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On April 6–7, 2013, the government of Turkey hosted the 4th Istanbul Retreat of the UN Security Council in Istanbul, Turkey. The retreat provides an informal forum for Security Council members to discuss topics on the agenda of the council. Participants aimed to identify ways of addressing the challenges facing Africa from a security and development perspective and to discuss possible suggestions to transform the continent's potential for peace, security, and sustainable development into reality.

This meeting note summarizes the key themes of the retreat and was drafted by Mireille Affa'a-Mindzie, research fellow of IPI's Africa program. The note reflects the rapporteur's interpretation of the meeting and not necessarily the views of all of the participants.

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Security Council Istanbul Retreat: The Security-Development Nexus in Conflict Prevention and Resolution in Africa

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Introduction

Since the years of independence, Africa has been through successive generations of conflict from the struggle to complete the continent's liberation from colonization, to border issues, proxy wars, ethnicity-based conflicts, and, more recently, conflicts linked to governance crises. Nevertheless, the continent has experienced an overall trend of improvement since the 1990s. Violent conflicts have declined both in number and intensity. Recent positive developments have been recorded in countries including Somalia, Sudan, and South Sudan—before a violent conflict erupted in December 2013 between the government and rebel forces led by former vice president Riek Machar. Africa has also made remarkable progress in the fields of democracy, economy, mediation, and conflict prevention, as well as regional cooperation and integration.

However, challenges remain. The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is still fragile, and situations in the Central African Republic (CAR) and Mali have raised new concerns. Crime and trafficking are expanding across West Africa and the Sahel region, and terrorist groups with connections in Libya, Somalia, and Sudan are also causing growing concern. Moreover, the connection of problems from the Gulf of Guinea to Somalia calls for new approaches to tackle global insecurity. These new approaches must include a comprehensive vision, adjust traditional peacekeeping models to new threats, and combine resources usually deployed in isolation.

With a focus on the security-development nexus in conflict prevention and resolution in Africa, members of the United Nations Security Council attended their fourth Istanbul Retreat on April 6–7, 2013. Convened by the government of Turkey, the first Istanbul Retreat was held in June 2010 to provide an informal forum for Security Council members to discuss topics on the agenda of the council. Previous meetings respectively addressed peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding; strengthening preventive diplomacy and mediation; and new political realities in the Middle East and North Africa. In 2013, the retreat aimed to identify ways of addressing the challenges facing Africa from a security and development perspective and to discuss possible suggestions to transform the continent's potential for peace, security, and sustainable development into reality. A number of questions were offered for consideration:

- How can the international community help postconflict countries?
- What role can the international community and regional organizations play to promote cooperation?
- How can mediation and reconciliation efforts be strengthened and be incentivized?
- How can the rule of law be strengthened?
- How can security sector reform be better supported, and what lessons can be learned from recent experiences?
- How can the international community help create a vibrant private sector in postconflict countries?

Turkey's Initiatives to Strengthen the Security-Development Nexus in Africa

The Security Council members attending the retreat were briefed on Turkey's efforts to advance security and development in Africa. Convinced that Africa is to play an important role in the next decade and that there could be no international peace and security unless there is peace and stability in the region, Turkey is increasingly playing an influential role across the African continent. Turkey held the first Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit in Istanbul in 2008. Over the past five years, it has increased the number of its embassies in Africa from twelve to thirty-five, with subsequent mobilization of the business sector, implementation of development projects, and delivery of humanitarian aid. In Ethiopia, such cooperation has jumped from one Turkish company with investments worth \$15 million, to 341 companies worth \$3 billion. The Turkish government is also involved in seeking solutions to security and development challenges in countries such as Guinea, Mali, Somalia, South Sudan, and Sudan.

In Somalia, Turkey is working to promote political reconciliation through facilitation and mediation. Turkey organized two conferences on Somalia in cooperation with the United Nations, respectively in 2010 and 2012. The Second Istanbul

Conference, "Preparing Somalia's Future: Goals for 2015," focused on achieving progress in political and security fields as well as promoting state-building and economic reconstruction. The conference saw the participation of the transitional federal government leadership, regional administrations, and representatives from wide-ranging segments of Somali society, including youth, women, business communities, elders, religious leaders, the Somali diaspora, and more than fifty countries. Turkey has also been facilitating talks between the Somali federal government and Somaliland since April 2013.

In August 2011, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan made the first international high-level official visit to Mogadishu in twenty years, a visit that facilitated approximately \$300 million of donations by the Turkish people to Somalia. Following the visit, Turkey opened an embassy in Mogadishu, and the Turkish government and civil society launched a large-scale humanitarian and development aid campaign in Somalia. Hospitals were rehabilitated; basic services were expanded; and extended to many areas; roads were paved; Mogadishu streets were cleaned with regular garbage collection services; and about 100,000 cataract operations were performed by Turkish doctors in two years. Following the restoration of the Mogadishu airport, Turkish Airlines started flights to Mogadishu in March 2012. At the time of the retreat, Turkish Airlines remained the only airline company operating regular flights to Mogadishu. Turkey also encourages the professional and well-educated Somali diaspora to be visible in their home country and play their role in advancing development and security.

Security and governance are prerequisites for economic development. Such development should take into account the subregional dimension, and cooperation among the countries in the Horn of Africa should be reinforced to address the crisis in Somalia. With this perspective, Turkey opened embassies in all Horn of Africa countries. Turkey is also developing relations with subregional organizations, including the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), to support their efforts to stabilize Somalia. Turkey has contributed \$1 million to the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) in 2012. The

country also contributes police officers to five UN missions in Africa and to international peacebuilding efforts. Furthermore, Turkey annually allocates \$200 million to the least developed countries (LDCs) of which thirty-three out of fifty countries are in Africa.¹ It has successfully applied for observer status with the African Union (AU) and with a new candidacy for a non-permanent seat at the Security Council for the years 2015 and 2016, Turkey seeks to contribute further to large-scale efforts to peace and security in Africa.

Besides Somalia, Turkey maintains strong relations with Sudan, and it established relations with South Sudan immediately after its independence by opening an embassy in Juba. These initiatives aim to ensure the sustainability of subregional and international peace efforts. Turkey submitted to both countries a list of confidence-building measures aimed at economic development and offering suggestions on how to use both sides' assets. Turkish Airlines is to start Istanbul–Khartoum–Juba “peace flights.” Turkey’s approach is that of promoting reconciliation. As such, Turkey advocates that the border between Sudan and South Sudan should not be considered a matter of national security. And in the Abyei region, Turkey suggested the creation of a zone of common interest since it considers that neither of the two countries would be able to control the border. The Turkish government is planning to pursue this mediation and facilitation work in the Sudan regions of Darfur and South Kordofan.

