International Parliamentary Conference on Peacebuilding: Tackling State Fragility

Toolkit for Parliamentarians

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Note: The views expressed in this toolkit do not necessarily reflect the views of CPA UK
Section 1: Background Briefing on Peacebuilding and State Fragility

“One day we must come to see that peace is not merely a distant goal that we seek, but that it is a means by which we arrive at that goal. We must pursue peaceful ends through peaceful means”  
Martin Luther King, Jr.

1.1 What is peacebuilding and what does sustainable peacebuilding involve?

Peace is often defined as freedom from conflict, yet conflict is a natural feature of diverse societies and a necessary feature of social change. Different groups will always pursue their different needs and interests and compete with others over limited resources and incompatible goals. Conflict only becomes a threat to society when divergent needs and interests are poorly managed/resolved and escalate into a crisis: violent conflict. Therefore, peace may be better understood as the effective management of conflicts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Four Phases of Managing Conflict and Preventing Crisis</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Conflict Prevention</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preventing and resolving conflict before it results in violence is far less costly, in human and financial terms, than responding to it once it has escalated. Prevention involves action to address the underlying causes of conflict: actions that strengthen governance, improve access to human rights, support economic and social development, destroy weapons and develop a culture of non-violent conflict resolution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Peacemaking</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peacemaking is the first step in resolving violent conflict. Peacemaking revolves around diplomatic measures to start negotiations for a ceasefire/peace agreement to which all those involved in the conflict agree. Implementation of any agreement needs to happen at the official and informal levels to secure an end to violent conflict. Peacemaking can also include the use of armed force to deter, suppress or terminate hostile action by a party or between parties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Peacekeeping</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace agreements are fragile. The presence of neutral groups - foreign soldiers, military observers, civilian police and human rights monitors - can help to encourage hostile groups away from a return to violence. Peacekeeping can involve the establishment and policing of buffer zones, demobilisation and disarmament of military forces, establishing communication between parties, and protecting the delivery of humanitarian assistance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Peacebuilding</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peacebuilding involves overcoming the root causes of violent conflict, strengthening the links between hostile groups and rebuilding society with a view to achieving long-term stability through peace, democracy and development. Peacebuilding is more than rebuilding infrastructure; it involves re-establishing the institutions and mechanisms which underpin a functioning society: a society where competing needs and interests are managed through negotiation and consensus building rather than resorting to violence.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sustainable peacebuilding, or sustaining peace is an ongoing and complex process which relies on the recognition that peace, democracy and development are mutually reinforcing. Without democracy, the fair distribution of economic progress is unlikely; without sustainable development, inequalities can cause
unrest; and without peace, developmental gains are quickly destroyed. Therefore peacebuilding strategies should address both development and governance priorities. They should re-establish the basic functions of the State (security, rule of law, revenue management, public services and the promotion of economic growth and poverty reduction) and re-build citizen-state relations (structures and processes that facilitate communication and engagement between citizens and state institutions and underpin an effective and legitimate state).

Typical peacebuilding activities include:

- Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) of soldiers
- Reintegration of internally displaced persons, refugees and other conflict-affected people
- De-mining and removal of other war debris
- Managing the delivery of emergency relief and reconstruction of infrastructure
- Security and justice sector reform
- Economic development
- Reconciliation and transitional justice
- Supporting the development of an active and vibrant media and civil society

Marginalised groups - women, youth, the elderly, disabled, children, minorities - need particular attention if peacebuilding strategies are to be effective. Marginal groups can be identified by their limited voice and influence over policies and initiatives which impact upon their lives. The constraints on their voices and influence may be the product of historical traditions, limited access to opportunities and resources, minority status in a dominant culture, stigma or a combination of several of these. Without sufficient attention to the needs and interests of these groups they can be further marginalised and greater exclusion, inequalities and human rights abuses may result. To avoid such injustices occurring (and the associated risk of new grievances arising or old grievances escalating into open conflict with dominant society), peacebuilding should include mechanisms and structures to engage marginalised groups in the development and implementation of peacebuilding strategies. In addition to being socially responsible, this is an obligation supported by international law and UN Resolutions including UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and 1820 that relate specifically to women, peace and security.

1.2 What is "state fragility" and how does it relate to peacebuilding?

"Fragile states" are those states vulnerable to violent conflict. While most fragile states are poor, not all poor states are fragile. State fragility is measured according to the effectiveness and legitimacy of the State across security, governance, economic and social sectors. Fragile states are characterised by weak state structures and institutions - their authority is threatened by non-state actors and there is a high chance that, in a confrontation, the non-state actors will undermine the authority and stability of the state. A history of violent conflict often underlies state fragility.

