



## PEACE-BUILDING AS A PEACE OPERATION\*

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### **Abstract**

Peace-building is longer-term mission to secure peace by dealing with the origin causes of a potential or past conflict. The peace will last only if corresponding, long-term action is taken to eliminate the basis of the conflict. Peace-building is especially important and difficult for the United Nations is that such conflicts the root causes are internal issues.

Peace-building operations are complex and difficult. Peace-building process should include: establishment and maintenance of law and order, providing humanitarian assistance such as repatriation and reintegration of refugees and internally displaced persons, performance of basic civil administrative functions, development of local democratic political institutions, and the building of infrastructure and civil society, and economic reconstruction and development.

**Key words:** Peace-building, Law and order, Humanitarian assistance, Reconstruction.

### **BARIŞ OPERASYONU OLARAK BARIŞ İNŞASI**

#### **Özet**

Barışı inşa etme misyonu, barışı güvence almak için çatışmanın sebeplerini ve geçmiş çatışmaları çözmeye yönelik uzun dönemli bir misyondur. Barışın sürekli olması için uzun dönemli aksiyon çalışmaları ile çatışmanın sebeplerinin ortadan kaldırılması gerekir. Barış inşa etmek, özellikle iç problemlerden doğan çatışmalarda Birleşmiş Milletler için önemli ve zordur.

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Barış inşa etme operasyonları hem karmaşık hem de zordur. Barış inşa etme süreci şunları kapsamalıdır: Hukuk ve düzenin kurulması ve sürdürülebilmesi, mülteci ve yerinden edilmiş kişilerin geri dönüş hakkı ve ailelerin yeniden birleşmesi için insani yardım sağlanması, temel sivil idari fonksiyonların ve hizmetlerin verilmesi, yerel demokratik siyasal kurumların geliştirilmesi, ve altyapı, sivil toplum, ekonominin yeniden inşası ve kalkınma ile ilgili gerekli faaliyetlerin yapılmasıdır.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** Barış İnşası, Kanun ve Düzen, İnsani Yardım, Yeniden Yapılanma.

### **1.Introduction: Peacekeeping: Concepts and Approaches**

One of the most important activities of the United Nations is to be active on conflict prevention, peacemaking, peacekeeping as well as peace enforcement and peace-building areas. The United Nation has the authority to provide peacekeeping forces to deal conflictual conditions. Therefore to understand and explain peace-building operation one first needs to explain what is peacekeeping and how the United Nations peacekeeping operations related with peace-building activities. Thus, this paper is about peace-building operations. However, to understand and explain peace-building operation first one need to explain what is peacekeeping in general and how has evolved our understanding of peacekeeping operation.

Peacekeeping is “the prevention, containment, moderation and termination of hostilities between or within states, through the medium of a peaceful third-party intervention organized and directed internationally, using a multinational force of soldiers, police, and civilians to restore and maintain peace.” (Rikhye, 1974) Peacekeeping is an objective activity. However, it is clear from the definition that peacekeeping is not a completely neutral activity and primarily a political and diplomatic activity. Furthermore, one of the most important distinguishing characteristics of peacekeeping is the implementation of a non-coercive operation.

There are several differences between peacekeeping operations from the collective security operations: First, peacekeeping troops are not designed to restore order or stop the fighting between opposing adversaries. Peacekeeping troops are usually only deployed following a cease-fire agreement by the conflicting parties. In other words, unlike a collective security operation, peacekeeping troops are deployed

after fighting is halted rather than before or during military conflict. Second, while a usual collective security operation tasks involve the defense or attack the other side, the role of a peacekeeping force is considerably different. Peacekeeping troops control and settle a given area but act an interposition force between the conflicting parties. A third unique element of peacekeeping is its transparency. Their activities are open, not veiled. Their rules of engagement are transparent, not secret. They let conflicting parties see where they are deployed and do not seek to hide their positions. In conflict situations, their role is de-escalating rather than escalating to solve conflict. Their approach is cooperation rather than confrontation. Therefore, peacekeeping missions have a role that is completely dissimilar from that of collective security operations.