In the Sahel, Turkey has contributed to the trust fund established to support the African-led International Support Mission to Mali (AFISMA). While further efforts are needed to understand the conflict and identify the appropriate strategies for ending the crisis, these efforts should address both (1) the need to make Tuareg communities part of regional cooperation initiatives and (2) national consolidation in Mali. Turkey also worked in Niger in 2012 to help the country handle the food crisis.

Additional areas of Turkey’s cooperation toward an effective security-development nexus in Africa cover democratization, security sector development, and the question of sanctions. In regard to

the latter, while recognizing that the adoption of sanctions is sometimes necessary, the impact long-term isolation has on potential polarization and conflict resolution efforts must be highlighted. Thus, a more constructive approach could be promoted, which consists in encouraging sanctioned countries to “accept the rules of the game.” In Eritrea for example, Turkey continues to advocate for the end of sanctions imposed on the country, while encouraging regional cooperation and integration.

The discussions at the Istanbul Retreat focused on thematic questions including: security sector reform (SSR) and development, strengthening of the rule of law, and conflict resolution in complex and emergency situations. These themes were discussed with reference to cases including the DRC, Liberia, Mali, Somalia, South Sudan, and Sudan. In addition, the retreat provided an opportunity for the participants to consider the AU’s efforts to strengthen the security-development nexus in Africa.

Regional Efforts to Strengthen the Security-Development Nexus in Africa

The AU is increasingly becoming an important actor of regional peace and security. After the Rwandan genocide and conflicts in the Great Lakes region that caused millions of casualties, the 2000 AU Constitutive Act proclaimed a principle of non-indifference five years before the international community endorsed the responsibility to protect, which established the right of the union to intervene in cases of international crimes committed in any of the state parties.² The AU aims to achieve unity of the African continent and is gradually devising the tools for a clear and transparent contribution to the prevention, management, and resolution of conflicts as well as to postconflict peacebuilding and reconstruction in Africa.

A number of institutions have been established,

1 United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, “The Least Developed Countries Report 2012: Harnessing Remittances and Diaspora Knowledge to Build Productive Capacities,” New York: United Nations, 2012, available at http://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/ldc2012_en.pdf.

2 Article 4(h), African Union Constitutive Act, adopted in 2000 in Lomé, Togo, entered into force in 2001.

including the fifteen-member Peace and Security Council (PSC); the African Standby Force based on five regional brigades; the Continental Early Warning System also built on regional mechanisms to help detect peace and security threats before they escalate into open conflict; a Panel of the Wise composed of eminent personalities who have direct access to African leaders and reflect the African way of resolving conflicts; and the Peace Fund, which receives funding from the AU regular budget as well as partners' contributions, and can provide limited funding to some activities of the AU.

In addition, the AU has developed principles and institutions to advance and monitor human rights and the rule of law across the continent. Emphasis is put on universal human rights principles shared by Africa with the rest of the world. Monitoring organs include the African Commission and the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights. Comprised of members of national parliaments, the Pan-African Parliament also contributes to monitoring governance in Africa. These organs complement various decisions adopted on the prohibition of unconstitutional changes of government. Further, the AU Constitutive Act and the 2007 *African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance* provide for the imposition of sanctions on any country undergoing a coup d'état or unconstitutional change of government.

Both from a normative and an institutional point of view, the AU is gearing up to become an active and effective partner of the UN in the promotion of peace and security across the continent. At the same time, the AU aims to remain flexible enough to be able to adjust to new and unforeseen horizons as it is constantly being tested by crisis situations across the continent.

FINDING SOLUTIONS TO AFRICAN CRISES

Trying to make the best use of existing resources, the AU promotes an integrated approach to peace and security that includes conflict prevention, peacemaking, and peacekeeping. The entire conflict resolution spectrum must be considered before the most conducive solution is adopted to deal with a specific situation. This includes exploring all peaceful options before any military intervention is decided upon. If needed, some kind of military presence can be initiated, including

before any peace agreement, and the AU's peace support can move from one intervention tool to another, depending on the situation. From the continental organization's perspective, peace support should start with Africans, who would then have to turn to the UN for peacekeeping, since it is ultimately responsible for international peace and security. The UN should be called upon when the situation is ripe—as it eventually was in Burundi, Darfur, and Sudan—or when the operation moves to a stage the AU cannot yet sustain. However, the meeting participants observed that both organizations do not always agree on what needs to be done and when each organization should act. This observation emphasizes the critical need for the UN, especially at the level of the Security Council, to gain a clearer understanding of where the AU's role begins and ends. Participants also highlighted the need for the dialogue between the UN Security Council and the AU Peace and Security Council to be nurtured.

The celebration of the fifty-year anniversary of the Organisation of African Unity in 2013 provided an opportunity to initiate a reflection on the evolution of the continent since the end of colonization as well as on the tools and resources needed to address complex conflict situations. Under the theme of the African Renaissance, the jubilee celebrations also sought to better prevent and resolve conflicts, as well as to properly articulate efforts to develop the continent. This exercise should help address the underlying causes of conflict across Africa, namely the challenges posed by weak security sectors and governance, which call for a continental response framework that has the potential to project Africa to the future.

Supported by the UN, the AU is promoting a regional approach to finding solutions to crises in the DRC and the Great Lakes region, in Somalia and the Horn of Africa, as well as in Mali and the Sahel.

THE CRISIS IN MALI

From the beginning of the crisis in January 2012, the international community failed to handle Mali as a complex emergency at both the regional and international levels. The progressive weakening of the government could in part be attributed to the combination of repeated Tuareg secessionist movements almost every decade since independ-

ence; the presence of radical Islamist groups that had found root in northern Mali; and the emergence of narco-criminals. This weakening was only accelerated by the development of corruption within state institutions. The situation further escalated with the decline of government authority in the north, combined with the fallout from the Libyan crisis in a context where then president Amadou Toumani Touré, who was ending his second and last term, was reluctant to make any major decision to contain the degradation of the situation.

The AU took preventive diplomacy initiatives to address the crisis. A Peace and Security Council meeting was held on March 20th in Bamako to address the situation in the north and adopt an AU strategy in the Sahel.³ The meeting condemned the rebellion and devised strategies to address the crisis peacefully. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Sahel core countries were requested to find a solution. The military coup took place two days after the Bamako meeting, accelerating the occupation of the north, the loss of control by the central government of over two thirds of its territory, and the collapse of the army.

