

CORNERSTONES OF A STRATEGY FOR

Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation

Comprehensive ▪ Sustainable ▪ in Solidarity

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April 2013

This paper was prepared by Edelgard Bulmahn, Hans-Joachim Giessmann, Marius Müller-Hennig, Mirko Schadewald and Andreas Wittkowsky. It is based on the substantial input and feedback provided by the **»Working Group on Civilian Crisis Prevention«**, which was established by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in 2011 and brings together experts on peace and security policy from academia, think tanks and actual practice. A word of thanks goes from the authors to all the members of the Working Group. The authors are particularly grateful to Julia Kühne, whose tireless efforts both in organising the meetings of the Working Group and in preparing the Cornerstones Paper were vital for the success of these endeavours.

Terminological information: Note that throughout this publication »peacebuilding« is used where the German original refers to »Friedensförderung«. The authors perceived this to be the most appropriate equivalent for the subject matter discussed. In this context »peacebuilding« is not limited to activities during the post-conflict phase but is used in a broader sense, including activities in all phases of the conflict cycle.

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1. Summary

Purpose of the Cornerstones

The following Cornerstones set the framework for a German Strategy for Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation. This strategy should try to support peacebuilding in a comprehensive and sustainable manner, based on solidarity. As a strategic cross-cutting task, peacebuilding and conflict transformation should be embedded in particular in the areas of foreign, security and development policy. To this end, the strategy should lay the foundations, identify interests and spell out objectives and priorities for German action and ensure that the required resources are made available.

Rationale for German peacebuilding policy

German policy should be promoting peace. This mission is based on the imperative of peace set out in the German Constitution. The experience of the world wars and many years of peace thereafter, the successes experienced in cooperative *Ostpolitik* from the 1970s, integration in the European Union and peaceful reunification are intrinsic elements of Germany's identity as a nation seeking and fostering lasting peace.

The need for a strategy

Peacebuilding and conflict transformation are long-term, wide-ranging challenges. Approaching them requires a clear, all-embracing orientation and courage to set out priorities focusing on clearly specified *peacebuilding needs*. Both are lacking in German policy.

Multilateral institutions – a strategic lever

German peacebuilding policy can be successful only within the framework of relevant international institutions in the long run. This primarily means the United Nations and the European Union, with special responsibility for lasting peace and security in the region. To this end, German policy must work together with Germany's partners in a proactive manner.

Effective structures and decision-making in Germany

A strategy for peacebuilding and conflict transformation must encompass all areas of policy, coordinating them in a comprehensive manner. Effective coordination through the Federal Foreign Office requires effective interfaces. Targeted human resource policy plays a special role. At the same time, it is necessary to expand institutions for peacebuilding and conflict transformation and strengthen them wherever needed.

Responsibility on the ground

Peace is not an export item. Lasting peace can be secured only if actors in conflicts are willing and able to solve their problems in a nonviolent way. An effective strategy for peacebuilding and conflict transformation places this task centre-stage and focuses its support for government and non-government actors in these countries. German embassies and EU missions in conflict countries must be strengthened to meet this task, but they also need sufficient scope for decision-making in order to be able to react swiftly to crises in the making.

Political responsibility and resources

The implementation of a comprehensive strategy for peacebuilding and conflict transformation requires strong political leadership and appropriate resources. Both must be reflected in Germany's next government programme. One important, politically binding step would be to earmark up to an additional €500 million each year for the promotion of peacebuilding and conflict transformation within the next legislative period.

2. Background

The wars in the Balkans in the 1990s as well as violent conflicts in the Caucasus, the Middle East and Africa have shown that conflicts in the direct vicinity of Germany and the European Union can also escalate in a violent manner, engulfing entire regions. The bloody disintegration of Yugoslavia became the first test case for European peace policy in the wake of the Cold War. The international mission in Afghanistan, which Germany is a part of, has been going on for over a decade, not only revealing the limits of what external intervention can achieve, but also underscoring the dire need for a critical review of peace policy strategies to date.

Political nature of interventions

All activities aimed at peacebuilding and conflict transformation constitute profound political interventions. Schematic strategies for adopting template models lead to a dead end over the long or short term, however. Successful conflict transformation takes place along the entire breadth of culture and society; it changes national narratives, mutual perceptions and relations.

Multidimensional peace missions

The number of peace missions has grown throughout the world since the end of the Cold War, while their mandates have become broader and more wide-ranging. Peace missions now often entail comprehensive peacebuilding activities, such as administrative, economic or even security sector reforms. The civilian contribution to multidimensional missions is becoming more and more decisive in determining whether or not they are a lasting success. But civilian contributions are frequently not sufficient: military components play an important role in monitoring cease-fires, protecting the staff members of the missions themselves and – increasingly – offering protection for civilian populations against violent attacks. It may be necessary in certain cases to apply military force in good time in order to prevent or end violent ethnic cleansing or even genocide. The experience of the United Nations has shown that military intervention that comes too late (such as in Bosnia and Herzegovina) or fails to take place at all (such as in Rwanda) can lead to massive civilian casualties.