In 1945 the Charter of the United Nations (UN) established measures for international action to deal with conflict between states. It distinguished between the 'Pacific Settlement of Disputes' (Chapter Six) and 'Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression' (Chapter Seven), which could include the use of military force in the last choice (see the official version of the United Nations Charter, [treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/CTC/uncharter.pdf](http://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/CTC/uncharter.pdf), pp.8-11). These chapters emphasize for a quick temporary measures to bring a conflict under control rather than on the longer-term task of helping the conflicting parties negotiate a political settlement to their conflict. However, during the Cold War the competition between two blocksdominated international system and the United Nations' first four decades; therefore, it weakened the United Nations' ability to use the measures which are written down in the Charter.

The first peacekeeping operation was established in 1948 during the first Arab-Israeli war when the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), a group of unarmed military observers, was sent to Palestine after the Security Council had intended a ceasefire between conflicting parties. The first armed peacekeeping operation was the UN Emergency Force (UNEF1) which was deployed in 1956 to 'secure and supervise' the stop of fighting following the Anglo-Franco-Israeli invasion of Egypt. During the Cold War era, the peacekeeping missions turned as potential tool for the

superpowers (the United States and Soviet Union) used for diminishing each other influence conflictual regions such as Korea and Congo.

However, the fall of the Soviet Union, the demise of communism in Eastern Europe, and the end of the Cold War led in a new era of international politics. The bipolar sphere of East-West conflict ended without a military clash between the two superpowers. In the early 1990s, scholars and politicians spoke of the promise of an “end of history” and a lasting “democratic peace” as the international society began to talk about a “new world order.” (Fukuyama, 1992; Doyle, 1983; Owen, 1997). However, heading into the late 1990s suggests that the emerging “new world order” is better described as a “new world disorder.” (Oakley, 1989; Manwaring, 1998)<sup>†</sup>

On the other hand, the end of the Cold War with new opportunities brought for international engagement to resolve some long-standing conflicts in which the superpowers had been supporting, directly or indirectly, competing parties engaged in large-scale, violent struggles for power, particularly in Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Afghanistan, and Cambodia. As a result those years introduce massive growth in peacekeeping operations. Moreover definition, structure and the way of implications of peacekeeping operations have also changed significantly over the years. Peacekeeping is no longer defined as deployment of military forces in the ground for the goals only of the deterrence of conflict and the making of peace. The features of peacekeeping are changing because the world is changing. For example, several of the new peacekeeping operations were larger in size and more complex than previous actions and were authorized to employ military force actively rather than passively; they were undertaken either without agreement or with only fragile, limited agreement of the warring parties.

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<sup>†</sup>On September 11, 1990, the United States President George H. W. Bush spoke before a joint session of Congress: “Out of these troubled times, ... a new world order can emerge: a new era -- freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the quest for peace.” Accessed 18 October 2009, [http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/research/public\\_papers.php?id=2217&year=1990&month=9](http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/research/public_papers.php?id=2217&year=1990&month=9). On the other hand, most of scholars and policymakers see the new international system as “world disorder.”

A first-time meeting of the United Nations Security Council at the heads of state level was held on 31 January 1992 and approved the concept of "Strengthening the Capacity of the United Nations for Preventive Diplomacy, for Peacemaking and for Peacekeeping." The heads of states asked the newly-elected the United Nations General Secretary, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to prepare recommendations on strengthening the UN's capacity for preventive diplomacy, for peacemaking and peacekeeping. Boutros-Ghali clarifies four different fields of post-Cold War UN activities: preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping, and post-conflict peace-building. They simply refer to the UN and its peacekeeping operations before (preventive diplomacy), during (peacemaking and peacekeeping), and after (post-conflict peace-building) a conflict (Boutros-Ghali, 1995: 45-46). As a result, peacekeeping operations have expanded from an isolated and limited set of tasks, such as monitoring and confirming the observance of ceasefire between conflicting states, to include assistance in making, enforcing, maintaining and building peace within states.