Joint efforts have since been implemented by the AU, ECOWAS, and core countries in the Sahel, and discussions with the UN led to the transformation of the African-led International Support Mission to Mali (AFISMA) into the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) in late April. For the AU, it was important that the new mission take on board the legacy of the operation conducted since the beginning of the crisis; closely connect with and build on regional efforts; and take into account the availability of countries in the region to assist in various ways beyond a military contribution. Regional cooperation efforts were pursued with a meeting held in March 2013 in Nouakchott, Mauritania, which brought together all Mali's neighbors to consider ways to deepen their security relationships. The meeting reflected on intelligence sharing and the coordination and strengthening of border control measures, with the objective to combat more effectively terrorism and transna-

tional criminal networks operating in northern Mali and neighboring countries that may have absorbed criminals after the successful military operation conducted by France and African countries.

A few lessons can be learned from the initial regional and international responses to the crisis in Mali and the Sahel. The first lesson comes from the challenge the international community was facing to speed up its response to the developments in the West African country. The Security Council seemingly overly reliant on the region, which was not equipped to resolve the crisis. This misunderstanding led to a considerable loss of time, and it was only when the terrorists took the initiative to move southward in January 2013 that the international community became alarmed. The second lesson learned from the crisis is the need to adapt the international community's intervention toolbox to new crisis situations, including the terrorist threat. For an intervention to have the desired effect on the ground, each situation must be studied thoroughly and clearly addressed based on its specific context. In Mali, the multidimensional nature of the conflict has been highlighted, with factors mixing ethnicity, religion, and ideology. Therefore, defeating terrorism will involve both fighting its ideological element and addressing its root causes. This includes offering alternatives to the youth involved in these criminal activities and addressing long-standing community grievances. It is anticipated that the UN integrated strategy for the Sahel will provide the international community with suggestions for addressing these conflict factors.

THE UN-AU PARTNERSHIP AND PEACEKEEPING CHALLENGES IN DARFUR

In Darfur, ongoing stabilization in some parts of the region coexists with a worsening security situation in other parts. For the Security Council, this difficult context is the result of Sudanese authorities obstructing the work of the African Union/United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID)—a unique situation the council is grappling with. For the AU, aside from issues related to the hybrid nature of the mission,

³ African Union Peace and Security Council, Declaration on the Situation in the Sahel Region, 314th Meeting at Ministerial Level, PSC/MIN/DECL(CCCXIV), Bamako, Mali, March 20, 2012, available at www.peaceau.org/uploads/declaration-eng.pdf.

the challenges faced by UNAMID are linked to a very strong central government in Khartoum and a powerful army and intelligence services, which impose high levels of interference on the work of UNAMID. This situation justifies greater Security Council and Peace and Security Council support for the hybrid mission.

In the broader context of South Sudan's independence, with the tripartite AU implementation panel led by former South African president Thabo Mbeki, the convergence between the two councils has been successful in bringing changes on the ground and encouraging both Sudan and South Sudan to cooperate and achieve progress—such convergence is considered to be perhaps the most pragmatic instrument to tackle conflict situations in Africa. The AU could benefit from convergence in other areas of cooperation, for example with regard to governance standards and the prohibition of unconstitutional changes of government.

THE AU AND CONTINENTAL INTEGRATION

Linking security to development efforts, the AU has launched an ambitious integration plan that foresees the establishment of an African common market by 2017, an African economic community with a single currency by 2023, and the integration of the continent by 2025. The proposed timelines will be reexamined and reviewed on the basis of implementation progress or the lack thereof. Advancing regional integration in Africa required finding a balance between AU members that were more gradualist and those that were in favor of immediate integration. A compromise was reached on the implementation of a gradual and rational integration. This integration is based on the eight Regional Economic Communities (RECs) recognized by the AU, and it aims to convince the RECs to unite and form a larger group. These efforts have begun with a bloc that is likely to change the dynamics of integration on the continent: the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and the East African Community (EAC). It is hoped that such integration efforts will be emulated in the other African regions.

Meanwhile, development projects such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development

(NEPAD) are being implemented, which planned for minimum integration. NEPAD was created in 2001. It is founded on six pillars that include agriculture and food security, climate change and national resource management, regional integration and infrastructure, human development, economic and corporate governance, as well as cross-cutting issues such as gender, capacity development, and information and communications technology. It aims to eradicate poverty and place Africa on a path to sustainable growth and development. Complementing the NEPAD, the *Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance*, adopted in June 2002 by African leaders, established the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). Thirty-three countries have joined the APRM process as of April 2013; seventeen of which have been reviewed.

In addition, the AU considers borders as a critical element of security and sustainable development. With support from the German government, the AU Peace and Security Department has developed a border demarcation program that is increasingly ambitious. Demining programs, the creation of safe markets, schools, nursery places, etc. are being devised for border areas to become “bridges of integration.” In the Great Lakes region, Rwandan and Burundian immigration officers already share offices at the border. It is an example the AU wishes to multiply across the continent. Joint development programs have also helped to prevent conflict, namely between Rwanda and Uganda. With increased impetus from the EAC, regional projects on electricity and infrastructure development for example have been implemented. Such projects facilitated a shift from past frictions to collaboration efforts among populations who started to realize that there was a mutual interest and benefit in “doing things together.”

Despite these efforts, peace and security challenges on the continent continue to scare off investors. Perceptions of corruption negatively impact regional economic prospects. Political and economic development is felt only at certain levels of the society and not by the entire population; and issues of elections and the implementation of winner-take-all systems increasingly pose peace and security risks. The retreat emphasized the importance of political will for national actors to carry out programs and maintain institutions since

the international community can only complement local efforts but not replace them (except in extreme circumstances). Security sector reform (SSR), especially in postconflict Somalia, provides such necessity.

Security Sector Reform and Development: The Case of Somalia

KEY SSR CHALLENGES

Often due to a militarized political culture, studies have established that the propensity of violent conflict is highest where there was previous violence. Three basic components were identified for any postconflict SSR program. These include building a set of capable and responsible security institutions; establishing legitimate security and governance principles and norms; and restoring and strengthening the judicial framework. At the same time, because every state or society perceives and defines security according to its context and culture, there is no single mode of SSR. Yet in general, SSR and development should help restore the rule of law and ensure the protection of vulnerable populations—including by putting an end to arms trafficking, advancing respect for human rights and humanitarian law, and strengthening accountability. A gender perspective should also be integrated into SSR, since gender equality is inherent to any social and inclusive approach and in order to increase success and sustainability. SSR should further rebuild the economy and facilitate a more equitable sharing of resources for people to distance themselves from violence and illegal activities.

