



After the Conflict

**a review of selected sources
on rebuilding war-torn societies**

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with the assistance of paula uimonen

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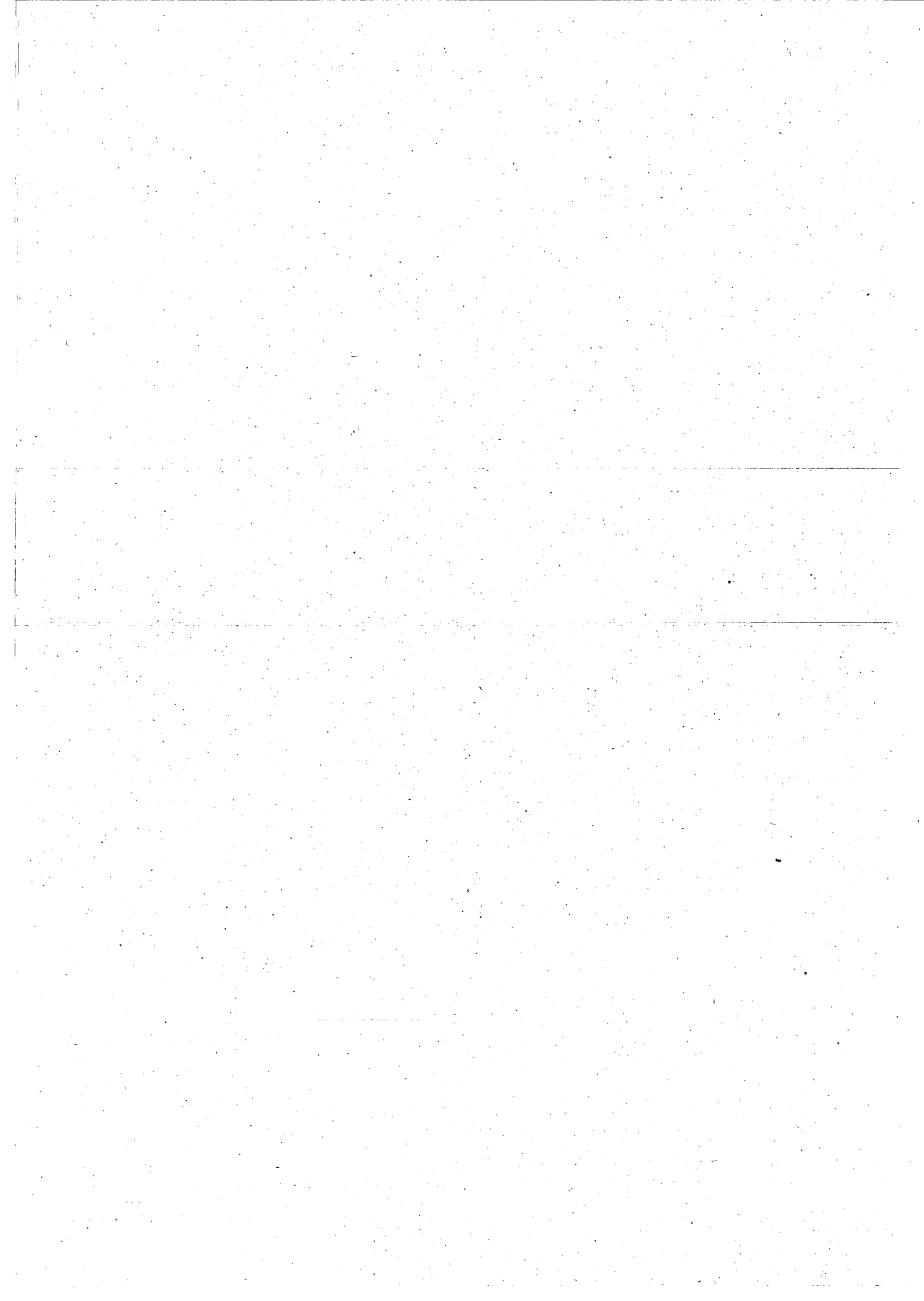
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Preface

The end of the Cold War has not opened, as expected, an era of peace and stability. It seems, on the contrary, to have opened a Pandora's box of conflicts and tensions that have since erupted in bloodshed and armed conflicts in many parts of the world. The international community has not shown itself ready, either to prevent the resurgence of conflicts, or to respond adequately to them. Established institutions and mechanisms for conflict resolution, emergency relief and rehabilitation assistance are neither adapted to the new types of conflicts nor to the scale of the problem.

International efforts over the past years have concentrated primarily on bringing an end to armed conflicts and providing emergency relief to their victims. Less attention has been given to the need for rebuilding shattered economies, societies and polities. Yet the consolidation of peace crucially depends on the forms and mechanisms of international assistance, as well as on the relation between the latter, and national and local efforts. Experience shows that the challenges following a cease-fire may well be more formidable than those preceding it. These challenges are of course multiple. They are first financial and material — the exploding costs of peace-keeping operations and humanitarian assistance have not only eaten into the funds available for rehabilitation and development assistance, but have stretched the financial capacity of the United Nations and of the international donor community to the extreme. More fundamentally, however, the challenge is political and conceptual and lies in the difficulty of integrating different forms of international response and assistance — military, political, relief, rehabilitation and development — within a coherent overall strategic framework, and in the difficulty of better aligning this external assistance with local efforts.

Pre-Cold War experience and theory has only a limited bearing on how to tackle these new challenges, since the nature of conflicts, their actors, their environment and the global context within which they take place, have rapidly, and in some aspects radically, changed over the past years. There is as yet little analytical understanding of the complex interactions between policies and actors in post-conflict situations. Underlying the confusion at policy and political levels there is a clear "theoretical deficit".

The War-torn Societies Project, a joint effort of the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) and of the Programme for Strategic and International Security Studies (PSIS) of the Geneva Graduate Institute of International Studies, was initiated to respond to this deficit and to assist both external and internal actors to respond better to the complex challenges of reconciliation, reconstruction and post-conflict rebuilding. The project is described in the following paper. The first task of the project was to take stock of existing

knowledge and experience in this field, and to identify the most important projects and studies that attempt to shed light on these issues or are of wider relevance to it.

The present essay represents the results of this inquiry. It responds not only to the growing awareness that well targeted research can and should contribute to improve ongoing efforts, but also to the pressing request of policy makers and practitioners for an identification of relevant "building blocks" of knowledge and expertise on which to ground their efforts to redefine policies. As such, this essay is meant to be an analytical and operational tool.

Work on the present study was initiated during the project's preparatory phase, in the summer of 1994. It was made possible by the propitious joining of forces with a project carried out under the auspices of the MacArthur Foundation by the author of this essay. An earlier version was presented in December 1994 to the Cartigny seminar, a meeting of bilateral and multilateral actors of assistance to war-torn societies, as well as representatives of such societies, which gave birth to the War-torn Societies Project. The original document has been enriched and updated with the help of the project's research unit, particularly Paula Uimonen.

Patricia Weiss Fagen, a historian specialized in Latin American studies, admirably combines academic rigour with practical experience. Following an initial academic career she worked with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Washington, D.C., and, more recently, as chief of mission in El Salvador. On joining the War-torn Societies Project, she was on sabbatical leave and carried out the above-mentioned study under a grant from the MacArthur Foundation.

Our thanks go first to the MacArthur Foundation, who agreed at an important moment to merge Ms. Weiss Fagen's project with the War-torn Societies Project. Our thanks go, beyond this, to the multilateral and bilateral assistance agencies and foundations who collectively support the War-torn Societies Project.

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Introduction

Contemporary wars rarely end with victory parades, nor are the soldiers who fight in them able simply to put down their weapons and return to homes and families. The wars that have prevailed in recent decades in Africa, Central America and in parts of Asia are civil conflicts that target civilians along with combatants, have turned communities against each other, and undermined civil authority. One can point to more than a dozen wars that have lasted over a decade and ended in fragile peace, sometimes still punctuated by sporadic conflict.

When the fighting ends, or has ended sufficiently so that people begin to return home, plant crops or enter the labor market, and plan for the future, rehabilitation can extend beyond the local level. Long-term reconstruction requires a context of safety and security. Often, as well, the post-conflict society has been (or needs to be) transformed from the pre-war model. Even after peace, rebuilding shattered economies and infrastructure is infinitely complicated by widespread distrust of political authority and the weakness of political and social institutions at all levels — the legacy of what economist Paul Collier has termed the loss of social capital.¹ Families and communities have dispersed, regional networks fragmented, and civil society disarticulated. Meanwhile, the physical means to resort to violence probably remain in place, formal demobilization exercises notwithstanding.

The **United Nations** and regional organizations have achieved positive results over the course of many years in mediating conflicts and negotiating agreements. In the post-Cold War world, the United Nations and other international organizations have taken on larger responsibilities beyond the traditional functions of consensus building among warring parties and monitoring cease-fires or border agreements. It is now usually the case that when international mediation results in an agreement between the warring parties, the United Nations and/or regional organizations assume a continuing role to help consolidate peace and lay the groundwork for recovery.

Analysts and critics from inside as well as outside of the United Nations family criticize aspects of United Nations operations and recommend reform and reorganization. Where they agree is that the United Nations and its specialized agencies as presently constituted, mandated and funded are not adequately prepared to resolve the multiple complex emergencies laid at their doors. The three most often repeated themes are: first, the inadequate co-ordination within the United Nations and between the United Nations and other executing and funding agencies; second, the inability to establish processes that link emergency relief to more sustained development built on local capacities and initiatives; and third, the difficulty of designing and implementing comprehensive programmes that combine peacemaking with measures that strengthen economic reconstruction, good governance and human rights.

¹ See **Some Economic Consequences of the Transition from Civil War to Peace: An Introduction**, Centre for the Study of African Economies, Oxford, July 1994.

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Donor government approaches to international aid have foundered in the post-Cold War world of multiple humanitarian, ethnic and ecological emergencies. These governments do not or cannot match their verbal commitments to promote democracy and human welfare with the resources necessary to see through the processes they initiate. Bilateral assistance, sadly, is likely to be cut back exactly when and where it has the potential to do the most good: supporting the efforts of societies that have suffered from war to re-emerge, in peace, as viable nations.

Multilateral and bilateral aid organizations, including **non-governmental organizations (NGOs)**, recognize the need to revise their previous definitions of national development and to re-examine policies and programmes aimed at fostering sustainable development in the context of societies emerging painfully from destructive wars. Many NGOs with long experience in administering assistance in emergency situations are evaluating their responses to still-polarized societies, and are refining techniques of fostering development from the bottom up. On the other hand, critics express concern regarding the multiplicity of NGOs working in some conflict and post-conflict situations, some of which lack the necessary experience and may bypass local actors capable of performing the same tasks. Within societies recently recovering from war, people operating at the community or national levels are pressed to deal with reconciliation, development, reintegration and security. The outside assistance vital to realizing these goals may not be forthcoming, be too much or too little, or may arrive too late. In some cases, international agencies can complicate the rebuilding tasks by imposing inappropriate or unworkable conditions. On the other hand, international presence and encouragement often increase the likelihood that authorities will comply with peace treaties, permit greater political participation and improve respect for human rights.

