



## Post-war rehabilitation and international involvement<sup>1</sup>

- ❑ Analysis of the process for the implementation of the Memorandum of Understanding between the Indonesian government and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) began during the course of this quarter.
- ❑ Nigeria handed over C. Taylor following pressure from the USA and a request from the President of Liberia. The former President will be tried by the Special Court for Sierra Leone.
- ❑ The European Commission, the Government of National Unity, the regional government for the South of Sudan and the UNDP introduced a **Rehabilitation and Recovery Programme** that will last four years and have a budget of 50 million euros. It will be implemented in 10 Sudanese states.

The following chapter analyses the evolution during the last three months of the 20 countries regarded as being in a phase of post-war rehabilitation. Given that this process extends over a long period of time, the countries analysed in this chapter have been divided into two groups, one in which the rehabilitation process began during the last five years (classified as being in a transitional phase), and one in which the process has been ongoing for more than five years (classified as being in an advanced phase of rehabilitation). According to the United Nations, **transition** refers to the period in a crisis in which agreements with the international community are crucial in order to support and strengthen as yet fragile ceasefires or peace agreements and create the conditions necessary to establish political stability, security, justice and social equality<sup>2</sup>. Following transition, **rehabilitation** seeks not only to strengthen pre-existing humanitarian programmes but also to stimulate sustainable development in order to ensure that the changes made will be converted into a resource for development<sup>3</sup>. The final section of this chapter is aimed at passing on the **lessons and best practices learned**.

**Chart 4.1. Evolution of post-war rehabilitation**

Transitional phase	Year in which rehabilitation began	Evolution during this quarter
Afghanistan	2001	Progress
Angola	2002	Progress
Congo	2003	Stalemate
DR Congo	2003	Progress
Côte d'Ivoire	2003	Deteriorated
Eritrea	2000	Stalemate
Haiti	2004	Progress
Indonesia (Aceh)	2005	Progress
Iraq	2003	Deteriorated
Liberia	2003	Progress
Macedonia, FYR	2001	Progress
Sierra Leone	2001	Progress
Sudan	2004	Stalemate
Rehabilitation phase	Year in which rehabilitation began	Evolution during this quarter
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1996	Progress
Guatemala	1996	Stalemate
Guinea-Bissau	1999	Deteriorated
Rwanda	1994	Progress
Serbia and Montenegro (Kosovo)	1999	Progress
Tajikistan	1997	Deteriorated

<sup>1</sup> Post-war rehabilitation is understood to mean the coordinated actions of various primary, secondary and tertiary agents, with or without an international mandate or leadership, aimed at tackling the following issues: security of the local population; priority humanitarian requirements and the resettlement of displaced persons and refugees; physical reconstruction and the reinstatement of basic institutional services; the resolution of fundamental incompatibilities (socio-economic, democratic and institutional normalisation); reconciliation, respect for human rights and the fight to combat impunity; regional stability and reincorporation in international bodies and forums; and the empowerment of civilian society and the establishment of good governance through international involvement.

<sup>2</sup> Report by the UNDG/ECHA Working Group on transition issues. February 2004. [http://www.peacebuild.ca/dw/documents/3330-UNDG\\_ECHA\\_WG\\_on\\_Transition\\_Issues\\_Report\\_-\\_Final\\_Report.doc](http://www.peacebuild.ca/dw/documents/3330-UNDG_ECHA_WG_on_Transition_Issues_Report_-_Final_Report.doc)

<sup>3</sup> Mentioned in the UNDG/ECHA Working Group's Report, op. cit.



Timor-Leste	1999	Stalemate
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## 4.1. Countries in a transitional phase

The following section contains a description, by continent and by region, of the different contexts currently in a phase of post-war rehabilitation. These are generally characterised by the simultaneous concurrence of both emergency actions and activities aimed more at rehabilitation itself. During this unstable phase, in which there is a risk that armed conflict will resume, it is essential that the intervention strategy pursued by the international bodies involved in the various activities is very flexible.

### Africa

On the continent of Africa, instability remained the prevailing problem for the processes currently underway. The first steps taken by Liberia's new leader represented the most positive development during the last quarter, while the continuing crisis between Eritrea and Ethiopia was the most negative.