For over twenty years, Somalia was consumed by crime, sectarian conflict, and war. This situation drew the Horn of Africa region into instability, and criminal activities rose despite important local, regional, and international efforts. Extremism and terrorism took root, and piracy flourished off the coast of Somalia, causing incalculable damages to economic growth and development opportunities. Undeniable progress was made since the liberation of Mogadishu in August 2011 and the liberation of the southern port of Kismayo a year later by

AMISOM, as well as a successful electoral process in 2012. Looking a few years back, not many would have thought Somalia would be where it is now, and the country is currently at the best place it has been in the last two decades. However, while much has been achieved, a lot still needs to be done, raising impatience at the slow pace at which the dividends of change are taking place. Somalia's history and the nature of the decades-long conflict make SSR and disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) of former combatants particularly timely to help consolidate and advance the gains achieved in recent months in both political and security areas. Key elements of SSR in the country should include: supporting the campaign against al-Shabaab; restoring security in the recovered areas; and supporting regional forces and AMISOM, which are currently tasked with stabilizing the country.

Though President Hassan Sheikh Mohamoud came to power during the absence of any security infrastructure, he soon started to assert his control. A new head of the army was appointed, and the new government successfully lobbied the Security Council for the temporary suspension of the arms embargo.⁴ The Somali government also indicated its intention to revise the country's national security and stabilization plan and to take the lead of international SSR plans. This effort results, among others, from the government's successful coordination with the international community, a rare phenomenon particularly for fragile and conflict-affected countries. However, for SSR efforts in Somalia to succeed, four key internal and regional challenges have to be mapped out and addressed.

First, an important barrier to successful SSR and development in Somalia was seen in the absence of an overall SSR and a long-term national security strategy, which the international community could rally around and support. A strategy was presented at the May 2013 Somalia conference in London, where the Somali government detailed its plans for a national security architecture and for developing its armed forces, including the police and the integration of militias.⁵ A work in progress, the

4 United Nations Security Council Resolution 2093 (March 6, 2013), UN Doc. S/RES/2093.

5 United Kingdom Foreign and Commonwealth Office, "Somalia Conference 2013: Communiqué," May 7, 2013 available at www.gov.uk/government/news/somalia-conference-2013-communication.

draft strategy will include such issues as inclusiveness, civilian oversight, accountability, respect for human rights and the rule of law, and will cover the justice sector, in addition to the military and the police. The proposed strategy constitutes a significant move and presents the international community with the challenge of how best to offer support.

Second, SSR in Somalia is challenged by the need to decide on the timeframe of SSR plans. While the current context of political accommodation still drives an oversized military force, a critical question is to decide when a national dialogue could be initiated on the fundamental security requisites in Somalia. In many contexts, due to the long-term nature of SSR, it is only after basic stability has been achieved and DDR processes have been implemented that SSR plans are realized. This is not yet the case in Somalia, where the difficult task of protecting the populations remains to be fulfilled. Moreover, in the context of the country's federal structure and the relationship between the central government and the regions—especially the outstanding issue of Somaliland—an important question to answer is whether SSR could be led by a transitional government or whether the process must be delayed until after the election of a new government in 2016.

Third, as a national process, SSR must be anchored in national ownership and cannot be isolated from other national strategies. Clear monitoring and evaluation processes must ensure and maintain progress. The collapse of the Somali army in the 1990s, the rise of al-Shabaab, and the proliferation of armed groups and militias inevitably led to the breakdown of the overall state apparatus. Beyond SSR and the reconstruction of the national army in a manner that reinforces other institutions, an appropriate balance must be found between the center and the peripheries—Somaliland, Puntland, and more recently Jubaland—and the capacity of the central government to contribute to security in a substantial and coherent manner must be established. These efforts can build on the positive atmosphere created in the country after the 2012 elections. Further, efforts can also capitalize on the positive experience of the

dynamic Somali market economy over the twenty-year crisis, and look at SSR as security sector building through development instead of for development. Moreover, reconciliation can be promoted in original ways to encourage al-Shabaab members to take a more positive part in the rebuilding of the country. For example, recommendations were made to the Security Council to gradually ease sanctions on the al-Shabaab-dominated charcoal trade, depending on noticeable SSR progress, while at the same time identifying a potential local industry that can constitute an alternative to charcoal.⁶

Fourth, since Somalia is located in a region where stability is often tenuous, regional dynamics are also significant. The more the Somali government becomes legitimate, the stronger it will need to articulate national interests, which may increase tensions with neighboring countries. Two main factors can help overcome this challenge. On the one hand, the new Somali authorities will have the responsibility to specify the country's security responsibilities and partnerships with some of its neighbors in the region by clearly articulating in the constitution the intangibility of borders. On the other hand, Ethiopia as well as Kenya's participation in AMISOM contributed to the liberation of Somalia from terrorism and helped dissipate suspicions of their involvement in Somalia. Efforts should therefore aim at implementing a SSR process that has both national and regional ownership, building on complements and not competition.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S SUPPORT

Somalia has several opportunities to seek support from the UN—which conducted a strategic assessment of its next engagement in the country and is committed to help the government implement the strategies it has identified—its member states, as well as regional and subregional organizations, many of which combine the benefits of experience, expertise, and resources. While there is no lack of willingness or resources for SSR, it is important to do it right. Taking into consideration its highly economic nature, one recommendation was made to design affordable security forces that could

6 African Union, "The African Union Calls on the UN Security Council to Strengthen Its Support to the AU Mission in Somalia," Press Release, Addis Ababa, October 30, 2012, available at www.peaceau.org/uploads/auc-com-somalia-30-10-2012.pdf.

ensure financial sustainability of SSR in Somalia.

Other difficult tasks and choices lying ahead for the UN and the international community include international coherence and coordination, and the challenge of a “piecemeal approach” that could result in the Somali army and police being trained by different countries using different approaches. In that regard, the fight against piracy could provide a useful analysis with respect to international coordination. In 2013, there had been no successful attack as of March, following a 75 percent decline in piracy attacks in 2012 compared to 2011. Moreover, the limited presence of the international community on the ground in Mogadishu, the horizon of a UN peacekeeping operation with the potential rehatting of AMISOM—a process which should take place based on clear benchmarks and in consultation with the AU—and the need to find the most appropriate way to provide support and technical assistance to the Somali government while maintaining national ownership are additional challenges the international community needs to overcome.

