Section 6

Safe and Secure Environment

Cessation of Large-Scale Violence

- Separation of Warring Parties
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Public Order

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- Interim Law Enforcement
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Territorial Security

- Freedom of Movement
- Border Security

Ability of the people to conduct their daily lives without fear of systematic or large-scale violence.

Physical Security

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- Protection of War Crimes Evidence

Legitimate State Monopoly Over the Means of Violence

- Disarmament and Demobilization
- Reintegration of Ex-Combatants
- Security Sector Reform

Safe and Secure Environment

Ability of the people to conduct their daily lives without fear of systematic or large-scale violence.

6.0 What is a safe and secure environment?

A safe and secure environment is one in which the population has the freedom to pursue daily activities without fear of politically motivated, persistent, or large-scale violence. Such an environment is characterized by an end to large-scale fighting; an adequate level of public order; the subordination of accountable security forces to legitimate state authority; the protection of key individuals, communities, sites, and infrastructure; and the freedom for people and goods to move about the country and across borders without fear of undue harm to life and limb.

6.1 What are the key security challenges in societies emerging from conflict?

The most immediate concern is personal physical safety from violence. Even after the bulk of fighting is over, physical insecurity is often pervasive throughout society from politically motivated violence, rampant gunfire, retaliation by former enemies, gender-based violence, landmines, and emerging armed criminal elements. State authority and security institutions, meanwhile, are likely to be politicized, part of the problem, and severely impaired or nonexistent, creating a security vacuum that insurgents, terrorists, extremists, or criminals will seek to fill. The security threats in transitional environments call for a dual capability to subdue large-scale threats to the peace process while also maintaining public order.

6.2 Why is a safe and secure environment a necessary end state?

A country's recovery from violent conflict depends first and foremost on the establishment of security.⁸⁹ Without security, parties to the conflict will not lay down their arms, and a country will never progress beyond a state of siege and will remain stagnant in its economic, political, and social development. People will refrain from resuming normal activities that are fundamental to a healthy and vibrant society, like sending their children to school, opening shops for business, or traveling to the market. Civilian agencies will be unable to begin laying the critical foundation for promoting the rule of law, good governance, economic growth, and healthy social development.

6.3 What are the necessary conditions to achieve a safe and secure environment?

• Cessation of Large-Scale Violence is a condition in which large-scale armed conflict has come to a halt, warring parties are separated and monitored, a peace agreement or cease-fire has been implemented, and violent spoilers are managed.

^{89.} In this section, the term "security" is used within the context of S&R missions in a society that is just emerging from conflict. It refers primarily to physical safety, although broader definitions of security exist within the development community for "human security." See Appendix E.

- *Public Order* is a condition in which laws are enforced equitably; the lives, property, freedoms, and rights of individuals are protected; criminal and politically motivated violence has been reduced to a minimum; and criminal elements (from looters and rioters to leaders of organized crime networks) are pursued, arrested, and detained.
- Legitimate State Monopoly Over the Means of Violence is a condition in which major illegal armed groups have been identified, disarmed and demobilized; the defense and police forces have been vetted and retrained; and national security forces operate lawfully under a legitimate governing authority.
- *Physical Security* is a condition in which political leaders, ex-combatants, and the general population are free of fear from grave threats to physical safety; refugees and internally displaced persons can return home without fear of retributive violence; women and children are protected from undue violence; and key historical or cultural sites and critical infrastructure are protected from attack.
- *Territorial Security* is a condition in which people and goods can freely move throughout the country and across borders without fear of harm to life and limb; the country is protected from invasion; and borders are reasonably well-secured from infiltration by insurgent or terrorist elements and illicit trafficking of arms, narcotics, and humans.

6.4 General Guidance for a Safe and Secure Environment

6.4.1 Build host nation ownership and capacity. While international actors may have to do the bulk of heavy lifting in the initial phases, the importance of using host nation resources, whenever possible and appropriate, is twofold: (1) to build host nation capacity and (2) to promote state legitimacy through programs that are internally promulgated rather than externally imposed.⁹⁰ This is difficult in countries emerging from violent conflict and may only be possible after essential reforms have been implemented. Local forces are often poorly trained, notorious for human rights abuses or are linked to criminal enterprises.

6.4.2 Act only with an understanding of the local context. Societies emerging from conflict are bewilderingly complex and can differ vastly from one another. Understanding the unique forces at play helps create an effective security strategy. These include, but are not limited to, the following:

- Who are the primary actors in the conflict and what drives them?
- To what extent will their interests be satisfied or undermined by a successful peace process?
- What are their interests, relationships, capabilities, resources, agendas, incentives, and resources?
- What are the motives driving the conflict (economic, cultural, political, ethnic, religious, institutional)?
- What capacity do host nation institutions and actors have in performing critical security functions, restoring basic services, and implementing other emergency phase activities?
- What role do host nation institutions and actors play in managing or exacerbating conflict?

^{90.} UK Stabilisation Unit, UK Approach to Stabilisation, 2008.

• What are host nation perceptions of security? How do host nation actors measure security?⁹¹ Is the military or police a symbol of corruption and abuse?

6.4.3 *Prioritize to stabilize.*⁹² The fundamental goal of a stabilization and reconstruction mission is to prevent a relapse of large-scale armed conflict. While interim decisions may not necessarily be ideal or most efficient, it is important to aim for what is "good enough" to maintain a fragile peace. Security priorities include promoting a political settlement, neutralizing hostile groups, providing basic protection for vulnerable populations and individuals, and securing critical sites and evidence of mass atrocities.⁹³ Maintaining realistic expectations is essential for success.

6.4.4 Use a conflict lens. S&R missions should not be development as usual. All actions must be weighed against their impact on the political situation. Many actions have the potential to affect the balance of power among rival groups and become politically explosive, such as investigating war crimes and human rights violations, choosing where to locate an army base, releasing political prisoners, naming interim officials, deciding which mosque or site to protect, or helping refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) return to minority areas.⁹⁴ Always be sure to assess and understand political ramifications of every action.

6.4.5 Recognize interdependence. Security is often considered a precondition for longterm development because without it, reconstruction activities cannot begin or be sustained and people cannot resume their daily activities. Conversely, progress made in the social, economic, and governance arenas also boosts security by giving people a stake in the peace process and providing them a viable alternative to violence. All of these pieces are interdependent. One cannot happen without the other.

6.5 Necessary Condition: Cessation of Large-Scale Violence

6.5.1 What is the cessation of large-scale violence? Why is it a necessary condition? The cessation of politically motivated and large-scale violence is a condition in which major hostilities among warring parties have come to a halt. Armed groups responsible for the conflict have for the most part been defeated⁹⁵ or physically separated from one another, while faction leaders and extremists are separated from their forces and supporters. In some cases, a cease-fire agreement temporarily sets the terms for a halt in violence. Ending the fighting is the first step in creating lasting peace. Without this, civilians cannot begin their work to restore institutions and services, nor can the host nation population resume normal life. Stopping the violence creates the necessary time

^{91.} United Kingdom Stabilisation Unit, "Helping Countries Recover," 2008. Hereafter: UK Stabilisation Unit, "Helping Countries Recover," 2008.

^{92.} Ibid.

^{93.} UK Stabilisation Unit, UK Approach to Stabilisation, 2008.

Jack Covey, Michael J. Dziedzic and Leonard Hawley, eds., The Quest for Viable Peace: International Intervention and Strategies for Conflict Transformation (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2005). Hereafter: Covey/Dziedzic/Hawley, Quest for Viable Peace, 2005.

Michael Dziedzic, Barbara Sotirin, and John Agoglia, eds. Measuring Progress in Conflict Environments (MPICE)—A Metrics Framework for Assessing Conflict Transformation and Stabilization, Defense Technical Information Catalog, 2008. Hereafter: Dziedzic/Sotirin/Agoglia, Measuring Progress in Conflict Environments, 2008.

and space for a peace agreement to be reached and/or implemented, allowing the warring parties to continue their competitive pursuits in nonviolent ways and within a framework of rules.