#### a) Southern Africa

In **Angola**, UNHCR finally completed its **repatriation programme**, and efforts will now be concentrated on measures to reintegrate the returning population from the Agency's offices in Luanda, through programmes that can easily be made self-sufficient. The Agency indicated a slight loss of interest from **donors**, which it hopes will be remedied with these programmes. A slight improvement was observed in the **humanitarian situation**, although the WFP promised that it would remain in the country over the next three years. In this connection, the government announced the extension of the mandate of the Humanitarian Aid Technical Coordination Unit, meaning that emergency measures and moves towards transition will continue to be closely linked.

#### b) West Africa

In **Côte d'Ivoire**, the **persisting crisis** continues to impede advances in the transition process. The UN Security Council passed resolution 1652<sup>4</sup>, in which it extended the mandate of both ONUCI and *Licorne*, the French armed forces deployed in support, until the end of 2006. As far as formation of a **government** is concerned, Prime Minister C. Konan Banny announced the composition of the Transitional Government, in which members of the governing party hold half the ministerial posts, while the opposition have ten ministers and the *Forces Nouvelles* armed coalition six. The main aim will be to disarm armed opposition groups and pro-government militias, reunify the country and prepare for the general elections planned in October of this year. In addition, the **European Commission** promised to donate 34 million euros for a programme to regulate citizenship procedures.

In **Liberia**, one of the first anti-corruption measures adopted by the new President, E. Jonsen-Sirleaf, was to dismiss all the political appointees at the Ministry of the Economy and begin an investigation into all civil service staff. The last three months saw the formation of a new government with 22 ministerial portfolios, some of them occupied by former members of the United Nations staff. The European Commission awarded **16.4 million dollars in the form of humanitarian aid**, in an attempt to maximise the success of the transition process. These funds will go towards the reintegration of 191,000 refugees who have been living in camps outside Liberia, along with 80,000 internally displaced. As regards **reconciliation**, the President established a Truth Commission which will be charged with investigating the human rights

<sup>4</sup> See Resolution 1652 of 24 January 2006, at: <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N06/220/24/PDF/N0622024.pdf?OpenElement>



abuses committed in the country between 1979 and 2003. This Commission, created along South African lines, does not have the power to try people. Finally, mention should be made of the arrest in Nigeria of C. Taylor, who will be tried by the United Nations Special Court for Sierra Leone on charges of war crimes and crimes against humanity. Nigeria gave way to the pressure being brought to bear by the USA to hand the President and former warlord over, on the condition that it must be President E. Jonson-Sirleaf who officially requested C. Taylor's handover.

Turning to **Sierra Leone**, corruption and a lack of jobs are the main obstacles to progress in the rehabilitation process. According to NGOs, **corruption** is widespread, and it is common for government officials to demand 20% in order to award contracts, while some of the funds invested by donors end up in private accounts. In addition, the **new head of UNIOSIL** will also lead the UNDP mission, a move that can be seen as positive. As regards **security**, a United Nations police contingent replaced the 17,500 blue helmets who formed part of the UNAMSIL mission. As far as **justice** is concerned, the leader of the CDF former pro-government militias, S. Hinga Norman, who has been accused of war crimes, appeared before the Special Court for Sierra Leone, where he declared that the current President A. Tejan Kabbah had been responsible for managing the militia's objectives. His appearance before the Court led to discontent among the sectors of the population who see the CDF as one of the main opponents of the RUF.

### c) Horn of Africa

In **Eritrea**, **tensions remained with Ethiopia** in spite of the partial withdrawal of troops by both countries from their common border<sup>5</sup>. The Asmara government continued to implement its process for the regulation of international NGOs present in the country, ordering six Italian organisations to leave because they had not completed the formalities required in order to carry out their duties, in accordance with the requirements established by the government last year. Elsewhere, the problematic conditions that the government has imposed on UNMEE make it impossible for the UN mission to carry out its mission, leading the Secretary General to question the United Nations' continued presence in the country in his most recent report.