The reflections, criticisms and recommendations emanating from these diverse sectors operating in different parts of the globe are crucial for informing nations emerging from war of the lessons learned from past experiences. The literature related to rebuilding war-torn societies — practical, analytical and historical — emerges from several perspectives:

- 1. The organizational perspective:** Analyses of institutional capacities in the post-Cold War world. Most prominent are works evaluating the accomplishments and capabilities of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, and regional organizations. Of relevance, as well, are evaluations aimed at reforming and reorganizing the United Nations itself.
- 2. The peace-keeping approach:** Commentaries, observations and evaluations of how to achieve and maintain peace. The majority of the works from this perspective focus on selected cases. This literature is related to number one above in that it examines official peace-keeping operations, but the major purpose is usually to judge a peace process in terms of its successes and failures.
- 3. The developmental perspective:** Examinations of the difficulties and special problems of achieving sustainable development, particularly in places that have suffered from man-made emergencies. This literature

includes discussions related to funding policies, poverty alleviation and dealing with vulnerable sectors.

4. Literature related to dealing with man-made and natural disasters:

While most disaster research looks at technical aspects and risk factors, there are important and relevant lessons to be learned that relate to the rebuilding process. In natural disasters as in man-made disasters, recovery can be impeded if relief aid is not accompanied and followed by assistance in rehabilitation and reconstruction. More frequently today than in the past, researchers on the causes and consequences of disasters are extending their analyses to issues of displaced persons, refugees and repatriates, and the role of NGOs.

5. Concerns related to uprooted people: The plight of repatriates and displaced persons during and after wars is treated in the extensive literature on refugee issues and the growing attention to humanitarian assistance and state sovereignty. This perspective is related to number four above in its focus on refugee/repatriate aid and development.

6. The human rights approach: Reports and observations of international and private human rights organizations reflect growing attention to the aftermath of war as well as the human rights components of peace processes. International human rights law encompasses issues of sovereignty, rules of war and humanitarian assistance.

7. Approaches to the problems of political transitions: Largely theoretical and conceptual treatments of the problems of nation building, weak states and questions of governance in divided and conflictive societies.

8. The non-governmental organizational perspective: Considerations of the challenges of social, political and economic reconstruction from the particular viewpoint of national and international NGOs; how NGOs relate to governments, international agencies and beneficiaries.

9. Viewpoints of direct participants: The works produced by both members of the "rebuilding" society and the individuals charged to manage programmes on the ground. An important aspect of these works considers the relationships between international and domestic (local) actors.

Having identified the intellectual sources of accumulated knowledge and experience related to the challenges of rebuilding war-torn societies, the next step is to define the elements of the problem. It is essential to understand and separately explore the multiple steps and related tasks required to move from war to consolidated peace. While we view the various components as a comprehensive and mutually dependent set of activities, most analyses still tend to be specialized, i.e., examining the experiences of a single country and/or focusing on a single issue such as demobilization, human rights or community development.

Review of Sources

We have attempted here to review what is known and has been disseminated about the multi-faceted rebuilding process itself, as well as the international and local capacities to define and implement appropriate and effective rebuilding strategies. While we have found an abundance of useful material, we have also concluded that scholars as well as practitioners have paid far too little attention to the period that follows the end of armed conflict, as if the formal resolution of violence, in and of itself, opened the way and provided the means for solving fundamental problems, old and new.

In the following pages, a number of works from academic and operational institutional sources have been selected and briefly annotated. They deal with the major aspects of rebuilding war-torn societies. The studies and projects listed here, recently completed or underway, are among those that have made important contributions to thinking about how societies can rebuild after protracted conflict. The present review cannot pretend to be comprehensive. In view of the diversity of themes and growing concerns worldwide about the effectiveness of peacemaking, peace-building, and post-war reconstruction, this work inevitably leaves out much that is relevant. The contributions noted in these pages are intended to be representative of the available literature. Many offer recommendations for improved policy and practice. As this review will underscore, there are major gaps in research, as well as information that potential users either cannot access or are unlikely to be aware of.

The first listings are projects that take a comprehensive approach in analysing the aftermath of conflict. Subsequently the essay reviews works related to rebuilding from specific perspectives. Several of the general works as well as the material listed under a specific category contain material related to various themes, and could have been listed under a number of categories. We have tried to categorize them according to the major argument developed in the particular work, and in our annotations to indicate the diversity of issues covered.

general works

- The **War-torn Societies Project**, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development and the Programme for Strategic and International Security Studies of the Graduate Institute of International Studies (UNRISD/PSIS), Geneva, Project Director: Matthias Stiefel.
The project was created to assist the international donor community and national and local authorities to understand and respond better to the complex challenges of rebuilding war-torn societies in post-conflict situations. The methodology combines research and action. Research teams comprised of country nationals

working within their own countries analyse political, economic, social and cultural aspects of rebuilding policies and how internal and external actors have responded to needs in these areas. A country level Project Group consisting of major internal and external operational actors and policy makers work together to decide on areas of action that can produce tangible results in terms of better coordination, stronger national and local institutions, and more effective rebuilding mechanisms. The project is managed by a small Central Coordinating Unit in Geneva.

- **The Rebuilding War-torn Societies Workshops**, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD).

Two related workshops held in Geneva in April 1993 — predating the above referenced War-torn Societies Project — “The Challenge of Rebuilding War-torn Societies” and “The Social Consequences of the Peace Process in Cambodia,” focused on the effectiveness of international interventions in establishing peace in countries torn apart by civil war. The report of these workshops examines strategies for reconstructing war-torn economies and civil society, social problems that require urgent attention, and research priorities.

- **The Program on Enhancing Security and Development**, Overseas Development Council, Washington, D.C., Project Director: Nicole Ball.

This project, underway since October 1993, is aimed both at donors and development officials who seek guidance on the problems of promoting post-conflict reconstruction, political reconciliation and sustainable development. It emphasizes the roles of local government and private sector actors. The project has initiated four case studies of countries recently at war: Cambodia, El Salvador, Mozambique and Nicaragua, and is conducting research jointly with scholars residing in those countries. The research focuses on the causes and resolution of the conflicts; forms of post-conflict assistance; redefinitions of the role of the military; and the issues confronting the international development community, including international financial institutions and non governmental organizations. The premise of the project is that redefinition of military roles, the promotion of more even development — possibly regionally based — and alleviation of poverty will result in more durable conflict resolutions. The project is supported by private foundations and official funders.

- **The Social and Economic Costs of Conflict in Developing Countries**, Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford University, Project Director: Frances Stewart.

The project began in October 1993 to investigate the social and economic causes and effects of wars on different sectors of the population, so that mechanisms may be adopted to alleviate the disorder, dislocation and costs in terms of development. The study is being conducted by a team of researchers in five countries that represent different situations, different types of conflict, and different levels of international response: Cambodia, Liberia, Mozambique, Nicaragua and Sri Lanka. A related study by David Keen examines costs, as well as benefits (to certain sectors), of maintaining hostilities.

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- **UNDP in Conflicts and Disasters, An Overview Report on the "Continuum Project"**, UNDP Project INT/93/709, Project Team Leader: Matthias Stiefel.

This Project grew out of a growing concern and recognition that there were major gaps in attention to populations in need and that emergency and humanitarian assistance programs often lacked both continuity and coherence. In the summer of 1993, the term "relief to development continuum" became the theme of discussion in a number of fora, including ECOSOC, the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) and UNDP. As a result of these initiatives, the major international relief and development agencies met in the framework of the IASC to discuss the issue and produce recommendations. The UNDP Governing Council recommended that a study be conducted assessing the role of UNDP before, during and after disasters, based on past experience. The study referenced here is the result of that decision. Stiefel commissioned a number of papers on aspects of the relief to development continuum and produced a final report. The report questions the appropriateness of the continuum concept both because it implies that disasters can be understood as discreet events and because it obscures the need for reconstruction and development to be projected from the outset of an emergency. The bulk of the report is devoted to an analysis of the new challenges for UNDP posed by the multiple emergencies facing the world today, particularly those related to civil conflict and war. It makes a number of recommendations with regard to needed changes in UNDP and other agencies.

While this bibliographic essay is primarily concerned with rebuilding countries where peace has seriously taken root, its premise, which is also the premise of the War-torn Societies Project, is that the groundwork for longer term development must be laid during the emergency phase, along with the earliest efforts at rebuilding and reconciliation. The literature devoted to the roles of humanitarian assistance during and immediately following conflict forms an important background to understanding what follows.

- **The Humanitarianism in War** project of the Thomas J. Watson, Jr. Institute for International Studies, Providence, R.I., which began in 1991 as a joint project with the Refugee Policy Group, Washington, D.C., focuses on how international, multilateral and non-governmental organizations might improve international responses to the human devastation resulting from war. Early publications by the project co-directors and authors **Thomas J. Weiss** and **Larry Minear**, emphasized the obstacles to assistance during conflict; subsequent case studies and articles reflect a broader perspective that encompasses post-war rehabilitation, reconstruction, and the inadequacy of international assistance during the post-conflict period. In addition to case studies on humanitarian intervention and United Nations performance in the former Yugoslavia, the Persian Gulf, Cambodia, and Central America, associates of the Watson Institute have published critiques and analyses of how international agencies and non-governmental organizations can respond more effectively to post-conflict situations and at the same time open the way for future development.

Academic researchers in the Netherlands are addressing similar issues. **The Institute of Social Studies** in the Hague, with an international staff, focuses primarily on Africa.

Although not specifically targeted at war-torn societies, its papers, publications and academic programme address the problems generated by conflict and reconstruction. The Netherlands **Institute of International Affairs** also has a project on development in conflict, and the **African Studies Programme** in Leyden has begun a programme on reconstructing war-torn societies.

In addition to publications and activist interventions to promote conflict resolution, the London-based **International Alert**, directed by Kumar Rupesinghe, maintains an extensive data base of individuals and organizations, many in war-torn countries.

- Jonathan Moore, **Bridging Relief and Development: U.N. Rehabilitation in Third World Transitions**, (tentative title), Washington, D.C., Carnegie Endowment, forthcoming 1995.

Through treatments of four countries at different stages of transition from conflict to peace (Somalia, Afghanistan, Mozambique and Cambodia), the author seeks to enhance readers' understanding of the complex tasks the United Nations is being called upon to perform. The case studies are intended to provide practical lessons about how the United Nations, working with other entities, can improve ongoing efforts toward rehabilitation in countries that have experienced emergencies and still lack the capacity to embark on traditional developmental strategies. The book elaborates on the accomplishments of the United Nations in recent years, while acknowledging shortcomings in agency responses. The chapters discuss the obstacles to more effectively co-ordinated action. The author emphasizes the need for greater international support for rehabilitation, in addition to support for more traditional peace-keeping, humanitarian aid, and developmental activities.