6.5.2 Guidance for the Cessation of Large-Scale Violence

6.5.3 Approach: Separation of Warring Parties

Separating warring parties involves establishing distinct areas of control that keeps factions apart from one another and allows peacekeeping forces to monitor their actions. This limits further suffering among civilians, asserts control over fighting forces, and builds confidence nationwide in the prospects for peace. The separation of combatants must be followed up with observation and monitoring of a cease-fire.

6.5.4 Move quickly to separate warring parties and stop the violence. In the early moments of an intervention, the population will likely be shocked and relieved at the sight of peacekeeping troops, while resistance from armed groups will be weak.⁹⁶ Establishing control at this stage and bringing large-scale fighting to a halt demonstrates authority and assertiveness of the mission.⁹⁷ The role of international forces in ensuring stability is vital early on until local forces have become effective and accountable enough to provide security.

6.5.5 Separate forces to create time and space for the peace process. Separation of forces can tamp down tensions so that negotiations and implementation of a peace process can proceed. The nature of the conflict will determine how the forces are separated. In interstate conflicts, separation typically involves interpositioning of peacekeepers to create a buffer zone between the two sides. In internal conflicts where combatants and civilians are intermingled, areas or zones of separation are established on the territory as a neutral space or no-man's land between the parties. Civilians in this neutral space may need to be protected.⁹⁸ Zone boundaries and entry points must be agreed upon by all parties, clearly marked, and physically identifiable on a map or formal record provided to all parties.⁹⁹

6.5.6 Apply principles of restraint, impartiality, and consent when dealing with parties to the conflict.¹⁰⁰ Because peace is fragile at this stage, be sure to carefully assess the impact of all actions on reigniting conflict. Exercising principles of restraint, impartiality and consent is key.

• *Restraint*. Exercising restraint in the use of force against any host nation actor or group of actors is especially important early on when public scrutiny and skepticism are high. A single incident of excessive force could undermine legitimacy by alienating certain groups or enabling spoilers to rally the population against the intervention. Having decisive lethal capacities in these

^{96.} U.S. Army, FM 3-07, 2008.

^{97.} UK Stabilisation Unit, "UK Approach to Stabilisation," 2008.

^{98.} JICA, Handbook for Transition Assistance, 2006.

United Kingdom Ministry of Defence, Joint Warfighting Publication 3-50: The Military Contribution to Peace Support Operations, 2006. Hereafter: UK MOD, JWP 3-50, 2006.

^{100.} United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Handbook on United Nations Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations, 2003. Hereafter: UNDPKO, Handbook on UN Peacekeeping Operations, 2003. UNDPKO, Principles and Guidelines, 2008.

environments is a must, but it is equally important that they be combined with non-lethal capabilities for responding to civil disturbances and managing spoilers. $^{\rm 101}$

- *Impartiality*. In dealing with warring parties, avoid actions that could be construed as being partial to an ethnic or religious group. Be sure to communicate the reasons behind certain actions and enforce compliance between groups with consistency against the standards of the peace agreement.
- *Consent*. There are various dimensions of consent for the presence of the mission, including consent of the host nation population, the host nation government, neighboring countries, and broader international community. While political complexities will likely make it impossible to achieve full consent on all levels, maximizing the consent of all parties is critical for the legitimacy of the intervention. On the other hand, failure to deal effectively with politically motivated violence will erode consent among those suffering from such violence.

6.5.7 Approach: Enduring Cease-fire/Peace Agreement

The peace agreement is a contract among warring parties that symbolizes the willingness to end violence and paves the way for a longer-term political settlement. At times, this process includes or follows a cease-fire agreement that temporarily halts fighting for the purpose of negotiating the settlement. The ultimate goal is to transform the competitive pursuit of political and economic power from violent to peaceful means.¹⁰² All actions in these operations must be tailored to support or advance the peace process.

6.5.8 Understand that stopping armed conflict requires political, not military, solutions. Imposed stability from an international force may be enough to stop the fighting, but it does not ensure that peace will last. A robust political settlement is the cornerstone for sustainable peace that enables warring parties to share power within an agreed framework and resolve their political differences in peaceful ways.¹⁰³ Whereas traditional UN peacekeeping deployments were almost entirely military in nature, mission mandates today often include a direct role for a force commander to help facilitate a political solution to the conflict, by providing good offices or promoting dialogue and reconciliation. Additional aspects of the political process are discussed in Section 3.4.

6.5.9 *Transform the conflict.* Reaching a viable political settlement requires convincing faction leaders that their interests are better served through peaceful rather than violent means. Conflict transformation involves a strategy of "diminishing the means and motivations"¹⁰⁴ for violence while creating ways for pursuing political and economic goals in nonviolent ways. Engineering such an outcome requires thoroughly understanding the conflict players and their motivations and confronting the forces that prosper from the use of violence. Develop strategies to persuade combatants that there are prospects for a better life and incentives for moving forward with a political settlement, rather than fixating themselves on the bitter grudges of the past.¹⁰⁵ There

^{101.} U.S. Army, FM 3-07, 2008.

^{102.} UK Stabilisation Unit, UK Approach to Stabilisation, 2008.

^{103.} UK Stabilisation Unit, "Helping Countries Recover," 2008.

^{104.} Covey/Dziedzic/Hawley, *Quest for a Viable Peace*, 2005. 105. Ibid.

are a number of approaches for doing this, including transforming armed movements into political parties that contend for seats in a national parliament or for executive powers.¹⁰⁶ Conflict transformation is also addressed in Section 3.8.

6.5.10 Approach: Management of Spoilers

A peace agreement rarely satisfies the interests of all parties. They often involve political concessions, ambiguous treatment of core issues in the dispute, an exchange of promises that may not be kept, or a loss of control for those whom the conflict has served well. As a result, there often remain powerful incentives for spoilers—paramilitaries, warlords, and extremists—to continue conflict-era activities, feed lawlessness, and maintain illicit or parallel power structures.¹⁰⁷ Spoilers perceive the peace process as contradicting their own interests and try to undermine it through violence and intimidation.¹⁰⁸ Spoilers are difficult to categorize but are generally defined by their motivations, capability and activities. They can include organized groups, loose confederations of people with related goals, or individuals working alone.¹⁰⁹ Spoilers are also addressed in Sections 7.6.5, 7.6.7, 8.7, and 9.6.

6.5.11 Anticipate obstructionists and understand their motivations. Understanding the characteristics of spoilers can shape the strategies used to influence them, whether it's bringing them into the process or marginalizing them from it. Ask the following questions to better understand the nature of the spoilers:¹¹⁰

- Is the group willing to compromise and share power?
- Can the group be considered a "total" spoiler, unwilling to consider limitations on its power?
- Is the group greedy—does the group's demands grow with the prospect of appeasement?
- Does the group enjoy the support of a neighboring state or have access to resources?
- Which individuals or communities, if any, have influence over the spoilers?

6.5.12 *Create a plan for managing the spoilers.* There are two primary approaches for dealing with spoilers in the peace process:

• *Inclusion*—Inclusion involves persuading spoilers that their aims can be met peacefully through compromise and the peace process. This approach may be the best option for "limited spoilers," those whose pursuits are limited and who are willing to accept political compromise. Other methods of inclusion are the reintegration of ex-combatants into society and transforming armed groups into political parties.¹¹¹

^{106.} JICA, Handbook for Transition Assistance, 2006.

^{107.} Covey/Dziedzic/Hawley, Quest for a Viable Peace, 2005.

^{108.} Stephen Stedman, "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes," *International Security*, vol. 22, no. 2 (Fall 1997). Hereafter: Stedman, "Spoiler Problems," 1997.

^{109.} North Atlantic Treaty Organization, *Allied Joint Publication 3.4.1: Allied Joint Doctrine for Peace Support Operations*, 2007. Hereafter: NATO, *AJP 3.4.1*, 2007.

^{110.} UK Stabilisation Unit, "UK Approach to Stabilisation," 2008.

^{111.} JICA, Handbook for Transition Assistance, 2006.