If one looks at different peacekeeping missions of UN after the Cold War, one can see obvious differences those of after the Cold War. For example, Operation Restore Hope and United Task Force (UNITAF) in Somali were unique on several counts. For the first time in history, the United States under the United Nations auspice had sent a large military force to an area without strategic interest on a strictly peacekeeping mission. Moreover, the UN Security Council for the first time approved the dispatch of UN-approved force without the request of the local government. The Security Council decided to make Somali into a kind of example for applying the new UN peacekeeping approach. In other words, the idea of peace-building and reconstruction of "failed states," were all applied in Somali Hirsch and Oakley, 1995: 151). However, after less than a year the Somali operation, in 1994, enthusiasm for this kind of mission had begun to wane. This was especially true in the United States, which was shocked by the death of 18 of its peacekeeping soldiers and the wounding of 78 more on 3-4 October, 1993 in Mogadishu, Somalia, along with UN peacekeeping operations and moreover, discouraged by the failure of the UN operations in Bosnia and

Rwanda in early 1990s in which over 200,000 Bosnians and 800,000 Rwandans were slaughtered while UN peacekeeping forces watched helplessly, remains century's enduring images of genocides. Therefore, the failure of peacekeeping missions in Somali, Bosnia and Rwanda left a scar on the UN and its Department of Peacekeeping Operations. The UN struggled to save its reputation and prove its commitment for peace. And so, in the fall of 1993, it established the International War Crimes Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in The Hague. A year later, the horrors of Rwanda were handed over to the same body, which created a parallel process, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. Moreover, in 1999, the UN assumed authority to administer the transition from war to sustainable peace in two regions- Kosovo in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and East Timor controlled by Indonesia. The UN rule was intended to fundamentally transform the status of these two entities, in the case of East Timor to sovereign statehood and in Kosovo to substantial autonomy. Finally, the UN rules provided a similar outcome for Kosovo, Kosovo declared its independence.

Thus, since the late 1980s that we have witnessed the expansion of peacekeeping activities to embrace a wide variety of peace-building tasks-which are ranging from electoral assistance and human rights monitoring to the resettlement of refugees; the training of police forces; and the disarmament and demobilization of armed forces.

## **2. Peacebuilding**

One of the lessons to be learnt from the international community's intervention in Cambodia is that peacemaking and peacekeeping are not enough. There is also a need of for peace-building- that is, international action to help a society torn by civil war to identify the root causes of the conflict that just ended and to devise means of eradicating those root causes. This takes time, for the roots often turn out to be deep. It requires a more profound understanding of the society than peacemakers or peacekeepers usually have. It is very sensitive, because it touches on issues deep within the domestic jurisdiction of the state concerned" (Goulding, 2003: 265).

Boutros-Ghali introduced a new concept to the peace literature: peace-building. He defines peace-building as an engagement to identify and support structures which will tend to fortify and solidify peace in order to avoid a fall back into conflict or (re)building institutions and infrastructure within a country to create conditions favorable to peace (Boutros-Ghali, 1995: 46). Peace-building could begin even before deployment, but must happen during and after it. Peace-building efforts are essential to prevent the conflict from basically resuming after the peacekeeping forces depart. What the international society can do to make certain that peace lasts after the fighting has stopped has been called post-conflict peace-building. Therefore, to be effective, peace-building would have to cover both the deployment and post-deployment stages. A multidimensional peacekeeping operation would usually integrate peace-building measures as it makes every effort to rebuild institutions that make a lasting peace possible.