Three books that include a number of authors and practitioners writing about countries still more at war than at peace, but anticipating the challenges and needs that will have to be addressed, and setting the agenda, are:

- Anthony Lake, Selig Harrison, Nayan Chanda, Benjamin Crosby, Mark Chema, Jeffrey Herbst and Carol Lancaster, **After the Wars: Reconstruction in Afghanistan, Indochina, Central America, Southern Africa and the Horn of Africa**, Overseas Development Council, New Brunswick, New Jersey, Transaction Books, 1990.
- Kevin M. Cahill, ed., **A Framework for Survival: Health, Human Rights and Humanitarian Assistance in Conflicts and Disasters**, New York, Joint Publication of Basic Books and the Council on Foreign Relations, 1993.
- Martin Doombos, Lionel Cliffe, Abdel Ghaffar M. Ahmed and John Markakis, **Beyond Conflict in the Horn: The Prospects for Peace, Recovery and Development in Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea, and Sudan**, London, James Currey, 1992.

review of sources from specific perspectives

1. International Organizational Capacities: This category discusses the effectiveness of the United Nations and other international organizations. Most work here consists of general evaluations, one area of which is the institutional performance in assisting countries recently at peace. Attention is focused on the role and accomplishments of international peace keepers and mediators, and on problems of peace-keeping, fairly narrowly defined.

2. Reforming Security Structures: This area includes evaluations of programmes for demobilization; the construction of new armies; the reform, purging or training of police and security forces; disarmament; and demining. More attention is now being placed on how demobilization is to be tied to reintegration.

3. Political Rebuilding: This is a broad area that includes discussions of electoral reform and preparations for elections; restoration of political and civil authority at the national and local levels, the formation of political parties, the creation of democratic institutions, attempts to bring about judicial reform, and a range of concerns related to human rights and accountability.

4. Economic Rebuilding: The issues here include evaluations of national plans for post-conflict reconstruction; local struggles for survival; policies of international financial institutions, development agencies and donor nations; programmes for reintegration of demobilized combatants and other war-affected populations; and achievement of sustainable development.

5. Social Rebuilding, Local Empowerment and Capacity Building: This diverse field includes reviews of the return and settlement of repatriates and displaced persons, progress toward reconciliation, the restoration or creation of public services, and attention — physical, material and psychological — to particularly vulnerable groups, e.g. children, the handicapped. It also includes consideration of the creation or growth of local NGOs, new forms of organization, e.g. among women, the disabled, and community action.

One category not represented in this bibliographic essay is peacemaking and humanitarian assistance in conflict situations. We acknowledge the importance of the vast literature from individual scholars, peace institutes worldwide, and special programmes devoted to the processes of negotiation and conflict resolution, but include only a fraction of the work available from such sources. A growing number of universities and government institutes — including some in countries which have experienced major conflicts — have developed programmes on peace studies and/or conflict resolution. There is also a large literature devoted to complex emergencies, mostly focused on conflict situations. Because our emphasis is on post-conflict rebuilding, only a few of these works are noted.

International Organizational Capacities

the united nations and international organizations in peace-keeping

Contemporary peace accords, with provisions for security, nation building and economic rehabilitation built into them, are far more comprehensive than traditional cease-fire arrangements. To enable, facilitate, or put into practice the actual projects aimed at helping war-torn societies become economically and politically viable nations, however, has proven frustrating even to the most dedicated actors, as is readily acknowledged by those involved. All too often, large monetary and human investments in what are called peace-building processes have yielded disappointing results. In recognition of the complexity of the problem, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali submitted a widely recognised report, **An Agenda for Peace**, in June 1992. Although not directly related to post-conflict rebuilding, this report provides important recommendations on how the United Nations should adapt and expand its traditional activities in the quest for international peace and security in the post-Cold War era. The General-Secretary offers broader definitions of the interrelated activities of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping in order to address conflict prevention and resolution more accurately. In addition, post-conflict peace-building is advanced as a complementary concept. This post-conflict aspect is further elaborated in a supplementary position paper submitted in January 1995, in which a more integrated approach between the various parties involved in peace-building is emphasized. The Secretary-General has also created a **Task Force on Post Conflict Peace-Building**, charged with identifying the multifaceted tasks required and evaluating the responses of the United Nations to them.

- Boutros Boutros-Ghali, **An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping**, New York, United Nations, 1992.
- Boutros Boutros-Ghali, **Supplement to an Agenda for Peace: Position Paper of the Secretary-General on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations**, A/50/60, S/1995/1, 3 January 1995.
- Task Force on Post Conflict Peace-Building, **An Inventory of Post Conflict Peace-Building Activities**, June 1995.
- The **International Colloquium on Post-Conflict Reconstruction Strategies**, the Austrian Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution in Stadt Schlaining, Austria, 23-24 June 1995.

During this Colloquium, organized by the Vienna Reconstruction Unit of the United Nations Department for Development Support and Management Services (UNDDSMS) the practical and institutional strategies required to achieve a more integrated rebuilding approach were discussed. Representatives from various United Nations units, specialized agencies as well as the Bretton Wood institutions, donor countries, NGOs, research institutes and representatives from war-torn societies were

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among the participants. Numerous papers were presented by agencies as well as individual researchers.

The body of literature assessing the United Nations could fill a medium-sized library. In the early years of the organization, commentators looked primarily at the tensions posed between the idea of the United Nations as a "world organization," and the reality of one which, in practice, was dominated and limited by the rivalries of the powerful members of the Security Council. As Third World nations swelled the membership of the United Nations, pressure within the General Assembly mounted for greater action on the part of the world body in the social and economic areas to alleviate the plight of the poorest nations. Parallel to the discussions of the United Nations in its peacemaking and peace-keeping roles vis-à-vis countries at war during the 1970s and 1980s were evaluations of the United Nations agencies and programmes created for action in the social and economic fields to promote development, save the environment, deal with housing and population, attend to refugee emergencies, and promote health and education. These issues are vital for poor nations in general and particularly for those recovering from war.

It is difficult to single out particular volumes among the several thoughtful treatments of the accomplishments and limitations of the United Nations, but among the recent volumes devoted to the problems of the post-Cold War world are:

- Adam Roberts and Benedict Kingsbury, eds., **United Nations, Divided World: The U.N.'s Role in International Relations**, 2nd ed., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994.
This volume adopts the perspectives of history and practice to cover the multiple problems which the United Nations is being called on to address in the post-Cold War world.
- Thomas G. Weiss, David P. Forsythe and Roger A. Coate, **The United Nations and Changing World Politics**, Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, 1994.
This book is divided into three sections: International Peace and Security, Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, and Building Peace through Sustainable Development; many of the essays analyse obstacles to rebuilding war-torn societies.
- Paul Diehl, **International Peacekeeping**, Baltimore, Maryland, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
This is a scholarly analysis of traditional United Nations operations and the new forms they are taking on in the contemporary era.
- William J. Durch, ed., **The Evolution of UN Peacekeeping: Case Studies and Comparative Analysis**, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1993.
This work critically analyses major United Nations peace-keeping actions.

The peace-keeping and development tracks now are understood to be inextricably linked and mutually dependent. Some scholars have questioned the structural and financial capacity of the United Nations to carry out the interrelated functions required of it; others scrutinize ongoing field operations, and indicate the specific shortcomings as well as the accomplishments they find. A major contribution in the first category is:

- Erskine Childers with Brian Urquhart, **Renewing the United Nations System**, Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Uppsala, 1994.

Childers and Urquhart recommend fundamental structural reforms within and among all the United Nations agencies and with respect to financing and management of the system. They criticize overlapping mandates and advocate a more centralized structure. The above is the third and summary analysis in a series of studies on improving the United Nations system.²

The kinds of structural and bureaucratic problems that need to be addressed to improve co-ordination generally are noted in a chapter by Larry Minear devoted to humanitarian emergencies:

- "Making the humanitarian system work better" in Kevin Cahill, ed., **A Framework for Survival** (see p.7 above).

united nations operations in particular countries

Numerous case studies have been carried out on the performance of United Nations agencies in particular settings. The most relevant of these for the present project examine how United Nations organizations have contributed to different countries' struggles to recover from war. For peace to take root, the military aspects of peace-keeping must be complemented by effective programmes for relief and emergency assistance. That process must open the way to sustainable development and reinforce the capacity of national institutions to respond to citizens' needs. This is the challenge for peace keepers and specialized agencies, as well as for the financial institutions that support peace processes. We will take up the issues of political, economic and social rebuilding under separate headings. This section will review works devoted to the impacts and performance of ongoing and recent United Nations peace missions in specific countries. Studies of the Cambodia and El Salvador cases are instructive because they are seen as the most comprehensive and successful — albeit flawed — United Nations efforts. Among other case studies focused on the role of international organizations in specific countries are:

- Fen Hampson, **Nurturing Peace: Why Peace Settlements Succeed or Fail**, Washington, D.C., United States Institute of Peace, forthcoming 1995.

In this forthcoming book on the durability of peace settlements, the author examines how the presence and influence of United Nations and other international actors promote peace, and guide negotiated agreements and oversee their execution — with mixed results — in Namibia, Cambodia, Angola, Somalia, Nicaragua and El Salvador.

An African Rights (British-based NGO) Discussion Paper strongly criticizes the roles, mandates and policies of international agencies responding to "political" emergencies. The paper gives a number of examples in which donor governments, United Nations agencies and NGOs have acted in ways that are ultimately counter-productive to their

² The other two are **A World in Need of Leadership, Tomorrow's United Nations** (1990) and **Toward a More Effective United Nations** (1991). The series was additionally funded by the Ford Foundation.

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humanitarian mandates. The authors, African Rights directors Rakiya Omar and Alex de Waal argue against current notions of "neutrality and accountability":

- **Humanitarianism Unbound: Current Dilemmas Facing Multi-mandate Relief Operations in Political Emergencies**, African Rights, Discussion Paper No. 5, November 1994.

The United Nations itself has contributed an important set of volumes containing documents related to peace-keeping, human rights, development and the full range of United Nations operations in specific countries:

- In **The United Nations Blue Book Series**, Volume II focuses on Cambodia 1991-1995, Volume IV on El Salvador 1990-1995 and Volume V on Mozambique 1992-1995, UNDPI, New York, 1995. Volumes on Angola, Rwanda and Somalia are forthcoming, 1995.

Of all the countries which have received large United Nations peace-keeping missions, Cambodia and the performance of UNTAC seems to have received the most attention. Among the works, largely critical of the UNTAC experience are:

- Peter Utting, ed., **Between Hope and Insecurity: The Social Consequences of the Cambodian Peace Process**, Geneva, UNRISD, 1994.
This edited book looks at the direct and indirect impacts of the large United Nations mission, UNTAC. The mission was unique in taking on direct responsibilities for political, social and economic reconstruction in Cambodia and the authors examine the legacies of its massive presence and rapid departure. Peter Utting now co-ordinates an UNRISD project on **Vulnerability and Coping Strategies in Cambodia**. Under this project, three studies are to be carried out on the role of international organizations in Cambodia, issues of psycho-social vulnerability and problems of food security. The latter study is a collaborative effort with the Cambodia Development Research Institute (CDRI). Reports will be issued periodically during 1996 and 1997.
- Jarat Chopra, John Mackinlay and Larry Minear, **Report on the Cambodian Peace Process**, Oslo, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Report No. 165, February 1993.
Reviewing the tasks facing the UNTAC mission, the authors acknowledge accomplishments but find much to criticize on all fronts.
- Michael W. Doyle, **UN Peacekeeping in Cambodia: UNTAC's Civil Mandate**, Boulder, Colorado, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995.
This book analyses the relationship between UNTAC and the Cambodian factions, as well as the impact of the United Nations. The author claims that UNTAC lacked sufficient leverage to accomplish much of its agenda, and suggests how future missions might learn from Cambodia to achieve better results.
- Hugh Smith, ed., **International Peacekeeping: Building on the Cambodian Experience**, Canberra, Australian Defense Studies Centre, 1994.
Similar to the Doyle book, the authors evaluate the components of the UNTAC mission.

