

**Non-Governmental Organizations and International Conflict**

**An Annotated Bibliography**

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## Introduction

In the post-Cold War era there has been a proliferation of nongovernmental organizations. NGOs have dramatically increased their influence in international conflict in response to the atrocities created by a substantial increase in inter- and intra-state war, an operationally constrained United Nations, and a moral outcry from Western society.

The appalling consequences of intra-state war in particular have not only been the primary impetus for the growth of NGOs, but also have threatened their traditional humanitarian principles. NGOs no longer operate on the periphery of conflict but must now provide humanitarian assistance in the midst of ongoing and resurging violence. Consequently, principles of neutrality, impartiality, and independence are rapidly becoming unrealistic goals in contemporary conflict.

NGOs have proven to be the best providers of international aid because of their direct involvement with the local community and knowledge of its culture. NGOs play critical roles in delivering immediate humanitarian assistance through medical, food, shelter, and educational services. In many cases NGOs assume the responsibilities of failed local governments. However, with increased influence comes increased scrutiny. NGO involvement in international conflict is not without its limitations and internal flaws.

The NGO community has recognized the need for reform in their humanitarian practices and has created consortiums to promote dialogue and standard regulations. The criticism of NGOs comes from a desire for humanitarian work to improve on its already tremendous successes in the alleviation of human suffering. The majority of such condemnation that has been directed towards the NGO community stems from its lack of coordination, professionalism, and accountability through its involvement in international conflict.

First, regarding coordination, the NGO community has in many cases demonstrated an inability to coordinate its aid efforts in complex emergencies. There is little consultation between NGOs, leading to the inefficient use of aid. Much of the blame for this situation can be put on the incentive structures created by donor government agencies and the competitive climate their funding has created. A number of the larger international NGOs such as the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, CARE, Oxfam, Save the Children and Médecins Sans Frontières have been able to coordinate their aid efforts according to their respective specializations; however, in each humanitarian crisis the involvement of large numbers of smaller international and domestic NGOs confuse the process and create duplication of effort and disorganization.

A lack of NGO professionalism has been demonstrated by NGOs. Such amateur behaviour has typically been exhibited in situations where a large number of “flash in the pan” NGOs has flocked onto a humanitarian crisis. The result is aid delivered at an uneven quality level. Such results often come out of ill preparation to the customs and laws of local community and ethnic, cultural, religious, and language constraints. Humanitarian NGOs often lack a long-term strategy linking initial relief aid to programs of sustainable development. Such practices create a dependency on the local community for humanitarian aid and can lead to major disruptions in the socioeconomic structures of a developing nation.

Finally, NGO accountability has also come under fire from critics. Many NGOs have proven more accountable to the demands of their donors than to actual needs of the beneficiaries of aid. Such outcomes are generated from NGOs merely trying to maintain operational existence. As well, the diversion of relief supplies to warring factions, the purchase of security services from warring factions, and the assistance of only certain sides of the conflict are all acts where NGO aid has been used to exacerbate and prolong conflict and the suffering of innocent civilians.

The involvement and interaction of international military forces in conflict has also increased as intra-state conflict has linked security directly with development. The relationship between NGOs and UN or national military forces jeopardize NGO neutrality and impartiality in conflict. NGOs seen in the presence or under the protection of military forces may be viewed by warring parties as potential targets and interlocutors of the political intentions of those foreign forces. However, at times NGOs must work with military forces and coordinate their humanitarian efforts with the expertise of the military. In addition, NGOs are frequently dependent upon military resources for security and logistic support.

There have been numerous calls for reform in the humanitarian response system. Donor governments and NGOs should focus efforts on building local capacity and having long-term strategies linking relief to development in order for sustainable peace to be achieved. NGOs and the military must increase their understanding of each other in order to ensure a secure environment for NGOs during post-conflict reconstruction.

This bibliography is intended to provide basic source material for those interested in or concerned about NGOs in general, their coordination needs, their interaction with UN and other military interveners and finally NGO involvement in post-conflict reconstruction. It also attempts to identify the difficulties NGOs are facing through their humanitarian operations, aiming to enhance the momentum already gained in the selfless work of such organizations.

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## Section I: Textbooks, Monographs, and Experiential Literature

- Aall, Pamela, Miltenberger, Daniel, and Weiss, Thomas G. *Guide to IGOs, NGOs, and the Military in Peace and Relief Operations*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2000.
- Anderson, Mary B. *Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace – or War*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999.
- Anderson Mary B. and Woodrow Peter J. *Rising from the Ashes: Development Strategies in Times of Disaster*. Boulder: Lynne Pienner publishers, 1998.
- Ball, Nicole. *Making Peace Work*. Washington DC: John Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Boutros-Ghali, Boutros. *An Agenda for Peace*. New York: United Nations, 1992.
- Byman, Daniel, et. al. *Strengthening the Partnership: Improving Military Coordination with Relief Agencies and Allies in Humanitarian Operations*. Santa Monica: RAND, 2000.
- Duffield, Mark. *Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security*. New York: Zed Books Ltd., 2001.
- Edwards, Michael and David Hulme, *Making a difference: NGOs and Development in a Changing World*. London: Earthscan, 1992.
- Maren, Michael. *The Road to Hell: The Ravaging Effects of Foreign Aid and International Charity*. New York: The Free Press, 1997.
- Minear, Larry. *The Humanitarian Enterprise: Dilemma and Discoveries*. Bloomfield: Kumarian Press, 2002.
- Natsios, Andrew S. *U.S. Foreign Policy and the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: Humanitarian Relief in Complex Emergencies*. Westport: Praeger, 1997.
- Rieff, David. *A Bed for the Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002.
- Rotberg, Robert I. and Weiss Thomas G. (eds.). *From Massacres to Genocide: The Media, Humanitarian Crises*. Washington: The Brookings Institute, 1996
- Smillie, Ian (ed). *Patronage or Partnership: Local Capacity Building in Humanitarian Crises*. Bloomfield: Kumarian Press, 2001.
- Smillie, Ian and Helmich, Henry (eds). *Stakeholders: Government-NGO Partnerships for International Development*, London: OECD, Earthscan Publications Ltd 1999.

Weiss, Thomas G. and Collins, Cindy. *Humanitarian Challenges and Intervention 2<sup>nd</sup> edition*. Boulder: Westview, 2000.

Weiss, Thomas G., and Minear, Larry. *Merry Under Fire: War and the Global Humanitarian Community*. Boulder: Westview, 1995.