Peace-building is longer-term mission to secure peace by dealing with the origin causes of a potential or past conflict. One of the lessons learnt by the UN since the end of the Cold War is that it is not enough to negotiate a peace settlement, help the parties apply it and then withdraw after a couple of years. The peace will last only if corresponding, long-term action is taken to eliminate the basis of the conflict. Peace-building is especially important and difficult for the UN is that such conflicts the root causes are internal issues. They typically associate to human rights, justice and law and order, ethnic discrimination, economic policy, the distribution of wealth, all of them matters which sovereignty-sensitive governments will be unwilling to open to foreign governments and IGOs.

Therefore, peace-building operations are complex and difficult. According to Richard Caplan, peace-building process should include: establishment and maintenance of law and order, providing humanitarian assistance such as repatriation and reintegration of refugees and internally displaced persons, performance of basic civil administrative functions, development of local democratic political institutions, including the holding of elections to these institutions, and the building of infrastructure and civil society, and economic reconstruction and development (Caplan, 2005).

### **a. Law and Order**

In the absence of security, governance is naturally difficult if not impossible to exercise. Furthermore, in the absence of any local police force at all, anarchy may exist and organized crime boom. Establishing and maintaining law and order, and providing security to the people are thus among the most important functions for peacekeeping forces engaged in administering and reconstructing societies emerging from internal conflict. Peacekeeping forces carry out such police tasks as patrolling the streets and countryside to report incidents and deter criminal and other hostile actions.

Providing law and order refers to the power and practice of law and enforcement by peacekeeping forces within a specific area. This power derives from the assumption by the United Nations of sovereign authority over the area and its practice from the establishment of an international administration. To date, UN peacekeeping missions in Kosovo and East Timor (UNMK and UNTAET), established in October 1999, are the only two examples of executing law and order in a peace operation.

Main function of law and order is to provide security for the people. Public security is closely related to the return of refugees and internally displaced persons, particularly in the circumstance of internal conflicts where the migration of civilians is often a calculated and planned goal of conflicting parties who are seeking to achieve ethnic homogeneity on the territory that they control as they were in Kosovo and East Timor. Where ethnic minorities are not rather free from the threat of physical attack, they are not likely to be keen to risk life to return to their regions of origin. The removal of mines may also be necessary for the guarantee of physical security. Other factors that can have an effect on the return of refugees and displaced persons include employment opportunities, the accessibility of housing and social services such as schools and health care, and a legal infrastructure that guarantees the restoration of citizenship, and other fundamental rights that an individual may have lost.

### **b. Humanitarian Assistance**

During many internal conflicts, control over the country is break between the central government and various rebel groups. Combined with the turmoil caused by the

war, this prevents essential services such as food supply and medical care from being delivered to the population and creates a flood of refugees fleeing war zones. For these reasons, peacekeeping operations include involvement in situations where human rights are at risk and where there is a crisis. The peacekeeping forces are often the only organization with the necessary equipment and capacity for immediate action to be able to deal with a humanitarian emergency. The UN has participated in distribution of food and essential items, in primary health care, in repatriation of refugees and resettlement of displaced persons. Therefore, the peacekeeping forces perform two sets of functions in the humanitarian arena: logistic (relief activities and support for civilian relief agencies) and security that way safeguarding the well-being of victims by ensuring that they have access to material assistance.

The other humanitarian activities, peacekeeping forces perform including such services as letting the local population to make use of facilities set up to serve the peacekeeping troops, such as medical clinics, assisting with electricity and water problems in the area, and providing transportation or help to local farmers. These activities are not formally part of peacekeeping operations' mandates, but they are in harmony with it and may in fact support the main mission. Aiding the local population helps bring acceptance for the peacekeeping force and reduces the threat that the forces will be the victim of unprovoked attack by local elements who might dislike their existence in the region. Humanitarian activities are generally non-controversial, contributing greater sincerity to the claim that the peacekeeping forces are neutral parties not seeking to have an effect on the military situation in the area (Diehl, 1993: 10).

