Strategic Framework

Peacebuilding – a Development Perspective
Front page: War and Peace. Artist: Aklara Naktamna, 15 years old, Thailand.
The drawing is on loan from The International Museum of Children’s Art, Oslo,
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Foreword by the Norwegian Minister of International Development

“Let us make this endeavour a testament to future generations that our generation had the political vision and will to transform our perception of a just international order from a vision of the absence of war to a vision of sustainable peace and development for all.”

UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, *Prevention of Armed Conflict* (2001)

Preventing conflict and making, keeping and building peace is a priority in Norwegian foreign policy. This also applies to development policy.

Norway has for a long time played an active role in peacemaking processes and peacekeeping operations. However, experience has shown that after the cease-fire or the peace agreement, conflict often flares up again. Greater emphasis therefore needs to be given to peacebuilding: to preventing armed conflict from breaking out, facilitating and supporting peacemaking processes in countries in conflict, and helping to (re)build post-conflict societies to prevent the violence from recurring. This means that peace negotiations must be supplemented by a broad range of measures to advance security and political, social and economic development. The aim of peacebuilding is lasting and sustainable peace within and between states.

The responsibility for peacebuilding lies naturally with the parties involved, but the international community can assist in these efforts. *Peacebuilding - a Development Perspective* outlines a strategic framework for Norway’s role in international peacebuilding efforts in countries and regions threatened by, undergoing or emerging from violent conflict.

Peacebuilding is an important task, but a difficult one. This strategic framework is designed to help us intensify and target our efforts to make them as effective as possible. But even though we now have a common platform on which to base Norway’s support for and participation in peacebuilding efforts, we must not forget that every conflict situation is unique, and that peacebuilding must be tailored accordingly. Norway will use this strategic framework to implement its policy in countries, regions and organisations, and will promote good donor practices in this area as well.

There is an enormous need for peacebuilding, and it calls for considerable human and economic resources. We must enhance our competence and capacity so that we are better equipped to achieve the desired results.

International efforts to prevent violent conflicts and build lasting and sustainable peace can help to prevent human suffering and loss of life, reduce poverty and mitigate the negative consequences of conflicts far beyond the areas where they are being fought. Norway can and should contribute to intensifying and targeting these efforts. The strategic framework for peacebuilding will assist us in this endeavour.

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MINISTER OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
16. August 2004
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Preventing conflict and making, keeping and building peace is a priority in Norwegian foreign policy, including development policy.

The term “peacebuilding” has been part of the vocabulary of international politics since 1992, but there is still a certain amount to be done as regards clearing up conceptual confusion, developing strategic frameworks and establishing good donor practices. The Norwegian government will work at the bilateral, regional and multilateral levels for comprehensive, coherent and well co-ordinated efforts by the international community to prevent conflict and build peace.

Norway will strengthen the available peacebuilding instruments, gather information and seek to learn from experience. It will continue to build competence in the foreign service concerning the use of development co-operation for peacebuilding purposes.

Peacebuilding is an important supplement to peacemaking processes and peacekeeping operations. Peacebuilding covers a broad range of measures implemented in the context of emerging, current or post-conflict situations for the deliberate and explicit purpose of promoting lasting and sustainable peace. Many of the elements of peacebuilding are the same as those of development co-operation with countries that are not affected by conflict, but the context and purpose are different and require an extra-sensitive approach to what should be done and how it should be done.

Peacebuilding can
- help prevent violent conflict from breaking out
- pave the way for and support peacemaking processes in countries in conflict,
- help build societies in a post-conflict situation with a view to avoiding a recurrence of violence.

Peacebuilding has three, mutually reinforcing dimensions:
1. security
2. political development
3. social and economic development

Peacebuilding should encompass all three dimensions at the same time. A sequential approach is not usually to be recommended.

**Security**

*Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration*

- Norway is seeking to ensure that the International Financial Institutions, the UN system and the relevant humanitarian organisations intensify and co-ordinate their efforts and clarify the division of labour as regards the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DD&R) of ex-combatants. Norway also contributes financially to these efforts.
- It is especially important to emphasise the civilian aspect and intensify efforts to reintegrate child and women soldiers.
- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Norwegian Defence International Centre (FOKIV) have, in co-operation with sister organisations in Sweden, Canada and Germany, developed a cross-disciplinary programme on DD&R for civil and military personnel working with peace operations and peacebuilding. A manual on DD&R has also been published. Other forms of competence building are being considered in response to the UN’s need for a resource base of DD&R personnel (instructors and field operators).

**Humanitarian mine action**

- Norway will continue to co-ordinate and strengthen the implementation of the Anti-
personnel Mine Ban Convention of 1997. This includes supporting mine clearance, stockpile destruction, information campaigns and assistance to mine victims.

- Norway will continue its close co-operation with NGOs and give substantial support to humanitarian mine action under the auspices of the UN, primarily through support for UNDP and UNICEF.

Control of small arms and light weapons

- Norway will continue its role as a prime mover in the efforts to gain control over the international trade in small arms and light weapons.
- Norway supports the efforts to develop norms and rules in addition to those set out in the UN’s Action Plan to Reduce Small Arms (2001) and the Additional Protocol on Firearms to the UN Convention against Transnational Organised Crime (2001), primarily with respect to the falsifying or altering of the markings on firearms, the regulation of arms brokering, and the development of export criteria for small arms transfers.
- In 1999 Norway took the initiative to establish the UNDP Small Arms Trust Fund, which has received substantial support from other countries.
- Norway will continue to support regional and sub-regional co-operation on stopping illicit trafficking in small arms.

Security system reform

- Norway has co-operated with other countries in the OECD/DAC and in the Utstein network\(^1\) on developing a common policy on security system reform. Norway will base its efforts on the OECD/DAC document *Security System Reform and Governance: Policy and Good Practice* (2004), and will draw up operational guidelines for following up this initiative. It is particularly important to enhance the civil authorities’ capacity for control of the security sector and to support transparency and accountability in connection with military budgets.

- Norway will make use of the Crisis Response Pool it has established to provide technical assistance in the justice sector, including the police and prison services.

Political development

Support for political and administrative authorities and structures

- Norway attaches great importance to helping to build up national authorities and structures that have popular legitimacy and the capacity to deliver, especially in post-conflict countries. Peace efforts must be firmly based on the recipient country’s own priorities. Recipient responsibility presupposes a political legitimacy and administrative capacity that in many cases have to be restored or rebuilt. Rapid financial and technical support for political and administrative structures is often one of the first steps in a peacebuilding process.

Reconciliation

- Norway supports reconciliation measures in connection with, and also independently of, its role in peacemaking processes.
- Reconciliation among political, military, religious, business and other leaders, and also at middle management and grass roots level, is vital for preventing conflict and promoting and building peace.
- Reconciliation should be mainstreamed into the efforts by all actors in countries threatened by, undergoing or emerging from violent conflict, and may also be promoted through specific measures.
- Civil society plays a particularly significant role in reconciliation processes.

Good governance, democracy and human rights

- Norway will continue its efforts at the bilateral, regional and multilateral levels to promote good governance in its development co-operation. Special emphasis will be given to combating corruption, including war-related corruption.

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\(^1\) The Utstein group consists of Canada, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the UK.
• Norway supports democracy building and democratisation processes. NORDEM and the Norwegian Centre for Democracy Support, whose purpose is to support fledgling democracies in the South, play an important role in the efforts to consolidate democracy in Norway’s partner countries.
• Norway will focus more strongly on reform of the justice sector in post-conflict countries and is prepared to support countries that are seeking to build a society based on the rule of law and respect for human rights.
• Norway’s efforts to mainstream human rights considerations into its peacebuilding activities are based on its Plan of Action for Human Rights (1999).
• A special focus will be trained on women’s and children’s rights and participation, in keeping with international development goals.

Civil society, including the media
• Norway supports civil society building in the South, both directly and through Norwegian NGOs, in order to enhance civil society’s competence and capacity to contribute to lasting and sustainable peace.
• Norway will develop guidelines for supporting the development of free and independent media in the South.

Judicial processes and truth commissions
• Norway is seeking to mobilise the broadest possible support for the International Criminal Court.
• Norway will continue to support the international criminal tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda and the Special Court for Sierra Leone.
• Norway will continue to support truth commissions and information programmes in conflict areas concerning important international judicial decisions.

Social and economic development

Repatriation and reintegration of refugees and internally displaced persons
• Norway will continue its efforts to promote durable solutions for refugees and internally displaced persons in the form of legal and physical protection and material support, and will seek to improve the coordination of multilateral efforts in this field.
• Norway supports the initiative for a comprehensive approach by and improved cooperation between UNHCR, UNDP and the World Bank on assisting refugees and internally displaced persons (the 4R programme).
• Norway will continue to channel substantial funds through UNICEF, the United Nations Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), the International Red Cross and NGOs.

Reconstruction of infrastructure and important public functions
• Norway supports mechanisms for the reconstruction of infrastructure and important public functions in countries emerging from violent conflict. This involves the reconstruction of roads, buildings and electricity and telecommunications networks, so that the population experiences as soon as possible that peace brings dividends.

Social development: education and health
• Norway’s efforts to ensure education for all by 2015 are based on its strategy “Education – Job Number 1” (2003). Education and health are key peacebuilding activities, and improving education and health care in conflict and post-conflict situations is a vital task.
• Norway will advocate and support policies that promote more equitable distribution and counteract social marginalisation, include previously excluded groups, and do not discriminate as regards sex or ethnic, religious, social and geographical affiliation.
• Norway will continue its efforts to improve education and health services through Norwegian and international NGOs, the
UN system, the International Financial Institutions and bilateral government-to-government co-operation.

Economic development: private sector development, employment, trade and investment

- Norway has for several years been supporting research projects to raise international awareness and promote international understanding of the economic causes and driving forces of violent conflict, and will seek to transform the findings into practical policy.
- Norway works at the bilateral, regional and multilateral levels for greater transparency and accountability in the extractive industries (through the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative). This includes promoting corporate social responsibility, for example through KOMPakt (the Consultative Body for Human Rights and Norwegian Economic Engagement Abroad). It is important in this context to strike the right balance between voluntary action and legally binding rules.
- Norway’s support to private sector development is mainly based on its Strategy for Private Sector Development in the South. Two of the priority countries under this strategy, Sri Lanka and Uganda, are facing considerable challenges in connection with peacebuilding.
- Norway considers it important to facilitate access to capital and credit and to work for the formalisation of property rights.

Countries and regions

- Norway will intensify its peacebuilding efforts in its main partner countries and partner countries, and will ensure that peacebuilding is mainstreamed into the guidelines for its development co-operation with conflict-affected countries and regions.
- Norway will also give priority to countries where it is or has been involved in peacemaking processes.
- Norway will seek at national and international level to ensure that peacemaking processes are appropriately linked with peacebuilding efforts.
- Norway will seek to ensure that the international community’s peacebuilding efforts are predictable and have a long-term perspective and that conflict areas that are no longer in the public eye receive support for peacebuilding.
- Norway considers that peacebuilding should, where possible and appropriate, have a regional perspective.
- Norway will support the work being done in the African Union and other regional cooperation organisations such as ECOWAS and the SADC on developing security structures and peacebuilding capacity.
- Norway will continue and intensify competence-building efforts in the field of peacebuilding, including research and evaluation, that are carried out in Norway and abroad.