Development, security and peace

Neither peace nor development are possible without a minimum level of security. The 2011 World Development Report stresses that peace, security and development are inextricably intertwined and have to be linked in a new manner. The concentration on government stability and security alone will not suffice, as the task is first of all to restore shattered trust and confidence between elements of society and second, to establish properly functioning, legitimate government institutions. These objectives cannot be achieved without prioritising justice, security and welfare for all citizens (in the sense of human security) – solidarity with weaker members of society goes beyond purely altruistic motives.

Political will and resources

Despite our increased knowledge about conflicts, action often comes too late or is too feeble because the political will or resources are lacking for timely and – especially – preventive action. On the other hand, the potential available for peacebuilding and conflict transformation is often not used as is necessary or possible. The most dominant forms of action, as it were, are reactive and seek merely to minimise damage, with sustained conflict prevention and transformation often playing only a secondary role; willingness to engage in long-term commitments is limited. There is also a dearth of strategies, capabilities, tools and instruments that function in practice, however. Even the best intentions may fail to achieve success if the resources applied in crisis prevention are not sufficient to meet the challenges. Simple recipes and solutions are rarely to be found.

The protracted nature of conflicts

A large number of conflicts – such as those in the Middle East, Central Africa (the Congo), on the Horn of Africa (Somalia), in the Sudan or the Caucasus – have been going on for decades. In all these cases the international community, and along with it the Federal Republic of Germany, have been working over lengthy periods to prevent escalation, put an end to armed struggles, secure peace and transform conflict – mostly with limited success. In view of the continued prevalence of conflicts and violence, critical questions need

to be posed about the elements, scope and form of commitments to date and new strategies need to be developed.

The changing nature of conflicts

The intensity of violent conflicts taking place today is often lower than it used to be. However, their economic, social and political causes have become more tightly intertwined. Violent non-governmental actors such as private armies or networks of organised crime have come increasingly to affect conflict dynamics over the past couple of years. The nature of waging war has also changed: the difference between the front and the hinterland has increasingly become blurred and military campaigns are often being carried out over major distances. The recruitment of child soldiers continues. Small arms are available in growing quantities, largely beyond any controls, while the ability to distinguish between civilians and combatants is often lost in the fog of war in fragile states. It is above all the civilian population that bears the brunt of the suffering caused by wars and conflicts, including in the form of sexualised violence.

International wars

Even though international wars in their classic form are becoming increasingly unlikely or scarcely conceivable because they would entail horrendous costs as a result of international linkages and the interdependence of modern societies, we must not lose sight of potential violent international conflicts. Regional arms races, rivalries between major powers and disputes over territory still characterise international relations in many parts of the world. In addition to classic diplomacy and confidence-building international dialogues, especially efforts such as disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation are needed because political intentions and strategies may still change. A potential for military violence that does not pose any threat at present may very quickly develop into a threat to world peace in the wake of a change in regimes. We must also keep an eye on new technological risks emerging for arms control: unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), automated battlefield systems, electronic scrambling in outer space and so on.

The Responsibility to Protect

The introduction and application of the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) is an important development in the area of international law over the past few years. This concept must be further elaborated, codified and implemented in a manner legitimised by international law, however. To this end an intensified dialogue needs to take place, including with the concept's sceptics. Abuse must be resolutely countered. RtoP means that (i) every state bears fundamental responsibility towards its own citizens in conformity with universally recognised standards of international law and human rights; (ii) the international community bears responsibility to encourage and foster an international order along the lines of these standards by means of civilian (preventive and follow-up) activities; and (iii) proportionate military intervention may not only be allowed, but also warranted under certain conditions – and only then – as a last resort to protect populations.

Comprehensive challenges, comprehensive strategies

The complex nature of violent international conflicts means new challenges for national and international action; these challenges must be met with a comprehensive strategy and adequate resources, tools and instruments. The following preconditions are necessary in order to apply these effectively:

- better **information and situational awareness** through regular monitoring and observation of fragile states and regions involved in or threatened by violent conflicts;
- more reliable **knowledge** of causes, actors, peace-building needs (PBNs), the impact of our interventions and incentives; analysis and identification of common interests of parties to conflicts as a point of approach in a conflict-resolution process;
- a critical **understanding and agreement** between national and international actors, including with respect to the political nature of interventions, and structures that make this understanding possible;

- permanent **cooperation and dialogue with local actors**, without whose commitment and ownership external contributions to peacebuilding and conflict transformation cannot have any lasting effect;
- **self-reflection**, flexibility and willingness to adapt;
- **perseverance** and commitment to long-term obligations.

3. Milestones and challenges to date

As a result of its history, Germany bears special responsibility for peacebuilding and conflict transformation. The German Constitution expressly lays down the obligation to secure peace in its Preamble and Article 26. In its capacity as a donor country with considerable resources and an influential partner in international organisations, Germany is rightly expected to assume strategic responsibility for international peace policy as a European and world political actor. A transparent, comprehensive, resolute and sustainable strategy for peacebuilding and conflict transformation would lend greater credence to Germany's efforts. Its development does not need to start from scratch.