Sustainable peacebuilding is crucial to the long-term recovery and stability of conflict-affected fragile states. Effectively targeted and therefore sustainable peacebuilding strategies, policies and interventions depend on an in-depth analysis and understanding of the root causes of an individual state's fragility. State fragility may be driven by a wide range of internal and/or external factors as outlined in the table below.
**Drivers of Violent Conflict and State Fragility**

### Weak Political Institutions
- Lack of independent judiciary
- Lack of independent legislature
- Political corruption
- Weak/exclusive political parties
- Non-existent/biased civic education
- Weak regulatory institutions
- Lack of free and fair elections
- Poor civil-military relations
- National/local leadership struggles
- Leadership concentration/personality cult
- Civil society organisations split along ethnic lines

### Weak Economic Institutions
- Economic corruption
- Difficulty managing debt and aid flows
- Weak links to the world/regional economy
- Transition needs: Community stability and economic relief

### History of Violence
- Myth-making that promotes violence
- Limited security for civilians
- Militarization of society and proliferation of weapons
- Peace process underway or stalled

### War Economy
- Warlords/militia control of land and other economic resources
- Reliance on primary commodities
- Growth in black market and criminalisation of the economy

### Economic Grievances
- Economic inequalities based on identity politics
- Unequal access to government services and distribution of resources
- Competition over land and other resources
- Stress associated with urbanisation
- Disenfranchised youth
- General economic decline
- Rising prices/falling currency value

### Political Grievances
- Human rights abuses
- Political disenfranchisement
- Perceived inability to gain public office or civil service jobs

### Social Grievances
- Biased education system
- Differential access to opportunities (education, employment)
- Religious or cultural intolerance by government or other religious groups
- Language and cultural barriers

### External Factors
- External military intervention leading to the collapse of state organisation
- Unstable regional context
- Destabilising diaspora
- Kin groups in neighbouring countries
- Collusion of terrorist organisations, mercenaries, or foreign governments in fostering political instability
- Regional arms flows
- Illicit trade in drugs, arms and minerals

### Triggering Events
- Political or economic shocks
- Climate change and environmental disasters/shocks
- Elections
- Large influx of refugees adding to strain on limited resources
- Neighbouring conflict spill-over of non-state armed groups

Sources: Drawn from World Bank, USAID and DFID conflict analysis frameworks and Putzel, J, 2009
1.3 Why is peacebuilding to tackle state fragility an urgent priority?

The Moral Case
Every conflict around the world violates civilians’ rights to protection enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Geneva Conventions and the 2005 UN World Summit General Assembly Resolution. People are murdered, raped, displaced and disenfranchised. In fragile states the constant risk of violent conflict creates deep insecurity amongst civilian populations. Figure 1 below illustrates the extent of state fragility across the globe in 2009. In particular it indicates different levels of state fragility, from low to extreme fragility, and the spread of serious conflicts. State fragility deeply and directly affects the lives of a billion people around the world and therefore calls for an urgent and determined peacebuilding response.

Figure 1: State Fragility and Warfare in the Global System 2009. Source: Centre for Systemic Peace and Centre for Global Policy, Global Report 2009: Conflict, Governance and State Fragility

The Recurrence Case
While the number of conflicts around the world has declined since the end of the Cold War, the threat of relapse into conflict is ever imminent. 40% of civil wars are post-conflict relapses within a decade of the outbreak of peace. Figure 2 illustrates how 'new' conflicts in the world, those unrelated to a previous conflict, are relatively few year on year. The steady increase in the overall number of conflicts up until 1992 was clearly not the result of an increase in the number of new conflicts, but was instead the result of a steady number of old conflicts re-emerging. For example, in 2006 four conflicts dropped out while another four reappeared and in 2005, nine of the 32 conflicts reappeared after having been inactive during the previous year. The recurrence of conflicts highlights the need for more sustainable peacebuilding strategies and their effective implementation.

1 See Resources Section for more details on International Agreements.
The Interdependence Case
In a globalised and interdependent world, no country is immune to the security, political, social and economic challenges posed by state fragility and conflict:

- Regional and international security is threatened as non-state forces recruit, train, arm and deploy fighters
- Refugee flows bring the realities of far away conflict to the front door of other states
- The global economy comes under pressure from the costs of interventions, assistance and defence. For example, it is estimated that the Iraq war could ultimately cost the global economy up to US$6 trillion according to Nobel Prize winning economist Joseph Stiglitz
- The regional economy comes under pressure as trade is disrupted and infrastructure is destroyed. For example, Oxfam GB estimates that conflict in Africa between 1990 and 2005 cost the continent US$18 billion per year. This is money which could have transformed progress on health and development across the continent
- The fabric of societies around the world is eroded as 95% of hard drugs are exported from conflict-affected states often funding and perpetuating conflict
- Improved global communication via mobile phones and the internet means that injustices and atrocities in one country can spark a crisis of legitimacy for governments on the other side of the world. Information on injustices and atrocities can quickly circulate the world building popular pressure on governments to respond. A government’s inaction or inadequate response can feed a crisis of legitimacy as voters feel governments are not listening to their values and concerns

State fragility is undeniably a local and an international concern calling for well coordinated regional and international responses.
1.4 What is the role of parliaments in peacebuilding and tackling state fragility?