Good donor practices

- Norway promotes good donor practices in connection with peacebuilding at the bilateral, regional and multilateral levels. In this task Norway gives particular emphasis to national ownership, co-ordination of the international community’s efforts and harmonisation of procedures.
- Norway seeks to ensure that the strategic frameworks for the international community’s peacebuilding efforts in conflict-affected countries and regions are based on joint conflict analyses and needs assessments. Norway will seek to ensure a division of responsibility and labour based on the comparative advantages of the various actors.
- Norway is reviewing the various methods of conflict analysis and peace and conflict impact assessments with a view to identifying the most suitable tools and providing training in their use.
- Norway gives priority to providing political and economic support to capacity- and competence-building activities in the UN and other multilateral organisations in order to enhance these organisations’ ability to promote lasting and sustainable peace.
- Norway’s peacebuilding efforts in other countries and regions will be aimed at enhancing and developing a comprehensive international approach headed by the UN system and with the active participation of the International Financial Institutions.
- Norway will advocate an increase in financial contributions to peacebuilding and will
support the establishment of an effective organisational structure and financing model for international co-operation in this area that are tailored to the situation in question. Norway will as a rule support joint financing mechanisms in transitional situations in order to avoid a multiplicity of different bilateral projects and programmes and promote national ownership and control.

• Norway will continue its co-operation and dialogue with Norwegian NGOs on their conflict prevention and peacebuilding activities, among other things with a view to ensuring that all Norwegian activities in conflict-affected countries contribute to peace.

• Several of Norway’s main priorities also need to be mainstreamed into peacebuilding activities. This is particularly true of the fight for human rights. Women are an important resource and have special interests and needs, and Norway is seeking to mainstream a gender perspective into all processes and at every level in conflict prevention and peace-promoting efforts. Norway is developing a plan for following up Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security.

• Norway is developing a strategy for improving conditions for children and young people in the South, which will also take up the situation of children and young people in the context of conflict and peace activities.
1. Peace and development – violent conflict and poverty

Peace is essential for development, and vice versa: development is essential for lasting and sustainable peace. Without peace we will not win the fight against poverty. Without peace the Millennium Development Goals will be optimistic but unrealistic promises.

Violent conflict leads to and exacerbates poverty, and poverty is often a cause of violent conflict. Conflicts are a serious threat to development and their adverse consequences extend far beyond the geographical areas where they are being fought.

The World Bank report Breaking the Conflict Trap (2003), which was financed by Norway, puts it like this, “War retards development, but conversely, development retards war … Where development succeeds, countries become progressively safer from violent conflict, making subsequent development easier. Where development fails, countries are at high risk of becoming caught in a conflict trap in which war wrecks the economy and increases the risk of further war.”

Violent conflict is very costly and it wastes resources. Millions of lives are lost and even more people are wounded, physically and mentally, perhaps for the rest of their lives. The psychosocial consequences are extremely serious. Livelihoods are destroyed, the economy is undermined, institutions and democratic processes collapse. Resources invested in development are lost. People’s abilities are channelled into destructive, rather than constructive, activities. Military budgets are often disproportionately large compared with the funds available for social and economic development, which in turn has consequences for employment, education, health care, and so on.

Violent conflict results in streams of refugees, human smuggling and trafficking, increased production of and trafficking in narcotics, and illegal exploitation of and illicit trade in valuable natural resources. It also facilitates corruption and organised crime. These consequences are not only a threat to development in the South, they are also a threat to security and stability in the North.

In many cases a regional approach to conflict prevention and peacebuilding is required. Violent conflict in one country often has major consequences for neighbouring countries, where it then retards development. Sometimes conflict is prolonged because a neighbouring country allows the insurgents to operate from bases there and/or provides political or material support. Some countries are exposed to aggression, terror, intervention or occupation by neighbouring countries or even countries farther afield.

The causes of violent conflict are many and complex, and for peace efforts to be successful it is necessary to understand the underlying causes and take steps to deal with them.

Violent conflicts are often the result of deliberate political decisions. Internal conflicts, which are more common than military con-
Conflicts between countries, are often about power. They are often generated by perceived violations of human rights and gross discrimination, but they may also be closely related to a power struggle among the political elite. Breaking the Conflict Trap points out that poverty, economic decline and a heavy dependence on the export of valuable natural resources, such as oil or diamonds, are among the main causes of civil war.

In addition to seeking to terminate conflicts, it is important to prevent them from breaking out by altering the conditions that breed violence and terror. The authorities in every country are responsible for preventing dissatisfaction, alienation and marginalisation from gaining a foothold and erupting into violence. Sovereignty implies that national governments are not only responsible for ensuring the country’s territorial integrity but also for ensuring the population’s physical security and respect for their civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights.

Lasting and sustainable peace can only be based on trust between the parties and reconciliation among the people. It also requires sufficient security, a reasonable distribution of goods and burdens and the opportunity for people to take part in political processes. The responsibility for preventing conflict and building peace lies with the parties involved, but the international community can help to build up competence, capacity and institutions and by facilitating processes that provide peace incentives and promote awareness of the complete unacceptability of the costs of a conflict. Key development actors, such as the World Bank and UNDP, play important conflict prevention and peacebuilding roles in these processes.

International efforts to prevent violent conflict and build lasting and sustainable peace can prevent untold suffering and loss, reduce poverty and mitigate the adverse consequences of conflict. These efforts must be improved and intensified. Norway must promote national ownership and seek to ensure that the international community’s efforts to prevent conflict and build peace are comprehensive, coherent and well co-ordinated.

In the course of the 1990s the international community pledged over USD 100 billion in assistance to conflict resolution and peacebuilding in 30 to 40 countries. This has had some positive results, but there is still a large gap between the UN Charter’s vision of peace and what many countries are in fact experiencing. The international community seems more willing to cover some of the enormous costs of violent conflict than to do what is necessary to prevent them and lay the foundation for lasting and sustainable peace. The sums that have been allocated are far smaller than those that were pledged, planning and co-ordination of efforts have seldom been adequate and efforts have frequently not been sustained. Peace has deteriorated into conflict in far too many cases.

Norway has for a long time been taking an active part in the international efforts to prevent violent conflict, relieve suffering and make, keep and build peace. It is an important contributor to peacekeeping operations and international humanitarian efforts. The Middle East, Guatemala, Sri Lanka and Sudan are just a few examples of areas where Norway has contributed to peace processes, and it has also supported liberation movements and new democratic regimes through development co-operation.

The purpose of participating in international conflict management is not merely to prevent or put an end to hostilities and to help victims. The overriding goal is to contribute to the achievement of lasting and sustainable peace within and between states. When peace efforts succeed, this is usually the result of a combination of political initiatives, humanitarian assistance and long-term economic development co-operation. This means that a coherent foreign policy must be pursued towards conflict-affected countries and regions, with development policy as an important and integral element.
2. Why do we need a strategic framework?

It is now 12 years since the UN report *An Agenda for Peace* introduced the term “peacebuilding”. But although the need for and the importance of peacebuilding are widely acknowledged, the measures that are being implemented to promote lasting and sustainable peace are not to any great extent based on analyses or strategic planning. This is a serious shortcoming and it must be rectified. Because of the increasing importance of peacebuilding, and in order to ensure that there is a better chance that peace efforts will achieve the desired results, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has developed the present strategic framework for Norway’s role in international peacebuilding efforts. The Ministry has also reviewed and updated the tools for implementing the strategy. Prior to and during Norway’s membership of the Security Council in 2001-2002, the country intensified its efforts to co-ordinate humanitarian assistance with peacebuilding, and to clarify its approach to the enhancement of conflict prevention, training for peace operations, and disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration. A new financial scheme known as transitional assistance was established, mainly in order to be able to provide rapid assistance for peacebuilding measures.

Up to now there has been no overview of what peacebuilding really is, of Norway’s goals and tools in this regard, or of what Norway intends to do in order to be a constructive player in the international efforts to promote lasting and sustainable peace. The present document is intended to provide such an overview.

The document is also a response to the challenge posed by the Utstein report *Getting Their Act Together* (2003) to the donor countries. The report challenged them to formulate a general peacebuilding strategy that could be used as a basis for more specific strategies for participating in peacebuilding activities in specific countries and regions.²

The strategy’s main *target group* is employees in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, other ministries, the Norwegian Agency for Development Co-operation (NORAD) and Norwegian embassies dealing with issues in the overlap between violent conflict and development policy in countries, regions and organisations. Civil society actors, especially NGOs and media involved in peacebuilding, are also expected to find the framework useful. It is hoped that others whose work is related to this field will also find it a source of inspiration.

This strategic framework provides a common foundation for Norway’s support for and participation in peacebuilding efforts in many different situations in countries and regions threatened by, undergoing or emerging from violent conflict. Every situation is unique and requires its own specific strategy. Strategies may also be needed for Norway’s efforts to exert influence in international arenas, with a focus on the role of the multilateral organisations in peacebuilding.

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3. What is peacebuilding?

3.1 Key documents

In January 1992 a meeting of heads of state and government was held in the Security Council for the first time to discuss how the UN could make better use of the possibilities offered by the UN Charter to strengthen the work for international peace and security. The summit requested the Secretary General, Boutros Boutros Ghali, to examine and present recommendations on how the UN could, in line with the UN Charter, enhance its capacity for preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peacekeeping.

The resulting report, *An Agenda for Peace. Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping* (1992), introduced the term “post-conflict peacebuilding” for the first time, as a vitally important supplement to the three terms the UN had been using up to then: preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peacekeeping. The report was one of the documents on which the use of these terms in international conflict management came to be based.

These concepts were further developed and clarified in a number of subsequent documents, particularly in *An Agenda for Development* (1994), *Supplement to An Agenda for Peace* (1995), the Brahimi Report on UN peace operations (2000), the Millennium Declaration (2000), *Prevention of Armed Conflict* (2001) and Security Council presidential statements on peacebuilding, particularly the statement of 20 February 2001. The role of women has been dealt with independently in Security Council resolution 1325 on women, peace and security (2000).

In addition to clarifying these concepts, the documents called attention to the links between the different areas related to peacebuilding and development. For example peacebuilding has come to include measures applicable not only in post-conflict situations but also in situations prior to the outbreak of violent conflict in order to prevent such conflict.

The latest policy statement on peacebuilding from the Security Council is the Presidential Statement of 20 February 2001, in other words at the beginning of Norway’s period in the Council (2001-2002). The statement underlines that the quest for peace requires a comprehensive, concerted and determined approach that addresses the root causes of conflicts, including their economic and social dimensions. It recognises that peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding are closely interrelated and that peacebuilding is aimed at preventing the outbreak, recurrence or continuation of armed conflict and therefore

*Nepalese children pray for peace.*
encompasses a wide range of political, developmental, humanitarian and human rights programmes and mechanisms. The statement reaffirms the Security Council’s primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, which in practice is an appeal to the Secretary General to adopt a coherent approach in connection with proposals to the Security Council on peacebuilding measures. The statement also points out that strategies must take account of the needs of the country concerned and of the unique circumstances of each particular situation. The present strategic framework is closely in line with the content of the statement, which is reproduced in the annex to this document.

The OECD/DAC has drawn up *The DAC Guidelines: Conflict, Peace and Development Co-operation on the Threshold of the 21st Century* (1997) and *The DAC Guidelines: Helping Prevent Violent Conflict* (2001). They provide a detailed introduction to the thinking on conflict prevention, peacebuilding and development co-operation and on its practical application. The World Bank has also become engaged more strongly than before, particularly in post-conflict reconstruction.

Peace and conflict issues have been treated in a large number of academic and political reports. Several Norwegian research institutions have established programmes for the study of these issues and a number of NGOs have put peacebuilding on their agenda. Peacebuilding is discussed in fora concerned with development issues and appears in reports, strategies, guidelines and evaluations, and in the sharing of lessons learned. The government’s white paper *Fighting Poverty Together* (2004) has an entire chapter devoted to peacebuilding.

### 3.2 Peacebuilding in relation to other concepts

*An Agenda for Peace* gives the following definitions.