Multilateral milestones

The United Nations (UN), the European Union (EU), the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and along with these Germany have made considerable efforts to expand multilateral peacekeeping and conflict transformation over the past two decades. The scale of UN peacekeeping missions has grown, and they have become more robust and complex. The UN has furthermore created new structures, including in the areas of preventive diplomacy and peacebuilding. The European Union has also set out to develop a comprehensive Common Foreign and Security Policy and has had its first experience with peacekeeping missions, especially with civilian mandates. The UN Security Council took an important step in the direction of a gender-sensitive peace policy as far back as the year 2000 with Resolution 1325.

German milestones

Germany has played a major role in both developments while in addition sponsoring peacebuilding initiatives of its own worldwide. The Social-Democratic-Green coalition government adopted a comprehensive strategy in 2000, and in 2004 the »Action Plan for Civilian Crisis Prevention, Conflict Resolution and Post-conflict Peacebuilding«. This was aimed at underscoring the importance of a German foreign policy that is to focus primarily on peaceful means and resources. This and other developments created important impetus to sup-

port the peacebuilding focus of German foreign policy. In addition, a number of important institutions have been established, such as the Civil Peace Service (*Ziviler Friedensdienst*), the Centre for International Peace Operations (*Zentrum für Internationale Friedenseinsätze*), the German Foundation for Peace Research (*Deutsche Stiftung Friedensforschung*), the zivik programme at the Institute for Foreign Relations (*Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen*), the Working Group for Peace and Development FriEnt (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft Frieden und Entwicklung*) and others. The Interministerial Steering Group for Civilian Crisis Prevention (*Ressortkreis Zivile Krisenprävention*) with its civil society Advisory Board has been established at the ministerial level. The German *Bundestag* furthermore set up a sub-committee for »Civilian Crisis Prevention and Networked Security« in 2009. A national action plan for the implementation of Resolution 1325 was finally adopted at the end of 2012, although it remains deficient in parts.

Deficits

It has nevertheless not been possible to date to develop a more far-reaching strategy for peacebuilding and conflict transformation that is integrated in foreign policy. Too much attention has been devoted to administrative and other issues related to specific ministerial domains in government action; interests, objectives and conceptual challenges in connection with such a policy have not been specified. As a result, the contribution of Germany to peacebuilding and conflict transformation within the framework of international efforts has often been less effective, as well as less salient than would have been possible, given the existing potential.

Purpose of the Strategy

The Strategy for Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation proposed here is aimed at reinforcing the positive experience gained over the past few years and removing deficits. It is intended to sharpen the peace-policy profile of Germany at the international level and enhance the effectiveness of the German commitment. The strategy seeks to provide guidance and the foundation for an overall political strategy that is capable of resolutely implementing the imperative set out in the Constitution for Germany »to promote world peace as an equal partner in a united Europe«.

Criteria for success

A strategy for peacebuilding and conflict transformation will be successful if it

- follows clear **principles**;
- establishes clear and realistic **aims** and objectives;
- describes **interests** in a transparent manner;
- specifies **priorities** within this framework and is endowed with adequate resources;
- is understood to be a general, **cross-cutting task**;
- is embedded in **multilateral structures**; and
- uses mutual dependencies and common interests as important factors to encourage **stability**.

Its effectiveness is at the same time dependent on common interests and their coordination with allies and partners. It must be focused on clear priorities, designed to be sustainable and implemented in solidarity.

4. Cornerstones of a strategy for peacebuilding and conflict transformation

The following cornerstones stake out the foundations, objectives and key areas for action in a German Strategy for Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation. It is intended to provide a new impetus to strengthen, further elaborate and strategically focus the German commitment in this policy area.

CORNERSTONE 1 ♦ Purpose

By means of the strategy, peacebuilding and conflict transformation are established as foundations for German policy and in particular serve as a key element in German foreign and security policy.

For German policy this means:

- 1 defining its principles, interests, objectives and priorities and thus creating a reliable guiding framework for national and international, government and civil society actors;
- 2 ensuring the validity and binding nature of the strategy for the entire German government and its implementing organisations;
- 3 identifying strategic partners and conceptual interfaces for international cooperation;
- 4 being transparent on conflicting objectives and existing political constraints and making this accessible to the public debate;
- 5 ensuring an appropriate use of resources and the enhancement of structures, tools and instruments.

CORNERSTONE 2 ♦ Values and principles

Germany's commitment to peacebuilding and conflict transformation is based on the values and standards of international law and the German Constitution. It affirms the primacy of politics as well as national and collective responsibility.

For German policy this means:

- 1 building on the principle of solidarity, while linking social justice and ecological responsibility, in order to create the preconditions for sustainable human development;
- 2 embedding the concept of human security in national and multilateral peacebuilding in conflict regions, in this manner ensuring the protection of human rights, citizens' security, the development of legitimate government institutions, inclusion of socially disadvantaged persons in solidarity and the development of mechanisms for an accommodation of interests to achieve sustainable conflict transformation;
- 3 strengthening the community of international law, in particular by promoting peaceful dispute settlement, constructive participation in the further development of international law and the provision of resources and qualified personnel;
- 4 strengthening and implementing international legal norms and codes of conduct that could make a special contribution to peacebuilding and conflict resolution;
- 5 strictly adhering to applicable national guidelines on arms exports, applying restrictive practice in granting export licenses and subjecting arms exports to parliamentary controls to a greater extent than in the past;
- 6 actively supporting peacebuilding measures in » dealing with the past«, developing trust and confidence, reconciliation and transitional justice in the wake of violent conflicts;
- 7 actively working for respect and recognition of human rights in difficult contexts;
- 8 regarding military action legitimised under international law as the outermost collective option within the framework of the responsibility to protect populations in the event of serious violations of human rights, and embedding this into a coherent civilian approach in any case;
- 9 taking gender-specific perspectives into account and designing measures in a gender-sensitive manner, especially in the policy field of peacebuilding.