- Trevor Findlay, **Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC**, SIPRI Research Report No. 9, Oxford University Press, 1995.

A comprehensive assessment of the United Nations operation in Cambodia, based on research carried out over two years.

The three pieces below discuss problems but also find much that is promising in the Salvadoran peace process itself and in the role of the United Nations in promoting it. The Coleman, and Vickers et al. pieces are mainly devoted to the initial progress of the United Nations mission; the Weiss Fagen article examines the issues of co-ordination and mandates facing the United Nations agencies working in the country:

- Christopher C. Coleman, **The Salvadoran Peace Process: A Preliminary Inquiry**, Oslo, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Report No. 173, December 1993.
- George Vickers, Jack Spence, David Holiday, Margaret Popkin, William Stanley and Philip Williams, **Endgame: A Progress Report on Implementation of the Salvadoran Peace Accords**, Washington D.C., Hemisphere Initiatives, Inc., 3 December 1992.
- Patricia Weiss Fagen, "El Salvador: Lessons in peace consolidation", in Tom Farer, ed., **Beyond Sovereignty: Collectively Defending Democracy in the Americas**, Baltimore, Maryland, Johns Hopkins University Press, forthcoming 1995.

In the following book, devoted to the United Nations' ability to provide effective humanitarian assistance and promote peace during conflict, Algerian diplomat Mohamed Sahnoun delivers a stinging critique of the overall policies and central management of the Somalia operation which he directed in Mogadishu. He raises questions about "ethics, transparency, efficiency, control and accountability", and management generally, which have relevance for post-conflict endeavors as well:

- Mohamed Sahnoun, **Somalia: The Missed Opportunities**, Washington, D.C., The United States Institute of Peace, 1994.

Other analysts, not directly involved in the Somalia crisis, have reached similar conclusions, for example:

- Jean-Marc Coicaud, "Les Nations Unies en Somalie: Entre maintien et imposition de la paix", **Le Trimestre du Monde**, No. 25, 1994, pp. 97-134.

The Washington-based Refugee Policy Group, under contract with the US Agency for International Development, has published a comprehensive review, analysis and bibliography on the situation in Somalia, with particular emphasis on United Nations and United States involvement in it:³

³ Additional volumes published concomitantly by the Refugee Policy Group are: John G. Sommer and Carole C. Collins, **Humanitarian Aid in Somalia: The Role of the Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA) 1990-1994**; Steven Hansch et al., **Lives Lost, Lives Saved: Excess Mortality and the Impact of Health Interventions in the Somalia Emergency**; Jan Westscott, **The Somalia Saga: A Personal Account 1990-1993**.

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- John G. Sommer, **Hope Restored? Humanitarian Aid in Somalia, 1990-1994**, November 1994.

The country studies (Cambodia, Central America, Ethiopia, Mozambique and Somalia) annexed to the UNDP Continuum Project report give uniformly poor grades to United Nations co-ordination in the field. They note — with the exception of Ethiopia — overlapping mandates and poorly defined roles of peace-keeping operations and the specialized agencies, competing priorities within the former (in which humanitarian assistance and development concerns usually lose), the absence of collective planning — and often even information sharing — among agencies, and programmes that duplicate rather than combine forces with government programmes. The reports note that United Nations peace-keeping missions frequently undertake projects related to reconstruction that require a long-term presence, yet fail to bring the United Nations agencies or NGOs into the operations, or make other provisions for their completion. Defining areas of responsibility for repatriates and displaced persons is also a problem affecting UNHCR and UNDP in particular.

Certain entities regularly contribute both to studies of international organizational capacities and to international organizational roles in specific regions or countries. Among these are the **Academic Council on the United Nations System (ACUNS)**, an organization of scholars, teachers, practitioners and others, created in 1987, “to strengthen the study of international organizations, promote research, prepare teaching materials and help train specialists”. The Council maintains working relationships with the secretariat of the United Nations and the specialized agencies and is involved in the publication of the journal **Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations**. ACUNS headquarters is at the Thomas J. Watson Institute of Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island; Thomas G. Weiss is the Executive Director.

The **International Peace Academy** in New York and the **United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD)** in Geneva are independently funded research centres that also publish on United Nations and other international organizational activities related to peace and reconstruction.

Reforming Security Structures

A war is ended. Troops agree to a cease-fire, followed by some form of demobilization, disarmament and new or reformed military structures that depend on civilian leadership. Societies formerly armed and fighting cannot afford the economic and political costs of maintaining powerful and bloated military structures, and must demilitarize. Yet any transformation in military structures raises political tensions.

Peace agreements provide mechanisms for demobilization. Failed or seriously flawed demobilization exercises in countries where peace processes seemed promising have caused serious consternation. In Nicaragua, the Organization of American States and the United Nations organized a process of disarmament and demobilization that was much praised for its efficiency. Nevertheless, new conflicts erupted in several parts of the country to which the former combatants had gone. In Angola, the process of demobilization was in disarray before the country held its elections and, immediately after elections, the losing side, UNITA, returned to battle. The demobilization of the four warring factions in Cambodia was a fundamental element in the Paris Peace Agreements of 1992, but when the Khmer Rouge refused to demobilize its ranks, the United Nations mission, UNTAC, had to acquiesce to a peace process in which all sides remained armed. In Mozambique, full demobilization was supposed to precede elections so as to avoid repeating mistakes made in Angola, but none of the agencies currently involved are fully satisfied with the mechanisms for re-integration of the former combatants. A key issue recognized in virtually all analyses is that there is little or no planning and co-ordination at the early stages of most demobilization exercises to prepare for re-integration.

demobilization and reintegration

The World Bank has taken an interest in this theme because demilitarization is considered an important contribution to a nation's fiscal health as well as a fundamental step toward durable peace. The Bank reports that African countries embroiled in conflict spend from 15 to 40 per cent of their national budgets and 5 to 10 per cent of GNP for military purposes. In the following publication, which to date has had only limited circulation, the Bank analyses demobilization in seven countries: Angola, Chad, Mozambique, Namibia, Nicaragua, Uganda and Zimbabwe:

- **Demobilization and Reintegration of Military Personnel in Africa: The Evidence from Seven Country Case Studies**, Africa Regional Series Discussion Paper, October 1993.

This work makes a major contribution in documenting the limitations of demobilization exercises that were not accompanied by viable re-integration programmes. It demonstrates that former soldiers cannot simply "go home" after destructive conflicts and that they tend to be disadvantaged vis-à-vis other sectors for purposes of achieving self-sufficiency. The Bank found that in most cases former combatants are unemployed in disproportionate numbers and constitute a potentially destabilizing element in the post-conflict societies studied. The World Bank is expanding its research with field-based studies in Eritrea/Ethiopia, Namibia and Uganda focusing on re-integration, including costs, sustainability and programme impacts on different sectors. It plans to identify high-impact, cost-effective programme alternatives.

The International Labour Organization has become involved in demobilization and reintegration activities, having reached conclusions similar to those of the World Bank study — i.e., that former combatants lack the skills needed for success as civilians. The

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ILO has supported projects in Cambodia, Eritrea/Ethiopia, and Mozambique and, on a small scale, in Chad, Liberia and Namibia. Its goal is to promote re-integration through training, employment creation and capacity building in war-torn countries. The ILO has found, however, that obstacles to these objectives are built into the way demobilization and reintegration planning are undertaken. These issues are discussed, with recommendations, in a recent ILO report:

- Ramesh Srivastava, **Reintegrating Demobilized Combatants: A Report Exploring Options and Strategies for Training Related Interventions**, Vocational Training Systems Management Branch, ILO, Geneva, 1994.

The ILO has expanded its research effort by undertaking a number of additional studies, two of which will be published in 1995. Two of these studies, by Ramesh Srivastava, focus respectively on public works and small enterprise development in reintegration programmes. In addition, twenty case studies have been completed for Ethiopia, Mozambique, Uganda and Zimbabwe on the experience of national organizations set up to co-ordinate the reintegration programmes; NGOs; receiving communities; and vocational training institutions. A meeting of the main national actors involved in the implementation of reintegration programmes took place in Harare, Zimbabwe in July 1995.

The observations and conclusions of the Bank study and the ILO work have been borne out by in-country studies of the aftermath of demobilization. These have been conducted by universities and research institutions particularly in southern Africa, e.g. the University of the Witwatersrand, the University of the Western Cape, and the Institute for Defense Studies in South Africa; the Military Research Group, based in Harare; and the Makerere University Institute for Social Research in Kampala, Uganda. The most comprehensive work is an in-depth study of the experiences of the groups returning to Namibia following the peace agreement. The study was conducted by a team of researchers under the direction of Rosemary Preston. The study usefully compares the situation of former combatants with that of other returnees:

- Rosemary Preston, **The Integration of Returned Exiles, Former Combatants and Other War Affected Namibians**, Windhoek, Namibia, NIGER, March 1993.

There are many case studies on demobilization. The research about programmes in Mozambique is interesting because the demobilization has not proceeded as well as donors and United Nations personnel had hoped. Governments have contracted consultants to assess operational difficulties and the effects of gaps in funding for specific activities in Mozambique, particularly in relation to weakness in re-integration programmes, and to make recommendations.

A project by the Refugee Studies Programme at Oxford University on demobilization of former combatants in Mozambique analyses demobilization and early integration efforts:

- Coelho, J.P.B. and A. Vines, **Pilot Study on Demobilization and Reintegration of Ex-Combatants in Mozambique**, Oxford, Refugee Studies Programme, 1994.

The post-war demobilization in Uganda provides an interesting model for other countries. Here, the government requested financial assistance from the World Bank and sought advice from outside experts that resulted in a sharp reduction in military spending. The Uganda experience has been described in discussion papers by E. A. Brett of the London School of Economics and Nat Colletta of the World Bank:

- E. A. Brett, **The Military and Democratic Transition in Uganda: Neutralizing the Use of Force**, paper prepared for the Makerere Institute of Social Research Seminar on the Transition to Democracy in Uganda, Kampala, 27 August 1994.
- Nat Colletta and Nicole Ball, "War to peace transition in Uganda", **Finance and Development**, June 1993, pp. 36-39.
- Paul Collier, "Demobilization and insecurity: A study in the economics of the transition from war to peace," **Journal of International Development**, Vol. 6, No. 3, 1994, pp. 343-351.