**Preventive diplomacy** is action to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur.

**The concept of preventive diplomacy has since been expanded to include preventive action encompassing for example the deployment of a preventive presence in the field, preventive disarmament, preventive humanitarian efforts and preventive peacebuilding.**

**Peacemaking** is (diplomatic) action to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations.

This concept includes the use of the Secretary General’s special envoys and other attempts to arrive at a political solution to armed conflicts. Successful peacemaking processes usually result in a cease-fire and peace agreement. The International Court of Justice in The Hague and the various arbitration mechanisms are too rarely used in this connection.

**Peacekeeping** is the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned, normally involving United Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently other civilians as well. Peacekeeping is a technique that expands the possibilities for both the prevention of conflict and the making of peace.

**(Post-conflict) peacebuilding** is action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict.

Peacebuilding was first defined as action to prevent the recurrence of violence after a peaceful solution had been achieved. Since then peacebuilding has also come to refer to action carried out to prevent conflict. Some peacebuilding measures may also be implemented during the conflict.

Thus peacebuilding does not encompass peacemaking processes, but it can facilitate and support such processes. Peacebuilding does not encompass peacekeeping operations, but is often part of their mandate.
The goal of peacebuilding is lasting and sustainable peace within and between states

Peacebuilding can be used to:
• help prevent violent conflict from breaking out
• pave the way for and support peacemaking processes in countries in conflict,
• help build societies in a post-conflict situation with a view to avoiding a recurrence of violence.

Peacebuilding is not merely a set of measures that are not covered by development co-operation in the usual sense. Some peacebuilding measures overlap with development co-operation activities, while others, especially those concerned with security, refugees, internally displaced persons, judicial processes and truth commissions, are seldom used in development co-operation in countries that are not and have not been affected by violent conflict.

Peacebuilding covers a broad range of measures that are implemented in situations affected by violent conflict for the explicit purpose of promoting lasting and sustainable peace. Thus peacebuilding is defined in terms of its context and its purpose. Many of the elements of peacebuilding are the same as measures used in development co-operation in peaceful areas, but since the context and purpose are different they require an extra-sensitive approach to what should be done and how it should be done.

Not all activities carried out in conflict-affected countries qualify automatically as peacebuilding. Over the years many development actors have worked in conflict-affected countries without regard to the level or the causes of the conflict. Many actors work around conflicts as if they did not exist, instead of working in or with conflicts and doing something about them. At its worst, development co-operation can help cement or exacerbate a conflict if the geographical or ethnic distribution of the assistance is perceived as unjust, if support is given to controversial aspects of public policies or if the assistance is perceived as divisive in other ways. Development co-operation should at least be organised so that it does not aggravate the situation, but really we should be more ambitious than that. The first step is to prevent our assistance from having adverse results; the next, even more challenging, is to achieve the best possible results. It is becoming increasingly recognised that development co-operation in conflict-affected countries should be aimed at reducing the potential for conflict and addressing the causes. The challenge is to make sure that development co-operation helps to prevent conflict and promote peace, thus paving the way for poverty reduction and development. Co-operation must be sensitive to conflict-related issues, and this requires good tools.3

4. Strategic framework for Norway’s role in peacebuilding

This strategic framework is intended to be an aid to structuring the planning and implementation of operations.

In order to have a reasonable chance of success, peacebuilding must be comprehensive and coherent. It has three, mutually reinforcing dimensions:

1. Security
2. Political development
3. Social and economic development

Peacebuilding should encompass all three dimensions at the same time. A sequential approach is not usually to be recommended.

4.1 Security
The security dimension of peacebuilding encompasses both the security of a country and individual security for its citizens. It includes:

• Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of ex-combatants, including women and children
• Humanitarian mine action
• Control of small arms and light weapons
• Security system reform

Norway is actively involved in all these areas.

Security is a precondition for political, social and economic development. The truth of this can be seen in many countries, for example Afghanistan, Angola, Nepal and Sudan.

4.1.1 Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration
Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DD&R) of ex-combatants is a necessary step if lasting and sustainable peace is to be built after a conflict, and DD&R plays a central role in many peace operations today. The aim is to enable former soldiers to become productive members of their local communities.

This is why the DD&R process includes, in addition to disarmament and demobilisation, the important work of reintegrating the soldier and his or her family into the local community after the conflict has ended. Many conflicts have been going on for years, and many people, both adults and children, have never known any other life. Thus reintegration includes psychosocial, medical, counselling, training and/or job creation programmes, and often special programmes for reintegrating women and child soldiers. These programmes require long-term engagement and local ownership. Civil society is an important co-operation partner here.

Reconciliation, trust and economic development are all needed if the DD&R process is to
be successful. The parties will not be willing to hand in their weapons if they feel they are exposed to revenge or attack. Ex-combatants also need to be able to rely on access to appropriate training programmes and on being able to get a job. If these are not available there is a great risk that they will turn to crime, illicit trade in goods and weapons, trafficking in human beings, and private armies, all of which will destabilise the peace process. Support for labour-intensive reconstruction activities in soldiers’ home areas is therefore a strategic means of avoiding destabilisation.

The World Bank provides technical assistance in connection with the planning of demobilisation and the development of reintegration programmes, and is assisting with the reintegration of ex-combatants into local communities. UNDP plays a unique role in co-ordinating UN efforts at country level, especially in bridging the gap between short-term humanitarian assistance and long-term development measures. Humanitarian actors may also play an important role in reintegration programmes.

Women who had been taken prisoner by RENAMO, the rebel movement in Mozambique, were often rejected by their families when they finally returned home, perhaps with one or more children fathered by RENAMO soldiers. There was often not enough food to feed so many mouths. Demobilised soldiers received a package containing food, seeds and other necessities for re-establishing themselves in their home villages. Working through UN agencies, Norway offered women a special package containing farm tools and the basic necessities for several months. These women were immediately accepted by their communities and in several cases were regarded as attractive marriage partners.

- Norway is seeking to ensure that the International Financial Institutions, the UN system and the relevant humanitarian organisations intensify and co-ordinate their efforts and clarify the division of labour as regards the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DD&R) of ex-combatants. Norway also contributes financially to these efforts.
- It is especially important to emphasise the civilian aspect and intensify efforts to reintegrate child and women soldiers.
- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Norwegian Defence International Centre (FOKIV) have, in co-operation with sister organisations in Sweden, Canada and Germany, developed a cross-disciplinary programme on DD&R for civil and military personnel working with peace operations and peacebuilding. A manual on DD&R has also been published. Other forms of competence building are being considered in response to the UN’s need for a resource base of DD&R personnel (instructors and field operators).

4.1.2 Humanitarian mine action

It is the rule rather than the exception for the warring parties to leave behind them large numbers of anti-personnel mines in the wake of an armed conflict. These mines are a serious hazard for the civilian population and an obstacle to economic and social development. They result in loss of life and limb, limit freedom of movement and prevent large areas of land from being used for cultivation and production.

Mine clearance is often regarded as a symbolic and practical way of cleaning up after a war and removing the last remaining weapons. Involving the formerly warring parties in...
mine clearance has been successful in several countries; for example in Guatemala the army and demobilised guerrilla soldiers cleared minefields together. Such measures may also promote reconciliation.

According to the Landmine Monitor Report (2003), there were 82 mine-affected countries in 2002, and mine clearance programmes were being carried out in 67 of these. About 50 million landmines have been destroyed in the last few years, but 200-215 million are estimated to be stockpiled. Injuries from mines and unexploded ordnance were reported in 65 countries in 2002. Fifteen to twenty thousand new mine victims are registered every year, only 15 per cent of whom are military personnel. There is an enormous need for physical and social rehabilitation programmes for mine victims.

The Anti-personnel Mine Ban Convention, which was negotiated at a diplomatic conference in Oslo and signed in Ottawa in 1997, prohibits the use, stockpiling, production and transfer of anti-personnel mines, and imposes an obligation to clear minefields and destroy stockpiled mines. It also imposes an obligation to assist mine victims, and opens the way for greater international co-operation and support to humanitarian mine action.

As of August 2004, 143 countries had become parties to the Mine Ban Convention. A further nine countries have signed it. Most mine-affected countries have acceded to it. The convention has established international norms that are also respected by most non-States Parties.

Norwegian People’s Aid is heading extensive national mine clearance programmes in several of the most seriously mine-affected countries, such as Mozambique, Angola, Cambodia and Afghanistan, and in the Balkans. The organisation has also pioneered the development of simple socio-economic analyses for use in assigning priorities for the clearance of mined areas and for making good use of the cleared areas for socially beneficial purposes.

The Norwegian Red Cross is heavily involved in the physical rehabilitation of mine victims in a large number of countries, and the Norwegian organisation Trauma Care Foundation, formed by doctors with broad experience of war areas, trains local personnel in administering first aid to victims.
4.1.3 Control of small arms and light weapons

Measures to control the international trade in small arms and light weapons include programmes for putting in place national legislation and strengthening international co-operation on the enforcement of such legislation on the basis of international agreements. This combination of national legislation and international co-operation is essential for curbing illicit trade in, and production and transfer of small arms. It is also essential to address the underlying causes of the demand for these weapons for the purpose of armed conflict, terrorism and organised crime. When the flow of small arms is under control, the next step will be to destroy existing stockpiles and set up a system for voluntary handovers of illegal weapons in private hands and their destruction.

Internal and smaller regional conflicts are often triggered and prolonged by ready access to small arms and light weapons. These weapons also fuel crime and violence, displace civilians and undermine humanitarian assistance. The UN’s Action Plan to Reduce Small Arms (2001) recognises that in many regions of the world small arms and light weapons constitute a serious threat to peace, reconciliation, safety, security and sustainable development. Thus control of the illicit global trade in these weapons is essential for preventing and halting conflicts and maintaining peace in post-conflict situations.

The UN is the most important forum for the global efforts to limit the illicit proliferation and circulation of small arms on the basis of the Action Plan, which is politically binding, and the Firearms Protocol to the UN Convention against Transnational Organised Crime (2001), which is the only global instrument in this field that is binding under international law. The practical work of combating small arms and light weapons proliferation is mainly being done under the auspices of regional organisations such as the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Organization of American States (OAS).

The Human Security Network, which is a group of like-minded countries where Norway is an active participant, is another forum for the efforts to combat small arms. The EU is also engaged in this field through the European Union Code of Conduct on Arms Exports.

Small arms measures should be part of a broader local, regional and global strategy, and should also be integrated into development policy measures at country level. Such strategies are most effective when they deal with supply aspects (production, export and sale), brokering and the demand and recipient/user aspects. This work requires close co-operation between governments and civil society.

There is a great need for support to concrete projects as affected countries develop national plans for putting into practice the UN Action Plan and regional small arms agreements and commitments.

Small arms control is often a precondition for a successful DD&R process and for security sector reform. People can be offered practical incentives to hand in their weapons. Under
the “weapons for development” programme launched by UNDP’s Bureau for Crisis Prevention & Recovery, illegal weapons are exchanged for support for development measures. However, this and other similar projects have had mixed results, and more work must be done on developing effective models for future efforts.

- Norway will continue its role as a prime mover in the efforts to gain control over the international trade in small arms and light weapons.
- Norway supports the efforts to develop norms and rules in addition to those set out in the UN Action Plan to Reduce Small Arms and the Additional Protocol on Firearms to the UN Convention against Transnational Organised Crime, primarily with respect to the falsifying or altering of the markings on firearms, the regulation of arms brokering, and the development of export criteria for small arms transfers.
- In 1999 Norway took the initiative to establish the UNDP Small Arms Trust Fund, which has received substantial support from other countries.
- Norway will continue to support regional and sub-regional co-operation on stopping illicit trafficking in small arms.

4.1.4 Security system reform

The efforts to deal with the main sources of conflict and to improve the security of the civilian population in post-conflict situations have resulted in a stronger focus on the security system. This system encompasses the armed forces, paramilitary groups, civil police, the judicial and prison system, intelligence services and private security firms. It also covers the civil authorities that are responsible for controlling these groups. The security system is responsible for protecting the state and society, individuals, property and infrastructure.