CORNERSTONE 3 ♦ Interests

It is in Germany's interest to assume active responsibility for the promotion of peace and security in order to secure the foundations of peace, prosperity and freedom in Germany, Europe and throughout the world in a sustainable manner based on solidarity.

For German policy this means:

- 1 assuming political responsibility for peacebuilding and conflict transformation – including multilaterally – in line with the international standing and capabilities of Germany;
- 2 acting as a reliable and predictable international partner in this respect;
- 3 countering threats to Germany, Europe and its allies by means of initiatives to build trust and confidence and sustained preventive action;
- 4 to further refine the concept of Common Security and make it a strategic linchpin in efforts to resolve conflicts;
- 5 advocating sustainable use of natural resources as a foundation for prosperity and taking the lead in implementing exemplary good practice;
- 6 in its capacity as an export nation poor in natural resources, dealing with dependencies and competition for raw materials and sales markets in a peaceful, accommodating manner;
- 7 helping to develop international rules that ensure general access to trade routes, economic and communication structures as the foundation for global development in a peaceful manner;
- 8 strengthening the EU so that it can make an increasing, independent contribution to peace and stability in its direct geographic vicinity;
- 9 seeking stronger, more systematic inclusion and involvement of women in peacebuilding activities, for example, with respect to leadership functions in international peacekeeping missions, on negotiating teams and commissions.

CORNERSTONE 4 ♦ Aims and objectives

German policy promotes peace in a comprehensive, sustainable manner based on solidarity. The strategic objective is to prevent potential violent conflicts and transform existing ones into nonviolent forms for the balancing of interests.

For German policy this means:

- 1 actively counteracting escalation of international conflicts and rivalries through preventive diplomacy;
- 2 strengthening the governments' responsibility to protect their citizens while strictly adhering to international law and generally recognised human rights, and working for its implementation and operationalisation;
- 3 making concrete contributions to the prevention, mitigation and transformation of violent conflicts in fragile states;
- 4 promoting the elimination of the root causes of violent conflicts, such as poverty, underdevelopment and poor governance – in particular along the lines of the United Nations' Millennium Goals;
- 5 constructively supporting the development and acceptance of peace strategies as sought by the actors involved in conflicts and peace processes, and helping these actors to implement them on their own responsibility in order to ensure maximum local ownership;
- 6 supporting efforts to strengthen good governance and the rule of law, along with democratic control of the armed forces, the police and the intelligence services;
- 7 taking the initiative to promote disarmament and arms-control efforts throughout the world in order to preserve and maintain existing control regimes (for example, on non-proliferation, conventional armaments), while helping to pave the way for urgently needed new treaties and agreements on small arms, outer space, drones, tactical nuclear weapons and cyberspace.

CORNERSTONE 5 ♦ Comprehensive Approach

Germany is pursuing a Comprehensive Approach in which coordinated, networked action in peacebuilding and conflict transformation is the guiding principle for the whole of government.

For German policy this means:

- 1 adopting a strategic approach in its actions, focusing on the conflict context and making sure that the time perspective is sufficiently long;
- 2 gearing its communication to mobilise public and political support, while at the same time practicing realistic expectations management;
- 3 ensuring parliamentary involvement and supervision by the German *Bundestag* and institutionally strengthening the policy field of peacebuilding and conflict transformation in the *Bundestag*, as well by carrying on and – if need be – enhancing the status of the respective Sub-Committee with more broadly defined, cross-cutting tasks;
- 4 optimising coordination between different policy areas and further developing institutional arrangements which make possible a comprehensive formulation and implementation of German government policy, generally under the auspices of the Federal Foreign Office and with the active support of the Federal Chancellery;
- 5 defining the relationship between civilian and military contributions and further elaborating this in a responsible manner, while taking advantage of the potential of the *Bundeswehr* to contribute to peacebuilding, including below the threshold of the use of force;
- 6 adapting interministerial structures to align with the objectives set out in the strategy, including by means of enhancing the political profile of the Interministerial Steering Group by elevating it to the level of state secretary, strengthening its human resources and organisational structures at the working level and establishing linkages to ministerial and interministerial working groups, task forces and other coordination formats by granting the Steering Group the right to take the initiative and defining respective reporting obligations;

7 providing a new strategic thrust and enhancing the status of the foreign service, in particular German embassies in their capacities as platforms for a Comprehensive Approach;

8 actively supporting and strengthening a comprehensive, coordinated approach within international organisations, their special organisations, committees, institutions and field missions.

CORNERSTONE 6 ♦ Active multilateralism

Germany is strengthening multilateral institutions and programmes and coordinating its contribution in a constructive manner, primarily within the framework of the UN, EU, OSCE and NATO.