This study reviews the economic consequences of the World Bank-directed demobilization in Uganda.

Norma Krieger, Professor of Political Science at Johns Hopkins University, is completing a study of the long term consequences of demobilization in Zimbabwe, **Government and Guerrilla Struggles: Consequences for State Formation and National Identity Creation** (expected publication date 1997). Looking at the government's strategies to guerrillas in the first fifteen years of independence, the study analyses the negotiated strategies between the two parties as well as the unintended consequences for the development of the state and national identity.

A number of meetings on the theme of demobilization and reintegration have been organized. Among these, mention may be made of a conference on Post-conflict Demobilization in Africa organized by the Global Coalition for Africa in Washington, D.C., in collaboration with the Organization of African Unity, in Kampala (9-11 November 1994) at which government representatives, researchers and donors addressed questions of demobilization and reintegration. The International Resource Group on Disarmament and Security (IRG) held a workshop on Demobilization in the Horn of Africa in Addis Ababa (December 1994) in association with the Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC).

The Arias Foundation for Peace and Human Progress at the Center for Peace and Reconciliation in San Jose, Costa Rica has published a number of general working papers on demilitarization; one of these focuses on Central America, and another includes a section on Cambodia:

- Gabriel Aguilera Peralta, **Problems of Military Demobilization in Central America**, No. 14, July 1993; Herbert Wulf, **The Demobilization of Military Personnel as a Problem and a Potential for Human Development**, No. 18, July 1993.

The Arias Foundation is presently proposing a joint study with the Center for International Policy in Washington, D.C. in which the former will promote support for

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demilitarization among Central American leaders and the latter will build support for reductions in arms sales and militarized drug enforcement programmes.

In peace-keeping operations, the military aspects of demobilization are planned and implemented separately from those activities considered to be in the humanitarian domain. Returning to the premise that planners must design reintegration strategies for former combatants at the earliest possible stage of demobilization actions, it would be useful to conduct research that evaluates the military and non-military aspects of demobilization exercises, with a view to a possible strengthening of the civilian inputs at the early stages.

military and society

That former combatants are so often unable to re-enter civilian society is disturbing. They are prime candidates for extra-legal militia or, as is already the case in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Mozambique, Cambodia and Liberia, disposed to make their way by force of arms as criminals.

There is ample documentation regarding the militarizing of poor countries in the context of the Cold War, as well as on difficulties in demilitarizing them. See, for example:

- Nicole Ball, "Demilitarizing the Third World", in Michael T. Klare and Daniel C. Thomas, eds., **World Security: Challenges for a New Century**, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1992.
- **Towards Sustainable Peace and Security in Southern Africa**, The Southern African Peacekeeping and Peacemaking Project; Institute of International Education, New York, Vol. 1, 1993; Vol. 2, 1994, Ambassador Joseph N. Garba.
This volume includes papers on all the southern African countries, emphasizing military transformation and security arrangements.

A fortunate consequence of the end of the Cold War is that the super powers no longer advocate expanding the military establishments of Third World countries. Nevertheless, arms sales still flourish, and security forces still wield disproportionate power in national politics. The end of the Cold War has not changed the fact that the armed forces in a large number of countries — usually failed democracies — are pitted primarily against internal opposition rather than external threats. It is important to encourage research on the situation of military establishments in conflict-prone countries, and on the prospects of both reducing the military and changing the military culture in the direction of greater acceptance of civilian dominance and public dissent. Political scientists have explored the conceptual and practical issues involved in changing the nature of military structures. Of theoretical interest in this light, although not specifically focused on post-conflict situations, is:

- Louis Goodman, Johanna Mendelson and Juan Real, eds., **Military and Democracy: Civil Military Relations in Latin America**, Lexington, Heath Lexington, 1990.

An updated version of this volume is forthcoming, focusing on consolidating civilian regimes.

The implications of arms sales and the easy availability of weapons for durable peace, security and effective governance are elaborated in:

- Christopher Louise, **The Social Impacts of Light Weapons Availability and Proliferation**, Discussion Paper No. 59, Geneva, UNRISD/International Alert, March 1995.

The fatal consequences of the extensive use of landmines in many of today's conflicts and the immense problems this poses to post-conflict reconstruction is receiving more attention. See for example:

- Human Rights Watch and Physicians for Human Rights, **Landmines: A Deadly Legacy**, New York, Human Rights Watch, 1993.
- Paul F. Schultz, ed., **Hidden Killers: The Global Landmine Crisis**, Washington, D.C., United States Department of State, 1993.
- UNICEF, **Anti-Personnel Land-Mines: A Scourge on Children**, New York, 1994.

The dynamics and linkages between disarmament and the settlement of disputes is an issue currently being researched by the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, (UNIDIR). The DCR Project, **Disarmament and Conflict Resolution: the Disarming of Warring Parties as an Integral Part of the Settlement of Conflicts**, directed by Virginia Gamba, focuses on disarmament operations as undertaken by multinational peace-keeping forces. Reports will be issued upon the completion of the project in 1995.

child soldiers

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has a particular interest in demilitarization. Child soldiers constitute one of the most troubling practices — and legacies — of wars. Recruited as children and left on their own as adolescents or adults after the war with little, if any, education, most need help in order to function outside the military context. They are more than likely to be traumatized, brutalized and, for various reasons, unable to return to the families (if any) from which they were taken. Their reintegration requires special consideration. UNICEF reports regularly take up this issue. This problem has been documented by UNICEF itself and in collaboration with outside researchers, as well as by other groups with a focus on children. Some representative works on the subject are:

- Varindra Tarzie Vittachi, **Between the Guns: Children as a Zone of Peace**, London, Hodder and Stoughton Publishers, 1993.
- Ilene Cohn and Guy S. Goodwin-Gill, **Child Soldiers: The Role of Children in Armed Conflict**, Geneva, Henry Dunant Institute and Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994.

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- Marianne Kahnert et al., eds., **Children and War: Proceedings of Symposium at Siuntio Baths, Finland**, GIPRI, IPB, Peace Union of Finland, June 1993.

There is now a need for follow-up research on whether and how such children have been re-incorporated into their respective societies. The section on Social Rebuilding, below, considers efforts on behalf of children, not necessarily combatants, who have been traumatized by war.

police and security forces

In traditional United Nations operations, peace-keeping forces have concentrated on the demobilization and disarming of combatants and the placement of military forces under civilian control. The importance of reforming, purging, training and replacing police forces has become increasingly clear following internal conflicts. Particularly in conflict situations, police forces frequently are subordinated to the military, and these relationships must be understood in order to reform either or both. Research interest finally has grown and resulted in studies on the reconstitution of police in conjunction with peace processes; ongoing efforts in Haiti may provide lessons. Two quite different cases that have generated research are El Salvador and South Africa, due to the creation of innovative and more politically balanced police forces in place of the previous police forces which were implicated in violations of human rights. In South Africa, both the University of the Western Cape and the Institute for Defense Studies have published reports on South African police and police reform. Other works of interest are:

- William Stanley, **Risking Failure: The Problems and Promise of the New Civilian Police Force in El Salvador**, Washington, D.C., Hemisphere Initiatives and Washington Office on Latin America, September 1993.
- Laurie Nathan, "Human rights, reconciliation and conflict in independent Namibia: The formation of the Namibian army and police force", in Kumar Rupesinghe, ed. **International Conflict and Governance**, London, St. Martin's Press, 1992, pp. 152-168.

The United States-based Washington Office on Latin America and Hemisphere Initiatives have followed the police issue in El Salvador, and published reports on the problems associated with it. In early November 1993, these organizations held a symposium in Washington, D.C. on the issue related to police in Central America and Haiti; papers will be published.

Political Rebuilding

Post-war political instabilities, the virtually inevitable outcome of protracted conflict, impede reconstruction at all levels. Rebuilding — or for the first time creating — democratic institutions, enhancing the mechanisms for local participation, and establishing effective accountability between government and governed are fundamental to successful reconstruction. While it is possible to deliver short-term relief through non-governmental channels, serious development projects and planning cannot be effectively implemented in the absence of legitimate political structures, honest officials and reasonably well co-ordinated efforts at the national and local levels. For this to occur, however, it is first essential to settle local rivalries, establish the legitimacy of opposing political groups in government, and settle scores peaceably. In short, a peace process implies a political transformation in which power is shared more widely and popular participation is encouraged.

The World Bank is now among those exploring the close relationship between governance and development:

- The World Bank, **Governance: The World Bank's Experience**, Washington, D.C., 1994.

In the name of building peace, United Nations and bilateral missions pledge their commitment to promoting democracy in war-torn countries. External assistance can help to open the doors to democratic evolution by facilitating elections, training officials — including police forces — strengthening local human rights groups materially and politically, and generally supporting democratic institutions that are effective and accountable. However, now, as during the Cold War, critics (exemplified by many of the works cited below) note examples of outsiders whose attempts to impose particular political models or depose disliked political leaders have set democracy back and fed civil conflict.

political structures

A troublesome and perplexing problem for rebuilding war-torn societies is how to work with governments whose commitment to public welfare is lacking, whose legitimacy is widely questioned, and/or whose operational capacity is weak. Political scientists and other specialists whose work focuses on conflict-plagued regions have written about the consequences of weak states, i.e. governments that are narrowly based, resource poor and unwilling or unable to meet the needs of their often ethnically diverse populations. This body of literature does not differentiate the particular cases of states emerging from war. With regard to conflict situations, there are many treatments of the causes and conduct of war, but few that assess the political or institutional consequences of particular peace settlements.

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- Mark Duffield, "The emergence of two-tier welfare in Africa: Marginalization or an opportunity for reform?", **Public Administration and Development**, Vol. 12, 1992, pp. 139-154.

This work underscores the major obstacles posed by governmental hostility to humanitarian or other assistance from which rivals might benefit.

Case studies of the political transition in Uganda are illustrative:

- Holger Bernt Hansen and Michael Twaddle, eds., **Changing Uganda: The Dilemmas of Structural Adjustment and Revolutionary Change**, London, James Currey, 1991.
- Holger Bernt Hansen and Michael Twaddle, eds., **From Chaos to Order: The Politics of Constitution-Making in Uganda**, Kampala, Fountain Publishers; London, James Currey, 1995.
- E. A. Brett, "Rebuilding organisation capacity in Uganda under the National Resistance Movement", **The Journal of Modern African Studies**, Vol. 32, No. 1, 1994, pp. 53-80.

The author describes Ugandan institutional rebuilding in the context of external pressures for orthodox economic policies and government political priorities, and describes the increasing levels of professionalization.

A growing number of social scientists and policy makers contemplate the consequences of the virtual disintegration of the state structure as it is currently known, particularly in parts of Africa and, with this, the need to consider alternative modes of social order in which governments are not major actors. One analysis of this theme, related to war-torn societies, is:

- Martin Doornbos, "State formation and collapse: Reflections on identity and power", in Martin van Bakel, Renée Hagesteijn and Pieter van de Velde, eds., **Pivot Politics: Changing Cultural Identities in Early State Formation Processes**, Amsterdam, Het Spinhuis, 1994.