Parliaments in both conflict-affected and other states play an important role in peacebuilding. They scrutinise government strategies, policies and actions to tackle state fragility and contribute to building sustainable peace. Guiding principles and policy priorities to support the sustainability of peace are considered further in Section 2 of this toolkit. In addition to their scrutiny roles, parliaments in conflict-affected and other states play a wider role in managing conflicts and contributing to sustainable peacebuilding.

Parliaments in Conflict-Affected Fragile States

In recent decades there has been a transformation in the nature of conflict. Inter-state wars have declined and intra-state or societal warfare such as civil wars, armed insurrections, violent secessionist movements or domestic warfare have increased (see Figure 3). This transformation has led to a re-evaluation of approaches to resolving conflicting interests and peacebuilding.

![Figure 3: Global Trends in the Nature of Armed Conflict, 1946 - 2008. Source: Centre for Systemic Peace and Centre for Global Policy, Global Report 2009: Conflict, Governance and State Fragility](image)

Parliaments within conflict-affected fragile states have an important role to play in addressing intra-state conflict. They can help to defuse tensions that could otherwise escalate into violent conflict. Parliaments were designed to ‘institutionalise’ conflict; enable representation, negotiation and consensus-building around the different and often competing needs, interests and values of diverse groups within society. As such, parliaments are increasingly recognised as having a unique and crucial role to play in tackling conflict and contributing to sustainable peacebuilding. Ensuring fair representation of all views in society is however central to the effectiveness of parliaments as instruments for peacebuilding.

Parliamentarians within conflict-affected fragile states themselves are uniquely positioned to strengthen and ensure the success of peacebuilding initiatives as representatives of constituencies and community leaders. Representing a broader range of needs, interests and views, and being generally more accessible to the public than the Executive branch of Government and the Judiciary, parliamentarians can play a
crucial role in creating consensus and a sense of ownership around national values, goals and policy. As community leaders, parliamentarians are also well positioned to frame discussions in such a way that appeals to their constituencies as citizens rather than groups defined by ethnic, regional and/or religious identities. This is crucial to preventing and reversing identity based inequalities, grievances and conflicts.

Partner Parliaments Supporting Conflict-Affected Parliaments
Parliaments and parliamentarians around the world can play an important role in supporting peacebuilding and fellow parliamentarians working on peacebuilding in conflict-affected states.

Peacebuilding work by parliaments can be heavily undermined by the foreign policy and action or inaction of parliaments around the world. Foreign policy areas which are not directly linked to peacebuilding initiatives, but which can impact upon them include international trade rules, climate change commitments and action, the regulation of the arms trade, the use of different types of arms and munitions by the military, and the management of development aid, international interventions and humanitarian assistance.

Example Foreign Policy Impacts on Peacebuilding in Fragile-States

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>International trade barriers</th>
<th>Arms manufacturers and weapons suppliers around the world, especially those dealing in small arms, need to be regulated if parliaments in conflict-affected states are to produce effective legislation to disarm and demobilise non-state forces and curb violent conflict. Nearly all the weapons used in African conflicts are not made in Africa; a clear indication of the need for strong international level controls on the arms trade.</th>
<th>International interventions and assistance to conflict-affected fragile states can aggravate tensions in already fragile situations and cause long term adverse effects. This is especially true when state structures and institutions are sidelined in the process. A failure to operate through the structures and institutions of a state can erode already fragile systems and create a culture of dependency on foreign support.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>introduced by governments to restrict access to their national markets can limit the potential and effectiveness of conflict-affected parliaments’ international trade policies and initiatives. Unable to compete on an equal playing field in international markets, parliaments in conflict-affected states struggle to reinvigorate their economies and accumulate revenue to fund national peacebuilding efforts. Cut off from a means to stimulate national economic growth, conflict-affected countries can become dependent on international aid.</td>
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Parliamentarians should consider the implications of proposed policy for fragile states. Failure to do so risks doing more harm than good and undermining the sustainable peacebuilding initiatives of fellow parliamentarians in fragile states.
Section 2: Scrutinising Peacebuilding Strategies and Policies: Some Priorities

Strengthening the effectiveness of peacebuilding strategies and policies as well as policies that indirectly impact on peacebuilding, calls for attention to guiding principles and policy priorities:

2.1 Guiding principles for sustainable peacebuilding policy

Analysis of Conflict Relations
The sustainability of peacebuilding depends on strategies and policies that are built upon an in-depth understanding of the political relations and bargains at the heart of political power in fragile states. Investment in the capacity to conduct thorough conflict analysis should be a priority of peacebuilding strategy and policy development.