In the **South of Sudan**, the United Nations' Special Envoy for the region, J. Pronk, indicated that the **lack of transparency** in the distribution of the profits obtained from the sale of oil was one of the main obstacles to the implementation of the Peace Agreement. The United Nations estimated that more than 500,000 **internally displaced people** will return to their places of origin during the first six months of the year, and the European Commission therefore decided to add a further 8 million to the 40 million dollars allocated for overall humanitarian aid to support the return process. Donor countries promised to give 484 million dollars to the multilateral trust fund<sup>6</sup> (MDTF) for the South of Sudan, to be used over the next two years to reconstruct the areas devastated by the war. Finally, the European Commission, the Government of National Unity, the Regional Government of Southern Sudan and the UNDP announced that they had reached an agreement on the introduction of a **Rehabilitation and Recovery Programme** to run for four years, with financing of 50 million dollars. This would be headed up by the European Commission, while day-to-day management would be the responsibility of the UNDP with collaboration and monitoring from the Government of National Unity and the Government of South Sudan. A group of 50 domestic and international NGOs will implement this programme in 10 states.

#### The evaluation of needs following an armed conflict

Over the last ten years donors have been paying increasing attention to the need to provide substantial and prompt support for post-war rehabilitation and peace-building. A large part of this support is channelled via donor conferences and international conferences for countries emerging from armed conflict, in which participating countries and organisations promise to provide funds on the basis of a general assessment of the rehabilitation requirements of a particular post-war context. These post-conflict

<sup>5</sup> See the chapters on peace processes and tensions.

<sup>6</sup> There are two MDTFs for Sudan, one for the North and the other for the South, reflecting the way that the country's government is structured. They were created at the government's request, though both are managed by the World Bank.



needs assessments (PCNA) as they are known have lately become a key starting point for the definition, negotiation and financing of rehabilitation strategies. PCNAs are not associated with any specific agency or organisation, so donors can select the implementation mechanisms that they consider most appropriate. PCNAs also do not include individual proposals for programmes, but are merely technical documents that set out a country's objective needs as precisely as possible.

A PCNA is a complex analytical process that is led by the national authorities with support from the international community and carried out by multilateral agencies, working alongside domestic organisation and civilian groups. The aim of this assessment is to overcome the consequences of a conflict or war, prevent new outbreaks of violence and conflict and shape rehabilitation priorities in the short and (potentially) medium term. It is also aimed at establishing the financial implications that this will bring in the long term<sup>7</sup>.

A PCNA is therefore a road map for post-war rehabilitation, and it should therefore be as closely aligned to both the national and local situation as possible, in order to:

- Reflect the political process supporting the transition process following armed conflict.
- Reflect a deep understanding of national realities.
- Ensure that the results of the assessment are accepted and presented to the people by the transitional national authority in question.

#### d) Great Lakes and Central Africa

In **Congo**, the situation remained unstable in the Pool region, forcing the teams from MSF, the UNDP and the ICRC operating in the region to withdraw, though the ICRC returned towards the end of March. In spite of the **persistence** of this **unstable situation**, which prevented the introduction of programmes across a large part of the country, the World Bank and the IMF decided to include the country in their programme to cancel the debt of HIPC<sup>8</sup>. The aim of this programme is to free up resources for use in education, health and other essential services that will benefit the population, though if this is to happen it is essential to achieve transparent management of the economy by the government. The amount that is taken into account in order to assess whether the country may or may not be classified as an HIPC is its income levels during 2003. If 2004 income had been used, the country would not have gained access to the programme due to the increase in oil prices in recent years. Finally, the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) released 6.8 million dollars to restart Congolese industry.

January saw publication of the results of the constitutional referendum that took place at the end of the year in **DR Congo**. The Constitution was approved with around 85% of the vote in elections that saw huge turnouts, according to international observers. Following the publication of the results, the **Independent Electoral Commission** established a provisional electoral timetable for the first round of presidential and parliamentary elections on the 18 June, though the date of the second round has yet to be confirmed. The current head of the Transitional National Government, J. Kabila, has been nominated as candidate for the People's Party for Reconstruction and Development. The increased electoral activity has led **MONUC** to ask the ERU to send an additional rapid intervention force to guarantee security. Brussels agreed to this proposal and will send a contingent of between 250 and 1,250 soldiers, to be led by Germany. As regards the **humanitarian situation**, the country continues to face a situation of extreme hardship.