### **c. Election**

Election process became a greater extent popular way to resolve internal conflict in a state. Allowing popular opinion instead of force of arms to decide which groups will control the government. The presence of UN observers has been necessary to monitor the entire electoral process, to ensure that elections are held in a peaceful environment, and on the demand of the competing parties. UN peacekeeping forces would guard the area in which the election is held, seeking to limit the campaign

carnage that has become common in many parts of the world. Second, and most importantly, the peacekeeping forces would monitor the election process to guarantee that fair and standard procedures were followed; in fact they would be on hand to report and in that way prevent any ballot fixing or wrongdoing on the Election Day. Peacekeeping forces might also be asked to take on certain governmental functions (e.g., to provide a police force) before the election. Thus, It is clear that the existence of peacekeeping troops preserves the reliability of the election, checking competing parties from manipulating the election results or from using claims of fraud to nullify or disregard those results should they lose. In fact, peacekeeping troops guarantee the legitimacy of the election.

Electoral observation missions usually arrive in countries shortly before scheduled elections, when the pre-electoral political climate is turbulent and they depart a few days after the elections. The significance of election missions and their very visible existence in the electoral process of the country in question means that the missions themselves are “observed,” both nationally and internationally. For instance, UN observer teams have played a role in supporting fair and democratic elections in 1989 and 1990 in Nicaragua.

#### **d. Democratization**

How does democracy play a role for sustainable peace? Peace needs democracy. However, looking and thinking of democracy only from having fair election limits role of democracy to establish stable peace, even increase possibility of a conflict. The task of building the liberal democracy is too complex; therefore, responsibility of a peace-building mission is to construct a condition to flourish a stable political system based on democratic principles (Hooan, 2005:178). While democracy materializes to be the primary measure of political legitimacy, democratization requires many activities: including assistance in the drafting of constitutions, strengthen parliamentary assemblies, the development of political parties, aid to trade unions, and efforts to increase citizen involvement in decision-making. More than any other feature of a

transitional regime, democratization has extensive and important implications for the future political character of the country.

However, there is a paradox exists: while “democracy” is held by the international society to be an essentially popular goal and a necessary condition of a sustainable peace, the process of democratization itself is often seen to let loose competing forces and friction within a society that make conflict more likely. Thus, the success or failure of a democratic state, like any other state, rests eventually upon the legitimacy of the system. Legitimacy may be defined simply as the moral right of the government to govern combined with the capability of the government to carry out its programs and policies.

#### **e. Demobilization and Disarmament**

Demobilization in countries emerging from internal conflicts is no easy task, as it involves the payment to ex-fighters and the reintegration of the demobilized individuals into normal civilian life. In recent years it has increasingly been recognized that a major element of post-conflict peace-building must be effective arrangements for bringing former fighters back into normal civilian life as creative members of the local community.

Disarmament contains the collection of weapons from the demobilized fighters of competing military forces, armed groups in internal conflicts, and the civilian cause a division and split of society that may or may not lead a split of the armed forces into factions. Such conditions bring about the collapse of central authority in a country. The process of restoring peace must then cover not only the collection of weapons but also the creation of new instruments to maintain law and order and security.

#### **f. Institutional Building**

Perhaps the most distinguishing characteristic of peace-building is the establishment of institutions with broad responsibility for the management of some of the core functions of a modern government such public resources and the providing public services. After establishing order, peacekeeping forces are able to begin the

process of resurrecting the institutions of civil society, relocating the displaced, revitalizing the economy, rebuilding damaged infrastructure, and establishing the fundamentals upon which political institutions can be revived or newly created. Furthermore, peace-building requires the establishment of a single national army for security duties and a trained police force to maintain law and order.

The establishing of political institutions is crucial for the legitimacy of continued peace-building operations ahead of the preliminary stage of a peacekeeping operation. However, too speedy a transfer of authority carries its own risks: among other things, it can devastate a people emerging from the suffering of violent conflict as well as strengthen dividing lines that lie at the center of the conflict as former conflicting parties compete for political power. Therefore, a well-functioning government, and operational political institutions are important not only for democratic self-government but also in relation to economic reconstruction and development where political institutions are not capable to control emerging political and economic crimes.