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• *Exclusion*—Exclusion entails arresting spoilers, shutting them out of the peace process or marginalizing them to limit their influence on the peace process. This can be done in many ways, including by military force or the transitional justice process. Exclusion is appropriate for "total" spoilers—those see the world in all-or-nothing terms, refuse to renounce violence and are unlikely to compromise in achieving their goals. Total spoilers are often motivated by religious or political idealism. The costs of excluding spoilers include greater potential for retaliation and violence, but it may be necessary for zealots whose aims cannot be met through compromise. Exclusion must be used with caution to avoid inciting tensions.¹¹²

These approaches, however, are increasingly difficult to apply in complex conflict environments, as many actors may change their positions and demands from one day to the next. Strategies will have to be highly adaptive and dynamic and seek to transform spoilers, through subordination to legitimate government authority, marginalization, defeat, or reintegration.

6.5.13 Maintain the primacy of the peace process. The "primacy of the peace process" means the mission should support those who support the peace process while actively opposing spoilers who obstruct it.¹¹³ This forces people to focus on supporting political processes, not personalities or factions.¹¹⁴ All actions, particularly responses to incidents, should be balanced against the requirements of the political process.¹¹⁵ Using the peace process as a standard by which all parties are dealt with allows peacekeepers to respond impartially across the board in a legitimate way. Aspects of the political process are also addressed in Section 3.4.

6.5.14 Adopt an "assertive position" with regard to peace agreement enforcement.

Threats to the peace process can exist in many forms: illicit power structures, organized crime networks, rogue intelligence organizations, warlords, militants, fanatical religious groups, or terrorists. Many of these groups have no regard for international laws of war. To assert control over these threats, peacekeeping forces should have the mandated authority to use "all necessary means" to enforce the peace process and show spoilers their aims cannot be achieved outside of that process.¹¹⁶ They must be prepared to investigate violations of the peace agreement and observe refugee movements and potential points of tension. If a breach is witnessed, authorities should swiftly secure evidence, question witnesses before they are coached on what to say, and deal with perpetrators within the legal constraints of the mission. This often involves arrest and detainment of violators to be handed over to civil legal authority. When dealing with members of warring parties, actions should seek to contain rather than exacerbate tensions. Ultimately, peacekeepers must be impartial in dealing with the parties, but not neutral in responding to behavior that obstructs the peace process. *See Trade-off: Section 6.10.3, Applying force vs. maintaining mission legitimacy.*

^{112.} UK Stabilisation Unit, "Helping Countries Recover," 2008; Stedman, "Spoiler Problems," 1997; NATO, "AJP 3.4.1," 2007.

^{113.} Covey/Dziedzic/Hawley, Quest for a Viable Peace, 2005.

^{114.} UK Stabilisation Unit, "UK Approach to Stabilisation," 2008.

^{115.} UK Stabilisation Unit, "Helping Countries Recover," 2008.

^{116.} Covey/Dziedzic/Hawley, Quest for a Viable Peace, 2005.

6.5.15 Approach: Intelligence

Intelligence is not a dirty word. It is essential for security. Police need actionable information on politically motivated violence, crimes, and civil disturbances, which requires aggressive and continuous reconnaissance and surveillance. Knowledge allows the police to identify potential hot spots within communities before they ignite and gather information on hostile groups or individuals, terrain, weather, and even the performance of other local police officers. The gathering of intelligence must conform with human rights standards. *See Gap/Challenge: Section 6.11.2, Intelligence.*

6.5.16 Remember that the population is the best resource for information. Hiring professional and knowledgeable host nation counterparts, who can speak the language and discern cultural nuances, may be key to gathering necessary information. Other ways are to commission detailed studies on the local political economy and power structures or to build local intelligence institutions or information coordination mechanisms. Overall, a greater investment must be made upfront to acquire adequate knowledge about the country.¹¹⁷ Police also gather intelligence by being present in the communities, building trust, and talking to people. Many humanitarian agencies also have deep knowledge of the situations because they often precede the arrival of peacekeeping forces. Reports, Web sites, and databases created by these organizations can provide rich insight into local situations.¹¹⁸

6.5.17 Local intelligence is a must, but be very aware of sensitivities. Mounting an effective operation against insurgents, militants, spoilers, and other threats requires accurate local intelligence. Intelligence collection should cover the geopolitical situation in the country; historical and cultural influences on the host nation population; and updated assessments on the attitudes, capabilities, intentions, and likely reactions of all relevant actors in a society. While open sources and strategic sources are critical, the richest source of information will be humans on the ground. Intelligence activities, however, can rouse extreme political sensitivities and jeopardize the safety of NGOs, intelligence sources, third-party individuals, international aid workers, commercial enterprises, and foreign governments supporting the operation. Specifically, intelligence-gathering activities must not hamper the neutrality of the International Committee of the Red Cross and its mandate to entertain contacts with non-state actors. Humanitarian principles are further addressed in Section 6.8.4.

6.5.18 Given the sensitivities, be creative in acquiring critical information. Innovative and safe ways to acquire information include public reports routinely published by human rights monitors or NGOs, cease-fire observers, patrol units, and other actors who interact with the host nation population.¹¹⁹ Acquiring critical information can also be improved by providing the population with security, especially in situations involving active insurgencies. In these cases, populations often sit on the fence and are more likely to provide tips on insurgent bases or weapons caches if they feel safe enough to do so.

^{117.} UK Stabilisation Unit, "Helping Countries Recover," 2008; Seth G. Jones, Jeremy M. Wilson, Andrew Rathmell, and K. Jack Riley, *Establishing Law and Order After Conflict* (Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, 2005).

^{118.} Dobbins/Jones/Crane/Cole DeGrasse, Beginner's Guide, 2007.

^{119.} UK MOD, JWP 3-50, 2006.

6.5.19 Coordinate military-police intelligence sharing.¹²⁰ Police forces, as does the U.S. military, stand up centers to lawfully collect information and develop it into actionable intelligence. Whenever possible in S&R missions, these police and military intelligence centers should be colocated to maximize both efficiency and effectiveness of collection and analysis and to quickly share information.

6.5.20 Develop the capacity to conduct intelligence-led operations against spoilers. Intelligence-led operations target those who seek to oppose the peace process through violent and criminal means. Military and international police resources should be focused on collecting actionable information about the identity of the individuals responsible for extremist violence, their networks, and their vulnerabilities. An intelligence-led operation must contribute to the overall peace process and promote public confidence in the mission. There must be a proactive information campaign to achieve this as part of the overall plan for any such operation. The purposes of intelligence-led operations include the following:¹²¹

- *Disruption*: The operation may be triggered through the receipt of intelligence that indicates a specific activity has been planned. Thus the operation seeks to interdict the planned event.
- *Dislocation*: The operation may be designed to separate a particular individual from extremist or criminal activity by attacking links. It may also seek to undermine popular support for extremist or criminal groups. Deterrence may follow dislocation.
- *Decisive Action*: The desired result is a successful criminal prosecution and thus sufficient evidence must be gained from the operation to achieve conviction.

6.6 Necessary Condition: Public Order

Public order is a necessary condition of both Safe and Secure Environment and Rule of Law. It is described fully in Section 7.6 Necessary Condition: Public Order.

6.7 Necessary Condition: Legitimate State Monopoly Over The Means of Violence

6.7.1 What is legitimate state monopoly over the means of violence? Why is it a necessary condition?

The legitimate state monopoly over the means of violence is a condition in which a state's security forces operate lawfully under a legitimate civilian authority, where actors conduct themselves in accordance with democratic norms and principles of good governance.¹²² This condition exists when armed groups from the conflict are disarmed, demobilized, and reintegrated into society, and a military and police force is vetted, retrained, and monitored on human rights principles. Realizing this condition usually entails two major processes: disarming, demobilizing, and reintegrating armed groups

^{120.} Dobbins/Jones/Crane/Cole DeGrasse, Beginner's Guide, 2007.

^{121.} Col. Hugh Boscawen, Col. Mike Redmond, and Bertram Welsing, "Intelligence to Evidence Operations," presented at the UNDPKO Command Development Seminar, Center of Excellence for Stability Police Units (COESPU), 2006.