#### America

After several delays, presidential elections were finally held in **Haiti** during the last quarter, with a high voter turnout. Former President R. Préval was declared the winner, in spite of irregularities in the vote-counting process which were denounced by a number of international observer organisations. **Lack of security** remained the main problem in the country, leading the

<sup>7</sup> UNPD, UNDG, World Bank; *Practical Guide to Multilateral Needs Assessment in Post-Conflict Situations*. August 2004. At: [http://www.undg.org/documents/4937-PCNA\\_-\\_Practical\\_Guide\\_to\\_Multilateral\\_Needs\\_Assessments\\_in\\_Post-Conflict\\_situations.pdf](http://www.undg.org/documents/4937-PCNA_-_Practical_Guide_to_Multilateral_Needs_Assessments_in_Post-Conflict_situations.pdf)

<sup>8</sup> Highly Indebted Poor Countries.



UN Security Council to extend **MINUSTAH**'s mandate for a further six months<sup>9</sup>. Finally, the main international groups involved in the country's rehabilitation process agreed to call on the new government to make an **independent and integrated assessment of the ICF** that will serve as the basis for the Strategic Poverty Reduction Document that is to be prepared by the country's parliament with assistance from the international community.

## Asia and the Pacific

Turning to the situation in **Afghanistan**, an international donor conference was held in London to celebrate the official launch of the **Afghanistan Compact**. This document, prepared by both the Afghan government and the international community, sets out the commitment on both sides to the rehabilitation goals set out by the government in its **National Development Strategy** (ANDS) and the ways in which each side can contribute to their achievement. The timetable set out for the achievement of these goals will be supervised by the Joint Coordinating and Monitoring Board, a newly created body that will be jointly led by the Afghan authorities and the United Nations, with support from a small secretariat. Some of the goals set out are quite ambitious, such as the dissolution of all **illegal armed groups** in every province by the end of 2007, bearing in mind that violence and lack of security have increased in the country in recent months. The fact that the Taliban militias continue to fight a war they believe they have not lost means that many of the central activities set out by the government in both the Compact and the ANDS are looking very shaky, providing a further reminder that without minimal conditions of security and stability, the sustainability of the progress achieved at a political level will be greatly diminished. In this regard, mention should be made of the announcement during the last quarter of the **future deployment of ISAF troops** throughout the country. This will involve increasing the international military presence in the south of the country, though it will also mean reducing the American contingent and transferring responsibility for the country's security from the USA to NATO.

In **Indonesia (Aceh)**, the last three months saw the beginning of the process to study implementation of the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) signed between the Indonesian government and the Free Aceh Movement, the GAM. The MoU provides for the establishment of an Aceh Monitoring Mission (AMM) led by the EU with support from Norway, Switzerland and five contributing countries from ASEAN (Brunei, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand and Singapore) to oversee implementation of the agreement. The **AMM** began work in September with a six-month mandate, which has now been extended until June at the invitation of the government. It is interesting to note that in spite of the fact that no specific donor conference has been held to support the implementation of this peace agreement, some countries and donor organisations have already set aside individual **financial packages** in addition to the funds allocated in response to the tsunamis, with a view to financing specific aspects of the MoU, such as the reintegration of former GAM combatants, the return of the internally displaced and refugees from outside the country, the international supervision of local elections planned for 2006, technical assistance and skill-building in the justice system and police force, the improvement of local public authorities and the encouragement of respect for human rights.

## Europe

In **Macedonia**, reform of the judiciary and the police is the issue on which the **new EU mission** EUPAT and the EU's Special Envoy want to place particular emphasis and an area that requires more work and involvement from the country's government, according to the most recent report on the country published by the International Crisis Group<sup>10</sup>. Over the course of the last three months, the country's parliament approved a new Electoral Law, which adopts the suggestions set out in the report prepared by the mission sent by the OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights to examine earlier local elections. As regards the forthcoming **election process**, the government and opposition parties have not managed to

<sup>9</sup> See resolution 1658 of 14 February 2006 at:

<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N06/242/91/PDF/N0624291.pdf?OpenElement>