Local Priorities
With limited time and resources to make an impact, peacebuilding strategies need to respond to local priorities. For example, an initial emphasis on democratisation may be inappropriate where who is and who is not a citizen is still undecided.

Integrated Responses
The distinction between state-building and institution building needs to be observed and monitored in peacebuilding strategies. Often there is a great emphasis on building up the institutions of the State (the civil service, the army and police forces, the Judiciary), but relatively little investment in building up citizen-state relations (strengthening parliaments, civil society and the media). These relations are crucial to increasing state legitimacy, stability and sustainable peace.

Inclusive Responses
The emphasis on state-building in sustainable peacebuilding should not overshadow the primary purpose: protecting civilians. As such, the development of peacebuilding strategies needs to involve active consultation and engagement of all citizens with special attention to marginalised groups.

Responses Rooted in a Human Rights Based Approach
Peacebuilding strategies need to be clearly rooted in international human rights law, paying particular attention to laws designed for the protection of marginalised groups.
2.2 Policy priorities for sustainable peacebuilding

Policy priorities for sustainable peacebuilding can be split into two key areas: regional and international policy to create the circumstances for sustainable peacebuilding in fragile states, and national policy areas that should be considered as part of peacebuilding strategies to tackle state fragility. That state fragility affects a large part of the world and that violent conflicts recur following peace agreements indicate that peacebuilding at all levels needs to be carried out in a much more determined way if peace, security and development are to be enjoyed by people around the world.

**Policy Priorities to Tackle State Fragility**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regional and International Priorities</th>
<th>National Priorities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Deliver on climate change mitigation and adaptation commitments</td>
<td>• Translate international commitments into national laws (EG Implement UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 on women, peace and security)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Reform international trade rules</td>
<td>• Participate in international, regional and national initiatives for more coordinated, coherent, inclusive and integrated peacebuilding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Agree and implement an international Arms Trade Treaty to prevent irresponsible arms transfers</td>
<td>• Re-establish the basic functions of the state - security, rule of law, revenue management, public services and the promotion of economic growth and poverty reduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ratify and enforce regional arms control agreements to prevent irresponsible arms transfers</td>
<td>• Commit resources to strengthening parliament, civil society and an independent media to increase state legitimacy and public confidence in political rather than violent processes of change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Engage domestic and international businesses in developing and implementing practices that do not aggravate and sustain conflict</td>
<td>• Ensure the accountability of the security, police and justice sectors as part of their post-conflict reform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Pressure donor governments to meet international development and post-conflict/disaster reconstruction commitments, including aid and debt relief</td>
<td>• Engage non-state armed groups in peacebuilding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Improve training, responsiveness and accountability of peacekeeping operations with regard to civilian protection, including protection from sexual violence</td>
<td>• Recognise and ensure provision for gender specific experiences of conflict - target the eradication of violence against women and increase access to productive assets, health and education for women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Increase and sustain provision of funding for United Nations authorised but regionally operated peacekeeping missions</td>
<td>• Develop systems of monitoring foreign aid and managing external resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Press for zero tolerance on war crimes and abuses of humanitarian and human rights law - all war crimes should meet the same response of international condemnation</td>
<td>• Invest in local businesses to develop productive livelihoods for former combatants, women, men, girls and boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Provide equal access for all communities to essential services (health education, water and sanitation)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Develop appropriate mechanisms for transitional justice</td>
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</table>
Section 3: Opportunities for Parliamentarians to Engage in Peacebuilding

The role of parliamentarians is traditionally split into three core areas of activity, each with specific opportunities to engage with peacebuilding:

- Representation
- Oversight and scrutiny of government policy and action
- Legislative work

In addition, parliamentarians can contribute to peacebuilding through two further areas of activity that are distinctly related to their role:

- Regional and international parliamentary diplomacy
- Controlling the manipulation of diversity

The following subsections present opportunities for parliamentarians to engage in peacebuilding. The activities suggested are inspired by the structure and systems of the Westminster model of democracy and may not directly reflect the structure and systems of other parliaments. The proposed activities are therefore intended to give parliamentarians a flavour of how they might engage in peacebuilding through their parliamentary roles.

3.1 Representation

Parliamentarians want to represent and further the interests of their constituency - both those who voted and those who rely upon their leadership, but who do not have a vote (children, some groups of migrants, the global community). Constituents rely on their parliamentarian to represent their needs, interests and values in parliament and parliamentarians engage with their constituency to act on local, national and international challenges.