^{122.} Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, Shaping a Security Governance Agenda in Post-Conflict Peacebuilding, 2005.

(known as DDR), and reforming the security sector (known as SSR)—the system of actors and institutions that provide for the security of the state and the host nation population. Both processes are extremely time- and resource-intensive ones that are always challenging and politically volatile. In war-torn countries where security and security oversight institutions are weak, citizens become vulnerable to intimidation; arbitrary arrest; serious criminal activity; and general fear of violence, oppression, and injustice. These threats disproportionately affect vulnerable and marginalized populations, including women and children. A core responsibility of the state to its citizens is protection against external and internal threats.¹²³ Accountable and effective state security institutions are necessary for these functions.

6.7.2 Guidance for the Legitimate Monopoly Over the Means of Violence

6.7.3 Approach: Disarmament and Demobilization (DD)

Dealing with combatants is a first-order step in moving to peace. Disarming and demobilizing ex-combatants is a highly visible process that can increase public confidence in the peace process. Disarmament involves collecting and destroying weapons; demobilization involves dismantling military units and transitioning combatants to civilian life through orientation programs and transportation to their communities. Demobilization involves registering individuals and monitoring them in assembly camps while they await reintegration. Reintegration is typically grouped together with disarmament and demobilization and benefits from similar guidance points, but it is separated here to emphasize the unique challenges of successfully reinserting ex-combatants into society.

6.7.4 Start DD planning early. Strategic planning for disarmament and demobilization should commence before a peace process begins or at least while negotiations are still ongoing.¹²⁴ This ensures that details of the DD program are entrenched in the peace agreement. Be careful not to rush the start of disarmament until sufficient peacekeeping troops are in place for security. The strategic planning period should address the role of the host nation government vice international agencies; define roles for implementing and monitoring the disarmament and demobilization program; identify rebel groups, government forces, and their weapons; determine eligibility for the DD programs has proven to be critical to their success, so be sure they are included.¹²⁵ Build in flexible and realistic timetables to account for implementation delays and to build public confidence.

6.7.5 *Tailor the DD strategy to local conditions.*¹²⁶ A great deal of information is needed to properly tailor a disarmament and demobilization program to the situation on the ground. Assess the nature of the conflict, the set of targeted clients, and the overall

^{123.} UNDP/USAID, "First Steps," 2007.

^{124.} Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit GmbH (GTZ), DDR: A Practical Field and Classroom Guide, 2004. Hereafter: GTZ, Practical Guide, 2004. European Union, EU Concept for Support to Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration, 2006. Hereafter: EU, Concept for DDR, 2006.

^{125.} Camille Pampell Conaway, *The Role of Women in Stabilization and Reconstruction* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace, 2006). Hereafter: Conaway, *The Role of Women*, 2006.

^{126.} United States Department of State, Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization, Lessons-Learned: Demobilization, Disarmament, and Reintegration (DDR) in Stabilization and Reconstruction Operations, 2006.

power balance among warring parties. For the disarmament phase, peacekeepers should collect information on the number, types, and locations of weapons used during the conflict, along with storage depot sites and stockpiles that exist throughout the country. In devising a demobilization program, be sure to profile combatant demographics, paying special attention to vulnerable groups, such as women and children.

6.7.6 Include details of disarmament and demobilization in the peace agreement. Details of the program must be entrenched within the peace agreement¹²⁷ and broader peace-building strategies to minimize inconsistency in the implementation of disarmament and demobilization and the training of forces carrying out disarmament. In particular, the peace agreement should specify details where possible, such as when a cease-fire is to come into effect; flexible target dates and benchmarks for progress; the types of weapons and ammunition being collected and modes of their disposal; and the institutions that will implement the DDR and SSR programs. Participants in the process can include formal national security forces, paramilitary units, intelligence operatives, private militias, or other armed groups, as well as non-combatants who supported those groups.

6.7.7 *Provide credible security guarantees to build confidence in disarmament.*¹²⁸ The provision of credible security guarantees helps ensure that disarmament and demobilization participants have the confidence to give up their weapons. The peacekeeping force must have the capacity to provide this security at all phases of the program, particularly at demobilization camps where many ex-combatants gather while waiting to be reintegrated into society. This also means paying close attention to the balance of power among factions throughout the process. International support can lend credibility to these efforts, by overseeing disarmament and demobilization implementation or participating in a national oversight commission to ensure that disarmament rates among rivals are comparable.¹²⁹ This support should also ensure that disarmament violations are investigated, confronted, and corrected.

6.7.8 Maximize bost nation ownership in the disarmament and demobilization strategy. Ownership requires not just the buy-in of the host nation government, but the participation of the community and civil society, and the political will of the parties.¹³⁰ Ownership may be difficult to achieve in the immediate aftermath of a conflict because capacity is low. In the transition, a robust partnership between host nation and international actors is essential, where host nation actors provide the drive and international actors should maintain active consultation with host nation actors to maximize ownership.

6.7.9 Inform the population to build popular support. A strong public information and education campaign that boosts transparency and accountability is essential to a successful disarmament and demobilization campaign.¹³¹ Sensitizing the population to the objectives of the program will build confidence for the effort and demonstrate the

^{127.} EU, Concept for DDR, 2006.

^{128.} United Nations DDR Resource Centre, Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standard, 2006. Hereafter: UN DDR, Integrated DDR, 2006. Covey/Dziedzic/Hawley, Quest for a Viable Peace, 2005.

^{129.} Dobbins/Jones/Crane/Cole DeGrasse, Beginner's Guide, 2007.

^{130.} GTZ, Practical Guide, 2004; UN, Integrated DDR, 2006.

^{131.} UN, Integrated DDR, 2006.

importance of accepting ex-combatants into communities to give them a chance at an alternative life. The information campaign should also inform combatants of their rights and obligations in the process, details on disarmament and cantonment sites, as well as the benefits of participation.

6.7.10 *Aim for inclusivity of all warring parties.* Disarmament and demobilization programs are most successful when *all* parties to the conflict demonstrate a desire to abide by the terms of and participate in the broader peace process. In turn, the program must include and treat all warring parties equitably, regardless of gender, race, class, or political positions.¹³² The rate of disarmament among different warring parties should be comparable to avoid a sudden change in the balance of military power.

6.7.11 Include affected nontraditional combatants. The disarmament and demobilization program must carefully consider vulnerable groups within the ex-combatant community, such as female and child soldiers, disabled and chronically ill individuals, as well as the families of combatants whose livelihoods may have been derived from militias.¹³³ Many of these individuals may not have carried guns but were involved in the logistics of the conflict. Programs should also be "gender-aware" (both male and female), which includes having a clear understanding of gender relations in the country, an understanding of masculinities and patterns of male violence, as well as female-specific interventions to ensure women have the same access to disarmament and demobilization benefits as do men.

6.7.12 Ensure accountability to human rights standards through identification.¹³⁴ Registration and identification of ex-combatants can ensure that the bad guys are not inadvertently reintegrated into state security forces and are prevented from sabotaging or subverting the peace process. Identification can also encourage participation in representative government, aid in resolving property disputes, and be used to validate professional credentials. Creating an identification program can involve securing documents on personal information, including identification cards, land titles, court records, professional certificates, voter registration, birth certificates, and driving licenses.

6.7.13 Ensure that DD is civilian-led, with technical input and operational support from international forces. Disarmament and demobilization is largely a civilian effort, though the military has a critical role in the methodology for disarmament and ensuring security during this process. Overall, DD requires high levels of coordination between civilians and the military. The military has a big role in disarmament; military and civilians assist in demobilization, while civilians are primarily involved in the reintegration phase of the conventional DDR program.¹³⁵

6.7.14 Approach: Reintegration of Ex-Combatants

Reintegration is a social and economic process in which ex-combatants return to community life and engage in alternative livelihoods to violence.¹³⁶ Integrating ex-combatants into civilian life gives ex-combatants a stake in the peace and reduces the likelihood that they

^{132.} Ibid.

^{133.} EU, Concept for DDR, 2006. GTZ, Practical Guide, 2004. UN, Integrated DDR, 2006.