Attention to Cambodia has waned since the departure of the UNTAC mission. However, one book that does examine the current state and its weaknesses is:

- William Shawcross, **Cambodia's New Deal**, Washington, D.C., Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1994.

human rights and accountability

Human rights violations are at the core of many conflicts, and the task of building national institutions that respect citizens' rights is a high priority in any peace process. Accountability for past human rights abuses is among the most difficult issues to resolve following civil conflicts, but it is also one of the most essential for the future legitimacy of the post-conflict order and for the society to be able to move on despite the tragedies that have occurred.

The activities of the human rights components in the United Nations Observer Missions in El Salvador and Cambodia were fundamental to the overall goals of these missions. Nevertheless, human rights observers who participated in them or analysed their role often complained that their activities did not attain sufficient priority in the broader context of mission objectives. Human rights observers in Haiti, the former Yugoslavia, and Somalia have voiced similar frustrations regarding the competing priorities pursued by military and political representatives. These cases, as well as United Nations policies toward Iraq, have been critically evaluated in publications by major human rights organizations:

- Human Rights Watch, **The Lost Agenda: Human Rights and U.N. Field Operations**, New York, June 1993.

The volume covers the cases of El Salvador, Cambodia, the former Yugoslavia, Somalia and Iraq, finding El Salvador to have been the most successful, but outlines difficulties and contradictions in all the cases with regard to United Nations attention to its human rights mandate.

- "El Salvador: Peace and human rights: Successes and shortcomings of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador", Americas Watch (prepared by Cynthia Amson), Vol. IV, No. 8, 2 September, 1992.
- Amnesty International, **Peace Keeping and Human Rights**, (IOR 40/01/94) January 1994.

This volume compares United Nations missions according to the comprehensiveness of the agreements and the missions (expressing most concern for Liberia, Angola, and Mozambique). It includes a 15-point programme for Implementing Human Rights in International Peace-Keeping Operations.

At a meeting sponsored by the Aspen Institute on 15 September 1994, human rights experts discussed the legal, normative and practical problems facing human rights monitoring missions, referring separately to those operating within and outside the framework of peace agreements. The resulting publication is entitled:

- Alice H. Henkin, ed., **Honoring Human Rights and Keeping the Peace: Lessons from El Salvador, Cambodia and Haiti**, New York, The Aspen Institute, Justice and Society Program, 1995.

The issue of the mandates and outcomes of United Nations "truth commissions" is explored in:

- Priscilla Hayner, "Fifteen truth commissions-1974-1994: A comparative study", **Human Rights Quarterly**, Vol. 16, November 1994, pp. 597-655.

Truth commissions and accountability for alleged crimes against humanity are burning issues for Rwanda and Haiti — and will be in Bosnia — as decisions are being taken on how to deal with those accused of major human rights violations. Studies of the various peace missions indicate varying degrees of co-operation and tension among international human rights monitors, private human rights advocates and local human rights organizations.

elections

Donors promote early elections as proof of democratic restoration. International peace missions are pegged to election dates. Millions of dollars and thousands of observers are donated to oversee electoral procedures. But many question the emphasis on elections which, in fact, do not alone indicate a mature or even maturing democracy and cannot assure legitimacy or good governance. There is a major and urgent need for more research on the role of elections in peace processes. One initiative that may provide a venue for this research is the creation of an international institute for electoral co-operation. It is the result of an international conference on **Free and Fair Elections - and Beyond: the Final Report of the International Electoral Institute Commission**, Stockholm, May 18-19 1994. (The meeting was attended by 18 international organizations and 13 governments).

The preparation and conduct of elections is also discussed in:

- Larry Garber and Clark Gibson, **Review of United Nations Electoral Assistance, 1992-1993**, UNDP Project INT/91/033, 18 August 1993.
- Guy S. Goodwin-Gill, **Free and Fair Elections: International Law and Practice**, Geneva, Inter-Parliamentary Union, 1994 (also printed in French, Spanish and German).

judicial and legal structures

- Neil J. Kritz, ed., **Transitional Justice: How Emerging Democracies Reckon with Former Regimes**, Washington, D.C., United States Institute of Peace, 1995.

The three-volume work focuses on democratic breakdown and restoration in a variety of situations, including war-torn societies. Vol. I treats democratic transitions and how new regimes deal with victims of a former regime; Vol. II contains 21 case studies from historical, contemporary and worldwide perspectives; Vol. III. documents norms, laws, commissions and guidelines for judicial redress.

Economic Rebuilding

Nearly all of today's war-torn nations were poor before they succumbed to the conflicts that left their societies considerably worse off. The positive experiences of the Marshall Plan recovery programmes in Europe following the Second World War are not likely to be repeated in these countries, because of both scarcity of funds and the fact that the countries in question, having never been economically very successful, require a quite different approach. The distorted nature of economic development in these countries is, and remains, a major factor in generating conflicts. Being "war-torn" implies as well that

the existing political structures are weak or lack legitimacy, that the limited infrastructure previously in place has been largely destroyed, and that the population remains in a general state of instability. Altogether, these are not good candidates for standard development packages, even those intended to spur growth in poor nations.

defining the problem

A necessary first step to generating post-conflict economic recovery is to understand and be able to calculate the cost of war, in terms of human resources and property. This is the primary task of a project on the social and economic costs of conflict in developing countries, being undertaken at Oxford University (described earlier). An article by the project director analyses the human and developmental costs of different types of war and suggests how outside interventions may, at least, reduce these costs:

- Frances Stewart, "War and underdevelopment: Can economic analysis help reduce the costs?", *Journal of International Development*, Vol. 5, No. 4, 1993, pp. 357-380.

distorted economies

In a paper prepared for UNDP's relief to development continuum project, noted above, economists E.V.K. FitzGerald and G. Mavrotas criticize traditional economic approaches to generating development in societies recently emerging from conflict. They show how assistance that outstrips a nation's ability to channel it appropriately damages rather than assists recovery. They also explain why the structural adjustment approaches to recovery are inappropriate and counter-productive to long-term recovery, particularly for the poor who usually suffer most from wars:

- E. V. K. FitzGerald and G. Mavrotas, *Economic Aspects of the Relief-Rehabilitation-Development Continuum and External Assistance*, 14 January 1994.

In two analyses of the economic weaknesses and distortions that result from years of war, the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, (ECLAC), has documented the cases of El Salvador and Nicaragua. The first report was prepared specifically to evaluate the Salvadoran government's economic policies in the context of the second year of the peace process — policies that were found to contain strong elements of the former war economy and judged insufficient in terms of attention to reconstruction. In the study of Nicaragua, ECLAC seeks solutions for a country in the midst of a double transition: from war to peace, and from a state centered and planned economy to a liberal market model. Acknowledging the additional difficulties posed by declining foreign resources, the recommendations are aimed at increasing national production while minimizing the already heavy burden on the Nicaraguan poor:

- CEPAL, *La economía salvadoreña en el proceso de la consolidación de la paz*, LC/MEX/R.414 Rev. 1 (restricted distribution), June 1993.

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- CEPAL, **Nicaragua: Una economía en transición**, LC/MEX/R.458 (restricted distribution), 10 February 1994.

The challenges facing Cambodia in making a transition to a market economy and a democratic political system, after years of central planning and war, are analysed in:

- George Irvin, "Cambodia: Why recovery is unlikely in the short term", **The European Journal of Development Research**, Vol. 5, No. 2, December 1993, pp. 123-141.

Post-conflict African societies face similar problems in balancing reconstruction priorities with available resources. The complexities of the issue are discussed in:

- David Pool, "Eritrean independence: The legacy of the Derg and the politics of reconstruction", **African Affairs**, Vol. 92, No. 368, July 1993, pp. 389-402.
- Michel Klen, "Incertitudes mozambicaines", **Défense Nationale**, Vol. 50, No. 1, Janvier 1994, pp. 105-116.

Mark Duffield has written several articles about the linked phenomena of war, famine, state power, and failed relief/development efforts in the Horn of Africa. An article of particular relevance, emphasizing the negative role of the state, is:

- "NGOs, disaster relief and asset transfer in the Horn: Political survival in a permanent emergency", **Development and Change**, Vol. 24, 1993, pp. 131-157.

A similar version of the same article, along with other articles devoted to the economic and political consequences of war on society, will be published in a book edited by Joanna Macrae and Anthony Zwi, (see below: Social Rebuilding).

impacts of war and disasters

Within standard development literature, the body of research that most closely applies to war-torn societies is the work devoted to how societies recover from natural disasters. Indeed, specialists in this field are now beginning to treat man-made disasters — war, massive refugee flows and other induced population movements — within the disaster field. Following a natural or man-made disaster, it is essential that lending institutions and donors respond rapidly, and be flexible in their criteria for disbursing aid. In both instances, if not sensitively handled and monitored, relief may be siphoned off to purposes for which it was not intended, it may distort local economies, produce dependency, strengthen the economic power of the already powerful, and bring about other negative impacts. Likewise, in both situations, one finds a pattern of badly co-ordinated distribution, after which attention fades and there is no follow-on activity. Theoretically, the battered country simply awaits the re-entry of developmental capital. This is the much discussed and troubling gap in the continuum from relief to development — or, all too often, relief without a continuum. A fundamental contribution to our understanding of the shortfalls as well as the developmental potential of disaster assistance is a study aimed particularly at NGOs and their work in the field:

- Mary Anderson and Peter Woodrow, **Rising from the Ashes: Development Strategies in Times of Disaster**, Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, (with the support of UNESCO), 1989. (This book will be discussed further under Social Rebuilding.)⁴

Donors, including the World Bank and UNDP, maintain emergency funding to be used either for natural or man-made disasters. Research has shown, however, that the two situations require different approaches. In the former, there are identifiable communities to rebuild, recognized political authorities in the areas receiving aid, a legal system in place and, usually, a benign attitude on the part of the central government toward the aid-givers. In a number of war-torn societies, few if any of these factors prevail. Moreover, natural disasters are short-lived, even if they occur frequently. The conflicts recently concluded in Central America, the Middle East, Cambodia, Mozambique, and Ethiopia/Eritrea, in contrast, all lasted well over a decade. The task following prolonged war no longer consists solely of reconstructing entities that have been destroyed. It requires creating alternatives to the structures, systems and living patterns that have permanently disappeared.

The difficulties facing countries recently at peace are illustrated in:

- Gebre Hiwet Tesfagiorgis, ed., **Emergent Eritrea: Challenge of Economic Development**, Trenton, New Jersey, Red Sea Press, 1993.