An important task in peacebuilding is to ensure that civil and military security actors are accountable to the civil authorities in accordance with democratic norms and the principles of good governance. One of the main challenges is to achieve transparency and accountability about how much of the government budget is allocated to military spending. This is an important part of the efforts to adapt civil and military security forces to peace conditions instead of a conflict situation. Norway has on several occasions indicated, for example to Ethiopia, Eritrea and Uganda, that the size of military budgets raises problems for development co-operation.

Security system reform can take many forms. One important measure is to integrate the administration of the security system into the country’s general poverty reduction strategy and development policy. For example, the World Bank can play an important role in promoting the integration of security sector costs into general public financial management in accordance with the principles of good governance. In some countries security system reform may involve reform of national military forces so that former government troops, guerrillas, regional forces, etc. are placed under joint command. Technical assistance with new legislation for the sector, exchanges of visits, and institutional co-operation are useful measures. Co-operation may be carried out on training of civil and military personnel in their roles in a democratic society, including respect for human rights and international humanitarian law. Independent media, NGOs and research institutions can play a pro-active role in these activities.

Adequate security is essential for develop-

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[4] Support for the training of military personnel may not be reported to the OECD/DAC as part of ODA.
ment co-operation. Thus it is not always a good idea to focus exclusively on scaling down the security sector. Diverting resources from the armed forces to the civil police is often a good way of achieving the necessary security for political, social and economic development.

- Norway has co-operated with other countries in the OECD/DAC and in the Utstein network (Canada, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the UK) on developing a common policy on security system reform. Norway will base its efforts on the OECD/DAC document Security System Reform and Governance: Policy and Good Practice (2004) and will draw up operational guidelines for following up this initiative. It is particularly important to enhance the civil authorities’ capacity for control of the security sector and to support transparency and accountability in connection with military budgets.

- Norway will make use of the Crisis Response Pool it has established to provide technical assistance in the justice, police and prison sector as a means of increasing Norway’s participation in international civil crisis management. The pool consists of 30 people, 10 judges, five public/military prosecutors, six police lawyers and nine prison service employees. The object is to provide advice and training and assist with institution building in countries emerging from war or internal violent conflict, in countries in transition from a totalitarian regime and in weak democracies. The pool is administered by the Ministry of Justice.

Experience from, for example, the Balkans has revealed the need for a coherent approach to security system reform, especially in the fight against organised crime and the investigation of war crimes. One of the lessons learned is that training of police officers must be accompanied by a corresponding emphasis on the courts and prison system. It is not enough to have an effective police force if the courts and the prison service are not able to handle the resulting number of cases.

Combating the underlying causes of conflict requires measures in the following political areas:

- support for political and administrative authorities and structures
- reconciliation
- good governance, democracy and respect for human rights
- civil society, including the media
- judicial processes and truth commissions

Norway is actively engaged in all these areas.

4.2 Political development

The political dimension of peacebuilding is important for promoting and maintaining security and social and economic development. A repressive peace does not result in development. Among the underlying causes and triggers of violent conflict are illegitimate or weak public institutions, corruption, lack of respect for human rights, a democratic deficit and the perception that the administrative and political channels are inadequate and/or inaccessible.

4.2.1 Support for political and administrative authorities and structures

Some societies emerge from a conflict with their basic physical and institutional infrastructure more or less intact. In others, especially when the conflict has been prolonged, key public functions may have more or less broken down. Thus it may be necessary to provide support to political and administrative authorities and structures during a transition period in order to consolidate the position of peace- and development-oriented governments and maintain public order. This may also mean supporting a liberation, guerrilla or separatist movement during its transformation into a political party. Support may take the form of, for example, competence and capacity building, which are essential for national ownership and peacebuilding. Lasting and sustainable peace depends on the existence of legitimate national authorities. It is important not to support parallel structures that undermine legitimate authorities.

The examples of Somalia and West Africa show how difficult it is to reconstruct a post-
conflict society without a functioning state.

But what is to be done when the treasury is empty when a new government assumes power, as happened in East Timor and Afghanistan? In such cases the country will need comprehensive technical and economic assistance from outside to ensure the stability of the new government. It is especially important to build or rebuild basic infrastructure so that the public administration can function. In Afghanistan in 2002, for example, central bank functions had to be reconstituted so that the country could have a currency again. And many new ministries – finance, education, health – had to be established, in spite of the fact that the government did not have enough income to pay the salaries. Processes like this can be very difficult and time-consuming, in both political and administrative terms.

In this situation, where the government needed to be able to pay the salaries of those employees who were to re-establish public services, Norway began providing budget support at an early stage in order to strengthen the government’s legitimacy. The next phase will require support for capacity and institution building in the various sectors. Private sector development and commercial activities that will provide income for the state, and so lessen Afghanistan’s dependence on outside help, will also be necessary (see 4.3.4).

In some situations a new regime takes over not only an empty treasury but also a heavy debt burden from previous regimes. In these situations international debt relief schemes, especially the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative, can make a substantial contribution to stability. More specifically, the IMF and the World Bank have established arrangements to enable new regimes to obtain debt relief in post-conflict situations. Norway has set up a Debt Relief Fund for contributing to debt relief through the HIPC Initiative, clearing of arrears and subsidising the IMF’s post-conflict assistance to low-income countries. Such measures improve the economic conditions for peace-building. Debt relief was absolutely essential in Afghanistan, and it will be necessary to find international solutions to the debts contracted by Iraq since the fall of Saddam Hussein. Other examples of countries with serious debt problems are Liberia and also Sudan, where debt relief will be a key element once peace has been restored throughout the country, including Darfur.

An emphasis on national ownership and support for national authorities sometimes poses dilemmas, especially in situations where the authorities are weak or have little legitimacy or when the international community has little confidence in them. However, all experience shows that without national ownership and co-ordination, programmes and measures are neither effective nor sustainable in the long run. There are, however, some exceptions to this, where strong international control is necessary during a period of transition.

After the war in Afghanistan Norwegian support was first concentrated on humanitarian assistance and the repatriation and reintegration of refugees and internally displaced persons. Gradually the emphasis changed to rebuilding the central government administration in accordance with Afghan priorities.

- Norway attaches great importance to helping to build up national authorities and structures that have popular legitimacy and the capacity to deliver, especially in post-conflict countries. Peace efforts must be firmly based on the recipient country’s own priorities. Recipient responsibility presupposes a political legitimacy and administrative capacity that in many cases have to be restored or rebuilt. Rapid financial and technical support for political and administrative structures is often one of the first steps in a peace-building process.

4.2.2 Reconciliation

Reconciliation involves building or rebuilding trust and friendly relations between individuals and between peoples and institutions.

Achieving lasting and sustainable peace depends not only on decisions at political level but also on popular acceptance of the peace settlement. Peacebuilding includes reconciliation and the promotion of non-violent conflict resolution at every level of society: among political, military, religious and business leaders, and at middle management and grassroots levels. Reconciliation can be promoted through dialogue and targeted projects, but it must also be mainstreamed into peacebuilding as a whole. Healing the physical, psychological and psychosocial wounds inflicted by violent conflict is an important aspect of peacebuilding.

Judicial processes and truth commissions are often central to a reconciliation process (see 4.2.5).

Reconciliation measures should be implemented across ethnic, linguistic, religious, geographical and other dividing lines and it is important that they include the most conflict-oriented groups. Women are an important, though often ignored, resource in this connection among other things because they can share their experience of survival strategies during conflict and can offer alternative approaches to solving problems.

Conflict is part of the process of change in most societies. Conflict may be a positive sign, for example as an expression of protest against an authoritarian regime, and may result in necessary and peaceful changes. But in some cases conflict leads to polarisation, which in turn results in violence. Civilians are usually the first to suffer in an internal conflict, and in some cases are the target of violence.

The conflicts in the Former Yugoslavia and the genocide in Rwanda in the 1990s are tragic examples of what can happen if polarisation goes too far. In such situations even the forces of moderation and the proponents of peaceful co-existence and reconciliation may be silenced.

This does not mean that reconciliation has no supporters in such situations. There is usually a widespread desire among the civilian population for an end to violence and war, and there are people who will work for this. Such people will also be found in the refugee and exile communities. Both internal and external forces for peace will seek support in civil society and in countries outside the conflict area, for example in the Nordic countries.

Most conflicts go through a phase where the parties begin to recognise that a military victory is not possible and that peace will serve their interests better than continuing the conflict. Reconciliation measures taken during the conflict can help to create a climate that legitimises peacemaking processes and leads to acceptance of a peace settlement. This increases the chances that the settlement will be followed up.

Civil society, especially development, human rights, peace-promoting and religious organisations, often plays a key role in reconciliation processes and supplements the efforts of the authorities. Norwegian religious organisations, for example, have over many years of co-operation formed contacts, gained knowl-
edge, built capacity and gained the trust of people in all sectors of society. Other important peacebuilding resources are political parties, trade unions, academic institutions and a peace-oriented press. Capacity and competence building among key actors and young people, the leaders of the future, often makes a strategically important contribution to reconciliation, especially when carried out during the conflict.

In Angola Norway and Canada are supporting networking efforts among a broad and representative group of religious communities that formed a coalition for peace after the most recent outbreak of hostilities. It formed a strong pressure group for peace and played an important role in the process leading up to the peace settlement in 2002. Norway will continue its support for the efforts of church-based organisations to promote reconciliation among a population split by decades of war.

- Norway supports reconciliation measures in connection with, and also independently of, its role in peacemaking processes.
- Reconciliation among political, military, religious, business and other leaders, and also at middle management and grassroots levels, is vital for preventing conflict and promoting and building peace.
- Reconciliation should be mainstreamed into the efforts by all actors in countries threatened by, undergoing or emerging from violent conflict, and may also be promoted through specific measures.
- Civil society plays a particularly significant role in reconciliation efforts.

### 4.2.3 Good governance, democracy and human rights

Political oppression and poor political leadership may be a strong contributing factor in violent conflict. In societies marked by good governance, democracy and respect for human rights, there is little occasion for violence as a solution to conflict. Sometimes a crisis provides an opportunity for change, and in such situations broad popular participation in decision-making should be facilitated.

Good governance, which involves democracy, respect for human rights and sound economic management, must come from within. Only in exceptional cases, after major conflicts like that in Afghanistan after the fall of the Taliban in 2001, can the international community contribute to processes leading up to the election of new national leaders.

Generally speaking it is difficult for the international community to contribute to the overthrow of undesirable leaders. There are strong safeguards under international law for the principle of national sovereignty, and outside influence is not always particularly effective. For example, targeted measures have been tried vis-à-vis countries like Burma and Zimbabwe but so far they have not had the desired results.

However, there are means available, both in the political and diplomatic spheres and within the framework of development co-operation. For example, support can be given to electoral reform, the preparation and holding of free elections, observation and monitoring of elections, the establishment of constitutional commissions, judicial reform and monitoring of the human rights situation.

Programmes can be developed for combating discrimination, strengthening the rule of law and promoting accountability and transparency in governing bodies. Anti-corruption measures in the spheres of financial management and control are also being supported. Other appropriate measures include support for the drafting of new legislation and for reforms in the justice and defence sectors. All these measures increase the credibility and legitimacy of the authorities, thus laying a sound foundation for the social and political develop-
The establishment of objective, just and effective judicial institutions with the requisite power and mechanisms for imposing sanctions is a precondition for peace and development, and international support is often necessary for the building or strengthening of such institutions. The Norwegian maxim “the country shall be built on the law” expresses a central idea in peacebuilding. The various ethnic groups must be able to rely on judicial mechanisms being accessible and objective. A rights-based development approach requires a minimum of confidence in the objective enforcement of the rules governing property matters and corruption, violence and other crimes. Without this basic confidence it would be difficult to envisage the existence of effective credit arrangements, economic growth and peaceful dispute settlement mechanisms.