^{134.} GTZ, Practical Guide, 2004. UN, Integrated DDR, 2006.

^{135.} JICA, "Handbook for Transition Assistance," 2006.

^{136.} United Nations Secretary-General, "Note to the General Assembly," A/C.5/59/31, 2005.

will turn to criminal activity or join insurgent groups to support themselves if they cannot find gainful employment. Reintegration activities include creating microenterprises, providing education and training, and preparing communities to receive ex-combatants.¹³⁷ Reintegration is attached to the DDR process, but in reality it requires the attention, resources, and expertise of a very specific set of social and economic actors. It is a big gap for peacebuilders. Economic aspects of reintegration are further discussed in Section 9.6.17. Education for demobilized soldiers is addressed in Section 10.6.12.

6.7.15 Prepare for reintegration to be the most sensitive and difficult phase of DDR.

The reintegration of former combatants is the most politically sensitive element of the conventional DDR program and thus presents a more complex challenge than either disarmament or demobilization. While DD processes are time-bound and quantifiable, reintegration is much less discrete, making it harder to implement, monitor, and measure for success. Successful reintegration requires deep understanding of the social and economic needs of the combatants, as wielding weapons may have become a major part of their identity or livelihood. Reintegration also requires careful treatment of psychosocial impacts for child soldiers or women and girls who were abused during violent conflict.¹³⁸ Another reintegration challenge involves preparing and convincing host communities to accept ex-combatants into their neighborhoods. In particular, consider the risk of displacing women who may have assumed head-of-household responsibilities during the conflict.¹³⁹

See Gap/Challenge: Section 6.11.5, Reintegration of ex-combatants.

6.7.16 Avoid making ex-combatants a privileged class by integrating them into broader recovery strategies aimed at all conflict-affected populations. While ex-combatants may need special attention to prevent them from destabilizing the peace, paying exclusive attention to them risks generating resentment from the broader population. Other groups also requiring substantial social and economic support include refugees, IDPs, women, and children who were victims of the conflict. Security should be balanced with equity. As much as possible, integrate strategies for ex-combatants with broader strategies addressing resettlement and rehabilitation for displaced populations, reconciliation efforts, rule of law, and governance.¹⁴⁰ Doing so will also help to prevent ex-combatants from becoming stigmatized or isolated from the rest of the community.

6.7.17 Sustain international support for the reintegration process.¹⁴¹ International actors often show great enthusiasm for disarmament and demobilization, and they fund these programs based on peacekeeping assessments in UN missions. But their commitment to reintegration programs may be less certain. Inadequacy of resources has frequently hampered reintegration efforts in the past.¹⁴² Successful reintegration requires a prompt and sustained commitment of international financial and technical assistance for many years.

^{137.}UN, "Integrated DDR," 2006.

^{138.} UNDP/USAID, "First Steps," 2007.

^{139.} Conaway, "The Role of Women," 2006.

^{140.} UN, "Integrated DDR," 2006.

^{141.} EU, "Concept for DDR," 2006.

^{142.} Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development, *Economic Reconstruction in Post-Conflict Transitions: Lessons for the Democratic Republic of Congo*, 2003.

6.7.18 Approach: Security Sector Reform

Security sector reform is the set of policies, plans, programs, and activities that a government undertakes to improve the way it provides safety, security and justice.¹⁴³ Developing an integrated system of actors, institutions and oversight bodies is the only mechanism through which the government can provide security. All security forces must always be subordinate to and act at the direction of a legitimate civilian authority. This is challenging in societies emerging from conflict where the population may retain a deeply ingrained perception of security institutions as self-serving and dangerous as opposed to existing for the protection of the public.¹⁴⁴

See Gap/Challenge: Section 6.11.1, Security sector reform.

6.7.19 Ensure that reforms reflect the security needs of the host nation population.¹⁴⁵ Reforms cannot be imposed from the outside and should reflect the needs and priorities of the population. The success of SSR principles, policies, laws, and structures depends heavily on consideration of unique local history, culture, legal framework, and institutions. Transform the culture of insecurity by supporting new institutions and forces that operate in accordance with democratic principles, the rule of law, and respect for human rights. Promote the participation of women in new ministries and security forces.¹⁴⁶ Building a police force should also be prioritized over the military, as internal threats are more likely to pose a greater threat to security than external threats.¹⁴⁷ Police are better equipped and trained to handle common threats to public order, such as arms trafficking and transnational organized crime.

6.7.20 Strengthening security forces is not enough; promote good governance and legitimate civilian oversight to ensure long-term accountability.¹⁴⁸ The focus for SSR has been skewed toward building new military and police forces. While important, more attention must be paid to strengthening civilian oversight mechanisms for accountability of those forces over the long term. Oversight should come from across the government, as well as civil society and the media. Legislative committees, for example, can call ministers and other military/intelligence leaders before them to account for proper use of public funds. When building training platforms and providing material assistance to security forces, also provide infrastructure, personnel, and administrative support for civilian oversight institutions. Good governance over the security sector is also discussed in Section 8.6.13.

6.7.21 Prevent infiltration of security forces through robust vetting. Police forces may comprise individuals who have committed human rights violations or who are corrupt. Lustration or vetting may be necessary. Vetting requires a great deal of time and resources. It typically begins with identification. For example, in the police, there are

^{143.} U.S. Department of State, U.S. Department of Defense, and U.S. Agency for International Development, Security Sector Reform, 2008.

^{144.} Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, The Post-Conflict Security Sector, 2006.

^{145.} Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development, *Economic Reconstruction in Post-Conflict Transitions: Lessons for the Democratic Republic of Congo*, 2003.

^{146.} Conaway, "The Role of Women," 2006.

^{147.} OECD DAC, SSR Handbook, 2007. UNDP/USAID, "First Steps," 2007. Oakley/Dziedzic/Goldberg, Policing the New World Disorder, 2002.

^{148.} Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, *Border Control Services and Security Sector Reform*, 2002; JICA, "Handbook for Transition Assistance," 2006; and U.S. Army, *FM 3-07*, 2008.

often no records to confirm whether someone was indeed on the police roster. Set up stringent recruiting criteria to eliminate incompetent or corrupt individuals. Develop effective monitoring and auditing mechanisms to maintain those standards.¹⁴⁹ Also keep in mind that widespread vetting and lustration early on can pose risks by eliminating the majority of human capital from the police forces. Balance this risk against the harm that may ensue if human rights violators are allowed to remain in the force and contravene rule of law standards. Recruit only individuals, not groups, to avoid allowing groups to consolidate control in a force that is still weak. Ensure that the force is representative of the population in terms of gender, ethnicity, religion, and language.¹⁵⁰ For a discussion of vetting the judiciary, see Section 7.6.18.

6.7.22 Focus on public service ethos and competence when training security forces.

Instilling concepts of human rights and accountability will restore confidence in the security forces over the long term. Communicating these concepts to the population can also help build support for the security forces. Focus on competence through imparting technical knowledge and skills, including those for management, investigation, intelligence, search and seizure, and forensics. Also work closely with senior-level police, whose buy-in and political support will be critical to the success of reform and bringing about cultural change in the whole organization. Provide gender-sensitive training for forces with specific attention to the need to prevent and treat gender-based violence.¹⁵¹

6.7.23 Support the improvement of police-community relations and police responsiveness.

Historic mistrust and lack of respect for the police makes people turn to other forms of justice. For the police to be seen as a force for good, community-police relations need to be improved. Relations can be fostered through community policing committees or consultative fora where the community has an opportunity to share their concerns with the police. Information gathered from the public about general public order problems or specific incidents can both have a preventative effect and aid police investigations. Consultations also help enhance the responsiveness of the police.¹⁵² Other ways to enhance police responsiveness are to ensure there are more officers on foot or bicycle patrol, making them more accessible to the public, and to train police to courteously explain the reasons for their actions.