Whitman, Jim, and Pocock, D. (eds). *After Rwanda: The Coordination of United Nations Humanitarian Assistance*. London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1996.

## Section II – Non-Governmental Organizations – Operations

Anderson, Mary B. “Humanitarian NGOs in Conflict Intervention.” *Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996.

In a preamble to her book, *Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace- Or War*, Anderson examines international nongovernmental organization (NGO) intervention in recent conflicts, specifically, how NGOs interact with the forces of conflict. Anderson presents the types of NGOs that intervene in conflict settings and their mandates. Furthermore, she gives a historical account of how NGOs began to be involved in conflict followed by how their involvement can have negative downstream effects in conflict settings that prove to exacerbate and prolong the conflict itself.

She divides NGOs approaches in conflict settings into three categories. First, NGOs may have an approach that focuses only on achieving their primary purpose, such as providing medical attention to those in need. The primary purpose outweighs any of the negative effects attempting to achieve that purpose creates. Second, NGOs may follow an approach where they pull-out of the conflict upon perceiving that their efforts may be doing more harm than good. Finally, NGOs may attempt to follow-on as best as possible and take responsibility for any effects their relief creates, continually seeking to learn from their mistakes and successes by having a long-term view.

In the last section of her article Anderson examines the new challenges and opportunities for NGOs in the ever-changing context of international conflict. Much of her focus in this section is on the difficulties created by civil war for humanitarians as it blurs civilians and military personnel together. NGOs are faced with the task of overcoming the fact that in many conflict settings there is no “right” side to support. To overcome this problem NGOs should look towards opportunities to empower the local population and create cooperation among the local community. She notes a few practical examples which have emerged from her work on gender and development.

Barber, Ben. “Feeding Refugees, or War? The Dilemma of Humanitarian Aid.” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 4 (July/August 1997): 8-14

Humanitarian aid has been used by militants in refugee camps, local businesspeople, and military and administrative officials of the host government to feed war. Barber outlines six principles that militants have followed in their endeavours to use aid for war. Guerilla leaders have controlled all aspects of refugee camps, including the distribution of aid. Several examples are given to exemplify the need for reform in aid delivery. Demilitarization of camps would help to ensure militants are not in control of humanitarian aid, but concerns over sovereignty must be overcome. In addition, aid fundraising must be separated from aid disbursement. Disbursement of funds should be made by the UNHCR or the Red Cross to ensure aid is provided efficiently. NGOs should be given aid from donors in relation with their ability to effectively use it rather than their ability to market and sell crises to donors and the public. Barber recommends

further reforms to the humanitarian aid system all with the underlying effect of ensuring aid goes to the millions of genuine refugees rather than to those belligerents responsible for the conflict.

Brown, Michael (ed). "Internal Conflict and International Action." *International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996.

The question of *what can the international community do* regarding international conflict is tackled by Michael Brown, with a secondary focus on *what should the international community do with respect to these problems*. Brown distinguishes between the different tasks, instruments and actors in international conflict. The analysis focuses on identifying the different kinds of problems that crop up in conflict prevention, management and resolution. As well, different kinds of actions actors can take to succeed in de-escalating and resolving conflict are discussed. Such actions bring out dilemmas which complicate current international efforts but provide for some policy reform recommendations. Brown makes six arguments: 1. Problems posed by internal conflict are formidable, but options for international action do exist 2. International conflict is complicated, therefore solutions for resolution should be multifaceted 3. Conflict is usually deeply rooted in the society under attention and as such solutions for prevention, management and resolution should have long-term effects 4. Conflict is wide-spread, whereas resources to reduce it are not abundant, forcing the international community to make difficult choices as to where and when to act 5. Actors should favor actions that have a high probability of success in order to establish a track record that lends to credibility 6. More focus should be put on cases where local parties give their consent for intervention, in turn success rates will increase.

NGOs can be seen taking a role in overturning patterns of cultural discrimination by addressing perceptual problems and promoting human rights. The international community needs to put more effort towards political and economic development and the broadening and deepening of civil societies, to create a sustained long-term prevention of conflict.

Cuny, Frederick. "Humanitarian Assistance in the Post-Cold War Era." *Humanitarianism Across Borders – Sustaining Civilians in Times of War*. Washington D.C: The Brookings Institution, 1993.

The end of the Cold-War led to dramatic developments in the humanitarian assistance system. The collapse of the Soviet Union in itself created new conflict situations, but also opportunities for reform within U.S. administrations' willingness to reach out towards groups of victims previously neglected for political reasons. Opportunities also exist to correct major flaws within the United Nations system. Cuny argues that four international developments will shape humanitarian assistance in the post-Cold War era: 1. The reordering of Western power resulting from the end of the Cold War 2. The resurgence of Islamic Power 3. The reemergence of ethnonationalism and 4. The shift toward market-based democracies.

Regarding implications for humanitarian institutions, NGOs in particular will carry out more functions for governments and relationships with donors will grow and strengthen.

NGOs can quickly adjust to new requirements due to their flexibility and less bureaucratic structures. However, despite the many advantages that exist with using NGOs for humanitarian assistance, many are unprofessional in their nature, delivering assistance of uneven quality. Structure and regulation are viewed as elements tying the hands of freedom that NGOs enjoy and cherish. If structural reform can be initiated within the UN system itself, there is a tremendous potential for NGOs to operate more efficiently at a local level under the umbrella of a coordinated UN.

Gordenker, Leon and Weiss, Thomas G. (eds). "Developing Responsibilities a Framework for Analysing NGOs and Services." *Beyond UN Subcontracting*. New York: St Martin's Press, 1997.

Gordenker and Weiss discuss the questions created by the emergence and proliferation of contracting out by the UN to NGOs. More specifically, what actually constitutes an NGO, how NGOs perform better than IGOs, the constraints NGOs have when dealing with the UN, what can be done to improve the accountability of NGOs, and finally what civil society is learning from the complex relationship between NGOs and the international community.

NGOs can work well when they have tacit permission from local authorities, but humanitarian operations within intense conflict are extremely limited. As the market expands, NGOs may be forced to become self-regulatory, otherwise governments and/or the United Nations may take NGO accountability into their own hands.

Hulme, David and Edwards, Michael. "NGOs, States and Donors: An Overview." *NGOs, States and Donors: Too Close for Comfort?* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.