One clear need in many cases is the restructuring of internal political systems to have capacity for the social problems. The convergence of increasing democratization and increasing internal conflict has logically redirected concentration to the capacity of the political institutions of countries to respond to and effectively manage conflict.

Three broad areas of structuring political institutions have attracted special attention: the territorial structure of the state (questions of federalism, autonomy, confederation); the form of the state's legislative and executive functions (presidential, parliamentary or "semi-presidential"); and a state's rules of political parties, and local representation). Building these political institutions, adaptation of diversity, management of conflict, and shaping of political-economic institutions of conflict is central to the broader debate about the building of sustainable peace and stability.

While accepting and establishing tolerance and democratic values cannot be forced, the international society can offer a series of incentives, disincentives and services to support and encourage societies to move in this direction. For instance, to establish local police forces; to train local police officers to make sure that their activities are meeting the

requirements with international standards; to investigate human rights abuses by local law-enforcement personnel; to restructure local police forces so as to rationalize their size and achieve an ethnic composition reflecting the community they serve; and to monitor judicial proceedings.

#### **g. Economic Assistance**

Poor economic condition and unequal distribution of wealth can be sources of internal conflict, especially in societies where economic disparities are consistent with ethnic, religious, tribal, or other kinds of social separation. Where these disproportions have produced disturbance difficult enough to have led to internal conflict, it is crucial to take measures in the high priority post-war environment to promote economic development foundations of political violence. Economic revival is also critical to create broad support locally for international peace-building efforts. It presents substantial benefits that can help create confidence in the process. And where the establishment of political and economic institutions and mechanism are a part of that process, economic revival is also important to generate the income necessary to finance these developing institutions (Caplan, 2005: 143).

The challenge for peacekeeping is thus often have multiple dimensions: reconstruction of political and economic infrastructures, economic development, and structural transformation to a market economy. The challenge becomes more difficult by the fact that poor areas will likely have experienced a sharp deterioration of living standards as a result of the internal conflict, therefore, overcoming these challenges demand a degree of coordination among external parties. International development aid and the support of development projects, especially in areas of possible conflict, are important to economic peace-building within states. Projects aimed at bringing states together around joint agricultural development projects and transportation, water, and electricity use systems are important confidence-building measures.

Economic and technical assistance of the United Nations and other international organizations (World Bank, EBRD, etc.) can reduce many of the social and economic tensions underlying conflicts. It is important here to ensure that the

United Nations does not lose contact with the fact that peace and security involves the security of peoples and societies as much as it does that of states and that the promotion of popular, as well as state, well-being should be a decisive factor for shaping resource allocation (Evans, 1998: 85). The goal of many internationally funded reconstruction activities is to ensure a sustainable peace through promoting the participation of women and minority groups in government and economic activities.

In conclusion, economic development alone does not make certain on the whole development of a country, and structural adjustment policies have deep internal consequences on society as a whole and may act to slow down other areas of reform. Therefore, safety measures are crucial to neutralize the negative impacts of macro-economic reforms.

### **3. Role of United Nations**

The end of the Cold War created a sense of opportunity for the United Nations. The United Nations became engaged in efforts to end internal conflicts in Cambodia, Somalia, Angola, Haiti, and the former Yugoslavia, among many others. As a result, the UN began to develop a new generation of peace support activities and tasks designed to respond to the challenges of intrastate conflict: consolidating civil order and establishing the political and socio-economic conditions for sustainable peace. Thus, the United Nations became engaged in building peace.