For German policy this means:

- 1 actively participating in the design and further development of international strategies, concepts and initiatives and underpinning them by German contributions;
- 2 aligning the German contribution to international strategies and coordinating these with strategic partners and institutions;
- 3 developing and deepening specific bilateral and multilateral partnerships for peacebuilding and conflict transformation with old and new strategic partners, creating and strengthening strategic impetus, while making possible an exchange of experiences and best practices;
- 4 actively participating in the refinement and further development of the peacebuilding and conflict transformation capacities of regional and multilateral organisations in order to facilitate and improve their ability to act in conformity with international law, in particular in cases of serious violations of human rights in internal violent conflicts;
- 5 using Germany's political weight within the EU more effectively for peacebuilding and conflict transformation, using the EU level and its potential for synergies in a constructive manner and in particular seeking to coordinate the instruments of the European External Action Service (EEAS) and the European Commission more

effectively, while focusing on common objectives and coordinated strategies – including at EU Delegations in conflict countries;

6 further developing and reforming the United Nations together with partners from the North and South, including an expansion of the number of permanent members of the Security Council by including influential and resourceful emerging countries from the Global South, while strengthening a common European approach;

7 strengthening the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) as an important pan-European security and cooperation forum together with European partners, and actively supporting its development as a community of security and peace;

8 fostering mechanisms and institutions for peaceful settlements of conflicts, such as the International Court of Justice or the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea and at the same time strengthening international prosecution and investigation of serious violations of human rights by institutions, such as the International Criminal Tribunal or special tribunals;

9 supporting international peace operations politically, conceptually, in terms of manpower and financially; encouraging their further development by critically supporting and evaluating them and ensuring during the preparation phase that analyses, concepts, rules of engagement and the assignment of resources to civilian, police and military components are compatible with each other;

10 putting the political missions of the United Nations on a solid financial basis and on a par with »classic« peacekeeping missions;

11 reviving the key role of the United Nations in global disarmament and, together with its member states, countering tendencies towards new arms races, including in outer space and cyberspace (including by reviving the Geneva Conference on Disarmament);

12 working for a binding political concept for a preventive, comprehensive security policy of NATO and, at the same time, taking into account existing civilian and political instruments of the UN, OSCE and EU.

CORNERSTONE 7 ♦ Capacities

Germany promotes the further elaboration of an institutional framework, structures and instruments that make possible coordinated, comprehensive strategic action.

For German policy this means:

- 1 developing strategies and concepts for new challenges for peace and security such as cyber war, the consequences of climate change or coping with violent private actors;
- 2 establishing and strengthening early-warning systems for preventive peacebuilding;
- 3 expanding and strengthening capacities for conflict and actor analysis;
- 4 expanding scholarly political advice while improving the networking of existing institutions and organisations;
- 5 strengthening scholarly teaching and research in the field of regional studies to serve as a foundation for effective analyses of conflict and peacebuilding potentials, and ensuring that teaching is both practical and internationally aligned;
- 6 expanding political instruments such as support in negotiations, mediation, facilitation of dialogue, sanctions and so on;
- 7 pursuing development cooperation in a manner that is orientated towards peace and sensitive towards conflicts and above all further refining specific instruments for conflict transformation in German and international development cooperation programmes;
- 8 systematically supporting the training of qualified experts within fragile and conflict affected states and creating structures suited to this task in cooperation with local partners;
- 9 encouraging and promoting specific civil society strategies for conflict transformation;

10 developing and implementing monitoring and evaluation mechanisms that allow prompt and regular adjustments of resources deployed, as well as enhancement of their efficacy.

CORNERSTONE 8 ♦ Human resource development

German human resource policy strengthens technical skills in German, European and international organisations, prepares German personnel in an optimum manner for the challenges they face in multilateral conflict management and establishes viable professional networks.

For German policy this means:

- 1 redoubling efforts to train, attract and provide personnel for conflict-management activities, including within the framework of multilateral institutions and in particular with respect to leadership positions;
- 2 designing government measures and instruments to be open and permeable in order to be able to involve external experts in a flexible manner;
- 3 strengthening the training of civilian experts in conflict management;
- 4 further developing and refining incentives and return-ee programmes for civilian German experts who need to be attracted for peace missions on a temporary basis, and assigning greater value to international missions in domestic career development;
- 5 instituting cross-departmental human resource development, advanced training and assistance measures;
- 6 including methods for constructive conflict resolution and management in general initial and further training programmes for employees of the German federal government;
- 7 redoubling efforts to win over and train women to assume positions in the field of peacebuilding while enabling them to take on leadership functions in this area.

CORNERSTONE 9 ♦ Civil society

Germany attaches key importance to civil society commitment in the area of peacebuilding and conflict transformation, while ensuring the required autonomy for this commitment.