The implications of the relationship between NGOs, their northern donors, and developing-country states are examined in this title with the introductory chapter setting up the issues involved. If the interests, values, methods, and priorities of donors become those of NGOs through their financial relationship, NGOs, and their ability to mobilize the poor and disadvantaged will be lost in the agendas of states. NGOs' high dependency on donor government funds has translated into upward accountability rather than downward. The populations that need assistance are losing their voice. Hulme and Edwards examine the relationships that exist in the development community and emphasize the diversity of NGOs. They suggest NGOs must return to their roots in order to support and protect the poor.

Jonah, James O.C. "Humanitarian Intervention." *Humanitarianism Across Borders – Sustaining Civilians in Times of War*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993.

Jonah highlights the ever present issue of sovereignty in international relations and humanitarian assistance, which faces the international community when it seeks humanitarian intervention. Situations are given when humanitarian intervention has trumped the rights of sovereign nations. The problems with negotiated access or established corridors of tranquility are outlined, relating how humanitarian intervention acts can be used as political tools, citing the Somalia as a case in point.

The article further highlights some political constraints the UN and NGOs may encounter in providing humanitarian aid in conflict zones, in particular how attempts to distribute humanitarian assistance to vulnerable groups could be spoiled by warring parties.

Maren, Michael. "Nongovernmental Organizations and International Development Bureaucracies." *Delusions of Grandeur: The United Nations and Global Intervention*. Washington, DC: Cato Institute, 1997.

Maren's critical evaluation of NGOs resonates from his experiences in Somalia. This article points out important concerns regarding the work of the development community. In particular that aid agencies, such as U.S. AID, have no incentive to be critical of the NGOs they sponsor for development projects and NGOs have great incentive to continue their development operations, without end.

Development organizations use of local government to channel aid to those in need often serves the political purposes of those governments, undermining the entire operation, as those exact local governments are responsible for the condition of the country's population in the first place. The UN aid bureaucracy system is in need of major structural reform. The current relationship between NGOs and development bureaucracies is incestuous and is certainly not helping the cause of achieving actual development.

McAllister, Ian. "From Disaster Relief to Sustained Human Security: Roles of International Red Cross and Red Crescent." *Perspectives on Human Security*. Brandon: CPREA, 2001.

The challenges facing the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement are outlined in this article along with the broader challenges facing the NGO community. The history of the Movement is first given, with its ongoing involvement in the humanitarian system. Issues such as the changing roles of NGOs, competition from within, funding, and relief versus long-term development are all discussed. McAllister suggests that in light of the many challenges facing the humanitarian community the Movement should rethink many of its core values. .

Mohammd, A. "Responses of Non-Governmental Organisations to Conflict Situations." *Humanitarian Emergencies and Military Help in Africa*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990.

This paper outlines the approaches NGOs take in the context of conflict situations. NGOs hold varying views in determining what sort of response to conflict is appropriate. Mohammed divides NGO response into eight categories of conventionality. The most common approach is direct involvement in conflict through relief activities in providing food, shelter and medical care for victims, who are primarily refugees created from inter- or intra-state conflict. The issue of NGOs' relationships with the media is also touched on, highlighting NGOs dependency on media attention to generate funding. As well, dependency on relief is discussed and methods for the utilizing of relief for development given.

The international communities' response to the conflict in Sudan through OPERATION LIFELINE is also discussed. Finally, it is recommended that NGOs use the rules of international humanitarian law to help back their practices in protecting innocent civilians during conflict

Natsios, Andrew S. "Nongovernmental Organizations." *U.S. Foreign Policy and the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: Humanitarian Relief in Complex Emergencies*, Westport: Praeger, 1997.

NGOs represent the foot soldiers of complex humanitarian emergencies. Their grassroots connections in developing countries and at home have given them a growing influence on American foreign policy. However, American NGOs have little experience in taking positions on foreign policy. The advice they give to policymakers needs to become more realistic, thoughtful, and better researched to have a greater impact. The influence of NGOs on foreign policy is also limited by their need to be seen impartial in complex emergencies and of American politics. However, such endeavors to remain neutral are unrealistic and unachievable. Saving lies in itself is a political act as humanitarian aid largely supports the concurred in conflict situations. The humanitarian community must accept that their respective actions in a particular conflict have particular consequences that could cause more harm than good in the long-run. NGOs should focus on supporting foreign policy that promotes their goals of relieving suffering in humanitarian emergencies.

Okumu, Wafula. "Humanitarian International NGOs and African Conflicts." *International Peacekeeping Special Issue, Mitigating Conflict: The Role of NGOs*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (Spring 2003): 103-119

Okumu's article examines how aid prolongs conflict by diverting attention from the real causes of conflict and inadvertently assisting warring parties. An analysis of humanitarian international NGOs (HINGOs), their mandates in conflict situations, and their intervention in Africa is given. Eight HINGOs control about 75 percent of all emergency funds. This aid has proven to be at times detrimental to humanitarian efforts as warring parties use it as a tool of war to strengthen their position and increase their legitimacy. Okumu details numerous accounts of how warring parties have manipulated the aid system in African conflicts. Hundreds of NGOs operate in Africa and compete for donor funding. Their primary goals are to provide humanitarian assistance and to maintain operational existence, the later goal often trumping the former. Many NGOs' have operating budgets which consist of 15-25 percent portions for marketing and fundraising, taking substantial money and time away from providing actual humanitarian assistance.

NGOs should focus their assistance on supporting local opposition to war and foster economic cooperation between non-combatants. NGOs must come to realize that they may have to weigh whether continual involvement is doing more harm than good, and if so they should pull out of the conflict situation.

Rieff, David. "Endgame or Rebirth?" *A Bed for the Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002.

In one of his concluding chapters to *A Bed for the Night*, Rieff presents the various views of humanitarianism that have been developed since the Cold War and the great NGO proliferation. Rieff suggests that since its institutionalization, humanitarianism and NGOs have lost focus of many of their ideologies in trying to compete with one another and to survive as an organization. From his own experiences Rieff gives detailed examples of this lack of focus in practice. The UN and the NGO community have spread themselves too thin and must now attempt to match their resources with their aspirations in order to achieve success.

Rieff, David. "Humanitarianism in Crisis." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81 No. 6 (November/December 2002): 111-121.

