduce the long-term necessity for recurring peacekeeping operations’. The commission is also there to keep the international community’s attention on countries that are emerging from conflict to ensure that they remain on the path of peace. It does this by advising and proposing integrated strategies for post – conflict recovery consisting of reconstruction, institution – building and sustainable development. The brilliance of this Commission lies in its ability to draw from the UN’s capacities and experience in *conflict prevention, mediation, peacekeeping, respect for human rights, the rule of law, humanitarian assistance, reconstruction and long – term development*.⁴⁵ It is helpful for the Commission to be able to draw from all of this because the Commission’s operations work on a much longer timeline than many other departments and commissions and because of that it utilizes all the resources and experience that the United Nations has been acquiring since it was first created. The United Nations Peacebuilding Commission is to:

⁴⁵ United Nations Peacebuilding Commission
www.un.org/peace/peacebuilding/

- *Propose Integrated strategies for post – conflict peacebuilding and recovery;*
- *Help to ensure predictable financing for early recovery activities and sustained financial investment over the medium- to longer-term.*
- *Extend the period of attention by the international community to post-conflict recovery;*
- *Develop best practices on issues that require extensive collaboration among political, military, humanitarian and development actors.*⁴⁶

With these aims, the UN Peacebuilding Commission enables the United Nations to the, *‘bring together all the major actors in a given situation to discuss and decide on a long-term peacebuilding strategy’*. From this, there will be immediate post – conflict efforts in conjunction with long – term recovery and development efforts.⁴⁷

A primary difference between peacekeeping and peacebuilding is that the Peacebuilding commission deals with post – conflict peacebuilding and helping it move from war to peace. Peacekeeping on the other hand is centered on military deployment. Peacekeeping operations can be a part of peacebuilding efforts.⁴⁸

The commission fills a gap in the United Nations because previously the UN did not have any direct responsibility, *‘for helping countries make the transition from war to lasting peace’*. The commission makes a connection between Peacekeeping operations and post – conflict operations and the international network of assistance such as the World

⁴⁶ United Nations Peacebuilding Commission
www.un.org/peace/peacebuilding/

⁴⁷ Questions and Answers on the UN Peacebuilding
<http://www.un.org/peace/peacebuilding/question.htm>

⁴⁸ Questions and Answers on the UN Peacebuilding
<http://www.un.org/peace/peacebuilding/question.htm>

Bank. In the past, the UN has helped mediate peace agreements and helped implement them; however, nearly half of all the countries that have “successfully” emerged from war have lapsed back into violence within five years despite signing a peace agreement. Thus, in order to prevent conflict, *‘peace agreements must be implemented in a sustained manner’*. Therefore, the Peacebuilding Commission is there to, *‘help ensure that countries are strengthened and supported sufficiently to endure the very difficult post-conflict years when, even if the fighting has stopped, the economy, rule of law and institutions of governance can be extremely weak’*.⁴⁹

Secretary General Kofi Annan strongly supports the Peacebuilding Commission because even though,

*“Many parts of the United Nations have been involved in the peacebuilding process, the system has lacked a dedicated entity to oversee the process, ensure its coherence, or sustain it through the long haul. This resulted in fractured peacebuilding operations, with no single forum for all the relevant actors to come together, share information, and develop a common strategy. Too often, a fragile peace has been allowed to crumble into renewed conflict.”*⁵⁰

In his remarks on the General Assembly’s endorsement of the Peacebuilding Commission, he outlines the gap that the Peacebuilding Commission fills and the advancements it will help the United Nations achieve by, *‘improving coordination both within*

⁴⁹ Questions and Answers on the UN Peacebuilding
<http://www.un.org/peace/peacebuilding/question.htm>

⁵⁰ Secretary – General Calls Endorsement of Peacebuilding a Turning Point in Remarks Following Historic Event
<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2005/sqsm10277.doc.htm>

and beyond the UN system,' and serve as a liaison to ensure the international community plays an active role in long – term recovery efforts.⁵¹