**Representation and Peacebuilding Activities**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In their constituencies, parliamentarians can:</th>
<th>From the back benches, parliamentarians can represent constituency interests and influence peacebuilding related policy via:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Meet and represent</strong> individual constituents, taking up their interests and grievances (Case Work). Some case work will link directly to peacebuilding and state fragility – limited job opportunities for recently demobilised fighters, land ownership tensions or access to resources for refugees and settled communities. If not addressed early, tensions can precipitate a return to violence</td>
<td><strong>Membership of Departmental Committees</strong> - These committees call for and conduct enquiries about the performance of government. The reports that result from these enquiries command an official response from government. The reports are occasionally debated in the Chamber, and often receive media attention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Membership of Bill Committees</strong> - All bills pass through a Standing Committee in their journey to policy.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• **Encourage** the development of local civil society organisations and media that can strengthen citizen-state relationships and the legitimacy of the State

• **Stimulate** national debate and engagement in politics rather than violence by telling constituents about national and international policy that is relevant to their lives (via local media, meetings and events)

• **Visit** schools and colleges to build understanding of peacebuilding and the challenges of state fragility and how students and schools can support peacebuilding

• **Support** local activities that promote peacebuilding - local reconciliation initiatives or projects that retrain former combatants

• **Participate** in debates and discussions demonstrating a desire to understand and engage with people who have different opinions, values and interests to your own

• **Demonstrate** a commitment to finding common ground with people who have different opinions, values and interests to their own without resorting to violent conflict - lead peacebuilding by example

Committees scrutinise proposed bills clause by clause making amendments that are debated in the Chamber

• **Membership of Cross-Party or All Party Parliamentary Groups (APPGs)** – These are voluntary associations or groups established and organised by parliamentarians from all political parties who share a common interest. APPGs can hold meetings with representatives of civil society, NGOs, policy think-tanks, business and academia and can organise official visits (at home and abroad) to share learning, discuss policy challenges and build alliances. APPGs occasionally produce reports. Some prominent examples dealing with peacebuilding issues in the UK include: the Conflict Issues Group; Genocide Prevention Group; Global Security and Non-Proliferation Group; Great Lakes Region and Genocide Prevention Group; Landmine Eradication Group; Transatlantic and International Security Group; War Crimes Group; and the Women, Peace and Security Group

• **Early Day Motions (EDMs)** - These are motions/statements put forward by back-bench parliamentarians. Traditionally for discussion ‘at an early day’, in practice in the UK, EDMs are rarely debated in the Chamber. Instead EDMs enable parliamentarians to express an opinion on any subject and gain signatures of support from other parliamentarians. EDMs can serve as a focus for media attention on key issues

• **Writing to Ministers** - Many parliamentarians write letters to relevant Ministers with questions and correspondence from their constituents. Letters may seek information not easily available to the public and/or call for action

• **Lobbying/Debating** - Back-bench Members can lobby Ministers and participate in Debates both in and outside the Chamber

### 3.2 Oversight and scrutiny of government policy and action

Parliament has specific responsibilities to exercise oversight of the Executive and to hold it to account over its policies and actions. Parliamentarians can hold government to account via debates in the Chamber, parliamentary questions and committee work.

For parliaments in conflict-affected fragile states to reach their full potential as a forum for peacebuilding, it is important that parliamentarians are seen to be holding their executive to account. This allows the development of public confidence and trust in government, parliament and the democratic process.

**Committee Work**

Committee members can press for a committee inquiry into aspects of government policy and its implementation. A report from an enquiry commands a response from the government and as such is a powerful tool for scrutinizing the
effectiveness and justice of government policy and its implementation. The diverse drivers of state fragility mean peacebuilding issues can be a key priority for a range of different committees, especially those dealing with state revenues, security, justice, health, education, welfare, natural resources and their management, business, trade and industry, foreign affairs, defence and international development.

**Parliamentary Questions**
Members can send written questions and/or ask questions on the floor of the Chamber to press for information, action or clarifications regarding government policy or its implementation.

**Debates**
In both government and individual Member-initiated debates, parliamentarians can hold relevant Ministers to account, call for clarifications on policy or seek commitments from the government to advance more effective or just action on key peacebuilding issues.

Set-piece debates on budgets and estimates can prove to be valuable opportunities for debate on government progress vis-à-vis peacebuilding, not least because the allocation of resources has significant implications for the continuation or cessation of conflict. The division of resources between military spending versus employment creation or the balance of expenditure between different groups or regions can all be sources of tension. Ensuring these tensions are tackled properly in parliament and sufficient budget resources are allocated to key peacebuilding priorities is crucial to maintaining a fragile peace. The process of budget debates as much as their content can impact on the maintenance of peace.

Individual Member-initiated debates can take place on procedural motions, such as adjournment debates in the UK, or on substantive motions. Both provide excellent opportunities to raise awareness and press for action from the government on crucial peacebuilding priorities.

### 3.3 Legislative work

Legislative work by parliaments is not restricted to approving legislative initiatives from the Executive, but can also include pressing for new legislation. Specifically, parliamentarians can press their Executive to translate international treaties and UN Resolutions into national law. There are various opportunities in the legislative process to press for such action – debates on the legislative programme, debates on government and individual member initiated bills.