For German policy this means:

- 1 improving the legal, political and financial conditions for a commitment by civil society, while fostering this commitment in a predictable way over the long term and rendering it transparent;
- 2 spelling out expectations and potentials regarding the relationship between civil society and government actors against the background of their respective skills and capabilities, and reviewing the efficacy of government and civil society action on a continuous basis;
- 3 including civil society experience, expertise, potential for cooperation and coordination more in political decision-making processes;
- 4 taking seriously the critical dialogue between state and civil society actors and redoubling efforts to improve this dialogue in well-established formats, such as the Working Group for Peace and Development FriEnt (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft Frieden und Entwicklung*);
- 5 ensuring in dialogue with governments of partner countries that the required space is available for constructive, autonomous action by local civil society actors;
- 6 reviewing potential for cooperation and synergies of government programmes with civil society organisations and – wherever this is in the interests of both sides – either developing joint programmes and concepts or pursuing a cooperative »division of labour«, while ensuring that the autonomy of civil society actors is not jeopardised or compromised.

5. Priorities and resources

The next German government programme should concentrate on the following general strategic key issues and make the required resources available.

5.1 Multilateral institutions and actors: » a strategic lever «

The German commitment shall make multilateral institutions more effective in action. To this end it is necessary to use Germany's own political clout strategically to foster peacebuilding and conflict transformation while assuming its responsibility for leadership in line with its own priorities.

The United Nations: With regard to the United Nations it is essential to further strengthen operational structures for peacebuilding and conflict transformation. To achieve this, political decision-making processes must also be further refined and developed in dialogue with partners from the Global South and the Global North, above and beyond accustomed patterns.

The European Union: The EU is the key reference framework for Germany. With its common foreign, security and defence policy, as well as development, trade and economic policy, members can pool their energies and powers in order to ensure Europe's ability to act within its own region and beyond, while assuming a more important role within the framework of the United Nations. Germany has a special responsibility here to use its political influence to promote EU peacebuilding and conflict transformation.

The Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe: The OSCE in its capacity as negotiating and consultation framework for pan-European cooperative multilateral security is in the midst of crisis. The discussion on new security structures, which was resumed with the Corfu Process, and the objective of a security community which was adopted by the participating countries of the OSCE at the Astana Summit, offer an opportunity to revive its earlier role and strengthen the OSCE as a community of security and peace. Germany and the EU must be actively involved in this.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation: In its capacity as a system of collective defence, NATO ensures the security of Germany. It forms an important precondition and guarantee for Germany's active commitment to peace policy. New security-policy challenges also require NATO to develop a strategy for preventive, comprehensive security policy in consultation with the instruments of the UN, OSCE and EU.

Other multilateral organisations: These are an important foundation for cooperative peace policy and provide an institutional framework for the realisation of comprehensive approaches and strategies. Germany can make better use of its membership of multinational organisations (the Council of Europe, IMF, OECD, World Bank and so on) in order to strengthen their active role in peacebuilding and conflict transformation. At the same time, it is important to work in the EU and the UN to deepen cooperation with other regional and sub-regional organisations (for example, the AU, ASEAN, UNASUR, ECOWAS and SADC) and support their commitment to peace policy.

In practical terms, this means:

- A new personnel strategy should be devised by the German federal government under the auspices of the Federal Foreign Office to provide a focus for orientation of personnel policy for international organisations, above all with respect to leadership positions.
- The structures and instruments of the European External Action Service (EEAS) and its interaction with institutions of the European Commission and member states warrant special attention. The primary objective is to create synergies along the lines of a comprehensive strategy and strengthen targeted European action.
- Multidimensional peace missions need to be provided with appropriate financial and staff resources and be systematically evaluated. Reform processes along these lines (such as the UN's »New Horizons Process«) should be actively and constructively supported.
- A reform of the financing and support mechanisms for political missions of the UN must be pursued forcefully over the medium term. In addition, measures tak-

en by the Department for Political Affairs (DPA) should be strengthened by means of voluntary contributions; priority should be given to flexible, robust financing of political field missions and regional centres for preventive diplomacy, while also considering further contributions to preventive diplomacy.

- Additional investments should be made in the peacebuilding architecture of the UN in the form of additional voluntary contributions, aimed primarily at the Peacebuilding Fund, the Peacebuilding Support Office and the corresponding structures of the UNDP (Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery, BCPR) to develop them further in a systematic fashion.
- The peacebuilding contributions made by sectoral programmes of the UN development architecture, such as UNICEF, the FAO and WFP, should be strengthened in a targeted manner with additional voluntary contributions.
- The reform of the Security Council should be a key concern of the next German Government with the aim of expanding the permanent members to include influential emerging powers in the Global South and strengthening a common European approach.

An additional up to €110 million should be invested in measures aimed at strengthening multilateral institutions.

5.2 A Comprehensive Approach and the role of the Federal Foreign Office

In spite of recognised progress, the German emphasis on its particular » departmental principle « (*Ressortprinzip*) continues to be viewed as a significant impediment to a coherent, comprehensive commitment to peacebuilding and conflict transformation. All efforts to implement the strategy for peacebuilding and conflict transformation are under the auspices of the Federal Foreign Office; it is absolutely imperative that the Federal Chancellery supports its work.

In practical terms, this means:

- Peacebuilding and conflict transformation must be made a priority of the political leadership of the Federal Foreign Office once again.

- A Special Envoy of the federal government for peacebuilding and conflict transformation must be appointed at the Federal Foreign Office with the rank of a state secretary, and the existing Interministerial Steering Group for »Civilian Crisis Prevention« must be further developed into an Interministerial Steering Group for »Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation«. Each ministry involved should assign a representative at the level of state secretary.