Acknowledging that SSR goes to the heart of each country’s national sovereignty, the AU has developed an SSR policy framework, to which Luxembourg provided bilateral support, and which is anticipated to be an important tool for SSR across Africa. From the AU perspective, the definition of specific benchmarks should lead to AMISOM’s withdrawal by 2020, after the territorial expansion and consolidation is completed. Meanwhile, Somalia is expected to have a final constitution by 2015, which should provide a durable solution to the issue of federalism, define a coherent organization of the state built on citizenship rather than on the logic of clans, and ensure a qualitative change in the country’s institutions. Peacebuilding initiatives should facilitate the launch of economic projects with quick impact, and which provide jobs for the youth. From 2016, assuming the set timeline is respected, AMISOM will begin a gradual drawdown and progressively hand over to the Somali defense and security forces that need to be prepared to take ownership of their

national security. In parallel, regional structures should be developed to take charge of regional security.

In addition to UN and regional support, the European Union (EU) has contributed \$400 million to peace efforts in Somalia since 2008. Between 2011 and 2013, the EU, which is particularly concerned with the cross-regional dimension of the situation in Somalia and possible connections with current security challenges in the Sahel, has contributed \$300 million to support a comprehensive approach that includes development, security sector reform, addressing humanitarian challenges, and fighting piracy.⁷ The EU also provides a major financial contribution to AMISOM by paying for peacekeeper allowances—an area that the EU considers will require additional partners to continue on a broader basis. The EU is also involved in training Somalia’s national army. Twenty-three European trainers have so far taught 3000 Somali soldiers in training activities that were recently moved from Uganda to Somalia. The training provides military expertise while also bringing Somali soldiers together in a divided country. In September 2012, the EU appointed its first ambassador to Somalia after over twenty-one years.

Participants at the retreat emphasized the need for international efforts in Somalia to find the right balance between sustainable interest and a clear exit strategy to avoid excessive dependency. With the 2012 strategic review by the UN of what its renewed presence in Somalia can be and the adoption of Resolution 2093 in March 2013, UN peace efforts in Somalia must be complemented by intensive peacebuilding activities and more attention should be paid to development in a country where 73 percent of the population lives on less than \$2 a day.⁸

Again, this implies that reforming and building the security sector should not be looked at in an isolated manner. Instead, SSR and development must go in tandem with all other sectors including the economy. In that regard, short-term challenges such as the humanitarian crisis and piracy must be addressed, including by strengthening efforts to

7 Africa-EU Partnership, “The EU Increases Its Support for Conflict Prevention and Resolution in Africa with EUR 40 Million,” August 1, 2011, available at www.africa-eu-partnership.org/newsroom/all-news/eu-increases-its-support-conflict-prevention-and-resolution-africa-eur-40-million.

8 UNDP in Somalia, “Eradicate Extreme Hunger and Poverty,” available at www.so.undp.org/content/somalia/en/home/mdgoverview/overview/mdg1/.

establish a common judiciary and correctional system. Due credit must be given to the international community for the military means provided and the current success in the fight against piracy. However, it is also critical to address long-term challenges. The root causes of the decades-long conflict in Somalia should be clearly identified and tackled to prevent any relapse. In addition to security at sea, piracy should also be dealt with on the shores of Somalia. In that regard, the provision of basic social services such as health and education, and employment opportunities especially to the youth, can serve as a viable alternative to piracy. Moreover, communities can be rebuilt and strengthened by building resilience and advancing development. And because weak armies often only reflect weak states, governance issues should also be dealt with, including a reform of the revenue sector.

Strengthening the Rule of Law

The World Bank's *World Development Report 2011* on conflict, security, and development acknowledged that little work had been done on the link between the lack of legitimacy in key national institutions, weak state security capacity, justice and jobs for citizens, and cycles of violence in low-income fragile or conflict-affected countries.⁹ However, while the rule of law is one of the first elements that needs to be reestablished in a postconflict context since it helps to restore confidence at all levels in the society, issues of public safety, jobs, and the fight against impunity are not always given immediate priority.

While there is no set of established standards defining the rule of law, it is considered an indispensable element to a more peaceful, just, and prosperous world. Culture and the specific context where the rule of law is to be implemented should be taken into account to avoid the imposition of a set of exogenous rules. Some of the issues forming part of substantive rule of law include the fight against corruption and the protection of human rights and gender—namely women's access to justice and fighting against gender-based violence.

Strengthening the rule of law by building state legitimacy also calls for free, fair, and peaceful elections. By providing electoral assistance to countries, the UN can play a critical role in mitigating the risks of violence attached to electoral systems favoring winner-take-all approaches. In postconflict contexts, addressing land issues can further serve to reinforce the credibility of the state and citizens' confidence in the government, and determine success or lack thereof of the rule of law. Moreover, norms such as those regulating extractive industries can also serve to enlarge the scope of the rule of law.

On the ground, three aspects illustrate the practicality of the concept of the rule of law: (1) rebuilding and strengthening failed or fragile states; (2) promoting justice and fighting impunity; and (3) the creation of a framework making countries attractive to investment.

For fragile or failed states, including many countries exiting from conflict, state presence is not often perceived by the citizens. Thus, the rule of law seeks to help the state assert itself and be perceived for what it is by rebuilding citizens' understanding of the law, bringing back citizen confidence in the state, and providing notable security benefits. In Liberia, with a \$50 million contribution by the UN Peacebuilding Fund (PBF), the international community began implementing the concept of security and justice hubs. The project has been operationalized by the establishment in the same compound of a police station, a tribunal, and a prison. A total of seven justice hubs are to be created. In the long term, it is anticipated that a representation of the finance ministry will be added to the hub. While further efforts are needed to equip these hubs with competent personnel, issues of training and resources continue to hinder the functioning of police stations and judicial institutions across the country.