In addition, for parliaments in conflict-affected fragile states to reach their full potential as a forum for peacebuilding, parliamentarians should actively participate in the legislative process, not only to serve the needs of their constituents in all their diversity, but again to demonstrate the legitimacy and effectiveness of democratic process and institutions.

**Debates on Legislative Programme**
Often a parliamentary session opens with a debate on the legislative programme for the coming session. These debates are an opportunity to raise key peacebuilding policy priorities and question the status and coverage of peacebuilding issues in the overall legislative programme.

**Debates on Government Bills**
The legislative process provides multiple opportunities to debate government proposals (Second Reading, in Committee, Report, Third Reading). These debates provide a useful opportunity to scrutinize in detail specific aspects
of proposed legislation vis-à-vis local, national and international peacebuilding priorities. Proposing amendments to legislation can be used to draw out justifications, concessions and commitments from Government Ministers.

**Individual Member Initiated Bills**

In some parliaments individual Members are able to introduce bills. While these seldom make much progress they do occasionally make it to the statute book. Even where they do not, their impact can be significant in terms of raising the profile of key peacebuilding issues and putting pressure on the government to act responsibly.

### 3.4 Regional and international parliamentary diplomacy

By participating in international parliamentary networks, alliances and events such as the CPA UK International Parliamentary Conference on Peacebuilding: Tackling State Fragility; or by joining regional or international networks and alliances of parliamentarians concerned with peacebuilding such as the Parliamentarians Network for Conflict Prevention and Human Security or the Armani Forum, parliamentarians can exchange knowledge, ideas and experiences to apply in their home countries. In addition, parliamentarians from conflict-affected fragile states can challenge negative images of their countries; this can help to restore international confidence and encourage sustainable international investment in fragile states. Parliamentarians can be convincing spokespersons when the Executive of a conflict-affected fragile state is seen to be in disarray or causing the escalation in violence. At meetings, parliamentarians can also often develop and sign up to a collective Communiqué or Statement calling on their governments to take action in key areas of peacebuilding at the national and international level. These can be important documents for enlisting the support of parliamentarians across the region and internationally and can be used in work with the media to rebuild public confidence around a fragile state.

### 3.5 Controlling the manipulation of diversity

Parliamentarians should appeal to their constituencies as citizens regardless of ethnic, regional and religious identities and should challenge politicians who seek to promote identity-based divisions in politics. This is particularly important with regard to protecting and respecting the rights of minorities in society. Parliamentarians set an important example through their own behaviour as leaders in their communities and in parliament, but can also press for ground rules within parliament around 'group politics'.

The composition of parliament also plays an important role in controlling the manipulation of diversity. Parliaments in conflict-affected fragile states must be seen to be representing the varied needs, interests and values of a diverse society. This can be achieved in part by working to ensure the membership of parliament reflects the make up of society.
Section 4: Useful Resources on Peacebuilding

Peacebuilding Issues (Political, Economic, Security, Justice and Citizen-State Relations)

*Global Trends in Armed Conflict.*

*Civil Society and Good Governance.*
Building on DFID’s commitments set out in their 2006 White Paper, Making Governance Work for the Poor, this briefing explains why and how support to civil society organisations can help transformations.

*Building the State and Securing the Peace*
[http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/CON64.pdf](http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/CON64.pdf)


IANSA, Oxfam and Saferworld, October 2007.
*Africa's Missing Billions* (with a foreword by Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf)

*Global Report 2009: Conflict, Governance and State Fragility.*
Center for Systemic Peace and Center for Global Policy, George Mason University.

Currently the only international set of principles laid down to guide SSR programming.
[www.oecd.org/document/6/0,3343,en_2649_33693550_37417926_1_1_1_1,00.html](http://www.oecd.org/document/6/0,3343,en_2649_33693550_37417926_1_1_1_1,00.html)

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*The Global Financial Crisis: Risks for Fragile States in Africa.*
London: Overseas Development Institute.

*For a Safer Tomorrow: Protecting Civilians in a Multipolar World*

The World Bank - Social Development Department, Sustainable Development Network. December 20, 2006
commdev.org/files/1788_file_J2.pdf

The World Bank, Communication for Governance and Accountability Program (CommGAP) 2008
The Missing Link, fostering Positive Citizen-State Relations in Post-Conflict Environments

Parliaments and Peacebuilding

Centre on International Cooperation.
Does Ghana’s Parliament have the necessary powers, capacity and political will to provide effective oversight of the security sector? This paper examines the functionality and effectiveness of parliamentary oversight of the security sector in Ghana. It finds that while security sector oversight has improved since the return to democratic rule in 1992, the legacy of military control still remains.
http://www.cic.nyu.edu/peacebuilding/docs/CIC%20Ghana%20SSR%20FINAL.pdf

Parliaments as Peacebuilders: Parliaments in Conflict Affected Countries
The role of parliaments and parliamentarians in peacebuilding and how this role can be strengthened. Covers issues of legislative scrutiny, oversight, social accountability and regional partnerships and engagement with international organisations as part of peacebuilding strategies.