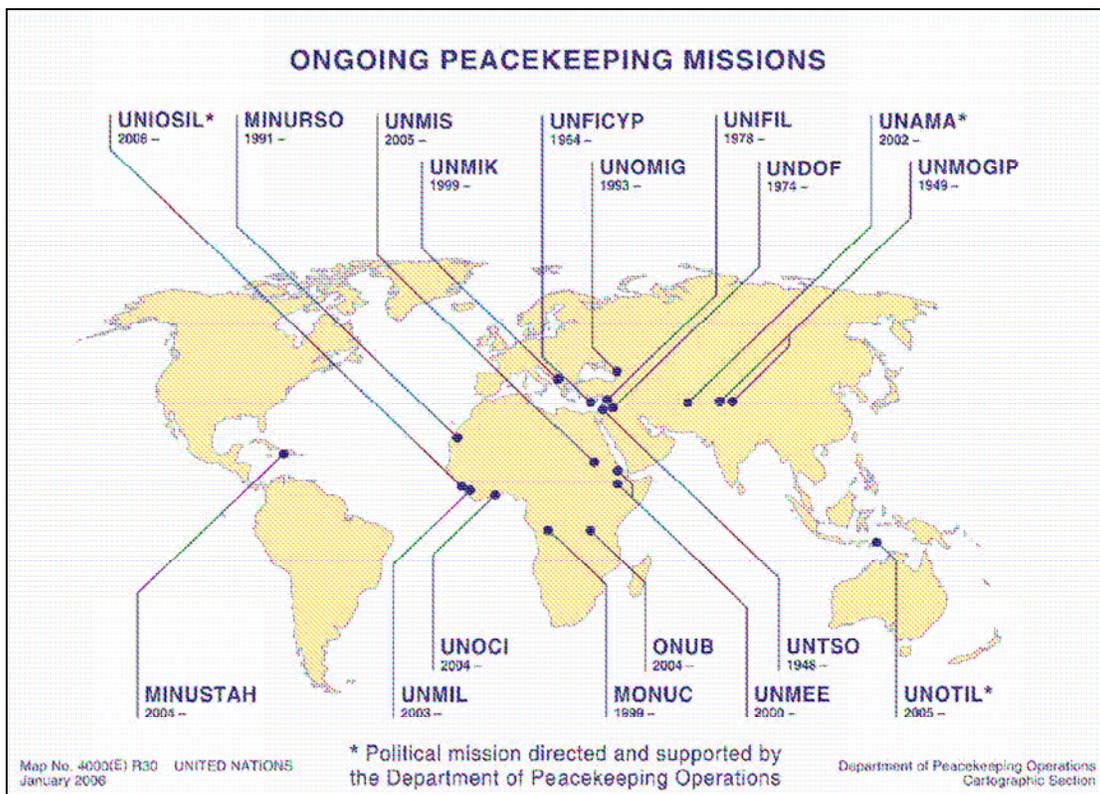


Figure C: Ongoing Peacekeeping Missions

⁵¹ Secretary – General Calls Endorsement of Peacebuilding a Turning Point in Remarks Following Historic Event
<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2005/sqsm10277.doc.htm>