Greater attention is now being paid in development policy to enhancing the capacity to implement reforms in the justice sector in countries in transition (see 4.1.4). UNDP is enhancing its own capacity for assisting with reforms in the justice sector in post-conflict situations, and in April 2003 UNDP/the Oslo Governance Centre hosted an international conference in Norway for the exchange of experience as regards reforms in the justice and security sectors. There are also a number of international NGOs that work with capacity building in this important area.

There is a sizeable group of poor countries that do not receive much bilateral assistance; they are marked by poor governance, weak institutions and policies that make it difficult to use government-to-government assistance as an instrument for peacebuilding. Norway will draw on the work done by the OECD/DAC and the World Bank in order to review possible forms of co-operation with this group of countries (fragile states, difficult partners, low-income countries under stress). In these cases the best form of assistance is often to use multilateral channels or to use civil society as a medium for alleviating hardship and helping vulnerable groups. The international community must improve its ability to deal with these countries and prevent more poor countries from being caught in a vicious circle of violent conflict.

Norway has established the Norwegian Resource Bank for Democracy and Human Rights, or NORDEM, which recruits and trains qualified Norwegian personnel for secondment to international organisations that work for democratisation and respect for human rights. NORDEM provides technical assistance in a flexible form, which has proved to be very useful in connection with political processes in post-conflict countries.

The Norwegian Centre for Democracy Support is a politically neutral, non-profit organisation established for the purpose of supporting fledgling democracies in the South. The Centre co-operates with political parties to promote the emergence and growth of multi-party democracies and free elections. The Centre gives the political parties represented in the Storting and their affiliated organisations an opportunity to assist in developing well-functioning, pluralistic political systems in developing countries. The assistance is primarily used to facilitate co-operation on long-term, democratic organisation building and communication through knowledge transfers, advisory services and international exchanges. The Centre, which is a three-year project established in autumn 2002, is administered by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and shares the premises of Fredskorpset.

- Norway will continue its efforts at the bilateral, regional and multilateral levels to promote good governance in its development co-operation. Special emphasis will be given to combating corruption, including war-related corruption.
- Norway supports democracy building and democratisation processes. NORDEM and the Norwegian Centre for Democracy Support, whose purpose is to support fledgling democracies in the South, play an important role in the efforts to consolidate democracy in Norway’s partner countries.
- Norway will focus more strongly on reform of the justice sector in post-conflict countries and is prepared to support countries that are seeking to build a society based on the rule of law and respect for human rights.
• Norway's efforts to mainstream human rights considerations into its peacebuilding efforts are based on its Plan of Action for Human Rights (1999).
• A special focus will be trained on women's and children's rights and participation, in keeping with international development goals.

4.2.4 Civil society, including the media

Support for national authorities should be supplemented by support to peace-oriented organisations and institutions in civil society, including the media. Peacebuilding should include support for civil society actors, mechanisms and processes that promote peace and reconciliation and prevent support from being given to warring parties.

NGOs in the North can promote and strengthen viable civil society in the South through, for example, competence and capacity building, thus enabling it to:

• supply services (e.g. health, education, humanitarian mine action, reintegration of refugees, internally displaced persons and ex-combatants).
• practise advocacy and act as a watchdog (e.g. in promoting good governance, democracy, respect for human rights).
• promote reconciliation by, for example, bridge-building among the population (e.g. through dialogue, political, cultural and sporting meeting-places and events, private sector co-operation across ethnic and other dividing lines).
• support efforts to enable weak or marginalised groups to make use of democratic, non-violent conflict management measures.

Norwegian NGOs are also influential in the North in promoting poverty- and peace-oriented development policies.

It is important to identify effective agents for change in civil society, enter into a dialogue with them and support competence and capacity building in regard to them. Agents for change are usually to be found in human rights organisations, peace groups, women’s networks, academic institutions and independent media. Religious groups and private sector organisations working for peace can also make important contributions. Establishing co-operation between institutions and organisations in conflict-affected countries and corresponding bodies in Norway or other countries can be an effective way of building competence and capacity for peace efforts.

Fredskorpset is an administrative body for promoting contact and co-operation between organisations, institutions and companies in Norway and developing countries, based on values such as solidarity, equality and reciprocity. Fredskorpset enables companies, enterprises and organisations to enter into partnerships for the purpose of exchanging personnel and sharing expertise. The target group is young people aged between 22 and 35, who commit themselves to working in the partner undertaking for one to three years. The exchanges are mainly North-South, but South-South exchanges are also being supported.

Fredskorpset - Youth has also been established for the 18 to 24 age group, with an emphasis on information, awareness raising and reciprocal learning. Fredskorpset - Senior aims to draw on the experience of people aged between 55 and 70 years for development co-operation purposes.

Norway channels a very substantial part of its humanitarian assistance and development funds through Norwegian NGOs. According to the guidelines for support to civil society and democracy building (2002), support should be given among other things with a view to strengthening civil society as a driving force and agent for change in the efforts to achieve national and international development goals. Norwegian embassies also give some support directly to organisations in the South.

The media play a key role in a democratic society by providing information to its citizens, serving as a forum for different points of view and acting as watchdogs against abuses on the part of the authorities. Free and independent media help to ensure that various groups, including marginalised ones, have access to information necessary for making informed choices.

Norwegian support to the media includes providing legal and technical assistance for strengthening the position of the media, for example through the establishment of a legal
framework, promoting respect for the independence of the media and legal safeguards for journalists, and assistance with professional development and press ethics. Other aims are to promote greater diversity, relevance, accessibility, transparency and accountability.

- Norway supports civil society building in the South, both directly and through Norwegian NGOs, in order to enhance civil society’s competence and capacity to contribute to lasting and sustainable peace.
- Norway will develop guidelines for supporting the development of free and independent media in the South.

4.2.5 Judicial processes and truth commissions

Judicial processes and truth commissions are a particularly sensitive area, and a number of different approaches should be considered in every post-conflict situation. A balance has to be found between truth, justice, reconciliation, punishment and impunity that will help consolidate the peace. How likely is it that the parties will arrive at a peaceful settlement if they risk being punished for human rights atrocities? On the other hand, how legitimate and sustainable will the peace settlement be if the actors are granted impunity? To what extent should there be a reckoning with the past and to what extent is it sufficient to make sure that a sound legal system is developed for the future?

Long-term violent conflicts or oppression leave behind many wounds and traumas, and there is often a great need to know what really happened and what atrocities were committed. There is often a corresponding need to hold the perpetrators accountable for their war crimes, and to safeguard the dignity of the victims.

A peace settlement that protects the perpetrators of atrocities is usually not sustainable. Amnesties or impunity may breed dissatisfaction, unrest and mistrust of the new authorities, and violent elements will continue to be a risk. A state of lawlessness and a widespread perception that impunity has been granted for, for example, mass atrocities and plundering, can be major obstacles to reconciliation.

There is a distinction between retributive justice for the abusers and restorative justice for the victims. Punishment for atrocities can be imposed through prosecution and trial in a court of law or by an administrative decision to dismiss the person from office or as part of a public “purification” process. Experience has shown that an internal judicial process should be carried out as far as possible in line with the country’s legislation and tradition if it is to be perceived as legitimate.

How is responsibility for combating impunity divided between the individual state and the international community? What thresholds should be established for intervention by the international community? States must retain the main responsibility for instituting criminal proceedings against the perpetrators of atrocities. On the other hand, there is growing support for the idea that the international community should ensure that a judicial process is carried out in cases where a state has failed to do so. Norway considers that combating impunity for the most serious war crimes has an international dimension. These crimes are known as international war crimes.6

Punishment for atrocities committed during a conflict may be imposed through the medium of prosecution and trial in a court of law within the country. However, in especially serious cases, such as occurred in the Former Yugoslavia and in Rwanda, the UN Security Council has established international criminal tribunals for the investigation and prosecution of individuals responsible for the atrocities. The Security Council has also backed the establishment of national tribunals with international participation, such as the Special Court for Sierra Leone.

In Norway’s view the decision to establish the International Criminal Court in order to ensure that the gravest international crimes

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6 This has been discussed in detail in the white paper on consent to the ratification of the Statute of the International Criminal Court of 17 July 1998 (the Rome Statute) (Report No. 24 to the Storting (1999-2000)).
would not go unpunished was a milestone in international law. The most important justification for the Court is that, by seeking to establish the truth and by having a deterrent effect, judicial processes are an important instrument for promoting respect for human rights, peace, reconciliation and democracy.

There is not necessarily a contradiction between a judicial process and other reconciliation measures. For example, South Africa appointed a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to examine abuses carried out under apartheid. The open acknowledgement of what had happened was an important part of the reconciliation process. However, the process was accompanied by the credible threat of legal sanctions for those who declined to co-operate with the commission.

As regards the relationship between international prosecution and truth commissions, Norway’s view is that there is not necessarily any contradiction between these two instruments in the search for truth, the promotion of reconciliation and the restoration of peace. Truth commissions can supplement the judicial process and vice versa. The revelation of information about atrocities does not necessarily have to be followed by prosecution and punishment. Forgiveness and amnesty may also be appropriate.

- Norway is seeking to mobilise the broadest possible support for the International Criminal Court.
- Norway will continue to support the international criminal tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, and the Special Court for Sierra Leone.
- Norway will continue to support truth commissions and information programmes in conflict areas concerning important international judicial decisions.

4.3 Social and economic development

Social and economic development is an essential condition for lasting and sustainable peace. Conflicts are often caused or triggered by large and growing socio-economic disparities, economic decline, inequitable distribution of goods and burdens, and marginalisation of vulnerable groups and geographical regions. Relative poverty is probably a more important cause of conflict than absolute poverty.

Another cause of conflict is competition for limited natural resources, such as water or agricultural land, that are important for survival, and competition over readily marketable natural resources such as oil, diamonds, metals and tropical timber, which can be used to finance long-term conflicts and to enrich particular individuals or groups.

Conflicts can be caused by greedy leaders and by popular grievances, which may or may not be justified. In its work for peace the international community must also address underlying causes or triggering factors like these.

Efforts to promote peace must deal with the following challenges:
- repatriation and reintegration of refugees and internally displaced persons
- reconstruction of infrastructure and important public functions
- social development: education and health
- economic development: private sector development, employment, trade and investment

Norway is actively engaged in all these areas.

4.3.1 Repatriation and reintegration of refugees and internally displaced persons

The repatriation and reintegration of refugees and internally displaced persons is a major challenge in post-conflict situations, and it is essential to find durable solutions. These people need legal assistance, physical protection and material support so that they can become productive members of the community.

The difference between a refugee and an internally displaced person is that the former has crossed an international border. In contrast to internally displaced persons, refugees fall within the mandate of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which is responsible for providing protection and emergency relief for this group. For example, UNHCR can establish refugee camps, which it usually runs in co-operation with local partners and NGOs.
UNHCR’s mandate is also to seek durable solutions, which include:

- *voluntary repatriation* to their homeland, either on their own initiative or under the auspices of an organisation such as UNHCR
- *local integration* in countries or regions to which they have fled or to which they have been displaced
- *resettlement*, i.e. work and residence permits, in third countries

The reintegration of refugees and internally displaced persons has usually been addressed only after the conflict has ended. However, the many conflicts of the 1990s taught us that planning for peacebuilding should be started before this. For example, it is important to ensure that basic education is available in refugee camps so that returning refugees can be a resource for their home country. However, the persistent lack of funding for international refugee efforts, including the work of UNHCR, illustrates how inadequately the international community is dealing with this task.