<sup>10</sup> International Crisis Group; *Macedonia Wobbling toward Europe* at:

[http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/europe/balkans/b041\\_macedonia\\_wobbling\\_toward\\_europe.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/europe/balkans/b041_macedonia_wobbling_toward_europe.pdf)



agree a date for these elections, nor have they reached any agreement regarding the composition of the Electoral Commission. Finally, it should be mentioned that there are between 200 and 250 areas, predominantly Albanian and regarded as hot spots, where proper elections have never been held. In this connection, the Albanian Party for Democratic Prosperity, a small and traditionally peaceful party, has suggested to Prime Minister B. Buckovski that the different parties be supervised by **international observers** before, during and after the elections.

## Middle East

In **Iraq**, the destruction of the al-Askari mosque represented a significant setback in the negotiations between the three Iraqi political factions for the **formation of a government** following the elections held at the end of 2005. The immediate withdrawal of the Sunni coalition underlined the irreconcilable differences between these three political factions. The **aim of the international community**, represented in the main by the US occupation forces, is the formation of a Government of National Unity in which each of the different ethnic blocs holds a share of the power and contributes its militias to form a national army and unified police force. It seems inevitable that a weak central government will be formed that will have huge problems in maintaining national security, giving the current move towards regionalisation. In this regard we should mention a study published by the University of the United Nations<sup>11</sup> which states that international efforts to restore stability are having the opposite effect. Finally, a report prepared by the Iraqi Employment Ministry in conjunction with the IMF and the UNDP indicated that **poverty has increased** by 30% since April 2003, and now extends to 20% of the population. Two million Iraqis are encountering difficulties in finding food and shelter and live on an income of less than two dollars a day. The report attributes the increase in poverty levels to the dismantling of the public sector, the lack of access to education and the violence, all of which are mainly affecting the Sunni population.

## 4.2. Countries in an advanced phase of rehabilitation

This section contains a country-by-country analysis of the different contexts that have completed the transitional phase. During this period, the aim is to advance and consolidate the achievements of the preceding phase, in which certain factors that are key to rehabilitation (e.g. reconciliation) tend to be regarded as secondary to more urgent issues. Overseeing the actions of the governments that have been elected remains an important issue during this phase, and international involvement is therefore essential.

Political debate in **Bosnia and Herzegovina** has mainly centred around **constitutional reform**, which has finally been agreed by the main political leaders of the seven largest parties following four months of discussions. The aim of this reform process is to harmonise the operation of the country's governmental institutions with those of the EU as part of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement. Although it remains pending approval by a simple majority in Parliament, the package of reforms will provide a parliamentary process that will replace the bloc-voting procedures that have been in place until now. As a result, the tripartite presidency will be replaced by one President and two Vice Presidents, and these will be appointed from among the members of parliament who have been directly elected. While the USA (which has played an important role during the whole negotiating process) and the EU have expressed satisfaction at these early results, some political analysts have criticised the fact that, once again, the general population has been excluded from the discussions and the decisions taken during this constitutional reform process. They have also indicated that if a new Constitution is not drawn up to create a single economic space and get rid of the various blocs, no changes will be achieved. The deadline for approving the reform package is 2<sup>nd</sup> of April, mainly so that preparations can begin for the forthcoming general elections planned for October.

In **Guatemala**, indigenous and community radio stations denounced the **persecution** to which they have been subjected and called on the government to comply with the Peace Agreements

<sup>11</sup> 'Security Sector Reform and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding' at:  
<http://www.unu.edu/unupress/2005/securitysectorreform.html#contents>



and the recommendations of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. During the course of the last three months, a number of representatives from **community radio stations** were detained by the police, who also dismantled their communications equipment. These community radio stations form part of the Guatemalan Council for Community Communication and carry out duties that benefit the different communities, a fact acknowledged by the country's parliament and the reason that the government agreed a year ago to include them as part of the country's legal telecommunications network. It is interesting to note that both the police and local government offices use these radio stations to send out their own messages to the population. The Survival organisation denounced the lack of equal access to broadcasting frequencies, given the high fees charged, a fact that has meant that only evangelical and commercial broadcasters can acquire frequencies. These only broadcast in Spanish, a language that many indigenous Guatemalans do not understand.