From their appalling experiences in conflicts such as Rwanda and Bosnia many relief workers and their agencies are recognizing that humanitarian-military intervention can and must be achieved. As well, humanitarian goals should coincide and act in concert with the goals of advocates for human rights. There are an insurmountable amount of humanitarian problems but no solutions. Relief workers should shed their impartiality and neutrality in conflict situations that clearly violate international human rights. Humanitarianism needs the assistance of international law and the enforcement that such law. Rieff argues against this notion in his article. He argues that war, fought in any regard, makes humanitarian situations worse, and that humanitarians should continue to explore methods to reform according to their own limitations and continue to operate under solidarity.

Rieff, David. "Charity on the Rampage: The Business of Foreign Aid." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 1 (January/February 1997): 132-138

In a review essay of Michael Maren's *The Road to Hell*, Rieff examines the proliferation of NGOs in relation with Maren's accounts of humanitarian aid operations. Maren argues that humanitarian action is being poorly implemented by NGOs. Humanitarian aid has become a business that is not accountable to its customers. Maren suggests that in many circumstances the populace in regions where aid agencies operate would be better off without any intervention. Rieff argues that the majority of humanitarian operations create more good than harm. The real problem, Rieff states, is that humanitarianism has exceeded its limits and needs to become more modest. NGOs must reevaluate what they can and cannot accomplish with the resources at their disposable.

Richmond, Oliver P. "Introduction: NGOs, Peace and Human Security." *International Peacekeeping Special Issue, Mitigating Conflict: The Role of NGOs*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (Spring 2003): 1-11

NGOs have become a vital part of humanitarian intervention in divided societies. This introductory article examines the involvement of NGOs in the international peace process and various authors' views on issues that have been created through increased NGO activity. There is little consensus on how NGOs should be differentiated from

one another and whether their activities should be regulated. As well, the relationships of NGOs with each other, donors, states, and militaries have proven to be quite problematic. These numerous difficulties and problems related to NGO nature and the environment they operate in are briefly presented in this article.

Rupesinghe, Kumar. "A Framework for Considering the Role and Impact of International Assistance in a Pre-Conflict Situation." *The Challenge of Development within Conflict Zones*. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development, 1995.

The international community should put a greater emphasis on strategies of conflict prevention. The costs of conflicts to involved nations and to the donor countries that provide international assistance are tremendous. Such conflict exists for numerous reasons. The multi-ethnic pluralism of societies and underdevelopment has exacerbated conflict in areas once supported by the superpower political ties of the Cold War.

Rupesinghe lists early and long-term preventive actions governments and NGOs should implement. NGOs should heighten their political commitment to reallocate donor funds into conflict prevention mechanisms. NGOs have extensive experience and expertise in providing assistance in conflict regions. More focus should be put on the coordination and implementation of preventive strategies and garnering political and financial commitments from donor governments.

Shiras, Peter. "Humanitarian Emergencies and the Role of NGOs." *After Rwanda: The Coordination of United Nations Humanitarian Assistance*. London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1996.

The role NGOs play in providing humanitarian relief has significantly increased in the past decade and a half, a fact demonstrated by the crisis in Somalia. NGOs are growing in number, size, and consequently in influence. In this article the changing role of NGOs is defined in detail with regards to whether NGOs are filling the role of government, overstepping their bounds, or just responding significantly quicker than other types of organizations involved in humanitarian affairs.

NGOs have field operational roles in providing direct assistance and advocacy roles in educating society in human rights and ensuring the appropriate use of humanitarian law. NGOs have proven effective in the past due to their flexibility, quick response capacity and institutional commitment. However, new complex emergencies are require professionalism, specialization and coordination, abilities NGOs highly lack.

NGOs need to define their role and mission before taking to the field, by establishing themselves in either relief or development. Next, NGOs must decide a geographical limit to their operations. Thirdly, NGOs need to limit their activities to certain sectors of relief or development, to most effectively use their social and technical know-how. Altogether, Shiras argues that NGOs that limit the scope of their activities and operate in a particular area gain an in-depth knowledge of the people, institutions and cultures and consequently are most likely to succeed in their efforts.

Due to their inherent nature as small, fragmented organizations dedicated to their own particular purpose, coordination of NGO activities has occurred at a very low level.

Today's complex conflicts demand such coordination. The NGO community has suffered due to its over-concentration in certain sectors of relief and development, very little communal consultation, and a lack of common procedure.. Shiras examines these problems through the Somalia conflict of the early 1990s. As well, the negative effects NGOs can cause to conflict situations are outlined. A development of certain standards and a greater willingness to act in concert would strengthen the overall impact NGOs have on humanitarian relief.

Smillie, Ian. "Relief and Development: Disjuncture and Dissonance." *New Roles and Relevance: Development NGOs and the Challenge of Change*. Bloomfield: Kumarian Press, 2000.

Serious problems exist in achieving the transition from relief and development. Issues that need further analysis are those of timing, funding, and understanding. Smillie uses several examples in relief and development to illustrate these fundamental issues. Appropriate timing of humanitarian efforts is crucial in long-term development, more so with the increasingly constraining financial resources being put on projects. When to engage, when to modify the intervention, and when to withdraw are all ingredients of a peacebuilding process. The majority of foreign aid now flows through immediate relief challenges rather than sustainable development. This lack of lasting commitment from donor agencies has exacerbated competition and created obstacles in linking relief and development. Additionally, due to the nature of the work little time is taken to fully understand the causes and implications of relief and development operations. Organizations that have dual relief and development mandates have proven to be successful in their transitory operations. However, it is not recommended that every agency take on dual roles. A greater synergy among NGOs would alleviate much of the current problems facing the assurance of relief that translates into sustainable development. Aid expenditure must undergo extreme structural reforms in the way aid is organized and delivered.

Van Goethem, Henk. "NGOs in refugee protection: an unrecognized resource." *Overseas Development Institute: Humanitarian Practice Network*. April 2003 <http://www.odihpn.org/report.asp?ReportID=2514> (May 23, 2003).

As a project manager for the NGO Reach Out, Van Goethem remarks that since humanitarianism is action-oriented, NGOs should take an increased role towards human rights protection issues rather than continual cautiousness concerning providing direct protection. Van Goethem outlines the limitations and risks that would be faced by NGOs offering actual refugee protection, including the politicizing of operations. Humanitarians should be trained to assist and to protect.

Weiss, Thomas G., and Minear, Larry. "Interactions." *Merry Under Fire: War and the Global Humanitarian Community*. Boulder: Westview, 1995.