In addition to building and strengthening the state, the rule of law is about justice and the rejection of impunity. In the DRC for example, the UN helped strengthen military justice by establishing prosecution support cells, which are composed of trained military and civilian prosecutors and police investigators. The UN further

⁹ World Bank, *World Development Report 2011 Overview: Conflict, Security, and Development*, Washington DC, 2011, available at http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDRS/Resources/WDR2011_Overview.pdf.

supports mobile court sessions, which have pronounced several dozens of judgments to date. Moreover, during the attack of Goma in November 2012, MONUSCO (the UN Stabilization Mission in Congo) helped evacuate a number of prosecutors and judges to places of safety. Again, these efforts help the state to regain the confidence of its citizens by ensuring that the law applies to all equally. In postconflict contexts, attention should be paid to perceptions that one side is exercising a victor's justice, a situation that can corrode the possibility of effective change. This was the case in Côte d'Ivoire, where the work of the national commission of enquiry, established in June 2011 following the violence that marred the November 2010 presidential election, had raised concerns about the impartiality of the investigation and prosecution of crimes committed by both former president Laurent Gbagbo's and President Alassane Ouattara's sides. Whether countries have or have not signed the Rome Treaty establishing the International Criminal Court (ICC), impunity is generally condemned and the choice in prosecuting certain crimes becomes one between national and international justice.

A third component of the rule of law is to make a country attractive to investments by fighting corruption and creating job opportunities for the disenfranchised. This is true regarding both domestic and foreign investments. In Mali, the corruption of the national army was recently exposed by evidence that the vast majority of the military equipment of the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO) did not come from former Libyan leader Kaddafi's arsenals, but they were actually sold to the extremist groups by the corrupt and disgruntled members of the Malian military.¹⁰ In South Sudan, Khartoum's payment of oil revenues in cash has also been identified among the causes of the new country's corruption and lack of transparency practices. National measures are needed to fight corruption. In addition, countries that are at the receiving hand of corruption funds should commit to asset recovery principles and be encouraged to return the illicit wealth obtained through corruption to countries often in need of resources for reconstruction. And besides corrup-

tion, nepotism is another obstacle to transparency and equitable sharing of national resources, and such allegations in Liberia have raised concern.

For the UN, while the rule of law is a technical question, it is also a political one as it contributes to ensuring that the international community handles post-crisis exit strategies during crisis better. The UN's efforts to strengthening the rule of law are led by the deputy secretary-general, who is entrusted with cross-system coordination. In fragile countries, the Department of Political Affairs' political missions generally include a SSR or rule of law component. To complement these efforts, the Global Focal Point for Police, Justice and Corrections Areas in the Rule of Law in Post-conflict and other Crisis Situations (the Global Focal Point) was created in 2012.¹¹ Jointly located within the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Global Focal Point will improve ongoing efforts to build the rule of law in crisis and postconflict countries by facilitating the availability of people, skills, and knowledge, as well as a better implementation of the policies needed for strengthening the rule of law in crisis and conflict contexts. Despite this progress, greater efforts are needed and stronger Security Council involvement is necessary for more effective action in building and strengthening the rule of law.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE RULE OF LAW

Over the past sixty years, the Security Council has adopted many resolutions making use of evolving tools and resources. However, limited results compared to increasingly high expectations, issues of time, ownership, and approaches have sometimes raised concerns. Part of the problem was identified in the "curative mode" approach adopted by the Security Council, rather than a more preventive one. With regard to the rule of law, a suggestion was made for the Council to emphasize a "preventive primacy" of the rule of law, looking at countries that are not yet on its agenda but where the justice system and the police are not working properly and could later on lead to

10 Alexis Arief, "Crisis in Mali," Congressional Research Service, Washington DC, January 14, 2013, p.7, available at <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R42664.pdf>.

11 UN Department of Peacekeeping and UN Development Programme, "Fact Sheet: Global Focal Point for Police, Justice and Corrections," available at www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/crisis%20prevention/2012_12_07_The_Fact_Sheet_for_Global_Focal_Point_Dec_2012.pdf.

conflict. At the same time, participants at the retreat recalled that it is also part of UNDP's role to encourage a more preventive approach to the rule of law.

The September 2012 high-level meeting of the UN General Assembly on the rule of law does not seem to have produced sufficient outcomes, and the need was emphasized for a follow-up discussion of the topic.¹² A suggestion was made for the UN to facilitate a new debate on the rule of law, for a better understanding of its meaning and its relationship with democracy, security, and development; this is a debate that should also involve regional organizations. And beyond the UN system, synergies are being developed with other institutions, for example the World Bank, to strengthen the rule of law. DPKO is working on establishing links with the Bank's units that deal with weak states. And in May 2013, the president of the World Bank accompanied the UN secretary-general in a visit to the Great Lakes region.

The UN's efforts to strengthen the rule of law are not without challenges. The human rights due diligence policy adopted in 2011,¹³ which applies to security forces trained by or cooperating with the UN, reached a crucial point in its implementation following the attack of Goma by the M23 rebels in eastern Congo in November 2012. With mass rapes reportedly committed by soldiers of two units of the Armed Forces of the DRC (FARDC), the UN has been pressing the Congolese authorities to act and launch prosecutions. As of April 2013, only two cases have been decided upon. One enduring challenge lies in the continuous explanation, by the Congolese authorities, of the efforts that are being made to implement the rule of law and fight against impunity. And while it is not sure that this is the right way to go, it is increasingly considered that concrete action must be taken. The UN has threatened to suspend its cooperation with the two FARDC units involved in the event that the government fails to prosecute the alleged perpetrators.

Participants at the retreat emphasized the fact that "we cannot have democracies without a culture of democracy." To reinforce the interna-

tional community's efforts supporting the consolidation of the rule of law in fragile and conflict-affected countries, bilateral initiatives and regional cooperation should provide incentives for strengthening democracy and the rule of law, and they should help operate change particularly in countries that are not the object of particular attention of the Security Council. In that regard, lessons can be learned from Europe after 1989, where former USSR countries were encouraged to respect the rule of law in order to receive EU assistance. Aid conditionality can be considered for governments that do not respect the rule of law. In Somalia for example, suggestions were made for the government's counterterrorism efforts to ensure that human rights standards are respected, and consequences—including the possible withdrawal of support—must be attached to the country's failure to meet these standards.

Conflict Resolution in Complex Emergencies

Complex emergencies refer to conflicts that are largely internal, where a series of political, social, and economic factors result in the complete breakdown of state authority. Responding to conflict, the UN calibrates its interventions to each single case, handling both stick and carrot. In the case of complex emergencies, the UN has established multidimensional peace operations, which combine both military and civilians capabilities.

THE UN RESPONSE TO COMPLEX EMERGENCIES IN AFRICA

Of the current fifteen UN peacekeeping missions in the world, seven are in Africa. These missions cover 68.5 percent of the overall peacekeeping budget, 75 percent of the military personnel, and 78 percent of the police personnel with the two exceptions of the UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) and the UN Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA). In Africa, the UN works with subregional organizations such the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the International Conference on the Great

¹² United Nations General Assembly Resolution 67/1, *Declaration of the High-Level Meeting of the General Assembly on the Rule of Law at the National and International Levels*, Resolution A/RES/67/1, November 30, 2012.