In post-conflict repatriation and reintegration processes considerable effort often has to be expended on supplying basic necessities such as housing, food, health care and security. However, humanitarian assistance should be supplemented by longer-term programmes. Education and employment are vital if former refugees and internally displaced persons are to become productive members of the community.

In many cases, such as Afghanistan, the reintegration of refugees is a priority for a new government. Returning refugees and internally displaced persons can be a valuable resource for the home country, but in the absence of adequate reintegration measures they can have a seriously destabilising effect.

Reintegration measures should be designed so as to ensure that no group (ethnic, religious, geographical, social, etc.) feels excluded or discriminated against. Return to the home country must be voluntary if the persecution is still going on, and security concerns must be taken into account. Rights, including property and land rights, must be clarified. Basic infrastructure, such as water, roads and electricity, must be in place, and material inputs and tools for food production should be available.

If possible, repatriation and reintegration programmes should also include special measures for children, such as schooling, tracing and reuniting families, and psychosocial counselling.

The *Norwegian Refugee Council* has, together with UNESCO, developed a school package ("school-in-a-box") for internally displaced children and those in refugee camps. This enables them to take part in ordinary schooling when they are resettled or return home. The package serves as a bridge over to normal life and provides better prospects for the child and the family.

Reintegration programmes should be co-ordinated with corresponding programmes for ex-combatants, and must be designed so as to avoid discrimination against the local population in the relevant areas.

Good repatriation, reintegration and reconstruction programmes require close co-operation between the national authorities,
UNHCR, UNDP, the World Bank and other external actors. But the final responsibility lies with the national authorities, and reintegration programmes should therefore be integrated into poverty reduction strategy papers or other development plans.

UNHCR's repatriation, reintegration, rehabilitation and reconstruction (4Rs) programme aims to co-ordinate international efforts to achieve these goals in post-conflict situations, and is gaining ground in an increasing number of UN agencies. Through its comprehensive approach it bridges the gap between humanitarian assistance and long-term development co-operation. In areas where development actors are not in place when humanitarian assistance is discontinued, there is a great risk that returning refugees will again resort to flight, which will undermine the peace process. The programme is being tried out in Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Eritrea and Afghanistan. Norway is contributing funding to the pilot projects and has great faith in the potential of the 4Rs.

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**NORSTAFF** is an emergency preparedness roster that aims to recruit qualified Norwegian personnel to international organisations working with refugees. It is administered by the Norwegian Refugee Council and co-operates with UNHCR.

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- **Norway will continue its efforts to promote durable solutions for refugees and internally displaced persons in the form of legal and physical protection and material support, and will seek to improve the co-ordination of multilateral efforts in this field.**
- **Norway supports the initiative for a comprehensive approach by and improved co-operation between UNHCR, UNDP and the World Bank to assisting refugees and internally displaced persons (the 4Rs programme).**
- **Norway will continue to channel substantial funds through UNICEF, the United Nations Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), the International Red Cross and NGOs.**

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4.3.2 Reconstruction of infrastructure and important public functions

Establishing or reconstructing infrastructure and important public functions is usually an essential step in post-conflict situations and to some extent while the conflict is going on. It is often necessary to provide a minimum of public functions if people are to support the efforts to re-establish a well-ordered society. People feel that peace brings benefits when roads and buildings are repaired, electricity and telecommunications are restored, houses are built, schools and health services resume their activities and the local administration begins to function again.

In addition to helping the local population in conflict-affected areas, these peacebuilding activities are important for the reintegration of ex-combatants, refugees and internally displaced persons. Labour-intensive activities should be preferred to capital-intensive activities, since they provide much-needed jobs and incomes, help to mobilise local resources and are easy to administer locally without large-scale intervention from external actors.

For example, Norway has supported the rebuilding of roads in Afghanistan, and provided Norwegian expertise on water supplies and support for multilateral measures in connection with electricity supplies and the management of petroleum resources in Iraq.

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In Ethiopia, Norway has supported the rehabilitation of local clinics that were destroyed during the Ethiopia-Eritrea war in 1998-2000. Norway has been the largest contributor to UN quick-impact projects in border areas in both countries that focus particularly on the reconstruction of schools, clinics and water pumps.

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- **Norway supports mechanisms for the reconstruction of infrastructure and important public functions in countries emerging from violent conflict. This involves the reconstruction of roads, buildings and electricity and telecommunications networks, so that the population experiences as soon as possible that peace brings dividends.**

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4.3.3 Social development: education and health

The work for lasting and sustainable peace must not be limited to quick-impact projects. It must also include long-term education and health programmes with an emphasis on qual-
ity, accessibility and non-discrimination. It is especially important to reach out to children and young people; they are the most vulnerable and they are the leaders of the future. The conditions under which children grow up, and their physical and psychological health and development, are decisive for sustainable peace and development.

Young people with limited education and limited job possibilities are often potential recruits to groups involved in violent conflict. Education, jobs, trauma therapy and psychosocial support for children and young people affected by conflict are essential measures for preparing the ground for peace. Schools can contribute by teaching the children about, for example, respect for human rights, dialogue and non-violent conflict resolution.

Unfortunately, not all educational or health measures necessarily contribute to peace-building. They can also promote or fuel conflicts by for example favouring certain groups, fostering discriminatory attitudes or reinforcing linguistic intolerance. In conflict-affected societies all measures must be evaluated in relation to the causes of the conflict, the various actors, and the probable influence of external assistance on the dynamics of the conflict. We must adopt a conflict-sensitive approach if we are to prevent further conflict, prepare the ground for peace, support peaceful solutions and rebuild society after the conflict is over.

The international community can promote and support policies that combat social marginalisation, include formerly excluded groups, do not discriminate with regard to gender or ethnic, religious, social or geographical affiliation and pay special attention to securing women’s and children’s rights and participation.

• Norway’s efforts to ensure education for all by 2015 are based on its strategy “Education – Job Number 1”. Education and health are key peacebuilding activities, and improving education and health care in conflict and post-conflict situations is a vital task.
• Norway will advocate and support policies that promote more equitable distribution and counteract social marginalisation, include

Afghan schoolgirls hold tightly onto their books. UNICEF is mobilising greater support for schooling for girls in developing countries.
previously excluded groups and do not discriminate with regard to gender or ethnic, religious, social or geographical affiliation. *Norway will continue its efforts to improve education and health services through Norwegian and international NGOs, the UN system, the International Financial Institutions and bilateral government-to-government co-operation.*

4.3.4 Economic development: private sector development, employment, trade and investment

Last but not least, lasting and sustainable peace requires economic development and growth. Peacebuilding should thus include measures to stimulate private sector development, employment, trade and investment. However, economic growth is not enough on its own. It must be combined with good governance, policies that promote equitable distribution, and environmental responsibility. Measures to promote economic development include judicial and economic reforms, institutional co-operation and technical assistance, for example in connection with natural resource management. These measures are closely linked with efforts to unravel the economic agendas of a conflict, to increase transparency and accountability in the extractive industries and to promote corporate social and environmental responsibility.

As a rule post-conflict countries need to go through a phase of stabilisation before they can attract investment. But if the informal economy that is always present in these situations is included in national programmes it can become a source of employment and tax revenues that can help the new regime become gradually less dependent on international support.

Many conflicts are fuelled by the illicit trade in natural resources and other illegal economic activities. The sale of valuable natural resources provides funds that can prolong a conflict considerably. The prospect of control over natural resources may also be an incentive for certain actors in the conflict. There is increasing international co-operation on tracking financial flows connected with illicit trade in natural resources, narcotics and weapons and on stopping money laundering from these types of activities. Norway has supported a number of research projects that study these driving forces, for example projects under the auspices of the World Bank, the International Peace Academy in New York, the Norwegian research institutes Fafo and ECON, and the International Peace Research Institute in Oslo. Now the challenge is to translate the results of these projects into practical policy.

Strategies and measures for promoting private sector development and trade in (post)conflict countries must be sensitive to the causes and dynamics of the conflict and to the actors involved. This applies not least to the increasing involvement of the International Financial Institutions in economic reconstruction in post-conflict countries.

The transition from an informal, often weak and corrupt economy to private sector development within the framework of a more formal economy is often a difficult one. However, support for the productive sector aimed at increasing employment can prevent conflict and promote and build peace. Jobs are also particularly important in the reintegration of ex-combatants, refugees and internally displaced persons.

Although there are always some people who profit from violent conflict, in general conflict means greater risks and costs for the private sector. The local business community and business organisations can put pressure on political actors to seek a peaceful solution to violent conflict as they did, for example, in Sri Lanka. The diaspora can also be called on to take a constructive part in development in their former home country.

The international community can support measures to ensure the necessary government control over the business sector, especially over products that can be used to fuel a war economy (diamonds, oil, timber). The international community can also combat transnational crime, especially trade in narcotics, illicit trafficking in small arms and money laundering, through international co-operation and by supporting national institutions. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) can contribute to peace-
Building by promoting greater transparency in financial management. The extension of their mandate in connection with the fight against money laundering and terrorist financing allows them to combat corruption and war profiteering more actively than before. Their economic forecasts can also be a useful input for decisions on resource allocations.

Among the measures available to the international community is technical assistance with drafting legislation relating to investment, resource management and commercial activity, with trade reforms, with infrastructure development and with competence building. Others are concerned with facilitating access to capital and credit and formalising the right to land. Re-education and training centres for ex-combatants, refugees, internally displaced persons and others can reduce unemployment and thus the risk of crime and violence.

Support can also be given for the drafting and enforcement of legislation that regulates working life and ensures that both foreign and domestic enterprises exercise corporate social responsibility. Foreign enterprises may need guidance and awareness raising on the possible consequences of their engagement in countries in conflict. Companies must also promote human security, comply with UN resolutions on sanctions and refrain from contributing to economic activity that promotes or prolongs conflict.

KOMPakt (the Consultative Body for Human Rights and Norwegian Economic Engagement Abroad) was established in 1998, with representatives of employers’ and employees’ organisations, the business community, NGOs, research institutions and ministries. The work is co-ordinated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The aim is to raise awareness of human rights issues in the business community.

Global Compact, which was established in 1999 on the initiative of UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, seeks to advance corporate social responsibility through policy dialogues and learning. It is based on the Norwegian model, and Norway attaches great importance to international co-operation in this area. A number of Norwegian companies are adopting the 10 principles of the Global Compact, which cover the areas of human rights, labour standards, the environment and corruption.
• Norway has for several years been supporting research projects to raise international awareness and promote international understanding of the economic causes and driving forces of violent conflict, and will seek to transform the findings into practical policy.
• Norway works at the bilateral, regional and multilateral levels for greater transparency and accountability in the extractive industries (through the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative). This includes promoting corporate social responsibility, for example through KOMpakt (the Consultative Body for Human Rights and Norwegian Economic Engagement Abroad). It is important in this context to strike the right balance between voluntary action and legally binding rules.
• Norway’s support to private sector development is mainly based on its Strategy for Private Sector Development in the South. Two of the priority countries under this strategy, Sri Lanka and Uganda, are facing considerable challenges in connection with peacebuilding.
• Norway considers it important to facilitate access to capital and credit and to work for the formalisation of property rights.
5. Countries and regions

This strategic framework is an aid to structuring the planning and implementation of Norwegian peacebuilding efforts in countries or regions threatened by, undergoing or emerging from violent conflict.

A large number of developing countries, including several of Norway’s partner countries, are undergoing or emerging from violent conflicts. In the World Bank’s overview of September 2003, as many as 37 developing countries are reported to be in this category, and all require peacebuilding measures. Norway cannot involve itself in all these countries. It intends to make sizeable contributions that are concentrated on a few selected target areas in close co-operation with other actors. The first priority will be main partner countries, partner countries and countries where Norway has been or is involved in some way in peacemaking processes. However, in some cases it may be appropriate to become involved in other countries as well.