O’Brien, M; Stapenhurst, R and Johnston, N Eds. 2007.
Confronting Conflict: Parliament as Peacebuilders
Washington DC: World Bank Institute
This book outlines some of the strategies parliaments and parliamentarians can adopt to reduce the incidence of conflict and effectively manage conflict when it does emerge.

Summary of Discussion: Meeting on Enhancing the Role of Parliaments in Conflict/Post Conflict Settings.
Geneva: Inter-Parliamentary Union.
In late 2004, UNDP (www.undp.org) partnered with the Inter-Parliamentary Union (www.ipu.org) to examine how parliaments, given their representative, legislative and oversight roles, are positioned to play a critical role in conflict prevention, post-conflict recovery and fostering democratic governance through a series of country-level case studies.
www.undp.org/governance/eventsites/PARLgeneva04/summardoc
Regional and International Dialogues and Parliamentary Networks on Peacebuilding

Parliamentarians Network for Conflict Prevention and Human Security
A network of parliamentarians from over 40 countries that aims to strengthen government responses and accountability to prevent violent conflict. The network operates as a key advisory and advocacy mechanism to raise attention to critical policy issues pertaining to stability and peace. Established in 2008 by the East West Institute the Network Secretariat is based in Belgium and can be reached on: parliamentarians@ewi.info http://www.parliamentariansforconflictprevention.net/

Amani Forum - The Great Lakes Parliamentary Forum on Peace
A network of over 650 African parliamentarians from the Great Lakes region who are committed to working in a coordinated manner towards sustainable peace (eliminating armed conflict and promoting peace and democratic governance) both within their own countries and in the region as a whole. AMANI Forum consists of an Annual General Assembly, a Regional Executive Committee (REC), National Chapters in each member country and a Regional Secretariat based in Nairobi. National Chapters are established in seven national parliaments - Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia, plus the East African Legislative Assembly. http://www.amaniforum.org/

International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding
At the Third High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness (Accra, 2008) it was acknowledged that more consolidated and coherent international actions will be required on priority peacebuilding and state building objectives, both as the preconditions for achieving the MDGs and as a realistic measure for demonstrating progress over time. As a result of Accra, an “…international dialogue on peacebuilding and state building” was initiated in 2008 by various donors and partner countries. http://www.oecd.org/site/0,3407,en_21571361_43407692_1_1_1_1_1,00.html

International Network on Conflict and Fragility (INCAF)
The Development assistance Committee at the OECD set up the International Network on Conflict and Fragility, bringing together the Network on Conflict, Peace and Development Cooperation and the Fragile States Group into one forum. http://www.oecd.org/document/6/0,3343,en_2649_33693550_41840710_1_1_1_1,00html

Regional and International Treaties, Conventions and Agreements

2005 World Summit Outcome – UN General Assembly Resolution 60/1
The Peace and Collective Security Section tackles issues including the use of force, peacekeeping, peacebuilding, sanctions, women in conflict resolution and protecting children. The agreement also includes the much debated "Responsibility to Protect" civilian within a signatory country from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. More contentiously, there is also an obligation on the international community to help in such instances where states do not fulfil their obligations. “Peace and Collective Security” is addressed in Section 3 of this Document, other sections tackle: "Development"; “Human Rights and Rule of Law”; and “Strengthening the United Nations”.

UN Security Council Resolution 1325
Security Council Resolution 1325 was passed unanimously on 31 October 2000. Resolution (S/RES/1325) is the first resolution ever passed by the Security Council that specifically addresses the impact of war on women, and women’s contributions to conflict resolution and sustainable peace.
http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/720/18/PDF/N0072018.pdf?OpenElement
UN Security Council Resolution 1820
Key provisions of this resolution recognize a direct relationship between the widespread and/or systematic use of sexual violence as an instrument of conflict and the maintenance of international peace and security; commit the Security Council to considering appropriate steps to end such atrocities and to punish their perpetrators; and—perhaps most importantly—commit nation states in which sexual violence is being widely or systematically employed against civilians to reporting in June each year to the Security Council.

Geneva Conventions
The cornerstone of international humanitarian law. Composed of four treaties and three additional protocols, they define the basic rights of those captured during a conflict, establish protections for the wounded, and address protections for civilians in and around a war zone. They not only prohibit deliberate violence against civilians, they also prohibit violence that has an impact on civilians that is disproportionate to the warring parties’ legitimate ends. The treaties of 1949 have been ratified, in whole or with reservations, by 194 countries. The Conventions are particularly important for individual rights in times of violent conflict.
http://www.icrc.org/Web/Eng/siteeng0.nsf/html/genevaconventions

Universal Declaration of Human Rights
Promises everyone the right to 'life, liberty and security', and to live free from fear and want.