In 1995 Boutros-Ghali published the supplement to an Agenda for Peace, which used the term “peace-building” to refer to both pre- and post-conflict measures. According to Boutros-Ghali, post-conflict peace-building must be linked to the comprehensive development efforts of the UN, political, economic, social and cultural. The objective of peace-building is to involve hostile parties in mutually beneficial understandings which not only contribute to economic and social development but also reinforce the confidence necessary for the creation of lasting peace. Peace-building begins with practical measures for the creation of lasting peace. Peace-building begins with practical measures to restore the civil society, reinvigorate its economy, repair the land and restore its productivity,

repatriate and resettle displaced people and refugees; it also entails reducing the level of arms in society, as a component of the volatility that induces violence (Boutros-Ghali, 1993: 456-8).

The change in relations between the superpowers in early 1990s was having an impact on the UN and its capacity for peacekeeping. The organization became a key mechanism on the world's problems. Nowhere was this more evident than in peacekeeping. The UN has achieved some dramatic successes in dangerous, complex situations in Cambodia and Namibia were highly effective that made possible these fragmented and destroyed countries to get on their feet. On the other hand, it is clear that continuing shortcomings in the UN's capacity to manage peacekeeping, and peace enforcement in particular strongly for a sustained push for UN institutional reform, restraint and selectivity in undertaking enforcement missions, and creativity in supporting their management. Moreover, a major difficulty is posed by the fact that the UN is not institutionally organized to deal with peace-building, even though it may be the only body with a mandate broad enough to address such situations.

Thus, only the UN has the capacity to integrate the many political, humanitarian, military and socio-economic activities relating to peace and development. In practice, however, the potential of the UN to carry out an integrated approach has not yet been fully developed, either within the UN itself or with the agencies. A coherent peace-building effort would require considerable harmony of objectives and political will on the part of the international society. In addition, there is the question of how the coordination among donors would be carried out on the ground.

The United Nations system has a strong supportive role to play in promoting peace-building within states in some of the areas. For example, disarmament, demilitarization, the control of small arms, institutional reform, improved police and judicial systems, the monitoring of human rights, electoral reform, and social and economic development are peace-building tools.

The obstacles of the United Nations to play more constructive role in peace-building missions include the fact that there are no formal, comprehensive peace-building

policies within the UN, no institutional home for the development of peace-building strategies and operations, the lack of coordination within UN bureaus that deal with peace building, and the lack of UN capabilities to restructure societies. Successful peace building requires considerable economic resources, and the UN quite simply does not possess them. This does not mean that it can not make contributions to peace building because of the roles of UN peacekeeping operations and because of the legitimacy that UN brings to the restructuring of societies; but there are dramatic obstacles to major progress at the present time.

#### **4.Role of Other International Organizations**

Since the end of the Cold War, intervention in internal conflicts has risen considerably, with a parallel increase in peace operations intended to manage these conflicts. Regional actors became increasingly engaged in peace operations, either alongside the UN or occasionally separately.

Regionalization of peace operations has taken place in response to specific regional situations. For instance, the implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement in Bosnia added a new dimension to the relationship between the UN and NATO: forms of cooperation under conditions of peace, as part of a “post-conflict peace-building” effort. This manifest the beginning of the “transition to peace,” which made it possible for the force slowly but surely to pay more attention to civilian responsibilities, to be conducted in close cooperation with a number of the other international bodies such as the High Representative, the UN International Police Task Force (UNIPTF), the UNHCR, the OSCE, and the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY).

The emerging cooperation in the former Yugoslavia between the UN and NATO was seen as an illustration of subcontracting to, and task sharing with, regional organizations- based on the Security Council delegating its powers concerning enforcement action. In Bosnia and Kosovo, peace-building models are based on a division of labor along civil-military lines, with NATO taking the lead in implementing the military components, and the UN taking a more complex position. In Bosnia the UN

played a relatively minor role with its police task force before handed it over to the EU at the start of 2003, while in Kosovo UNMIK has a key role in providing for the transitional administration of the area (Leurdjik, 2003). Interestingly enough, the NATO-led actions in Bosnia and Kosovo in cooperation with the UN, OSCE, ICTY, and a host of other international organizations, constitute the largest military operations ever undertaken by the alliance.