In **Guinea-Bissau**, eleven opposition parties decided to group together to form the **Broad Republican Front** (BRF) in response to the political appointments made following the elections held at the end of 2005. The governing PAIGC party itself reflects the polarisation taking place in the country, given that its followers are now divided between those who support Prime Minister A. Gomes, who was appointed by the current President and leader of the PAIGC, J. Bernardo Vieira, and those who do not. The appointment has been endorsed by the Supreme Court and, according to a spokesperson for the BRF, this situation opens up the way to the introduction of a dictatorship run by the President of the Republic. The United Nations peace-building mission in the country, UNOGBIS, has joined the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries and ECOWAS in trying to mediate between the BRF and the President in an attempt to persuade them to discuss their differences in a constructive way, introducing a number of mediating measures that have led some representatives of civilian groups to note that this political stalemate can only be broken through dialogue. In this connection, UNOGBIS held a joint seminar with the National Institute of Studies and Research in Guinea Bissau and the War-Torn Societies project, with involvement from key representatives of civilian groups, in which the causes of the current political crisis were examined and strategies to work towards a positive solution to the situation were discussed.

Elections were held in **Rwanda** to choose local government representatives. **North, South, East, West and Kigali provinces have now replaced the 12 provinces into which the country was formerly divided** and which were abolished at the beginning of the year. The government's intention is to dilute the old administrative regions into more multi-ethnic areas. The new local leaders will play an important role in the *Gacaca* courts, as the court process will require their cooperation. They were therefore given training in this regard towards the end of March. The *Gacaca* courts will be operational throughout the country by the middle of April, following the week-long commemoration of the genocide, during which many government and court activities will be suspended. It is hoped that these new administrative divisions will also assist in community development.

Turning to **Kosovo (Serbia and Montenegro)**, the **two meetings** held in Vienna during the course of the last three months to discuss key issues relating to the **determination of the enclave's status** ended without any conclusions being reached. The decentralisation issue took centre stage in this first round of negotiations, given that it is a key element for guaranteeing the rights of ethnic minorities. During these two meetings, Belgrade defended the right of Serbs in Kosovo to form single-ethnic municipal areas that would maintain close links with Belgrade, while Pristina rejected this idea, believing that it was tantamount to partitioning the province. The UN Secretary General published his periodic report on UNMIK's performance of its mandate, indicating that Kosovo's provisional institutions were being very slow in applying international standards and introducing key political processes, in contrast to the significant advances being made in the preparations for the process relating to Kosovo's status.

In **Tajikistan**, the **government continued to put pressure on the independent media**. According to organisations supporting the freedom of the press, such as Reporters without Borders, the Committee to Protect Journalists and Tajik journalists themselves, the main weapon being used by the government is bureaucracy. At the beginning of January, the



government suspended FM broadcasts by the BBC<sup>12</sup> on the pretext of a new law requiring the foreign media to register with the Justice Ministry in order to obtain a broadcasting licence. The government also imposed a fine on the independent TV company *Somonion* which it would have to pay in order to recover its broadcasting licence. According to *Somonion*'s owner, the government raised the price of its licence by 80% as a punishment for allowing opposition parties broadcasting space prior to the last general elections in February 2005. Other independent TV companies have endured similar pressures that have led them into bankruptcy. According to the head of the National Association for the Independent Press in Tajikistan, N. Karshiboev, the government always tries to control the media before any important political event. The forthcoming presidential elections are planned for November 2006.

Turning to **Timor Leste**, President X. Gusmao presented the United Nations with the main conclusions from the **report by the Commission for Friendship, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR)**. The President explained the reasons why his government had decided that the report would be kept out of the public domain. For X. Gusmao, the report can be divided into two main areas: the international dimension, which relates to the way the international community approaches the issue of Timor Leste, and the internal dimension, which deals with the acts of violence perpetrated against the Timorese people. As regards this latter issue, he concluded that some of the report's recommendations relating to justice were too ambitious, such as the requirement that members of the UN Security Council, governments who sold arms to Indonesia and supported its policies, and the governments of both Indonesia and Portugal should pay compensation to victims. Finally, X. Gusmao, in response to a statement by Nobel laureate D. Tutu, justified the failure to introduce a process aimed at restitution, saying that it could last for many years and his country needed to co-exist with Indonesia. For its part, the National Alliance for an International Court for Timor Leste sent several letters to both the President and the UN Secretary General in which it stressed the right of the Timorese to be informed of the CAVR's findings and recommendations. For the Alliance, all those who had suffered political violence had contributed to the preparation of this report through a painful process of recollection, believing that they would thus be contributing to an important justice process, and it therefore called for international regulations to be applied in reminding the President that he cannot prevent the report from being published.