6.7.24 Ensure coherence of strategy and effort among major actors.¹⁵³ SSR is highly cooperative in nature and should involve the military, intergovernmental organizations, NGOs, multinational partners, civil society, media, and the host nation. The security sector comprises all actors who collectively provide security:¹⁵⁴

• Core actors directly involved in protecting civilians and the state from violent harm (e.g., police and military forces and internal intelligence agencies)

^{149.} UK Foreign & Commonwealth Office, *Peace Support Operations: Information and Guidance for UK Police Personnel*, 2007. Hereafter: UK FCO, *Police Personnel*, 2007.

^{150.} David H. Bayley, *Changing the Guard: Developing Democratic Police Abroad* (Oxford: University Press Oxford, 2006). Hereafter: Bayley, *Changing the Guard*, 2006.

^{151.} Conaway, "The Role of Women," 2006.

^{152.} Bayley, Changing the Guard, 2006.

^{153.} U.S. Army, FM 3-07, 2008.

^{154.} Sean McFate, Securing the Future: A Primer on Security Sector Reform in Conflict Countries (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace, 2008).

- Institutions that govern these actors (e.g., ministries of interior, defense, and justice, and national security councils)
- · Oversight bodies.

Reform of any of these elements must be conducted in tandem with other reform activities in the security sector. A weak justice system, for example, can undermine any benefits of policing by enabling organized crime, corruption, extrajudicial killings, and petty crime.¹⁵⁵ It can also lead to a militarized security or the use of forces outside of the appropriate human rights and justice frameworks.

6.7.25 Promote the civil authority of the state; long-term stability depends on it.¹⁵⁶ S&R missions are no longer dominated by traditional military tasks (e.g., interpositioning, supervising ceasefires, verifying peace agreement compliance). While the military is still crucial for containing hardcore militants, pursuing insurgents, interdicting arms supply chains, or confronting obstructionists to the peace process, ¹⁵⁷ it should always act at the direction of the civilian authority to ensure support for the broader political strategy.

6.8 Necessary Condition: Physical Security

6.8.1 What is physical security? Why is it a necessary condition?

A safe and secure environment requires the physical security of civilians (host nation and international), critical infrastructure, public forums, and key historical or cultural sites. Under this condition, civilians are largely free from persistent fear of grave threats to physical safety, including national and host nation leaders, international aid workers, returnees, women, and children. Protecting people and critical places is vital to preventing a renewal in violence and keeping the peace process and delivery of services on track. Attacks on certain groups of civilians or assassinations of key leaders can invite retributive attacks from opposing parties, leading to escalation of large-scale hostilities. Similarly, attacks against key cultural or religious symbols can quickly reignite violent conflict. Violence against critical infrastructure can disrupt delivery of vital services and sow panic.

6.8.2 Guidance for Physical Security

6.8.3 Approach: Security of Vulnerable Populations

Vulnerable populations can include any individual or community of people that is particularly subject to imminent and persistent physical attack. This often includes disenfranchised groups, women, children, minorities, displaced people, elderly, people living with HIV/AIDS, as well as host nation leaders, judges, and aid workers, who may be targets of political violence. Protecting these groups is vital for preventing suffering and ensuring human rights while also strengthening confidence in peace in the eyes of the people, neighboring countries and the global community.¹⁵⁸

^{155.} Dobbins/Jones/Crane/Cole DeGrasse, Beginner's Guide, 2007.

^{156.} UK Stabilisation Unit, "UK Approach to Stabilisation," 2008.

^{157.} Ibid. UNDPKO "Principles and Guidelines," 2008. Covey/Dziedzic/Hawley, *Quest for a Viable Peace*, 2005. 158. U.S. Army, *FM 3-07*, 2008.

6.8.4 Respect the boundaries of humanitarian space and understand humanitarian principles of independence, humanity, impartiality, and neutrality.¹⁵⁹ Humanitarian organizations will operate with these core principles in mind, some more strictly than others. Those providing physical security must facilitate rapid and unimpeded passage of all relief consignments, equipment and personnel from impartial humanitarian agencies, including the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Recognizing the impartial domain of humanitarian assistance providers helps ensure the safety of those delivering the services and the effectiveness of that delivery. Humanity refers to the goal of alleviating human suffering in all circumstances, protecting life and health, and ensuring respect for the individual.¹⁶⁰ Impartiality refers to the principle that humanitarian assistance must be based on need alone, without regard to nationality, race, religion, class, or politics.¹⁶¹ While the concept of *neutrality* is more widely disputed, many humanitarian organizations, including the ICRC, use it to mean it will not take sides in hostilities or engage in controversies involving politics, race, religion, or ideology.¹⁶² Independence refers to the autonomy of humanitarian actors from the actions or policies of any government, so that they are able to adhere to these principles.¹⁶³ See Gap/Challenge: Section 10.10.1, Protection of humanitarian space.

6.8.5 Ensure that the UN mandate includes the obligation to protect civilians under imminent threat of physical violence. The protection of civilians from physical violence, including genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes, and crimes against humanity, is a vital function of S&R missions. Civilians and international workers are increasingly the direct targets in armed conflict and make up the bulk of casualties.¹⁶⁴ Require the protection of civilians under immediate threat of physical violence in the UN mandate,¹⁶⁵ along with wounded or sick combatants who no longer partake in the armed conflict. The most vulnerable groups are often refugees, IDPs, women, and children. When deciding to return to minority areas, refugees and IDPs care first and foremost about their personal security. Women also require unique attention, having often borne a disproportionate share of the consequences of violent conflict.¹⁶⁶

6.8.6 *Protect vulnerable public officials.* Many public officials become targets for assassination by those who oppose the peace process. These include local political leaders,

165. UNDPKO, "Principles and Guidelines," 2008.

^{159.} Interaction, U.S. Department of Defense, U.S. Institute of Peace, *Guidelines for Relations Between U.S. Armed Forces and Nongovernmental Humanitarian Organizations in Hostile or Potentially Hostile Environments*, 2007. In some instances, international forces may be tasked to provide security for designated NGOs delivering humanitarian assistance. International military forces must never disguise themselves as NGO personnel nor their equipment as NGO equipment.

^{160.} International Committee of the Red Cross, "The Fundamental Principles of the Red Cross," 1979, available at: http://www.icrc.org/Web/eng/siteeng0.nsf/html/EA08067453343B76C1256D2600383BC4?OpenDo cument&Style=Custo_Final.3&View=defaultBody3 (accessed June 18, 2009). Hereafter: ICRC, "Fundamental Principles," 1979.

^{161.} Ibid..

^{162.} Ibid.

^{163.} Ibid.

^{164.} Report of the International Commission on Intervention and Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect*, 2001. The "responsibility to protect" is "the idea that sovereign states have a responsibility to protect their own citizens from avoidable catastrophe—from mass murder and rape, from starvation—but that when they are unwilling or unable to do so, that responsibility must be borne by the broader community of states."

^{166.} UNDPKO, "Handbook on UN Peacekeeping Operations," 2003.

judges, prosecutors, defense counsels, or any individual who is willing to take risks for peace or has a role in ending impunity or implementing unwanted reforms. Establishing close protection programs for these individuals may be necessary to ensure their safety, including special convoy arrangements for travel, bodyguards, and other security measures.

6.8.7 *Address all aspects of landmines.* The presence of landmines wreaks havoc on civilian populations long after warfare has ceased. These weapons exist in the form of unexploded ordnance (UXO), antipersonnel mines (APM), and antitank mines. Some APMs are designed to injure rather than kill their victims, which creates an increased burden on society, prolongs memories of conflict, and impedes healing and reconciliation processes. Wider effects include restricting the freedom of movement and hindering international trade. Protecting the population will require emergency de-mining and UXO removal, marking mined areas that have yet to be cleared and mapping minefields to provide a baseline for clearance operations.¹⁶⁷ Other means of enhancing civilian protection from these threats include the following:¹⁶⁸

- Educating people on the risks of mines to prevent casualties through mass media campaigns, posters, television spots, and radio messages
- Assisting victims by providing aid, relief, comfort, and support to reduce physical and psychological trauma
- · Destroying stockpiles of APMs.

Clearing minefields also has critical impacts on international troops that need access to all parts of the mission area when carrying out their tasks, including maintaining critical supply lines.¹⁶⁹ The sharing of landmine master maps with key actors is critical.