- A permanent team should be set up at the Federal Foreign Office to support the Interministerial Steering Group. This team should be made up of delegated team members from all the ministries involved. The most important task of this team will be to prepare systematic and cross-departmental country and conflict analyses and to monitor developments and dynamics also with recourse to external expertise. Based on this, early warning, early action and strategic and conceptual issues should be addressed in a proactive manner by the group. The permanent team should also serve as a contact point for civil society actors. Up to €45 million should be earmarked to support the establishment of the team and strengthen the relevant departments in the ministries involved.

- An interministerial budget pool for peacebuilding and conflict transformation with a financial volume of €100 million is to be established. Its design and deployment is under the authority of the Interministerial Steering Group and should be oriented towards experience gained with this instrument in the United Kingdom.

- Parliamentary support should be strengthened and institutionalised, for example by continuing the Sub-Committee for Civilian Crisis Prevention and Networked Security as the Sub-Committee of Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation in the German *Bundestag*.

- In particular when conflicts occur, the entire foreign policy activities of Germany must be reviewed on a regular basis to determine where they could help to mitigate conflicts or inadvertently escalate them over the short, medium or long term and how they can be adapted to avoid violent conflicts.

- A cross-departmental concept needs to be developed for German participation in international peace operations. Such a concept needs to account for civilian as

well as military contributions. It also needs to specify the preconditions for German participation and forms of cooperation, as well as processes.

5.3 Human resources and expertise development

Skills and capabilities in the area of peacebuilding and conflict management should be systematically established and strengthened in ministries and other institutions of relevance (see Cornerstones 5, 7 and 8). Human resource development at the Federal Foreign Office and other ministries should combine the advantages offered by the principle of rotating generalists with specialised profiles in the field of peacebuilding and conflict transformation.

In practical terms, this means:

- A more focused profile in the area of human resource development and establishment of skills and capabilities should be sought at the Federal Foreign Office in particular.
- A reasonable innovation would be the establishment of a professional network for »peacebuilding and conflict transformation« bringing together the civil servants and employees from all ministries who deal with fragile states and countries affected by violent conflict. The network of expertise should support its members by providing a platform for knowledge and continuing training through the various stages of their careers in Germany and abroad in order to allow for a permanent and sustainable exchange of experience and joint qualification and training measures. An amount of €10 million should be apportioned for this.
- The Federal Republic of Germany should do more than in the past to meet its international obligations and live up to the expectations invested in it with respect to the despatch of police officers for international peacekeeping missions. A comprehensive agreement between the federal government (*Bundesregierung*) and the federal states (*Bundesländer*) is needed in order to create the legal, organisational and financial preconditions for this. An additional amount of approximately €20 million should be earmarked by the federal government for such a framework agreement.

- The federal government and the *Länder* must jointly provide for additional incentives in order to persuade specialists in the public service from the fields of the judiciary, public administration, police and other areas to take part in international peacekeeping missions abroad for a limited period of time.

- A change needs to take place in the field of regional studies, which have been systematically neglected in recent decades, as a deeper understanding of specific contexts is absolutely essential for early warning and conflict analysis. By the same token, there needs to be a stronger linkage with the field of practice in peacebuilding and conflict transformation; well-founded analyses are needed to point towards political options for action. An additional €30 million should be apportioned for this.

- Germany must also create tools, instruments and structures encouraging systematic learning from the field of practice (lessons learnt) and the rapid implementation of findings in updated plans and programmes (lessons applied).

5.4 Consolidation and expansion of tools, instruments and institutions

Existing tools, instruments and institutions that Germany has established over the years in the area of peacebuilding and conflict management need to be strengthened conceptually and allocated additional financial and human resources. Only in this manner will it be possible to make them more potent and effective and to assign them a more active role within the framework of a multi-ministerial strategy. In doing this, the task is to build on previous experience and lessons learned for the creation of future conceptual foundations.

In practical terms, this means:

- An evaluation concept is needed, upon the basis of which an independent scholarly evaluation of structures and institutions created pursuant to the present »Action Plan for Civilian Crisis Prevention, Conflict Resolution and Post-conflict Peacebuilding« can take place. The aim will be to gain knowledge for their further development, while boosting political and societal acceptance.

- The foundation capital of the German Foundation for Peace Research should be raised by €10 million in order to ensure that it can continue to promote peace and conflict research in a comprehensive manner.
- The Center for International Peace Missions (*Zentrum für Internationale Friedenseinsätze*) should be expanded into a German centre of competence for peacebuilding and conflict transformation so that it can tackle key tasks in the provision and training of personnel, as well as consulting and analysis more effectively. Additional financial and human resources within the region of €5 million are needed to this end.
- Against the background of its evaluation, the Civil Peace Service (ZFD) needs to be further developed and expanded both in terms of the specially trained peace workers deployed and the projects it carries out. An additional €20 million should be earmarked for this.