Charter of the United Nations - Chapter VI and VII
Establish the legal space for peacekeeping interventions

African Union-European Union Strategic Partnership Action Plan
The great potential that the AU offers both Africa and Europe should currently be used to further develop and broaden the partnership. There is an obvious interest in a strong pan-African organisation that can provide a solid political framework to underpin African-led responses to development challenges. Includes a full range of actions on peace and security to be developed in partnership before 2010

Organisations with Peacebuilding Expertise

International Crisis Group
The International Crisis Group is recognised as one of the world’s leading independent, non-partisan, sources of analysis and advice to governments, and intergovernmental bodies like the United Nations, European Union and World Bank, on the prevention and resolution of deadly conflict.
http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?

Overseas Development Institute (ODI)
Research and policy analysis with expertise in state fragility and international development.
http://www.odi.org.uk/

International Alert
Research, policy and training organisation specialising in a dual approach that involves working directly with people affected by violent conflict as well as government, the EU and UN to shape policy and practice in building sustainable peace.
http://www.international-alert.org/
Conciliation Resources
Conciliation Resources is an independent charity working internationally to prevent violent conflict, promote justice and build lasting peace in war torn societies through research, policy and training.
http://www.c-r.org/

Saferworld
Saferworld works to create safer communities in places affected by violent crime, conflict and the impact of small arms and light weapons.
http://www.saferworld.org.uk/

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)
The Organisation provides a setting where governments compare policy experiences, seek answers to common problems, identify good practice and coordinate domestic and international policies.
http://www.oecd.org/home/0,2987,en_2649_201185_1_1_1_1_1,00.html

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
UNDP has several groups specialising in issues of parliamentary strengthening and state fragility: the Democratic Governance Group and the State Building and Post-Conflict Governance Unit at the Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery. UNDP provides support to parliaments to ensure that they have the capacity, resources and necessary independence to carry out their core functions effectively.
http://www.undp.org/governance/sl-parliament.htm

Centre for Systemic Peace
The Center supports scientific research and quantitative analysis in many issue areas related to the fundamental problems of violence in both human relations and societal development.
http://www.systemicpeace.org/

The Global Facilitation Network for Security Sector Reform (GFN-SSR)
The Network works to promote a better understanding of security and justice sector reform through the provision of information, advice and expertise to practitioners, academics and policymakers throughout the world. SSR aims to develop a secure environment based on development, rule of law, good governance and local ownership of security actors. GFN-SSR promotes these objectives by promoting the importance of local actors, network development and information sharing.
http://www.ssrnetwork.net/index.php

The Peacebuilding Commission
The Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) is a new intergovernmental advisory body of the United Nations that supports peace efforts in countries emerging from conflict, and is a key addition to the capacity of the International Community in the broad peace agenda.
http://www.un.org/peace/peacebuilding/

Kofi Annan Peacekeeping Centre
Delivering courses to military and civilian personnel involved in Peace Support Operations throughout the world, the centre engages in original and challenging research into the causes and subsequent management of conflict and the promotion of peace.
http://www.kaiptc.org/home/

War Child
War Child is a small international charity that protects children living in the world’s most dangerous war zones. They currently work in Iraq, Afghanistan, Democratic Republic of Congo and Uganda
http://www.warchild.org.uk/

Peace Dividend Trust
Peace Dividend Trust (PDT) is a unique non-profit organization dedicated to making peace and
humanitarian operations more effective, efficient and equitable so that they deliver cheaper, faster, smarter missions - resulting in a stronger peace and a larger peace dividend.
http://www.peacedividendtrust.org/

**International Centre for Transitional Justice**
The International Center for Transitional Justice works to redress and prevent the most severe violations of human rights by confronting legacies of mass abuse. ICTJ seeks holistic solutions to promote accountability and create just and peaceful societies.
http://www.ictj.org/en/about/mission/

**Transition International**
Transition International (TI) is a Netherlands-based, international consultancy firm with a network of senior consultants around the world. We are specialised in tackling the challenges of transitions. We promote change for the better through knowledge-sharing, training and advisory services.
http://www.transitioninternational.com/

**The World Bank**
The World Bank is a vital source of financial and technical assistance to developing countries around the world. Our mission is to fight poverty with passion and professionalism for lasting results and to help people help themselves and their environment by providing resources, sharing knowledge, building capacity and forging partnerships in the public and private sectors.

**CforC**
CforC provides political, business, social and cultural insight for investors in emerging and frontier markets. Our goal is to put our clients in the best possible position to achieve long-term success in difficult places.
http://cforcgroup.com/