In a brief summary of the operations of NGOs in international conflict Weiss and Minear examine the spectrum of NGO involvement. From small contributors with limited conflict access to major international NGOs, NGOs can be effective in providing humanitarian support to conflict regions because of their grassroots activities in conflict countries. Despite varying resources and positions towards intervention NGOs are the best interlocutors in the international community due to their involvement with the local community. Their weaknesses lie in a lack of careful planning and evaluation and inattention to institutional learning. NGOs also miss opportunities to expand their efforts with other like-minded organizations because of their desire for autonomy

Weiss, Thomas G., "Nongovernmental Organizations and Internal Conflict." *International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996.

As an experienced academic practitioner in the involvement of NGOs in international conflict, Weiss first relates the growing trend of the international community in taking on an active role in addressing humanitarian emergencies within the borders of war-torn nations. Secondly, Weiss conveys the enhanced role of NGOs in this new community, their limitations, and recommendations for more effective involvement. NGOs roles as humanitarian actors are defined and distinguished among the other major players in the international community, such as the United Nations (UN). As well the article covers in-depth the tasks NGOs are performing, critical policy issues facing they are facing, and what policy recommendations should and can be acted upon.

NGOs are effective because of their energetic, low-overhead operations, which are less bound by state sovereignty constraints and supported by highly motivated staff. However, NGOs suffer from a lack of professionalism, coordination, and follow-up in regards to long-term strategic planning of operations. Weiss examines NGOs roles as operational, educational, and advocate organizations. More specifically, Weiss relates the challenges NGOs face in war zones as they become an increasingly involved actor. Assessment of the conflict, negotiation for access, resource mobilization, delivery of services, coordination, and strategic-planning are all issues that Weiss tackles. Weiss concludes with offering recommendations for reform which NGOs can actively initiate and that are critical for the improvement of the overall humanitarian system.

Weiss, Thomas G. and Collins, Cindy, "Main Actors." *Humanitarian Challenges and Intervention 2<sup>nd</sup> edition*. Boulder: Westview, 2000.

From Weiss and Collins's well structured and detailed study on reform in the humanitarian system, the interests, resources, and structures and functions of the four major players in humanitarian intervention: national governments, the UN, the military, and NGOs are analyzed astutely. These main actors require one another to operate successfully in the complex humanitarian emergencies that have been present and ever-forming since the end of the Cold War. However, as these actors maintain their relationships conflicts of interest, competition for resources, incompatible organizational

structures and cultures, and overlapping functions challenge their attempts of efficient coordination.

Government involvement is dependent on national interest, interests which are never fixed and therefore cannot be relied upon. The military has its own political interest within national governments. The UN, composed of national interests, must bow to the political aspirations of those nation states holding international clout. Even NGOs themselves are pressured by the wants of their donors.

Resources used for humanitarian aid have recently been put towards immediate relief aid rather than promoting sustainable development in war-torn societies. As well, much of national government funding originally meant for the UN is now being streamed through NGOs. To receive funding NGOs must exhibit their presence in humanitarian missions and broaden their “humanitarian space”. Such a focus though has taken the attention of the NGOs away from implementing significant projects of change within the communities they work but towards solely expanding operations in order to increase funding.

The varying structures and functions within each of the major players in humanitarian intervention create difficulties in cooperative between parties. Efforts to establish organizations to answer the question of how to act in harmonization create more layers of bureaucracy. NGO operations in the field can be both beneficiary to providing relief aid and detrimental. The lead agencies involved within the UN’s humanitarian affairs agenda are also noted and their functions given. Overlapping of these agencies within the UN and with other actors such as NGOs is all too evident. Finally, external actors have a tendency to ignore some of the most potential benefiting resources, local actors. The benefits local actors can provide are laid out and the limitations of their involvement in the current system discussed.

Weiss, Thomas G. and Minear, Larry. “The Future.” *Mercy Under Fire: War and the Global Humanitarian Community*. Boulder: Westview, 1995.

Weiss and Minear conclude their book with a chapter dedicated to the overall challenges facing the humanitarian community. They call for new and more effective approaches of operation and structural reform. The authors push for greater emphasis on preventing crisis, strong intervention where humane support values are tested, and more accountability from the international community.

To make the current system work better local NGOs should be given an increased role due to their familiarity with the conflict situation and the needs of those suffering. As well, though the UN has made improvements in their coordination of humanitarian missions, it has not always been the best organization to play the role of conductor. Any organization that does take this role should keep all humanitarian interveners informed and involved. Military, should work with NGOs when and where it’s needed, but not take over the responsibility of providing aid. Bilateral organizations should focus on their humanitarian goals rather than short-term national interests and provide consistent relief. Individual NGOs should be rewarded for creating synergism within the international community.

There is a great need for a broader sense of accountability among all members of the international community. Good intentions should not be a substitute for solid results. Due to the various activities of organizations, similar organizations should develop individual codes of conduct instead of trying to create an all purpose code.

Weiss and Minear also give recommendations towards building a greater sense of the importance of reform in the international community. When intervention is required it should be done in a decisive supported fashion or not at all. Intervention should also be viewed with a long-term comprehensive plan. Finally, the authors comment on the existence of a triage towards humanitarian emergencies and present remedies to halt such behavior within the humanitarian community.

West, Katarina, "Introduction: When and How did Humanitarian NGOs Expand?"

*Agents of Altruism: The expansion of humanitarian NGOs in Rwanda and Afghanistan.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.

As an introduction to her book, West examines how and when NGOs did expand and how and when they became such an influential actor in humanitarian crisis. She outlines the two theoretical explanations, one linking the growth of humanitarian NGOs to the end of the Cold War. With the absence of superpower control on the periphery of global conflict regions aid agencies were now able to adjust their mandates and intervene more frequently and more broadly. A multitude of conflicts existed, and with globalization the media was able to broadcast the horrible images of these conflicts to the West. Because these regions had lost their geopolitical importance national governments of the West substituted direct intervention with humanitarian action. As well, due to the multitude of conflicts the UN began to subcontract its work to NGOs, changing the dynamic of their relationship.

The second theory on the growth of humanitarian NGOs is that the growth was just a natural process. With their flexibility, speed, disregard for state borders, cheap operation, links to grassroots, and low bureaucratic structures NGOs grew significantly and their influence increased. NGOs were now acting as replacements for failed states and filling the roles local government. NGOs' neutral status was now non-existent and they play a key role in relief and reconstruction efforts.

### Section III – Non-Governmental Organizations – Co-ordination

Aall, Pamela, Miltenberger, Daniel, and Weiss G., Thomas. “The Challenges of Coordination.” *Guide to IGOs, NGOs, and the Military in Peace and Relief Operations*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2000.