UNDP has commissioned a group of economists to examine the relationships between peace and development in post-conflict El Salvador. In several chapters dealing with the challenges of fulfilling the promises of the peace accords and the demands of achieving economic goals of growth and stability, the authors make a strong case for the premise that success in both will depend on the country's ability to redress social, political and economic inequalities:

- James K. Boyce, Carlos Acevedo, Deborah Barry, Michael E. Conroy, Colin Danby, Manuel Pastor, Jr., Eva Paus, Herman Rosa, Alexander Segovia, and Elisabeth J. Wood, **Adjustment Toward Peace: Economic Policy and Post-war Reconstruction in El Salvador**, San Salvador, UNDP, May 1995.

appropriate assistance strategies

Commenting on the clearly intimate relationship between development and conflict, Canadian researcher Robert Miller blames the failure to draw appropriate conclusions

⁴ Dr. Anderson has projected further research that expands the findings elaborated in **Rising from the Ashes**: "A Framework for Considering the Role and Impact of International Assistance in a Post Conflict Situation" and "International Assistance and Conflict: An Exploration of Negative Impacts". She posits that tensions produced by war make rebuilding more problematic after the war, and that international assistance at all points should be linked to strengthening recipients' capacities. Post-conflict assistance has to be sensitive, neither reinforcing prior privileges nor exacerbating competition.

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from this fact on the artificial separation of "conflict" as a field for specialists in security issues, and "development" as a field of economics that does not take sufficiently into account the effects of social change, viewing conflicts in the same way as natural disasters:

- Robert Miller, ed., **Aid as Peacemaker: Canadian Development Assistance and Third World Conflict**, Ottawa, Carleton University Press, 1992.

The book is an attempt to establish the links between aid and conflict, and to explore the means by which foreign aid can become a factor in promoting durable settlements. It examines aid policy in specific country cases, and the peacemaking roles of aid channels including the Canadian government, a major Canadian NGO and the United Nations.

A related Canadian proposal by the Parliamentary Centre, entitled **Missions for Peace: Canadian Experience and Future Roles** will evaluate United Nations peace missions and Canadian participation in them, in the light of Canada's foreign policy objectives.

In November 1994, the government of Denmark began to prepare the ground for a comprehensive **Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda**. Its purpose is to draw lessons that may be relevant to future complex emergencies. Researchers from selected institutions are preparing four studies: emergency prevention; emergency preparedness and delivery; repatriation, rehabilitation and reconstruction; and the relationship between emergencies, emergency aid and long-term development. Day-to-day management has been assigned to Aid Agencies of the Scandinavian countries, United Kingdom and the United States, under the overall coordination of Danida. The chapter on rehabilitation and reconstruction is being addressed by the Refugee Policy Group, contracted by USAID. The evaluation is expected to be completed by the end of 1995.

Linking economic assistance to political objectives is a related theme. An example widely considered to be positive occurred when donors sought to reinforce the breakthrough in the decades-long hostility between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization by pledging substantial support to the West Bank and Gaza. This aid has been slow to materialize, largely due to the limited capacities of governmental political and economic institutions to execute the complex and costly projects anticipated. **Rex Brynen** of the Department of Political Science at McGill University in Montreal has initiated an examination of the dynamics of external assistance, and especially its political dimensions in this case.

Typically, emergency aid ceases before a society is prepared to attract investment, repay foreign debt, produce exports, or otherwise provide for its own basic needs. This is the period to which both macro- and micro-economists need to pay greater attention — along with sociologists and political scientists, and experts in health, education and humanitarian interventions.

Following wars, and even before they have ended, governments generally design plans of national reconstruction to seek international support for essential rebuilding. UNDP is often directly involved in this process, which is supposed to prepare the ground for

normal development. The World Bank and interested donors participate to varying degrees. Among the most interesting analyses of the obstacles to development in post-conflict economies can be found in the papers prepared by and for the World Bank in preparation for the Consultative Group meetings where the Bank and donors seek to mobilize funds for the national plans presented to them. Post-war national reconstruction plans have the decided disadvantage of being seen as purely government initiatives, and are not necessarily welcomed by all parties. Moreover, following decades of war, the seated government does not necessarily have the ability to implement any plan throughout the national territory.

International aid agencies have frequently encountered the problem of what they call "dependency syndrome" in groups that have ceased to rely on their own productivity and survive thanks to international donations. Long-term refugees are a classic example. Observations of the effects of relief aid also show how too much donated relief discourages local production and retards rebuilding. The ICRC, as well as UNHCR, FAO and WFP have insisted on the need to work whenever possible in local communities rather than camp settings, combining food relief with programmes for agricultural rehabilitation. Such arguments are well summarized in:

- François Grunewald, **When the Rains Return: Emergencies, Food Assistance, Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development**, a document prepared for the symposium on "Development, An Emergency", International Committee of the Red Cross, 6 November 1993.

UNHCR is particularly concerned about the difficulties of putting programmes in place to integrate refugees and re-integrate repatriates once the UNHCR has brought them back and provided for their short-term basic needs. This problem has been on the agenda of UNHCR executive meetings for a decade, and has given rise to both in-house analysis as well as academic research. UNHCR has created the post of senior co-ordinator for development, who regularly visits major refugee and repatriate projects and reports on prospects for inter-agency co-ordination and development. The co-ordinator has developed guidelines for reintegration assistance that elaborate how UNHCR projects are to be formulated in the framework of general post-conflict recovery processes. UNHCR has also contracted consultants to review its practices in the developmental area. One such report is:

- UNHCR (prepared by Barry N. Stein), **Returnee Aid and Development**, EVAL/RAD/15, Central Evaluation Section, May 1994.
(Reintegration of repatriates will be further discussed below under Social Rebuilding.)

An alternative that has attracted widespread attention brings together governments, international and local NGOs, United Nations organizations and donors to initiate projects appropriate for the post-conflict period. The International Conference on Central American Refugees — known by the acronym CIREFCA and much broader than a programme for refugees — has been studied, evaluated and proposed for export. CIREFCA participants have prepared reports that explore problems and proposals. CIREFCA co-ordinating organizations, the UNHCR and the UNDP have conducted external and internal evaluations, findings of which can be found in:

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- UNHCR (prepared by Mary Ann Larkin with Marie-Chantal Barre and Elizabeth Hayek-Weinmann), **Review of the CIREFCA Process**, Central Evaluation Section, 1993.

Individual researchers interested in innovative approaches to post-war reconstruction have studied the Central American experience; see, for example:

- Patricia Weiss Fagen, "Peace in Central America: Transition for the uprooted", 1993 **World Refugee Survey**, Washington, D.C., U.S. Committee for Refugees, 1993.

Quick Impact Projects, (QIPs) are community based projects, initiated by UNHCR, intended to assist returnees to meet important needs and to become more self-sufficient. The small-scale micro-projects are targeted towards areas where large numbers of repatriates, displaced persons and often former combatants have returned. In addition to their direct economic benefits, the projects are intended to reduce local tensions that inevitably emerge upon a difficult return, and especially when former adversaries attempt to live together in a context of scarce resources. First created in Central America within the framework of CIREFCA, they have subsequently been introduced in Cambodia and Mozambique:

- UNHCR Evaluation Section, **Quick Impact Projects: A Review of UNHCR's Returnee Reintegration Program in Nicaragua**, EVAL/QIP12, November 1992.
- UNHCR Division of Programmes and Operational Support, **Policy and Methodological Framework for Quick Impact Projects**, 30 June 1994.

While acknowledging their immediate benefits, critics question how QIPs can be formulated to promote longer term development.

The United Nations Development Program and the United Nations Office of Project Services (UNDP/UNOPS) have initiated an innovative approach to reconstruction, reintegration and rehabilitation in a number of war-torn countries. Grouped together as Programmes for Rehabilitation and Social Sustainability, or PROGRESS, these programmes operate at the local level in specific geographical areas, where there are significant populations affected by war, including displaced persons, returnees and former combatants. They are designed as inter-agency efforts, with participation from UNHCR, WHO, ILO and other UN agencies, and the involvement of local and regional NGOs. The projects aim to promote economic reconstruction, human rights, education and health, job creation and, generally, to strengthen local civil society. This effort began some six years ago as PRODERE in Central America and was an important component of the regional CIREFCA process. There are now PROGRESS type operations in Cambodia under the name of CARERE, and in Afghanistan, Somalia-Sudan and Haiti. The Fundacion Arias para la Paz y el Progreso Humano of Costa Rica has coordinated an evaluation of PRODERE (with the Frederick Ebert Foundation, the Refugee Policy Group, and the Centro Internacional para el Desarrollo Economico). The evaluation was commissioned by UNDP/UNOPS.

The annual UNDP publications on human development indicate a far greater awareness of the need for basing development on quality of life and democratic participation beyond national indicators of GNP. As evidenced by the annual **Human Development Report**, statements of UNDP leadership, and numerous internal reports from the regional divisions, UNDP has embarked on an effort to revise its working strategies in the field. (See also the discussion of the Relief to Development Continuum project, above.)

macro-economic considerations

In evaluating the enormous problems facing countries emerging from war, traditional economists have focused primarily on the need to restore negative balances of payments and a nation's capacity for production so that the reliance on international assistance can diminish while investment increases. While there is near consensus on the importance of these goals, the timing and the ways chosen to implement structural adjustment programmes and export incentives (the classic remedies for addressing the problems), have come under heavy criticism in, for example:

- David N. Plank, "Aid, debt, and the end of sovereignty: Mozambique and its donors", **The Journal of Modern African Studies**, Vol. 31, No. 3, September 1993, pp. 407-430.

These issues have been raised as well by the United Nations peacemakers:

- Alvaro de Soto and Graciana del Castillo, "Obstacles to peacebuilding", **Foreign Policy**, No. 94, Spring 1994, pp. 69-83.

If one accepts that structural adjustment programmes may well interfere with the social reforms and projects that potentially lower tensions and encourage warring parties to maintain peace, economists should make it a priority to investigate how economic programmes may be designed to increase national productive capacity without obliging painful social sacrifices at the worst possible political moment. A few have begun to do so: we have already cited the paper prepared by economists FitzGerald and Mavrota, above.

Social Rebuilding, Local Empowerment and Capacity Building

Wars generate flight, and a major first task for a society newly at peace is to reintegrate the returning population that took refuge in other countries or in safer areas within the war-torn country. Ideally, successful reintegration requires cessation of armed hostilities, demining, infrastructural repairs, restoration of local administration, and economic revitalization; but integration projects are often put in place without these advantages.

Social reconstruction is tied to reconciliation, especially at the community level, and to the rebuilding or creation of new forms of political participation.

re-integration of repatriates and displaced persons

There is a large and important body of literature on refugee repatriation. The collective observations of scholars and practitioners demonstrate that the traditional model of peace followed by negotiated and organized repatriations is more the exception than the rule. Repatriations frequently occur spontaneously and under conflict, meaning that reintegration programmes need to be in place prior to the restoration of formal peace, and also should include provisions for integrating internally displaced persons, whose plight is virtually identical. Some recent books describe the new understandings of repatriation movements and problems of assistance. Until recently, relatively little information was gathered on the longer term reintegration of repatriates and other uprooted persons once they return. Among the recent publications are:

- Tim Allen and Herbert Morsink, eds., **When Refugees Go Home, African Experiences**, London, James Currey, 1994.
This publication examines the political and social programmes put into effect for large groups of returning refugees, often comparing them to the far less comprehensive programmes for returning displaced persons. Chapters also treat locally generated reintegration.
- Tim Allen, **In Search of Cool Ground: Displacement and Homecoming in Northeast Africa**, London, James Currey, forthcoming 1995.
- Mary Ann Larkin, Frederick Cuny and Barry Stein, eds., **Repatriation Under Conflict in Central America**, Washington, D.C., Georgetown University and CIPRA, 1991.
- Cuny, B. Stein and P. Reed, eds., **Repatriating During Conflict in Africa and Asia**, Dallas, Center for the Study of Societies in Crisis, 1992.