### **5. Conclusion**

The political, military, and humanitarian elements of many peacekeeping operations cannot be logically separated. Humanitarian and economic actions go together and reinforce political-military goals, but can weaken them if not used appropriately. Humanitarian relief and rehabilitation; repatriating refugees and displaced persons; rebuilding infrastructure; and helping with such political functions as elections and government institutions- each of these elements may be vital for the success or failure of the overall mission (Hirsch and Oakley, 1995: 167).

There are several considerations should mention about the post-conflict peace-building reconstructions. First, it is clear that the slower the reconstruction process, the more probably to have conflict reemerged on the ground. Second, reconstruction effort shouldn't be a guardian of the returning status quo, but rather, facilitate efforts towards comprehensive settlement of the conflict. Third, each peace-building operations must be carefully measured, and regularly revisited in the framework of the local political situation.

It is clear that the United States and its military forces will be called upon in variety of humanitarian peacekeeping operations, contributing the expertise, resources, and capabilities that only the United States military possesses at the present. The United States finances 40 percent of NATO's bills and, until recently, over 30 percent of UN peacekeeping expenditures. More importantly, as the remaining major power, multilateral military initiatives to respond to large-scale crises are virtually infeasible without Washington's concurrence and support. However, after casualties in Somalia produced a U-turn in the United States policy on the United Nation peacekeeping operations. The United

States politics have tended to dictate the choice, extent, and duration of the United States support for and participation in the United Nations operations.

One of the most immediate is the crucial role played by peacekeeping forces in efforts to restore and (re)build stable societies. Because of the legitimacy that UN brings to the restructuring of societies, the UN could have played very positive role to reconstruction after Saddam Hussein regime overthrown by the United States and its allies. Their act without legitimate support of the UN and abolishing of the military and police forces in Iraq has coincided with a power vacuum within the internal security forces, allowing the insurgence emerged and become the primarily security dilemma for the country. Moreover the result of intensify bombing to the country resulted in economic difficulties which makes worse the initial social and economic causes of conflict.

In Iraq, insurgencies are the main threat to peace and plays upon preventive role in economic, social and political conditions. Because democratization is a process of legitimization of democratic government, attacks against the state greatly challenge the legitimacy of the newly forming systems. These challenges rest on a social, economic and security front. Occupying forces like the United States army in Iraq often lack firm legitimacy within the eyes of the population, an established legal and judicial system to handle criminal problems, and effective intelligence and military operations to combat the threats.

Peace-building is a politically, institutionally, technically and logistically complex and sensitive process, demanding considerable human and financial resources to plan, implement and monitor its various components. Given the diversity of actors involved in the different stages of the process, the inter-relation of these phases and their dependence, in turn, on related aspects of the broader peace implementation plan, the requirement for integrated planning and effective coordination is particularly acute.

Peace-building can be distinguished from traditional peacekeeping. Many of the challenges may be similar. From the stand point of international politics, however, there is a significant difference: military occupation requires the occupation of sovereign territory by a state or group of states acting jointly and without the authorization of the UN, an

example of the US-led occupation of Iraq following the defeat of Saddam Hussein in March 2003. By the contrast, an international body, whether it is the UN or an ad hoc organization, such as the Peace Implementation Council (PIC) in the case of Bosnia, which have authorized its establishment. An international administration is thus subject to constraints that an occupying power can more easily elude-with respect to the transfer of authority to local officials, for instance, or the award of reconstruction contracts to foreign firms and other aspects of post-war reconstruction. The legitimacy that an international organization can confer on a transitional administration, moreover, may have implications for the ease of attracting donor and other external support and building consent for the operation within the territory.

In conclusion, peace-building includes the combined measures adopted after the end of hostilities to rebuild and strengthen institutions and infrastructures, thus avoiding a return to the conflict situation. Once again, this process requires diplomatic, social, and economic measures.

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