The authors highlight issues concerning a lack of coordination between the civilian community (NGOs and IGOs) and the military. In many instances the parties have refused to share resources and are unwilling to subordinate operations in order to create a more efficient humanitarian response system. NGOs prize their autonomy; however, they have increased their connections with local organizations in conflict settings. The establishment of a local capacity in war-torn societies creates a better chance for sustainable development.

NGOs need military assistance for protection, logistics and timely evacuation in extreme situations. National militaries are more technically prepared to address many issues that exist in conflict settings. The military has a better understanding of setting initial objectives, defining the end state, making plans, and communications.

Bennett, J. “Coordination, Control and Competition: NGOS on the Front Line.” *After Rwanda: The Coordination of United Nations Humanitarian Assistance*. London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1996.

For humanitarian intervention to be effective there needs to be greater coordination on the part of NGOs involved in war-torn nations. With command over a substantial and growing amount of funds, NGOs must amend their lack of accountability, competitiveness and poor coordination in order to succeed in providing relief aid that makes a lasting difference.

These weaknesses have caused host governments, where they exist, to regulate and monitor incoming NGOs more closely. Governments of these war-torn nations are now viewing the operation of NGOs within their borders with an increased skepticism, prompting questions of whether NGOs are actually detrimental to relief and development efforts. Altogether a lack of mutual confidence has undermined the relationship between NGOs and their host governments. Coordination spearheaded by NGOs themselves needs to be established to overcome these evolving barriers. Such an association and allegiance within the NGO community will help increase the effectiveness of their collective endeavour.

Bennett, Jon. "Financial Stability," "Regional and International Perspectives," and "Troubleshooting." *NGO Coordination at Field Level: A Handbook*. Oxford: ICVA NGO Coordination Project, 1994.

A coordination body creates a sense of unity in the NGO community and enhances individual capabilities on the ground. In the three above-titled sections of Bennett's handbook, suggestions are given regarding how a coordinating body's finances should be run and how to pursue international government donor funds for such a body. Methods of including UN agencies and working with other multilateral donors are also discussed. Coordination issues themselves are then touched on and recommendations given. Finally other problems that may transpire for a coordinating body in the field are examined.

Cooley, Alexander and Ron, James. "The NGO Scramble: Organizational Insecurity and the Political Economy of Transnational Action." *Journal of International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (June 2002): 5-39.

The incentives and constraints produced by the transnational sector's institutional environment that NGOs are involved in have created materialistic attitudes among actors similar to those that exist with private firms. The growing number of NGOs has increased uncertainty, competition, and insecurity in the community. Competitive tenders and renewable contracts have established a marketization of the humanitarian community. These factors have led to normative organizations to produce dysfunctional outcomes.

Cooley and Ron question the optimism that has been given to the ever expanding global civil society. The relief market has low barriers to entry, because aid agencies are increasingly issuing short-term, renewable contracts for discrete aid projects. NGO contractors are in competition with one another for these contracts forcing NGOs to imitate private firm behaviours.

NGOs have incentives to conceal, withhold, or distort information harmful to their interests of attaining future contracts. Accordingly, they have little incentive to report implementation problems with their projects, as there is no guarantee that the contract will continue to exist in the long-term. The more NGOs on the market, the more insecure an individual NGO feels about its place. The competition for funding is intense and the goals of relief and development are lost in the goal of attaining contracts from aid agencies. Some organizations may even seek to undermine competitors and provide little cooperation, creating duplication, waste, incompatible goals and collective inefficiencies, rather than cost sharing. The capture of many short-term contracts can produce economies of scale for NGOs with individual contract funds spread out throughout the NGOs' branches. As well, the reoccurrence of contracts in specific areas can allow for particular field expertise to be gained. Short-term contract renewal and survival trump effective project implementation and discussion of project problems.

NGOs can easily be taken advantage of by corrupt governments in host countries who understand how aid agencies disperse their funds. The authors prove their theory through three case studies: Kyrgystan, Goma, and Bosnia. Financial considerations produce a role for material incentives, competitive struggles, and tacit collusion with

uncooperative government officials or local militias. These financial considerations are more pressing than an NGO's liberal norms and inhibit cooperation. Recommendations to the aid community are to create healthier incentives by extending the length of contracts and encouraging NGOs to discuss their problems. Also donors should make it easier for NGOs on the ground to cooperate and not compete with one another. NGOs themselves should bolster their ability to resist competitive pressures by locating alternative sources of funding rather than relying on Western governments and international organizations.

Dedring, Jürgen. "Humanitarian Coordination." *After Rwanda: The Coordination of United Nations Humanitarian Assistance*. London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1996.

The focus of Dedring's paper is on the relationships in the humanitarian community between the UN's Department of Humanitarian Affairs (DHA) and its partners in the international community. He examines how the DHA operates and its effectiveness in improving the delivery of relief aid. Each part of the DHA is discussed: the Inter-Agency Standing Committee, the Consolidated Appeals Process, and the Central Emergency Fund. The relationship these mechanisms and the Emergency Relief Coordinator of the DHA has with the UN system itself, UN secretariat partners, NGO partners, donor governments, beneficiary governments, rebel groups, and field coordination are also discussed in detail, with a special emphasis put on the challenges these relationships have discovered.

Dedring concludes that the DHA has assisted in improving the coordination and consequently the effectiveness of humanitarian aid. However, the largest obstacle facing the DHA in achieving higher results in conflict situations is the world community's lack of financial support.

de Mul, Erick. "Coordination of humanitarian aid – a UN perspective." *The Lancet*. (Jul 27, 2002).

This article discusses efforts made by the international community to establish and sustain peace in Angola and the success of the 10-year relief effort. Humanitarians operating in the forgotten Angola emergency have had to rely on ensuring resources are used in the most effective way possible. There has been strong coordinated action by humanitarians in the country. Landmine infestation, the poor state of Angola's infrastructure, and a major lack of funding from the international community are the primary obstacles of further relief and development.

Gordenker, Leon (ed). "By Way of Conclusion." *The Politics of International Humanitarian Aid Operations*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1997.

In conclusion to *The Politics of International Humanitarian Aid* Gordenker presents possible methods and policies for future humanitarian intervention. He summarizes much of the book's authors' articles and puts them into context with his own explanation of humanitarian assistance. He examines the aims, results, organization and policies of humanitarian actors at the international and nation levels.