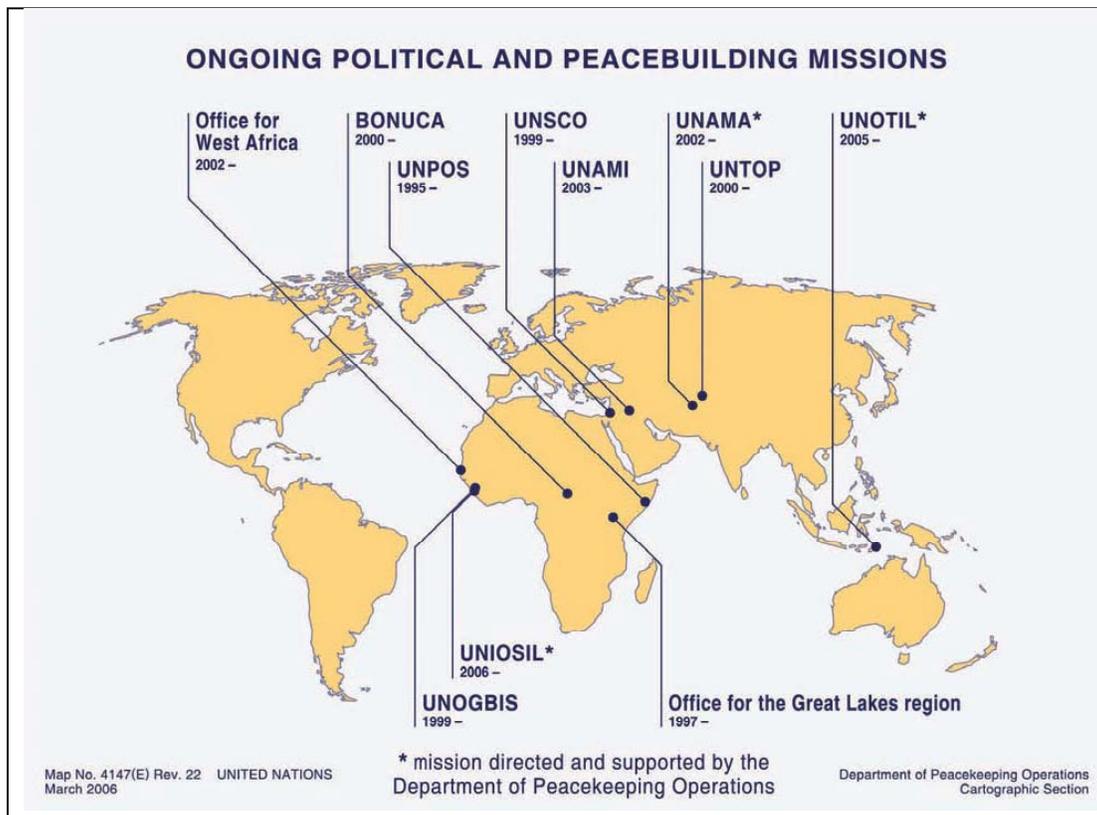


Figure D: Ongoing Political and Peacebuilding Missions

As can be seen by Figure C which shows the ongoing peacekeeping missions⁵² and Figure D which shows the ongoing political peacebuilding missions⁵³ even though there are far fewer peacebuilding operations it is clear that there is a direct correlation between where peacebuilding operations are located and where peacekeeping operations are located too. The far fewer number of peacebuilding missions could imply that the peacekeeping missions have not fully established a peace accord or a cessation of violence

⁵² United Nations Peacekeeping Operations
<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/archive/2005/bn1205e.pdf>

⁵³ Ongoing Political and Peacebuilding Operations
<http://www.un.org/peace/ppbm.pdf>

therefore peacebuilding operations are still not able to enter in to the country to begin their work in rebuilding the nation.

In conflict resolution, establishing peace is the primary focus; however in order to be successful there must be sustainable peace. Even though Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding have similar goals they should not be looked as opposing options to conflict resolution but instead as two partners in successfully establishing peace. Without one, the other would not be successful. Peacekeeping works on a much shorter timeline and focuses on establishing short term peace. Peacebuilding on the other hand looks at establishing long term peace and attempts to prevent countries from lapsing back in to violence. However, the key point to remember is that without peacekeeping and a cessation of violence, peacebuilding operations would not be able to begin its work. In many ways, peacekeeping can be thought of as a band aid for a conflict which is a wound. Like a band aid, Peacekeeping operations only work for as long as peacekeeping forces are on the ground therefore they are only able to be successful in the short term but are not successful in establishing peace in the long term. It needs its partner: peacebuilding to be fully successful.