5.5 Strengthening of structures and embassies abroad

In order to improve action in conflict regions and peacebuilding support for local actors it is necessary to strengthen structures in conflict countries, both with respect to their scope for decision-making and the available resources. This applies in particular to German embassies, but also to their systematic networking with other actors (see Cornerstone 5). By the same token, this not only involves operational contributions to peacebuilding and conflict transformation, but also generating reliable information for early warning and early action. The central importance of local ownership for sustainable peacebuilding means that local partners and regional organisations as well as the capacity development of government and civil society partners need to be supported.

In practical terms, this means:

- The human resources of German missions abroad should be systematically strengthened with specific peacebuilding expertise. This relates to
 - › embassies in (post-) conflict countries,
 - › missions at international institutions (the UN, EU, OSCE, AU, ECOWAS, SADEC, IGAD, ASEAN, UNASUR) and
 - › embassies in regional and global powers (P5 + BRICS + N11).
- Such strengthening of German peacebuilding capacities should be achieved by taking the following steps:
 - › internal adjustments at the Federal Foreign Office (human resources for embassies),
 - › internal adjustments at the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation (staff at the embassies in charge of development cooperation),
 - › internal adjustments at the Federal Ministry of Defence (defence attachés),
 - › if need be, more resources should be provided for additional diplomats and external experts if internal restructuring and refocusing fails to provide for sufficient resources for the focal points defined above.
- Creating human resource profiles in the field of peacebuilding cannot be attained solely with existing capabilities or perhaps by hiring qualified persons. It is therefore necessary to preserve and further refine this profile, as well as to carry out a strong advanced-training initiative in the respective ministries. An additional €30 million should be earmarked for this.
- Moreover, flexible operational resources in the amount of €20 million should be set aside for diplomatic initiatives in conflict contexts to be made available quickly and without red tape.

5.6 Support for civil society

A successful Strategy for Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation requires civil society support, even if this government strategy naturally focuses primarily on government structures, actors, tools and instruments. It should be developed in close cooperation with civil society and independent experts. Especially in Germany, there is a large number of actors who have been involved in international peacebuilding activities for many years,

have an outstanding knowledge of local conditions and can contribute substantial experience and offer considerable cooperation and coordination potential.

At the same time, the autonomy of civil society commitments needs to be taken into account.

In practical terms, this means:

- An additional €50 million should be invested in the promotion of civil society peacebuilding and conflict transformation initiatives.
- This promotion should be designed in a way that allows for a long-term, sustainable commitment, offering organisations and initiatives planning security by virtue of the resources available to them.
- In order to increase the transparency of government grants and funding in the field of peacebuilding and conflict transformation vis-à-vis civil society initiatives, a funding database should be set up like those existing in other areas for many years now.
- It should be ensured that the space needed for constructive autonomous action by local civil society actors is secured in a dialogue with governments of partner countries.

5.7 Political and public support

In order to mobilise public and political support, a greater effort must be made to communicate the aims and content of peacebuilding and conflict transformation in society. A communications strategy along these lines should also contribute to societal expectations towards the German commitment which are commensurate with the possibilities of German policy. To this end a purposeful public relations initiative throughout Germany is needed, which should be designed in cooperation with the *Länder*.

In practical terms, this means:

- €10 million should be earmarked for the implementation of a communications strategy and invested in

citizens' dialogues, reporting on conflicts, specific teaching material and supplementary information programmes for schoolchildren.

5.8 Provision of resources

Additional human and financial resources for peacebuilding and conflict transformation are absolutely essential in order to implement the general strategic focuses and priorities described in the foregoing. To make these resources available, it is necessary to undertake structural changes, adjust priorities and in particular to correct the existing imbalance between military and civil resources in a sustainable way.

The following table on the additional resources required constitutes a preliminary and political target which is oriented towards the priorities developed above. It should be reviewed on the basis of the strategy adopted and replaced no later than 2017 by medium- and long-term financial planning on the basis of a thorough analysis of needs and the new strategy.

Funding lines established to date should be continued and expanded by up to €500 million per year, as follows:

Field of action	Establishment of additional annual resources up to 2017
1 Multilateral institutions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Strengthen the UN ▪ Strengthen regional organisations ▪ International human resource development 	€110 million
2 Comprehensive Approach <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Establish an interministerial budget pool for conflict prevention ▪ Strengthen human resources in the permanent team at the interministerial steering group and in the relevant departments of ministries involved 	€145 million → €100 million → €45 million
3 Human resource and capability development <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Establish a professional network of expertise ▪ Framework Agreement between the Federal government / Federal states on international police missions ▪ Greater promotion of peace and conflict research, including regional studies bearing relevance to conflict 	€110 million → €10 million → €20 million → €80 million
4 Consolidation of tools, instruments and institutions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Increase in the founding capital of DSF ▪ Expansion of ZIF into a centre of competence for the promotion of peace ▪ Expansion of the Civil Peace Service 	€25 million → €10 million (one off) → €5 million → €20 million
5 Strengthen embassies and structures in conflict countries <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Professional training ▪ Flexible budgets for diplomatic initiatives 	€50 million → €30 million → €20 million
6 Support of civil society in the partner countries in the area of peacebuilding	€50 million
7 Political education and public relations work in Germany	€10 million

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Imprint

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The views expressed in this publication are not necessarily those of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

This publication is printed on paper from sustainable forestry.



ISBN 978-3-86498-515-7