The UN's non-hierarchical nature creates difficulties in setting clear policies to be followed by the various organizational entities it umbrellas. National governments have their own interests in adhering to UN policies and NGOs tend to shun hierarchical deals, exacerbating the coordination problem even further. However, the greatest hindrance in generating an effective humanitarian response system is the failure to gain the necessary support of national governments for long-term efforts that include economic and social development and reconstruction of state authority. The durability of the political commitment made by national governments to humanitarian actors often decides the eventual success of aid operations. Gordenker concludes by recommending policy reforms to the system.

Ingram, James. "The Future Architecture for International Humanitarian Assistance." *Humanitarianism Across Borders – Sustaining Civilians in Times of War*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993.

Ingram makes a thorough examination of the UN's humanitarian response system and its limitations as a political entity in meeting the needs of all the victims of international conflict. He suggests that the International Red Cross (IRC) or another neutral entity would be better positioned to meet the increasing needs of innocent people caught in armed conflict than the UN. Ingram is critical of the UN's structure, its lack of a central authority on the field, its personalities, donor policies, and management culture. In conclusion, Ingram outlines a humanitarian response system built around the leadership of the IRC and its political neutrality and operational effectiveness.

Kent, Randolph. "The Integrated Operations Centre in Rwanda: Coping with Complexity." *After Rwanda: The Coordination of United Nations Humanitarian Assistance*. London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1996.

Kent's detailed paper concerns the operational success and failure of the Integrated Operations Centre (IOC) in the Rwanda crisis. The IOC acted as an instrument to develop and implement the strategies of the UN, government donors, NGOs, and the government of Rwanda in reintegrating the significant amounts of internally-displaced persons following the Rwandan genocide.

A lack of clarity between the involved parties of the IOC combined with no clear lines of authority within the humanitarian community and weak if not irrelevant support from donor governments led to the many failures. For instance, the conflicting aspirations of the humanitarian community and the Rwandan government led to the massacre at Kibeho in April of 1995. Resources needed to stabilize the military, recreate the police

force, build prisons, and implement a justice system were not in line with the resources provided to the operation, causing more damage to an already chaotic situation and great difficulties in resettling the refugees of the crisis..

Minear, Larry. "Coordination." *The Humanitarian Enterprise: Dilemmas and Discoveries*. Bloomfield: Kumarian Press, 2002.

Minear tackles the coordination dilemma in a comprehensive analysis of the key issues revolving around attaining the value that lies in successful humanitarian coordination. The elements involved in coordination are power, profile, cost, structures, and leadership. The institutional dynamics of donor and operational agencies limit the effectiveness of coordination. Minear suggests coordination-by-command is most effective and a limited number of NGOs and international agencies involved in a conflict will help to leverage success. In the profile element of coordination, NGOs and other entities have trade-offs between supporting the common humanitarian effort and maintaining independent visibility. The costs of coordination are tremendous and there is a great lack of consensus among the international community as to how a coordinated body should be structured. Donors hold the key to exercising authority in humanitarian responses by being more selective in granting funds. Finally, individual leadership will not substitute for a lack of institutional support. More research should be done on the positive effects of coordination in conflict emergencies to make such a goal seem more compelling and achievable

Natsios, Andrew S. "NGOs and the UN System in Complex Humanitarian Emergencies: Conflict or Cooperation?" *NGOs, The UN and Global Governance*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers 1996.

In a well structured article, U.S. AID's Natsios explores the relationship between the UN and NGOs, their organizational cultures, governance, and mandates in relation to the effectiveness of the humanitarian response system.

The 40 international NGOs that operate on the field in conflict settings are primarily involved in activities such as food distribution, shelter, water, sanitation, and medical care. He outlines the four models NGOs organize and govern themselves around and the advantages and drawbacks to these structures. Natsios also evaluates the NGO community's efforts to organize themselves externally through InterAction and the International Council of voluntary Agencies, its relationship with the media, and with indigenous NGOs. The UN system and the International Red Cross's involvement touched on. Collaboration between NGOs and the UN agencies involved in humanitarian intervention, with their differences and reasons for competitiveness and individual weaknesses are also given.

NGOs have a great reluctance to cede managerial control towards the goal of strategic coherence or managerial efficiency. Their focus on grassroots successes are ignorant to the overall political and social consequences of their own and others actions within the conflict setting, consequences which undo any grassroots successes rapidly. The UN's role lies in dealing with the central government of war-torn societies and attempting to negotiate nation-wide access for humanitarians. The UN has reformed its humanitarian

response system but it still has a lack of central authority as the Department of Humanitarian Affairs holds little political clout.

The international community must develop and implement consensual strategies for dealing with failed states. It has been seen that tremendous participation in decision-making in the international community by a large list of actors intervening in conflict situations has led to organizational chaos. Relief actors and their resources must be aggregated. Currently, most actors are seriously overcommitted. Structural reform must take place with a small group of representatives from each group designing an overall strategy. It requires great commitment from currently very reluctant parties and possible sanctions towards members who fail to conform. A unified strategy will increase chances for success and create a foundation of achievement that will increase collaboration among all actors.

Ramsbotham, D., "Coordination is the Key." *After Rwanda: The Coordination of United Nations Humanitarian Assistance*. London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1996.

Ramsbotham promotes the Department of Humanitarian Affairs (DHA) of the UN as the proper candidate to coordinate humanitarian emergencies in the prevention, resolution, and reconstruction phases of conflict. He aligns the goals of the DHA with those of NGOs and the military to form a triad of humanitarian actors. This article covers how a military-humanitarian interface should be established, to ensure the best use of humanitarian resources. While transformation of the system may not be possible due to political constraints affecting all parties involved, progress can most definitely take place.

For further success to exist on the field, all NGOs should fall under the umbrella of UN coordination. Individual ideologies of NGOs must be bent in order for a more conformed and effective system of providing relief aid to be established. Ramsbotham sees the UN as the principal agent in creating more effective coordination and presents requirements that must be established to ensure further progression.

Walsh, M. "The Role of the Humanitarian Coordinator." *After Rwanda: The Coordination of United Nations Humanitarian Assistance*. London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1996.

A tremendous challenge during humanitarian emergencies is balancing the cooperation and independence of different parties in the humanitarian community. Actors have interlocking, overlapping and conflicting interests and the role of coordinator is to find a way through a multitude of barriers to ensure a successful operation. Walsh uses Somali as a backdrop in giving broad recommendations to humanitarian coordinators, a job that requires decisive and consistent decision-making, and constant negotiation among involved parties.