6.8.8 Coordinate across military, law enforcement, and civilian actors to provide security. Military, police, and civilian actors in a mission all play a role in protecting civilians. Concerted and coordinated action must therefore be mainstreamed into all planning and execution. Coordination should include UN humanitarian agencies and NGO partners, which also play a major role in civilian protection.¹⁷⁰ All interactions among these actors should be conducted transparently to protect humanitarian boundaries.¹⁷¹

6.8.9 Approach: Protection of Infrastructure

Infrastructure protection is an essential and wide-reaching responsibility that includes securing structures and sites that are vulnerable to attack: critical public infrastructure such as roads, port facilities, and telecommunications systems; historical, cultural, or community institutions like churches, schools, graveyards, mosques, and museums; markets and other public places; and international military installations or relief agency headquarters. Protect these structures to ensure that attacks do not inflame wartime tensions and that the population has access to assistance.

^{167.} U.S. Army, FM 3-07, 2008.

^{168.} UNDPKO, "Handbook on UN Peacekeeping Operations," 2003.

^{169.} Ibid.

^{170.} UNDPKO, "Principles and Guidelines," 2008.

^{171.} U.S. Army, FM 3-07, 2008.

6.8.10 Protect and promote safety of cultural and historical sites to mitigate conflict.¹⁷² Protection of cultural sites and resources can prevent renewal of fighting and build the trust of the population. Many groups take immense pride in their cultural institutions, such as museums and libraries that house collections of ancient objects, archives, books, and art. Other sites of significance can include religious structures, graveyards, or natural resources. By protecting these entities, the mission and/or host nation demonstrates respect for the people, who are more likely to reciprocate with trust. Be prepared to provide protection from attacks, while also ensuring that no damage is done to archaeological sites when constructing infrastructure such as building roads, digging canals, or putting up cellphone towers.

6.8.11 Protect high-value infrastructure targets to prevent disruption to peace.¹⁷³ Critical economic infrastructure vulnerable to sabotage by spoilers is a prime object of attack in S&R environments. To enable humanitarian assistance and economic recovery efforts, protection is essential for key government installations and for transportation, tele-communications, and other essential infrastructure. Additionally, securing courthouses involving high-profile legal cases is a recurring requirement. Infrastructure development is addressed in Section 9.7.3.

6.8.12 Approach: Protection of War Crimes Evidence

The protection of war crimes evidence is an immediate priority to ensure that evidence will be admissible for use in war crimes prosecutions. Evidence can include mass graves, buildings used as interrogation facilities, or testimony from people. Documenting evidence is an enormous task requiring significant investment of resources in personnel to conduct fieldwork.

6.8.13 Prioritize witness protection programs to ensure willingness of people to testify. People who witness crimes become victims of threats and intimidation to themselves and their families. Protecting these individuals is key to giving witnesses confidence to come forward to testify against criminals so that justice can be served.¹⁷⁴ Protection can include physical security of individuals and their families, including relocation and psychosocial support.

6.8.14 Move quickly to secure crime sites to avoid tampering or sabotage by spoilers. Wartime perpetrators seeking to protect themselves will try to sabotage evidence in any way they can. Sometimes the host nation population will tamper with evidence inadvertently in an effort to memorialize loss. Because the military is often first on the scene, soldiers must be prepared to identify, secure, and preserve evidence of war crimes effectively so it can be used in courts or tribunals for war crimes. This process may include creating an atrocity reporting system; documenting evidence; protecting witnesses; and assisting in the investigation, arrest, and transfer of suspected criminals.¹⁷⁵ Technologies may also play an important role in identifying the location of bodies and graves or photographing crime scenes. For more on transitional justice, see Section 7.7.3.

^{172.} U.S. State Department, Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization, "Sectoral Practices and Experiences in Coordination (SPEC) on Cultural Resources," 2007.

^{173.} U.S. Army, FM 3-07, 2008.

^{174.} Colette Rausch, ed., Combating Serious Crimes in Post-Conflict Societies: A Handbook for Policymakers and Practitioners (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 2006).

^{175.} U.S. Army, *FM 3-07*, 2008.

6.9 Necessary Condition: Territorial Security

6.9.1 What is territorial security? Why is it a necessary condition?

Territorial security is a necessary condition in which ordinary citizens and legitimate goods are able to move in relative freedom within the country and across its borders, while illicit commodities and individuals that present threats to security are denied free passage. Establishing this condition has been extremely challenging in war-torn countries—many are peppered with landmines, roadside bombs, and roadblocks; suffer from porous borders with daunting terrain; and have air, land, and seaports controlled by spoilers and criminals. Freedom of movement allows children to travel to school without fear of attack and farmers to take their goods to market. The ability to move about also promotes social integration of communities that might otherwise remain isolated. Controlling state borders is necessary to track what enters and exits the country or to prevent threats to security and legal commerce. Many destabilizing elements come from outside state borders in the form of transnational organized crime, hostile neighbors, arms proliferation, and international terrorism. Improving customs and export processes at the border can also benefit international trade and economic development in the long term.

6.9.2 Guidance on Territorial Security

6.9.3 Approach: Freedom of Movement

Freedom of movement refers to the free flow of people and goods throughout the country without fear of physical harm or disruption, while spoilers, illicit commodities, and other sources of instability are restricted in movement. Enabling freedom of movement has wide-reaching benefits, promoting economic growth and social normalization among communities.

6.9.4 Facilitate movement for people and goods. Establish rules on where to enable, limit, or deny access. Enabling access can be done by removing roadblocks that impede movement of people or vehicles, removing landmines from fields, creating safety corridors to help refugees and IDPs move freely without harassment, and ensuring roadways are free of explosives.¹⁷⁶ Ensure the safety of movement by registering identities at checkpoints and establishing checkpoints to monitor who or what is able to travel through certain territories.

6.9.5 Deny movement to opponents of the peace. Restricting the movement of criminals and spoilers may require guarding ships at sea, establishing maritime or air exclusion zones, or creating vehicle checkpoints. Establishing such rules allows security personnel to identify individuals who may be wanted for war crimes or other offenses that contribute to instability and restricts the movement of weapons and protects installations and population centers. It also enables members of former warring parties to travel more safely in areas controlled by their rivals.¹⁷⁷

6.9.6 Be aware of cultural sensitivities when conducting checkpoint, cordon and search, and convoy operations. At the tactical level, personnel at checkpoints represent the face

^{176.} UK MOD, "JWP 3-50," 2006.

^{177.} Dziedzic/Sotirin/Agoglia, "Measuring Progress in Conflict Environments," 2008; U.S. Army, FM 3-07, 2008; and UK MOD, "JWP 3-50," 2006.

of the S&R mission. Because they interface with the people, it is vital that duties are performed with full awareness of local customs, particularly in dealing with women, children, and the elderly. Clear communication of the rules of the checkpoint is key. Define rules for the "escalation of force"¹⁷⁸ to reduce avoidable civilian casualties. The escalation of force involves a sequence of actions that include both nonlethal (e.g., flags, spotlights, lasers) and lethal means (e.g., warning, disabling, or deadly shots to protect the force). It may be appropriate to use local forces in these scenarios because they have more familiarity with the context.

6.9.7 Approach: Border Security

Border security involves managing the movement of people and goods across state borders (including air and seaports) to ensure that these elements do not destabilize the country. There are two distinct but related aspects of border security: (1) Physical border security, which involves monitoring interstate border areas for crime, refugee flows and the movement of irregular forces, and (2) Customs and export control, which regulates the flow of people, animals, and goods into and out of the country.¹⁷⁹

6.9.8 Pay attention to border issues; they are oft overlooked at the peril of the mission. Borders are particularly problematic in countries where insurgent recruits flow across borders and illicit trades provide funding to prolong conflict. Transnational organized crime has also become a top source of border insecurity, helping to fund conflict and sustain illicit economic and political power structures that undermine the peace process.¹⁸⁰ Specific cross-border threats include the smuggling of people, arms, natural resources, and other commodities that contribute to instability.