The findings of the last two volumes above, mainly focused on planning and execution of repatriations, are summarized in:

- Barry Stein and Frederick Cuny, "Refugee repatriation during conflict: Protection and post-return assistance", **Development in Practice**, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1994, pp. 173-187.

Kenneth Wilson of the Ford Foundation pioneered work on repatriation of Mozambican refugees while at the Refugee Studies Program, Oxford, including a comprehensive bibliography and substantive introductory chapter with recommendations:

- Kenneth B. Wilson, **Internally Displaced, Refugees and Repatriates from and to Mozambique** (also translated as **Deslocados Internos, Refugiados e Repatriados de e Para Moçambique**), Report No. 1, Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford, 1992. A publication of SIDA, Sweden.

A detailed review of the socio-economic situation of recently repatriated Cambodians is being jointly conducted by organizations in Washington, D.C., and Bangkok:

- Court Robinson, **Rupture and Return: Repatriation, Displacement and Reintegration in Battambang Province, Cambodia**, The Indochinese Refugee Information Center and The Institute of Asian Studies, Occasional Paper 007, November 1994, project director, Supang Chantavanich.

There is a glaring deficiency within the international community for mechanisms and international mandates in favor of protection for and attention to internally displaced persons. That there remain separate categories for refugees/repatriates on the one hand and displaced persons on the other is untenable in many conflict and post-conflict contexts. Some important projects are underway that may begin to remedy the gap. Most attention to date has been devoted to the dire situation of displaced persons in war. The major problems facing such people after conflict have yet to be sufficiently studied.

The appointment of a Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons is an important step in preparing for solutions:

- Francis M. Deng, **Protecting the Dispossessed: A Challenge for the International Community**, Washington, D.C., The Brookings Institution, 1993.
- Francis M. Deng, **Comprehensive Study Prepared by Mr. Francis M. Deng, Representative of the Secretary-General on the Human Rights Issues Related to Internally Displaced Persons, Submitted Pursuant to Commission on Human Rights Resolution 1992/73**, UN E/CN.4/1993/5, Commission on Human Rights, 21 January 1993.
- Francis M. Deng, **Internally Displaced Persons, Report of the Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Francis Deng, Submitted Pursuant to Commission on Human Rights Resolution 1992/95**, UN E/CN.4/1994/44, Commission on Human Rights, 1994.

Following consultations with the Under-Secretary for Humanitarian Affairs, the Special Representative has initiated a project to conduct in-depth studies in a number of countries, beginning with Sri Lanka for which a report now exists. Reports on Colombia and Burundi are found in:

- UNE/CN.4/1995/50, **Internally Displaced Persons, Report of the Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Francis M. Deng, Submitted Pursuant to Commission on Human Rights Resolution 1993/1995**, Commission on Human Rights, 1995.

This project will also review institutional mandates regarding internally displaced persons and NGO assistance programmes. These reports will be prepared with the Refugee Policy Group and the Norwegian Refugee Council. These institutions have separately published:

- Refugee Policy Group, **Strengthening International Protection for Internally Displaced Persons**, Washington, D.C., December 1993.
- Norwegian Refugee Council, **The Protection of Internally Displaced Persons** by NRC, Oslo, January 1994.

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A further study commissioned by the Special Representative has produced a compilation of legal standards and norms that apply to assistance and protection of displaced persons, identifies gaps in what exists and makes recommendations for improvements. These are drawn from humanitarian, human rights and refugee law, and apply to displacement as a result of man-made disaster, internal armed conflict and inter-state conflict. Included is a legal analysis prepared on behalf of the American Society for International Law and the International Human Rights Law Group in Washington, D.C.:

- UNE/CN.4/1995/CRP.1, **Internally Displaced Persons: Compilation and Analysis of Legal Norms: Report of the Representative of the Secretary-General, Francis M. Deng, Submitted Pursuant to Commission on Human Rights Resolution 1993/95**, 30 January, 1995.

Finally, the Inter-American Institute for Human Rights, San Jose, Costa Rica, is carrying out a project entitled **Permanent Consultation on Displaced Persons in the Americas**. The project is currently focusing particularly on Colombia, where related projects are underway with the Catholic church.

gender issues and children

- **Disasters**, special issue on "Children and childhood in emergency policy and practice, 1919-1994", edited by Hugo Slim, **The Journal of Disaster Studies and Management**, Vol. 18, No. 3, September 1994.

This special edition marks the 75th anniversary of Save the Children (UK). In addition to articles on programmes for children in past emergencies, the special issue contains two articles on children in post-conflict Mozambique, one by Sara Gibbs and the other by Susie Miles and Elena Medi.

The plight of children in conflict-ridden societies is further portrayed in:

- Neil Boothby et al. **Children of Mozambique: The Cost of Survival**, Washington, D.C., U.S. Committee for Refugees, November 1991.

UNICEF is currently sponsoring a new study, **The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children**, in which many of the issues in the previously cited work by Ilene Cohn and Guy Goodwin-Gill will be further explored (see p. 20 above). The study is headed by Graça Machel, wife of the former president of Mozambique.

One consequence of the socio-economic upheaval of conflict is the growing number of street children. Living under precarious conditions, they present a particularly vulnerable group. They also represent the future of these war-torn countries, making it all the more urgent to attend to their needs during reconstruction. An in-depth analysis of the causes and conditions of street children in Mozambique, followed by concrete recommendations for programmes and activities to address the problem, is found in:

- Ana Maria Loforte, "Street children in Mozambique", **The International Journal of Children's Rights**, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1994, pp. 149-168.

A variety of authors representing UNICEF, bilateral government programmes, and major NGOs specializing in children's issues presented papers on the plight of children in war-torn societies at a work shop, **Mobilizing Communities to Meet the Psychological Needs of Children in War and Refugee Crises**, held at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, 14-19 August 1994. The papers will be published in a forthcoming book.

The **African Women in Crisis Umbrella Programme** in connection with UNIFEM promotes gender sensitivity in international relief efforts, studies and needs assessments for women in difficult situations, and legal support. A recently initiated programme underway in Rwanda promotes Rwandese women's health and economic status.

Aid agencies often have difficulty in promoting programmes that benefit women in countries where political and religious leaders have a policy of subordinating women. V.M. Moghadam criticizes the so-called "culturally sensitive" approach of many agencies that neglects gender issues. Using the case of Afghanistan, the author urges international agencies to encourage social change through active targeting of women and girls, as a means to develop the human resources needed for peace and development:

- "Building human resources and women's capabilities in Afghanistan: A retrospect and prospects", **World Development**, Vol. 22, No. 6, 1994, pp. 859-875.

health care, social services and culture

- Joanna Macrae and Anthony Zwi, eds., **War and Hunger: Rethinking International Responses to Complex Emergencies**, London, Zed Books, 1994.
- Joanna Macrae, Anthony Zwi and Vivienne Forsythe, **Post-Conflict Rehabilitation: Preliminary Issues for Consideration by the Health Sector**, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, 1995.

The second publication is a report commissioned by the Overseas Development Administration (ODA), UK. The study provides a preliminary analysis of the issues and implications of international assistance in countries making the transition from war to peace. Based on a review of existing international strategies and drawing on experiences from Uganda, Ethiopia, Cambodia and the Occupied Territories, the study provides a framework for analysis of the needs and capacity of health systems in post-conflict situations. It is part of an ongoing programme of activities and research at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine on the impact of instability and conflict on health and health systems as well as national and international responses to these.

The importance of rethinking educational needs for particular populations is the subject of:

- Hassan Keynan, **Educational Reconstruction in Somalia: How Should it Proceed and Who Should be in Charge?**, Oslo, Norwegian National Commission for UNESCO, 1994.

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UNESCO has initiated a project to nurture the peace process in the educational and cultural dimensions. Called the **Culture of Peace Programme**, it has operated in El Salvador and now in Mozambique to sponsor projects that promote "democratic citizenship", attention to vulnerable groups, and capacity building.

A UNESCO project that has been operating in the area around Dubrovnik, Croatia is physically rebuilding and restoring cultural legacies damaged by war, utilizing techniques aimed at strengthening the social fabric which was also damaged.

the role and special approaches of ngos

In the book **Rising from the Ashes** cited above, Mary Anderson and Peter Woodrow compare rebuilding efforts in Asia, Africa and Latin America following disasters, emphasizing local empowerment and bottom-up development. The book provides practical lessons and recommendations to NGOs working in such situations.

Another thoughtful treatment of NGOs' contributions to peace-building — the limits, pitfalls and opportunities — and why projects may succeed or fail is found in:

- Kenneth Bush, **From Bullet Holes to Bird Nests: The Peacebuilding Role of NGOs**, paper presented to the Canadian Political Science Association, Ottawa, Carleton University, 12 June, 1994.

In Cambodia and Mozambique, NGOs have played major roles in reconstruction efforts. For example, the International Human Rights Law Group of Washington, D.C. has training programmes for judicial officials as well as for local human rights groups in the interest of local capacity building. In another study prepared for International Alert, the positive and negative impacts of international NGOs in Mozambique is a major theme. The perspective is that of the Mozambican recipients:

- Gita Honwana-Welch, **Mozambique, Feasibility Study: Report of a Factfinding Mission**, London, September 1994.

The dilemmas of NGOs working to promote development in the field are described in an earlier article by:

- Erica Egan, "Relief and rehabilitation work in Mozambique: Institutional capacity and NGO executional strategies", **Development in Practice**, Vol. I, No. 3, Autumn 1991, pp. 174-184.

Illustrating the multiple possibilities of working with and empowering local NGOs in the process of rebuilding from war, the **York University Post-War Reconstruction and Development Unit** (York, England), directed by Sultan Barakat, has published a series of case studies of rebuilding in former Yugoslavia, several countries of the Middle East and Northern Ireland.

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The War-torn Societies Project

The War-torn Societies Project aims to assist the international donor community, international organizations, NGOs and local authorities and organizations to understand and respond better to the complex challenges of post-conflict periods. Once fighting has stopped, a fragile cease-fire must be transformed into a lasting political settlement; emergency relief provided; and a process of political, economic, social and psychological rebuilding initiated to lay the basis for future sustainable development. These are gigantic tasks; they are interrelated, with progress in one depending on progress in the others and they must, therefore, be tackled simultaneously.

The project has been jointly initiated by UNRISD and PSIS in response to a widely recognized need for systematic analysis of present experience and practice; it intends to clarify policy options for both international and local actors and to redefine relevant strategies. It also aims to contribute to a better integration of different forms of international assistance — humanitarian, economic, political and military — within a coherent policy framework, to encourage a better alignment of external assistance with local efforts and thus to bring about a more efficient and effective use of limited and hopelessly overstretched local and international resources.

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