¹³ United Nations General Assembly and Security Council, *Identical Letters Dated 25 February 2013 from the Secretary-General Addressed to the President of the General Assembly and to the President of the Security Council*, UN Doc. A/67/775-S/2013/110, March 5, 2013.

Lakes Region (ICGLR), a cooperation which varies according to these organizations' effectiveness. While this relationship should be carried forward, it is important not to lose site of the continental perspective.

New and emerging peace and security threats cannot be dealt with using traditional peacekeeping methods. Therefore, "robust peacekeeping" was pioneered by integrating lessons learned in the 1990s from conflicts in the Balkans and Rwanda. These lessons include for example, the use of force to protect civilians. In that regard, a new step, "on an exceptional basis and without creating a precedent or any prejudice to the agreed principles of peacekeeping" was made with the establishment of an intervention brigade in the DRC by Resolution 2098 in March 2013. The intervention brigade responds to the necessity to give MONUSCO and the Congolese army the means to durably neutralize and disarm groups in eastern DRC. Moreover, this new instrument should serve as a deterrent, an illustration seen in the March 2013 rendition of rebel leader Bosco Ntaganda, who had been under an ICC arrest warrant since 2006, as well as the renditions of an increasing number of rebels trying to find a way out. However, for the new intervention brigade, the challenge is to demonstrate its efficacy—an efficacy that was strengthened in July 2013 by the deployment of unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) in the DRC's Kivu provinces. The success of the new intervention brigade will also be conditioned by enhanced civilian action, including greater efforts by the Congolese government to improve service delivery and promote reconciliation.

In Mali and Somalia, security challenges are increasingly complex with the appearance of asymmetric warfare and guerilla tactics using improvised weapons, attacks against populated areas, and the immersion of combatants in the civilian population. Additional challenges result from the difficulty to identify possible interlocutors for dialogue. In these contexts too, it is critical for the UN response to evolve. A political track supporting the establishment of the legitimate state's authority must be combined with improved security to protect the political process and state institutions where they exist and to protect civilians including by using force.

At the same time, it is critical to minimize the

risks the UN may incur by protecting its legitimacy and credibility. In Mali, this concern can be taken into account by addressing three considerations:

- Clarifying the thin line between protection of civilians and peace enforcement in the context of the proliferation of asymmetric attacks;
- Ensuring that the peacekeeping operation has the adequate capability, namely the necessary mobility, force multipliers, and information gathering or intelligence; and
- Defining, in the case of a parallel force designed to address the terrorism issue, the relationship between the peacekeeping mission and the parallel force to ensure its effectiveness, considering the large size of the country and its difficult conditions of operation.

Resolution 2100 established the UN Multi-dimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA), which began its mandate on July 1, 2013. MINUSMA's mandate covers the stabilization of key population centers and support for the reestablishment of state authority throughout the country; support for the implementation of the transitional road map, including the national political dialogue and the electoral process; protection of civilians; and the promotion and protection of human rights, national and international justice, humanitarian assistance, and cultural preservation. The Security Council also authorized French troops, within the limits of their capacities and areas of deployment, to use all necessary means to intervene in support of elements of MINUSMA when under imminent and serious threat, upon request of the secretary-general.

THE LINKS BETWEEN PEACEKEEPING, PEACEMAKING, AND PEACEBUILDING

In some cases, peacekeeping, understood as the prevention of violence and hostilities, can appear as "the enemy" of peacemaking or the need to resolve political issues. Peacekeeping can end up pushing the political issues under the carpet. Using the case of the DRC, participants at the retreat observed that a UN presence on the ground went through different phases since 1960. After more than fifty years, the UN seems to have become part of the country, and there are risks of collapse should it be taken out of Congo. While no alternative has been offered, peacekeeping in the DRC seems to have mostly helped to maintain the status quo.

Concerns have been raised about the important and increasing demand for peacekeepers, the high cost of the mission with an annual budget of \$1.5 billion a year (compared to \$1.45 billion spent on development programs) and the overreliance on peacekeeping to lead the country's security, policing, and development efforts. Besides peacekeeping, preventive diplomacy and mediation should remain a priority. The peacemaking process can help create a new environment and offer new perspectives; the international community must help increase local capabilities to inject them into the society. In addition, while it is important not to lose sight that numbers often reflect a reality of the needs on the ground, a constant review of peacekeeping operations should help assess regularly the situation to right size the numbers and tools with a view to adjusting the strength of peace operations to the specific context.

Addressing the root causes of conflict is critical. In that regard, the comprehensive political framework and the intervention brigade created in the DRC are expected to bring a new ground on which to build peace further.¹⁴ In Mali, where there was no political process yet as in the Congo as of April 2013, the new UN stabilization force and the perspective of recovering the country's territorial integrity were encouraged to incentivize the authorities in Bamako to begin the political process. Greater effectiveness can therefore result from the utilization, by the international community, of all the tools in its toolbox. At the end of the day, multidimensional peacekeeping should represent only one process, throughout its various phases of peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding. And to facilitate an earlier phase out of peacekeeping missions, a timely consideration of the integration between peacekeeping and peacebuilding should be encouraged from the deployment of the mission.

THE SECURITY-DEVELOPMENT NEXUS AND THE FUNDING DISCREPANCY BETWEEN PEACEKEEPING AND DEVELOPMENT

Development remains the best guarantee against conflict and relapse into conflict. For the United Nations, the nexus between security and develop-

ment must also therefore be looked at from the point of view of the coexistence of the Security Council's mandate with other organs. Discrepancies must be addressed and a just balance of funding for peacekeeping operations and for development programs should be encouraged. In addition to the DRC, the difference between peacekeeping and development funding was noted in Darfur, where the situation has to a certain extent stabilized after the July 2011 Doha agreement. However, the mission budget remains close to \$1.5 billion per year. The United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI) budget is approximately \$600 million, while only \$25 million is spent on development.

Participants at the retreat agreed, each case should be looked at from a specific context. However, there is no certainty that the international community prefers peacekeeping operations to development, unless such operations need to be deployed. In fact, peacekeeping can facilitate the emergence of the rule of law and security frameworks for the development of national institutions. And in some cases, peacekeeping operations share humanitarian agencies' dilemma about when to transit from immediate relief to development. Considering the situation in the DRC where development remains to be achieved despite the considerable amount of money poured into peacekeeping efforts, some participants felt there is a need for a candid discussion on peacekeeping and on ways to put an end to cycles of conflict.