Peacebuilding and peacekeeping are effective because after a cessation of violence the people in these war stricken countries are able to help in determining the future of their nation and by doing so, realize that they too have a future. Unlike Peacekeeping operations,

Peacebuilding operations tend to have greater success because they go one step farther to try and provide those involved in the conflict a chance for the future. Peacebuilding operations are much more forward looking than peacekeeping operations.

Conclusion:

It is essential the United Nations defines the key terms they use, especially when it is a term that is used repeatedly throughout its mission statement and it is part of its main aim: *'to preserve peace'*. Many other terms and phrases are defined and debated extensively; however the founding basis of the organization is not. By not defining these two terms the United Nations is setting itself up to lose its focus on its aims because it always leaves these terms up for interpretation.

Stopping the violent acts and human rights violations in a conflict situation is very important; however if the people in the situation itself do not feel like the conflict is fully resolved or that they do not see a future ahead it is very probably that nations that emerge from a conflict lapse back into violence. Approximately half of the nations where there has been a successful stop to the violent acts and "peace has been established" revert back to being a war stricken nation.

We as human beings should also be interested in putting an end to these conflicts even though we may not be directly affected by them. We should take action because these are violations against human rights and

we have a duty as fellow human beings to stand up for those who are not able to do so for themselves. If we continue to tolerate these levels of violence as mundane violence and wait for spectacular violence before we do anything then we are putting too much at risk. We as a human race have experienced the atrocities that can take place if we do not act. World War One and World War Two have shown sacrifices we have made because we did not act. Secondly, if we wait and accept these acts of violence they will soon become the new point of reference for normal and acceptable.

The United Nations as an international organization is plagued with problems. It exhibits five bureaucratic pathologies and also institutional stickiness. However, despite those problems the United Nations has proven itself to be a successful international organization that is willing to change with the times and evolve and advance itself to better serve the international community.

Peacekeeping and peacebuilding are not oppositions to one another but instead they are partners in conflict resolution and establishing sustainable peace. These two entities do not choose to value peace over justice or justice over peace but instead, they establish a cessation of violence which could be considered short term peace in order to rebuild war stricken nations to prevent them from lapsing back into violence. By doing this, they focus on creating a just society and government that would allow for sustainable peace to prevail. Without peacekeeping,

peacebuilding would cease to exist. Like that relationship, without justice there can be no peace.

Justice and Peace are both extremely fragile principles. Thus, a constant search for justice and peace in society is necessary to keep situations just and peaceful and to prevent situations where justice and peace are threatened. Everything is always changing and there is impermanence thus if we do not continuously search and instead assume that a just and peaceful society will remain the same then we will not realize the small changes and the slippery slope resulting in a situation where justice and peace are forgotten ideas.

Personal Conclusion

I have gotten everything I wanted from this experience. For me, this thesis is more of a personal discovery because after looking at the different conflicts in the international system it makes me question whether justice and peace does or can exist or whether these are just idealistic ideas. So the purpose of this thesis is as much, if not more, of a personal process / journey for me to determine and come to a conclusion. As an IPOL major with a concentration on International Security many of my classes let me look at the international system with a very specific focus on the security and military perspective which is one reason why I decided to choose this topic. It is a topic that I have looked at extensively

in terms of black and white but until now I never fully got connected and related to it.

I am happy that through this process I am able to understand and connect to these two concepts in a way that I have never experienced before. These principles have become more to me than the ideologies and terms that I have looked at in all of my justice and peace classes. Through this, I have been able to see what justice and peace mean to me. In many ways I have simplified it extensively and some might consider this detracting from what the Justice and Peace Program is all about but for me, I am able to walk away from my two years in this program and truly believe in the things I had studied in class. I believe that there is justice and peace and it requires people to constantly pay attention to the world and the various societies, cultures and people in it because if we do not these two fragile ideas will be violated.

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