Norway continues to be heavily involved in peace efforts in the Middle East. In Sri Lanka and Sudan it is important to supplement the peacemaking efforts with peacebuilding. The situation in Afghanistan and East Timor calls for long-term peacebuilding programmes. The fragile peace in Angola must be preserved and consolidated. Other areas where peacebuilding is needed are Ethiopia, Eritrea, Guatemala, Colombia, Iraq, Indonesia, West Africa and the area around the Great Lakes in Africa. In its main partner countries Norway is conducting the fight against poverty in a complex political landscape where peacebuilding efforts are required in varying degrees: Nepal, Bangladesh, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia. Conflict prevention is particularly important in Kenya and Zimbabwe, and Norway is involved in peacebuilding in the Balkans. The list is not an exhaustive one.

Peacebuilding is not an easy task. Working in highly politicised situations is demanding, and the effects of a measure can be very uncertain. Should support be given to areas controlled by insurgents? How should Norway and other actors deal with governments that lack legitimacy, unreliable partners and failed states? Norway is taking an active part in the attempts to find answers to these questions in the OECD/DAC, the World Bank and other fora.

The Maoist uprising in Nepal was caused by massive poverty, lack of basic services in outlying districts, social exclusion of low-caste and ethnic groups and corruption. Norwegian efforts include support for service delivery in conflict areas, contributions to a peace fund and support for the monitoring of human rights violations. Norway’s development assistance is targeted as far as possible at the causes and consequences of the conflict, and is being used to make Nepalese society more humane and democratic.

• Norway will intensify its peacebuilding efforts in its main partner countries and partner countries, and will ensure that peacebuilding is mainstreamed into the guidelines for its development co-operation with conflict-affected countries and regions.

• Norway will also give priority to countries where it is or has been involved in peacemaking processes.

• Norway will seek at the national and international levels to ensure that peacemaking processes are appropriately linked with peacebuilding efforts.
• Norway will seek to ensure that the international community’s peacebuilding efforts are predictable and have a long-term perspective and that conflict areas that are no longer in the public eye receive support for peacebuilding.
• Norway considers that peacebuilding should, wherever possible and appropriate, have a regional perspective.

• Norway will support the work being done in the African Union and other regional co-operation organisations such as ECOWAS and the SADC on developing security structures and peacebuilding capacity.
• Norway will continue and intensify competence-building efforts in the field of peacebuilding, including research and evaluation, that are carried out in Norway and abroad.
6. Good donor practices in peacebuilding

Every conflict situation is unique, and it is obviously not possible to develop a strategic framework that covers every situation. The elements to be included, the order in which the measures are to be implemented, the timing and the amount of effort will always vary according to the situation. But all three dimensions – security and political and socio-economic development – and all the elements of the strategic framework must be carefully reviewed before the final decision is made, so that peacebuilding can be tailored as far as possible to the situation at hand. If this is not done, it is likely that conflict will flare up, that peace will not be achieved or that violence will recur.

6.1 National ownership, and co-ordination and harmonisation of donor efforts

The OECD plays an important role in the development of policy and guidelines for good donor practice. These are just as relevant for Norway’s efforts in countries threatened by, undergoing or emerging from conflict as they are for our efforts in other countries, if not more so, although implementing them is even more difficult in conflict-affected countries than in more peaceful ones.

National ownership, co-ordination of international efforts and harmonisation of procedures are essential for good donor practices in peacebuilding.

Peacebuilding must be based on national ownership; it must strengthen national sovereignty. Recipient responsibility should be emphasised and promoted, even in cases where the international community is heading the administration during an interim period.

The international community’s peacebuilding efforts in a conflict-affected country should as far as possible be based on a common platform comprising an analysis of the conflict, a needs assessment and a strategic framework.

The alternative is a multiplicity of analyses, strategies, action plans and ad-hoc activities with minimal effect, which put an unnecessary burden on our partners’ administrative capacity.

A good basis for a strategic framework is a country’s poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP) or other planning documents. If the country has no such documents, it should be encouraged to develop them. Donors, whether multilateral, bilateral, in civil society or from the private sector, should co-ordinate their activities, harmonise procedures and refrain from building parallel structures that undermine national structures and stand in the way of genuine national ownership. A certain division of labour based on comparative advantages may be effective.

The national strategic framework should be based on a joint conflict analysis and a needs assessment. We must grasp the problem before we can do something about it. Thus in order to be able to contribute to peace we must first understand the various actors in the conflict, and the structures, goals, dynamics, causes and consequences of the conflict. An overview of the needs and capacities of the recipient is also necessary.
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has begun working on a general, conflict-sensitive approach for Norway’s development co-operation with countries threatened by, undergoing or emerging from conflict. Various methods of conflict analysis and peace and conflict impact assessments have been reviewed, and this is to be followed up by courses on the use of the most suitable methods given at the embassies and at the Ministry in Oslo, and by testing of the methods at selected embassies. The aim is to make Norwegian efforts more sensitive to conflict, so that they promote and support peaceful solutions or at least do not serve to aggravate conflict.

6.2 Women and children

Human rights considerations must be mainstreamed into all peacebuilding activities. Care must be taken not to discriminate on the basis of gender or ethnic, religious, geographical or social affiliation, and ensuring the rights and participation of previously marginalised groups must be emphasised. In line with international development goals, a special focus is to be trained on women’s and children’s rights and participation.

In resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security, the UN Security Council has stressed the importance of a gender perspective in conflict prevention and in peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts.

Making sure that the right actors are involved in the peace process is an important element of good donor practice, and we must find better ways of involving women in this process. They are often the most enthusiastic advocates of a peaceful settlement to a conflict, perhaps because women and children suffer most from violent conflict. In spite of this, women are seriously under-represented in negotiations, in constitutional commissions and in political fora. Peacebuilding has less chance of succeeding if half the population, i.e. the women, are not given the opportunity for genuine participation.

A gender perspective must be mainstreamed into all processes and at all levels: in conflict analysis, in needs assessments, in strategic frameworks, in planning, implementation and evaluation of measures, in conflict prevention, in peace negotiations, in peacekeeping operations and in peacebuilding. Much more needs to be done about this issue by donor countries, partner countries, civil society, the private sector, and regional and multilateral organisations. Norway is drawing up a plan for following up resolution 1325.

7 The following are good examples of the literature on this subject:
– Rehn, Elisabeth and Sirleaf, Ellen Johnson (2002), Women, War and Peace, an independent experts’ assessment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women’s role in peace-building, UNIFEM.
– Women, Peace and Security (2002), a study submitted by the UN Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1325 (2000).

Any peace agreement in Sudan should secure Sudanese women a more prominent place in society.
6.3 Multilateral organisations

The UN plays a very central role in international conflict prevention and peacebuilding, both through the development of norms and policies (see 3.1) and by co-ordinating efforts in these fields at country level.

No other organisation is in such a good position as the UN to promote conflict prevention and peacebuilding in co-operation with regional organisations and civil society. The UN has the mandate, the infrastructure, the presence and the legitimacy for this task. However, the many different parts of the UN need to co-ordinate their activities more closely; there is still much to be done as regards competence, organisation, operational capacity and resources.

The Millennium Declaration sets out a vision of a more effective UN in the task of maintaining peace and security. But the organisation needs the resources and tools necessary to prevent conflict and make, keep and build peace, and the member states have so far only supplied limited resources to meet these needs.

Norway has actively supported the UN’s role in the work for peace, security and development right from the beginning, both in its own right and together with the other Nordic countries. We have therefore been one of the driving forces behind the reform process, which aims to make the organisation even more effective and perform better in the field of development co-operation.

Together with a number of like-minded countries, Norway has developed a paper on UN reform in the field of development. The paper was submitted to Secretary General Kofi Annan in New York in June 2004.8

We also advocate better co-ordination between the Department of Political Affairs, which is the political arm of the UN Secretariat, and UNDP on short- and long-term conflict prevention and peacebuilding. The work being done in the interface between the UN’s political activities and its development agenda should be intensified at headquarters level. We want to achieve seamless assistance (in terms of institutional and other resources) in the period of transition from conflict to lasting peace.

Norway also supports initiatives to reinforce the ties at country level between the political and operational arms of the UN in connection with conflict prevention and peacebuilding.

Norway considers that the UN should use its institutional and human resources in a more focused and better co-ordinated manner.

Today the organisation is already co-operating with regional and sub-regional organisations, and this co-operation should be further enhanced. The UN should also enhance its co-operation with civil society and the private sector in line with the recommendations of the report to the UN General Assembly by the Cardoso Panel9 and the report of the World Commission on the Social Dimension10 of Globalization (24 February 2004).

In his address to the General Assembly in autumn 2003 Kofi Annan called for more engagement on the part of the member states in strengthening the UN. He pointed out that we are now facing old threats in new and dangerous combinations: new forms of terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. He also pointed out that peace and security can be menaced by "soft threats" in the social and economic fields. His main message was that the UN has no choice; it must confront both new and old, both "hard" and "soft" threats and challenges, since they are all linked in today’s globalised world. The UN can only address these concerns by enhancing its capacity for collective action.

The Secretary General also announced his decision to establish a High-Level Panel of

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8 The United Nations Development System – Issues for Strengthening and Change, a paper developed by Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland and the UK.
9 We the Peoples; Civil Society, the United Nations and Global Governance, 21 June 2004.
eminent personalities, which signals the start of an effort that could have major consequences for the international order and for the UN’s place in it. The Panel will examine the current challenges to peace and security and consider how they can be addressed by collective action, and recommend ways of strengthening the United Nations through reform of its institutions and processes. Examples of these challenges are the poverty gap, the spread of communicable diseases like HIV/AIDS, climate change and environmental degradation. The Panel is to present its recommendations in 2004, and Norway has provided support for its work.

Kofi Annan has thus called attention to the member states’ own responsibility to ensure that the UN has the legitimacy and resources to carry out its mandate, and the establishment of the High-Level Panel has given new momentum to UN reform.

Norway’s involvement in peacebuilding takes place mostly through multilateral organisations and NGOs. About half of Norwegian development assistance is channelled through multilateral organisations, and Norway seeks to make sure that these organisations intensify their conflict prevention and peacebuilding efforts. We believe that co-ordinating the use of resources and personnel, joint planning and the establishment of joint trust funds will make a substantial contribution to the performance and focus of these organisations.

The report of the UNDG/ECHA Working Group on transition issues\(^\text{11}\) indicates that the various agencies of the UN that are responsible for political issues, humanitarian assistance and development co-operation are working more closely together, which is a promising sign.

Norway supports the recommendation that the UN should continue its dialogue with donor countries on what constitutes good donor practice and what practical forms UN assistance in transitional situations should take.

UNDP is interested in consulting donors on how its role in post-conflict situations should be developed. Norway is ready to participate in a donor reference group in this connection.

In recent years there has been an important and necessary increase in peacebuilding measures under the auspices of the World Bank. The Bank is seeking to mainstream a conflict perspective into its operations through the medium of the Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit and the Low-Income Countries under Stress Unit, showing that political and institutional factors are now being given much more attention. The aim is to ensure that the Bank’s development efforts make effective contributions to conflict prevention and peacebuilding.

The regional development banks and the International Monetary Fund are also increasing their contributions to peacebuilding. In order to have an optimal effect, long-term assistance from these organisations must be delivered at an early stage after the conflict has ended. Norway is continually considering ways of strengthening this trend, for example through financial contributions and through its influence in the governing bodies of these institutions.

There is still much room for improvement as regards the co-ordination of efforts within the UN system and between it and the International Financial Institutions (IFIs). The UN and the IFIs have different but mutually reinforcing roles and spheres of competence in peacebuilding. Positive and negative experiences of co-operation in the field will provide useful lessons, and Norway is considering how best to contribute to the most efficient and effective division of labour between the multilateral organisations.