Greater investment in development and the implementation of comprehensive programs to address the underlying causes of conflict must be considered. Another suggestion for linking peacekeeping to development efforts is the preparation of exit roadmaps, articulated with the host country. Such roadmaps would (1) describe progress in the country since the establishment of the mission, and (2) assess further needs in terms of economic development, basic social services, employment, and the rule of law for example. These roadmaps could also serve to prevent sudden requests of withdrawal of peacekeeping missions such as those seen in the Central African Republic

¹⁴ African Union, "Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region, Addis Ababa," Ethiopia, February 24, 2013, available at www.peaceau.org/uploads/scanned-on-24022013-125543.pdf.

and Chad in 2010, which caught the Security Council by surprise.

When violent conflict comes to an end, lingering issues can be an impediment to development. This has played out after South Sudan's independence with the interruption of development initiatives in both Sudan and South Sudan, and a heavy militarization of the region to the detriment of the economy and local populations. The decision of South Sudan to shut down its oil production in January 2012 following a dispute with the north over transit fees also had disastrous consequences for both countries. Moreover, though the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement ended the worst forms of violence in the south, peace remains fragile and under continuous threats in the border region of Abyei, and in Sudan's South Kordofan and Blue Nile. In Darfur—which has been devastated since 2003 by the war between the central government and the rebels—competition for water as well as political, social, and economic development challenges remain an obstacle to any constructive remedy.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE PEACEBUILDING COMMISSION

The Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) has an important role to play and joint efforts are needed to bring it to its full potential. In Liberia, the Peacebuilding Fund (PBF) supported the establishment of justice hubs, and a similar initiative is anticipated in the DRC. However, the retreat participants admitted the PBC is not well known, and a number of policymakers are still trying to figure out where to put this new institution in their bureaucracy and to decide on its economic, social, or political nature. Another difficulty faced by the PBC and PBF is the initial confusion about their objectives and the expectation that the structure would be a significant generator of funds.

While most of the country configurations provide good added value, their members are not development or advocacy specialists and the success of each configuration significantly depends on the personality of the ambassador running the configuration. Further, the PBC and PBF serve more as structures to mobilize support in and from New York. To reinforce the UN peacebuilding

architecture, suggestions were made toward stronger backing from the Security Council; the development of more realistic expectations of what both the PBC and the PBF can achieve; and greater clarity in the division of work between the PBC in New York and UN country offices on the ground. In Liberia, which is considered one of the PBC's success stories, the Commission is hardly known. And in CAR, despite the PBC and PBF being considered a useful contribution to the political dialogue, the long absence of a chair for the country configuration was seen as a disadvantage that led the country's most recent crisis.

At the regional level, the AU has developed a postconflict reconstruction and development policy, which seeks to complement the work of the PBC. The policy aims to respond to the PBC's limitations with regard to the number of countries supported in Africa, some of them not necessarily in the most difficult of situations. Detecting and addressing the root causes of conflict should foster prevention while deterring escalation risks. And to support postconflict reconstruction and stimulate the security-development nexus, the AU has launched the African Solidarity Initiative, a support mobilization initiative backed by the African Development Bank and the UN Economic Commission for Africa.¹⁵ However, the participants at the retreat observed that while adding more countries to the PBC's list would seem beneficial, it also carries the risk of overburdening a nascent administration as well as interlocutors in countries where the necessary structures remain to be built.

Conclusion

The discussion at the fourth Istanbul Security Council retreat underscored three main priorities the international community must take into account in its efforts to develop and reinforce the security-development nexus in conflict prevention and resolution in Africa.

NEW PEACEKEEPING PARADIGMS

Both in the DRC and Mali, the emergence of new peace and security threats has led to original responses by the international community. The multiplication of armed groups in eastern DRC made the establishment of an intervention brigade

¹⁵ African Union, "Assembly, Decision on African Solidarity Initiative for Support to Post-Conflict Reconstruction Development (PCRD) in Africa," Assembly/AU/Dec.425(XIX), Nineteenth Ordinary Session, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, July 15–16, 2012.

possible. The intervention brigade is anticipated to reinforce the protection of civilians in the region by neutralizing armed groups and deterring future human rights violations. New peacekeeping approaches were also deemed necessary to respond to emerging asymmetric warfare and guerilla tactics that armed groups are using in Mali and Somalia. As a result, improved security has been planned under MINUSMA, whose peacekeeping mandate is complemented by an authorization given to French troops in Mali to use all necessary means to intervene in support of the mission when under imminent and serious threat.

Beyond the development of new peacekeeping approaches, the retreat highlighted the importance of balancing peacekeeping and peacemaking processes, and the need to prevent peacekeeping from being seen as “the enemy” of peacemaking. Peacekeeping efforts on the ground, which should be regularly assessed and adjusted to actual needs, must be combined with an effective peacemaking process that can help devise new perspectives fostering peace and reconciliation. By strengthening the UN peacebuilding architecture and making use of all the tools in its toolbox, the Security Council will be in a position to manage crisis exit better.

SSR AND DEVELOPMENT

Support to national SSR and development programs is part of the council’s efforts to pave the way to successful crisis exits. For the international community, this support requires overcoming the following four challenges:

- (1) develop and implement effective international coherence and coordination to prevent a too common piecemeal approach of SSR

programs;

- (2) find the most appropriate way to provide support and technical assistance while maintaining national ownership;
- (3) find the right balance between sustainable interest and a clear exit strategy; and
- (4) address the root causes of conflict.

To tackle the root causes of conflict, greater investment should be made in development. From the early stages of peacekeeping operations, stronger links must be established between peacekeeping efforts and development programs. The funding discrepancies noted between peacekeeping and development must be addressed, and the preparation of exit roadmaps should provide an up-to-date assessment of the development needs throughout the peacekeeping phase.

STRENGTHENING THE RULE OF LAW

Strengthening the rule of law is another strategy helping the international community to better prepare for crisis exits. For the Security Council, effective rule of law development calls for stronger involvement and the development of innovative approaches such as a new emphasis on “preventive primacy” of the rule of law; linking peacekeeping efforts with other institutions including the World Bank to facilitate a better comprehension of the relationship between the rule of law and democracy, security, and development. In pursuing its efforts to respond to new and emerging peace and security threats and better prepare for crisis exit, the Security Council can rely on the interventions conducted by a growing number of actors through bilateral and multilateral efforts. Turkey, the EU, and the African Union provide such support.

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