### 4.3. Other items on the agenda

This section deals with aspects relating to the theory and analysis of post-war rehabilitation, along with good practices and the lessons learned, in an attempt to provide information that might strengthen the potential of the international response to such contexts.

#### a) The media as a means of helping ordinary people take charge of rehabilitation processes

The issue of ordinary people and civilian groups taking charge of the rehabilitation process is often mentioned as one of the factors that is key to the success of such processes, particularly because it will in some ways help to ensure their sustainability and offer them legitimacy. **In order to take charge of a process one must firstly be aware of it**, i.e. know what it consists of, its aims, its achievements and its problems. This is an aspect which is too often ignored by the international community and the people responsible for implementing the projects and programmes that form part of a post-war rehabilitation process, and in many cases this means that the ordinary people are unaware of what is being done and why. But above all, they are unaware of their rights and obligations, leaving the field wide open for misinformation, manipulation for political ends and rumour-mongering. A great ally in the fight to combat these factors and ensure that the people are involved and take responsibility is the media in its broadest sense, i.e. not just as a news provider but also as an educator and an opinion-maker.

The communications media can encourage ordinary people to take charge of the process by providing the information required in order to be able to take decisions based on true and

<sup>12</sup> Until this time, the BBC was the only international broadcaster available on FM in Tajikistan. It had a valid legal contract and had held an FM broadcasting licence since 2004.



precise information, encouraging civilian society to take responsibility for the process by making it aware of the progress being made and informing the people of their rights and obligations so that they can make the proper use of them. However, their capacity to influence is not being used to its greatest potential.

Two examples of the way in which the media can influence issues (though on this occasion in a negative way) are the role played by the radio broadcasts of the “Mille Coline” radio station during the ethnic cleansing in Rwanda and the manipulation of the media orchestrated by S. Milosevic to stir up racial hatred. It is important to point out in this regard that the proper use of the media will not only help to impede such activities it will also serve as an aid to peace-building following the end of an armed conflict and help the ordinary population take responsibility for the rehabilitation process.

#### **b) The Peace-Building Commission**

During the first three months of the year, the Commission formed at the end of 2005 completed the process of selecting its Organising Committee, made up of 31 members<sup>13</sup>. In addition to its five permanent members, who have an assured seat on the Commission, the UN Security Council selected Denmark and Tanzania. For its part, ECOSOC (five members) indicated that it would probably assign one place for each of its regions, leaving two to be appointed by rotation.

The selection of the 10 members to be chosen from among the main contributors of both troops and funds was the process that caused the most difficulty, and US ambassadors were therefore charged with drawing up a list of the main financial contributors while Jordan was entrusted with preparing the list of countries that supply troops. Diplomatic representatives from Jordan and the US were also given the responsibility of suggesting the selection criteria. The main financial contributors eventually chosen were Japan, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy and Norway, while the countries chosen from among those contributing troops were Nepal, Jordan, Uruguay, Ethiopia and Kenya. These four countries will sit on the Committee for the first four years, after which they will be replaced by those following them on the list by rotation.

Seven members still remain to be selected, and these will be named by the General Assembly, once a decision has been taken on the countries to be chosen from the remaining groups, according to information contained in a letter sent to member countries by the Chairman of the General Assembly. The Secretary General also stated that the Assembly was planning to approve a resolution containing the criteria to be used to make this selection.

The obstacles encountered in appointing members of the Commission have meant that the first meeting, originally planned for March, has had to be postponed until the first week of April.

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<sup>13</sup> See Alert 2006 for more details on the make-up of the Organising Committee.