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6.4 Non-governmental organisations
Norwegian NGOs have valuable experience after many years of work in developing countries. They have good contact networks and unique expertise. The knowledge and trust they have built up over the years are vital to Norway’s efforts to promote poverty eradication and peace. Many of their local partners have well established structures and broad support that enable them to mobilise civil society, which is a key to achieving good results. In addition to their horizontal networks, these organisations often have vertical networks reaching up to national and international levels. These can and should be used to initiate dialogue and influence policy and practice in the efforts to fight poverty and promote peace.

Norway also channels funds through NGOs for support to peacebuilding efforts in countries outside the group of partner countries. Contact can be maintained through NGOs with peace-oriented groups in countries where close contact with the authorities is not appropriate, such as Afghanistan under the Taliban.

However, it can be a challenge for NGOs to adapt their projects and programmes to the international community’s joint analyses, needs assessments and strategic frameworks, and to national and international co-ordination mechanisms. These organisations must be included in the dialogue on the optimal combination of peacebuilding elements, actors, channels and division of responsibility in a given context.

While there may be a great need in the early phases of peacebuilding for NGOs as channels and service providers, this need will gradually diminish as national authorities and structures are built up. However, NGOs will need to provide long-term support for civil society in its various roles as advocate, watchdog, agent of reconciliation, etc. (see 4.2.4).

6.5 Timing
Bad donor practices are very costly. In such cases the international community seldom attains the desired results in spite of extensive efforts. Peaceful solutions are difficult to achieve and even when they are achieved there is a great risk that the violence will flare up again during the subsequent five years.

According to Breaking the Conflict Trap, the international community often provides too
much support too early in post-conflict situations. This is then followed by a rapid decrease in support, leaving a vacuum that is all too often filled by violence. Thus in many cases very little external support is provided during the most vulnerable period, which according to the report is three to five years after the conflict has ended. During these critical years the need for support is just as great and the capacity of the recipient country to make use of support is often greater than it was in the immediate post-conflict period. Insufficient and perhaps wrongly directed support increases the risk that violence will recur.

Norway is taking this problem seriously. We must maintain our focus and make sure that we are competent, consistent and credible partners. We must be impatient for results while having the stamina for long-term efforts to promote lasting and sustainable peace. The critical period is not the first year after a conflict has been resolved, but the first 10 years. We must be capable of rapid, flexible action but we must also have a long-term perspective. And we must have a strategy on which we, together with the rest of the international community, can base our actions.

6.6 Resources

Peacebuilding requires substantial financial and human resources. Norway was the first country in the world to introduce, in 2002, a separate budget chapter entitled “Transitional Assistance”, to be used for peacebuilding. This has aroused considerable interest in other countries, and Norway attaches great importance to participating in the international debate on similar bilateral and multilateral arrangements.

Transitional assistance makes it possible to bridge the gap between short-term humanitarian assistance and long-term development co-operation in countries emerging from prolonged, deep-seated violent conflict. These funds are primarily used to support viable political and administrative structures, democracy and respect for human rights. They are also used to strengthen the international community’s capacity and competence in connection with peacebuilding. Transitional assistance can also be used in low-income countries that have been hit by especially extensive and serious natural disasters.

Transitional assistance and other global allocations to democracy, human rights, peace and reconciliation efforts make it possible for Norway to contribute to rapid, targeted action for these ends. Norway also uses country and regional allocations for peacebuilding purposes. Broad-based, comprehensive peacebuilding efforts require close political and administrative co-ordination of the use of funds from the different budget chapters.

- Norway promotes good donor practices in connection with peacebuilding at the bilateral, regional and multilateral levels. In this task Norway gives particular emphasis to national ownership, co-ordination of the international community’s efforts and harmonisation of procedures.
- Norway seeks to ensure that the strategic frameworks for the international community’s peacebuilding efforts in conflict-affected countries and regions are based on joint conflict analyses and needs assessments. Norway will seek to ensure a division of responsibility and labour based on the comparative advantages of the various actors.
- Norway is reviewing the various methods of conflict analysis and peace and conflict impact assessments with a view to identifying the most suitable tools and providing training in their use.
- Norway gives priority to providing political and financial support to capacity- and competence-building activities in the UN and other multilateral organisations in order to enhance these organisations’ ability to promote lasting and sustainable peace.
- Norway’s peacebuilding efforts in other countries and regions will be aimed at enhancing and developing a comprehensive international approach headed by the UN system and with the active participation of the International Financial Institutions.
- Norway will advocate an increase in financial contributions to peacebuilding and will support the establishment of an effective organisational structure and financing model for international co-operation in this area that are tailored to the situation in question. Norway will as a rule support the establish-
ment of joint financing mechanisms in transitional situations in order to avoid a multiplicity of different bilateral projects and programmes and promote national ownership and control.

- Norway will continue its co-operation and dialogue with Norwegian NGOs on their conflict prevention and peacebuilding activities, among other things with a view to ensuring that all Norwegian activities in conflict-affected countries contribute to peace.

- Several of Norway’s main priorities also need to be mainstreamed into peacebuilding activities. This is particularly true of the fight for human rights. Women are an important resource and have special interests and needs, and Norway is seeking to mainstream a gender perspective into all processes and at every level in conflict prevention and peace-promoting efforts. Norway is developing a plan for following up Security Council resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security.

- Norway is developing a strategy for improving conditions for children and young people in the South, which will also take up the situation of children and young people in the context of conflict and peace activities.
At the 4278th meeting of the Security Council, held on 20 February 2001, in connection with the Council’s consideration of the item entitled “Peace-building: towards a comprehensive approach”, the President of the Security Council made the following statement on behalf of the Council:


“The Security Council reaffirms its primary responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Council emphasizes the need for full respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant provisions of international law, in particular those related to prevention of armed conflicts and settlement of disputes by peaceful means.

“The Security Council reaffirms that the quest for peace requires a comprehensive, concerted and determined approach that addresses the root causes of conflicts, including their economic and social dimensions.

“The Security Council recognizes that peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace-building are often closely interrelated. The Council stresses that this interrelationship requires a comprehensive approach in order to preserve the results achieved and prevent the recurrence of conflicts. To this effect, the Council reiterates the value of including, as appropriate, peace-building elements in the mandates of peacekeeping operations.

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

“The Security Council further reaffirms that a comprehensive and integrated strategy in peace-building must involve all the relevant actors in this field, taking into account the unique circumstances of each conflict situation. The Council emphasizes that a well-planned and coordinated peace-building strategy can play a significant role in conflict prevention. In this connection, the Council underlines that international efforts in peace-building must complement and not supplant the essential role of the country concerned.

“The Security Council notes that the experiences of the United Nations and regional organizations and other actors in peace-building point to the need for enhancing peace-building activities by formulating a strategy based on the interdependence between sus-
tainable peace, security and development in all its dimensions.

“The Security Council stresses that, to be successful, such a peace-building strategy should meet, inter alia, the following basic criteria: relevance, coherence and consistency of programmes and actions; the consent and cooperation of the authorities of the State concerned where they exist; continuity in and conclusion of the process; cooperation and coordination among organizations and other actors involved; and cost-effectiveness of the overall peace-building operation.

“The Security Council strongly encourages the United Nations system and regional and subregional organizations, donor countries and the international financial institutions to consider undertaking initiatives such as: utilization of the mechanism of consolidated appeals, the joint holding of pledging conferences to mobilize expeditiously international political support and the essential resource requirements; ensuring prompt financing of quick start-up peace-building projects; and strengthening mechanisms that promote development and self-reliance by improving capacity-building activities.

“The Security Council also underlines that successful peace-building is predicated on an effective and an unambiguous division of labour, based on the comparative advantage of different implementing bodies, between all the international partners, including the United Nations system, the international financial institutions, regional and subregional organizations, and the wider international community. In this regard, the Council strongly encourages all those actors to enhance their cooperation in areas such as the early identification of situations where peace-building is required; the definition of objectives and priority areas of peace-building; the development of an integrated operational response through mutual consultation; joint monitoring of peace-building activities; and establishing repertoires of best practices and lessons learned in the area of peace-building.

“The Security Council stresses the importance of mainstreaming a gender perspective into peace agreements and peace-building strategies and of involving women in all peace-building measures.

“The Security Council further encourages the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations to establish consultative processes to ensure that peace settlements and agreements mediated by these organizations include commitments by the parties to the conflict to concerted action in different areas of peace-building, and stresses the need to identify such areas at early stages of the negotiation of peace agreements.

“The Security Council recognizes that the repatriation and resettlement of refugees and internally displaced persons as well as the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants should not be seen in isolation but must be carried out in the context of a broader search for peace, stability and development, with special emphasis on the revival of economic activities and reparation of the social fabric.

“The Security Council considers it essential to provide speedy operational solutions to the exceptional and urgent needs of countries emerging from or on the verge of conflict, through innovative and flexible means, including quick impact programmes which translate into concrete and visible improvements in the daily lives of their local populations.

“To enhance further the effectiveness of the United Nations in addressing conflicts at all stages, from prevention to settlement to post-conflict peace-building, the Security Council reiterates its willingness to consider ways to improve its cooperation with other United Nations bodies and organs directly concerned by peace-building, in particular the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council which have a primary role in this field.

“The Security Council recalls the essential role of the Secretary-General in peace-building, in particular in the establishment of...
strategies in this field and their implementation and recognizes the need to strengthen
the coordination and analysis capacity of the
Secretariat in order to allow the Secretary-Gener-
als to fulfil his responsibilities in this
area.

“The Security Council recognizes the need for
the early involvement on the ground of peace-
building actors and an orderly assumption of
their responsibilities. To this effect and in
order to avoid any gap between peacekeeping
and peace-building, the Council expresses its
determination, where appropriate, to consult
at various stages of any peacekeeping opera-
tion that includes peace-building elements
and in particular when the operation is being
established, with the State concerned and
with relevant actors who are primarily respon-
sible for coordinating and implementing
aspects of peace-building activities, such as
the General Assembly, the Economic and
Social Council, the United Nations funds and
programmes, the international financial insti-
tutions, regional organizations and major
donor countries.

“The Security Council recognizes that troop-
contributing countries may be involved in
peace-building activities and that, within the
existing system of consultations with these
countries, relevant peace-building activities
should be discussed.

“The Security Council encourages close coop-
eration between the authorities of the State
concerned and the international community
in elaborating programmes of peace-building
activities where the commitment by the par-
ties could be formalized in written communi-
cations.

“The Security Council underlines the impor-
tance of the presence of special representa-
tives of the Secretary-General or other suit-
able United Nations coordination arrange-
ments, such as the resident coordinator sys-
tem, in coordinating the elaboration and
implementation of peace-building pro-
grammes by international organizations and
donor countries in close cooperation with
local authorities, taking into account ongoing
activities. The Council stresses that any
United Nations peace-building presence
should have the necessary personnel and
financial resources to discharge its mandate.

“The Security Council stresses the impor-
tance of its being kept regularly informed of
the progress achieved as well as of difficulties
encountered in peace-building in countries
where a peacekeeping operation had been
mandated by the Security Council.

“The Security Council reiterates that efforts
to ensure lasting solutions to conflicts and to
maintain the momentum for peace in any
given country or region require an increased
solidarity, sustained political will and timely
and adequate resources on the part of the
international community.

“The Security Council recalls the decision by
the Secretary-General to instruct the
Executive Committee on Peace and Security
to formulate a plan on the strengthening of
the United Nations capacity to develop peace-
building strategies and to implement pro-
grammes in support of them, and looks for-
ward to the submission by him of recommenda-
tions to the Security Council and the
General Assembly on the basis of this plan.

“The Security Council will remain seized of
the matter.”
Strategic Framework

Peacebuilding – a Development Perspective