6.9.9 Address border security in the mandate, cease-fire, and peace agreements. The mission mandate should explicitly address border security to ensure it is recognized as a critical security imperative. Cease-fire and peace agreements and other political documents should also underscore the importance of securing borders.¹⁸¹ Because border security connotes sovereign authority, it has historically been a very politically sensitive issue. The UN has unequivocally stated that it does not do border security, preferring the terms "border control" or "monitoring," which includes traditional activities like monitoring ceasefires, refugees, and IDPs; humanitarian activities; and illicit trafficking and trade.¹⁸² The UN typically places the burden on member states to protect their borders and prevent terrorists or weapons of mass destruction from crossing their territories.¹⁸³ Political sensitivities, however, do not negate the fact that border security is essential to short- and long-term stability.

6.9.10 Be prepared to perform border security functions for an indeterminate period. In spite of political and practical difficulties, international actors should be prepared to

^{178.} United States Army, Escalation of Force Handbook, 2007.

^{179.} U.S. Army, FM 3-07, 2008.

^{180.} Katherine Andrews, Brandon Hunt, and William Durch, Post-Conflict Borders and UN Peace Operations (Washington, D.C.: The Henry L. Stimson Center, 2007). Hereafter: Andrews/Hunt/Durch, Post-Conflict Borders, 2007.

^{181.} Andrews/Hunt/Durch, "Post-Conflict Borders," 2007.

^{182.} Ibid.

^{183.} United Nations Security Council, "UN Security Council Resolution 1373, Threats to International Peace and Security Caused by Terrorist Acts," 2001. United Nations Security Council, "UN Security Council Resolution 1540, Non-proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction."

perform border security functions to help the country manage its land border areas, airspace, coastal and territorial waters, and, when necessary, exclusive economic zones. Specific border security activities include the following:¹⁸⁴

- Establishing border stations to efficiently regulate movement of goods and people.
- Establishing information-sharing protocols to help detect and prevent illegal trafficking, organized crime, irregular force movements, terrorism, and other activities that threaten the security of border areas.
- Training local forces on patrolling and monitoring individuals and goods crossing the border, and eventually developing a sustainable civil border service.

6.9.11 Build host nation capacity for border security as a first-order priority. Local forces must be trained and equipped to perform border security tasks. Training conducted in country is usually the most successful. Train the trainers is a best practice approach. More host nation participation is better because they have more familiarity with context. Colocating international and local forces for mentoring and monitoring will likely be required for some time. Effective border security also relies on solid intelligence about wanted individuals seeking to enter or exit the country. Build cooperative relationships between border security forces and intelligence agencies to ensure critical data are shared.

6.9.12 Use existing models for regional cooperative trade programs. After the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, many new border security programs were implemented at airports, seaports, and other border crossings. These initiatives targeted terrorists, weapons proliferation, human and narcotics trafficking, illegal immigration, and money laundering. Many regional and global cooperative programs of this nature have been effective in these objectives and should be looked at as a model for improving cooperative efforts for border control and nonproliferation.¹⁸⁵ For more on regional engagement, see Section 3.9.

6.9.13 Manage border relations with neighbors. Many conflict countries share extensive state borders with adjacent countries from which a number of destabilizing threats originate. Garnering the political support of adjoining states and establishing cross-border protocols early can reduce further instability and prove beneficial for the security of adjoining states. For more on regional engagement, see Section 3.9.

6.10 Trade-offs

6.10.1 Prioritizing short-term stability vs. confronting impunity. Dealing with groups or individuals who prosecuted the conflict may be necessary early on to bring certain factions into the fold or to mitigate tensions. But turning a blind eye to continued use of political violence against rivals or exploitation of criminal networks to generate illicit revenue will enshrine a culture of impunity that threatens sustainable peace.

6.10.2 Using local security forces to enhance legitimacy vs. using international security

^{184.} U.S. Army, FM 3-07, 2008.

^{185.} Andrews/Hunt/Durch, "Post-Conflict Borders," 2007.

forces to ensure effectiveness. While international security forces may be more effective in performing security functions, having local security forces assume these responsibilities would enhance legitimacy. But local forces often lack the capacity to perform effectively and may have a reputation for corruption and grave human rights abuses. Balancing this trade-off involves training and mentoring local forces and gradually transitioning responsibilities from international actors.

6.10.3 *Applying force vs. maintaining mission legitimacy.* Public order operations may require the use of force, especially where spoilers and a culture of impunity are widespread. Assertive action ensures credibility, but excessive force can also jeopardize the legitimacy of the mission, especially early on when a mission is under public scrutiny. Finding a way to balance this trade-off is essential and should involve international stability police who are proficient in the use of nonlethal force.¹⁸⁶

6.10.4 Public order functions performed by the military vs. the police.¹⁸⁷ Achieving public order in these environments often presents a difficult dilemma as to which institution—military or police—should perform public order functions. While the military has training and experience in the use of force against violent spoilers, they lack the requisite skills in investigations, forensics, and other critical law enforcement functions. Traditional police units, on the other hand, are trained in nuanced use of force and nonlethal means. Meshing the capabilities of both these organizations is critical to meet public order needs.

6.10.5 Short-term security imperatives vs. investments in broader security reform. With limited resources to work with, it may be difficult to balance short- and long-term requirements. The need for immediate security (i.e., protection for elections) may divert donor resources and energy from long-term SSR efforts. Demonstrating quick wins can build credibility, but may jeopardize the development of a foundation for deeper reform of the security sector.¹⁸⁸ A proper balance must be struck.

6.11 Gaps and Challenges

6.11.1 Security sector reform. Local security institutions are often viewed as corrupt, abusive, and lacking in public service ethos. Reshaping this perception among the population, building the capacity of security institutions, creating civilian oversight structures to ensure accountability, and developing sound security policies are all elements of SSR that have proven to be very difficult. It is a major gap that must be filled.

6.11.2 Intelligence. Establishing a safe and secure environment in a society emerging from conflict requires actionable intelligence about potential threats that may arise. But intelligence is not a formal or acknowledged part of S&R missions. Doctrinal guidance and cooperation on this function is sorely needed to ensure that critical information is collected and appropriately shared.

^{186.} Robert Oakley, Michael Dziedic, and Eliot M. Goldberg, eds., *Policing the New World Disorder* (Honolulu: University Press of the Pacific, 2002.) Hereafter: Oakley/Dziedzic/Goldberg, *Policing the New World Disorder*, 2002.

^{187.} Ibid.

^{188.} United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Security Sector Reform and Peace Operations: "Improvisation and Confusion" from the Field, 2006.

6.11.3 Corrections. Corrections systems are critical elements of public order, providing a place to house convicted criminals or spoilers. While both the UN and ICRC have published principles on the treatment of individuals in detention, very little guidance exists on the effective development of corrections institutions to complement the development of police forces, court systems, and other important aspects of public order.

6.11.4 The role of private security firms. The employment of private security firms—both external and within the host nation—is ubiquitous in S&R missions. The lack of oversight of these entities has proven to be detrimental to peace and legitimacy of the mission. More guidance and accountability is needed to mitigate their destructive effects.

6.11.5 *Reintegration of ex-combatants.* Successful reintegration has proven extremely challenging because it requires immense sustained support to ensure that ex-combatants, once disarmed and demobilized, do not return to a life of violence. Reintegration should be addressed during peace negotiations and followed up with a robust strategy that includes thorough planning and sustained international support.

6.11.6 *Civilian oversight of the security forces.* SSR strategies have focused overwhelmingly on developing the security forces, while giving short shrift to improving civilian oversight over those forces. Building the forces is important, but keeping them accountable over the long run requires deeper reforms of the institutions that govern the security sector.

6.11.7 Border security. Border security is not given adequate attention in S&R missions, in spite of the fact that many sources of insecurity originate outside the border, including the illegal arms trade and foreign terrorist groups. Border security is not mentioned in any landmark reports on UN peacekeeping.

6.11.8 Holistic security strategy. Security sector reform is carried out in an ad hoc and piecemeal manner. Rarely has there been an overarching strategic framework that ensures integration of all the efforts, from intelligence to incarceration.