## Section IV – NGO – Military Relations

Aall, Pamela, Miltenberger, Daniel, and Weiss G., Thomas. “NGOs in Conflict.” *Guide to IGOs, NGOs, and the Military in Peace and Relief Operations* Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2000.

NGOs are becoming increasingly involved in international conflict. The reality of today’s predominantly civil conflicts has made it difficult for NGOs to maintain their neutral status through their involvement. NGOs are having difficulties deciphering the players in the conflict from innocent civilians and lose their impartiality at many times by inadvertently supporting one side of the conflict or unknowingly exacerbating the conflict themselves through their operations. Also, NGOs are becoming the targets of warring parties making security enormous concern for many international NGOs operating in conflict settings. This article discusses a variety of difficulties NGOs operating in conflict face as well as how NGOs may become prominent actors in the conflict setting by taking over many responsibilities of the scattered host government.

Abiew, Francis Kofi. “NGO-Military Relations in Peace Operations” *International Peacekeeping Special Issue, Mitigating Conflict: The Role of NGOs*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (Spring 2003): 24-39

A well-planned and coordinated combination of civilian and military measures can create conditions for long-term stability and peace in divided societies. NGOs and the military each have specific roles and comparative skills in peace operations. However, several impeding factors exist between the two in reaching effective cooperation. Abiew presents these factors and offers possible solutions for improvement to the current framework.

First, both parties have internal differences that need to be brought to a consensus. There is little understanding and mutual trust between the military and NGOs. These relations become problematic when each party is operating outside of their comfort zones. The military can go beyond providing a secure environment by helping NGOs provide relief assistance, but must respect and understand the need for NGOs to remain neutral and independent in conflict. NGOs need to demonstrate less duplication of their operations and reexamine how cooperation with the military can be beneficial. Contemporary conflict demands these two actors garner a better awareness of each other so that they can act more effectively in concert.

Alger, Chadwick. “The Emerging Roles of NGOs in the UN System: From Article 71 to a People’s Millennium Assembly.” *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Jan.-Mar. 2002): 93-117

Alger writes a descriptive history of NGO involvement in the UN System. He discusses the NGO community’s evolving relationship with the Economic and Social Council of the UN, its involvement at UN headquarters and service and liaison offices, its ongoing relationship with the World Bank and World Trade Organization, and various NGO

conferences. The hindrances limiting further NGO involvement in the UN System are disagreements between states and NGOs on particular issues, competition with the NGO community created by demands for continual UN accreditation, demands on the UN Secretariat to limit expenditures due to the uncertain financial future of the UN, and conflicts between NGOs and Secretariat officials. The NGO community has become more involved with the UN Security Council, giving unofficial briefings concerning needs in conflict regions. The UN's relations with the civil society are broad, diverse, and dynamic and present numerous problems. NGOs have increased communication with the UN System and are becoming increasingly involved as partners in UN activities.

Byman, Daniel L. "Uncertain Partners: NGOs and the Military." *Survival*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Summer 2001): 97-114

Byman makes an astute analysis of the civil and military relations in humanitarian emergencies and recommends steps the military can take to improve coordination with their NGO partners. The tasks of military forces in complex contingency operations are diverse and operating with NGOs in providing humanitarian assistance adds many new dimensions. The military should take advantage of the skills NGOs possess such as their tremendous understanding of the sensitivities of the local culture and the immediate needs of the populace. However, dealing with NGOs can be a complicated task. There is little leadership and division of labour in the NGO community as each NGO and UN agency has its own immediate interests and mandate. As well, since NGOs protect their neutrality and impartiality long-term planning is difficult.

Byman presents numerous problems that are created from the ways NGOs regard military intentions. Both sides have little familiarity with each other. However, there is evidence that continual experience has changed many negative attitudes. A Civil-Military Operations Centre should be established promptly to ensure military forces complement humanitarian assistance with NGOs efficiently. Personal relationships should be made with NGOs who are willing and able to operate with military forces during crisis. Finally, Western militaries should work together with NGOs to recognize existing problems, advocate workable solutions, and promote these solutions before crises occur.

Dallaire, Roméo A. "The Changing Role of UN Peacekeeping Forces: The Relationship between UN Peacekeepers and NGOs in Rwanda." *After Rwanda: The Coordination of United Nations Humanitarian Assistance*. London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1996.

Dallaire, who served as UN Forces Commander in Rwanda, examines the interactions between the UN and NGOs during the Rwandan crisis. The lack of cooperation and coordination exhibited by NGOs in supporting the UN and its operations, occurred primarily because NGOs did not wish to be seen as an extension of UN operations. NGOs were very reluctant to put their neutrality and impartial status at jeopardy by being under the UN umbrella.

The organizational chaos in the humanitarian community led to large amounts of aid provided only to one side of the warring factions and an exacerbation of the war. Dallaire recommends the UN work with NGOs to develop standard operation procedures and Rules of Engagement for the UN peace support in humanitarian

missions. The result would help to maximize the efficient use of the limited resources available to humanitarians.

Duffield, Mark. "NGO Relief in War Zones: Toward an Analysis of the New Aid Paradigm." *Beyond UN Subcontracting*. New York: St Martin's Press, 1998.

The post-Cold War era has created a new aid paradigm which revolves around the West attempting to contain the effects of poverty and social exclusion through international foreign aid. Humanitarian assistance is being used by Western powers as a tool to respond to political crisis beyond its borders; consequently the ability of NGOs to deliver such humanitarian aid has grown substantially, playing a critical role as warning parties to international conflict. Donor governments now contract out their aid programs to NGOs who are frequently under the coordination and supervision of the UN. As the lead agency, the UN negotiates access with warring parties, providing NGOs with the ability to penetrate highly volatile situations.

The humanitarian aid system has become increasingly complex through subcontracting and the growing need for military security and logistical support, altogether these factors have created an organizational conundrum. An aid market has evolved from the mass influx of funds from donors to NGOs, causing NGOs to compete for funding. Aid has been privatized as more players have entered the market. NGOs, collectively, must focus more on achieving the long-term goals initial brought about from the pioneers of development and not on their own individual income and position within the humanitarian marketplace.

Harris, Andrew and Dombrowski, Peter. "Military Collaboration with Humanitarian Organizations in Complex Emergencies." *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Apr.-June 2002): 155-178

The U.S. led strike against Afghanistan and a multitude of failed states and "grey area" conflicts have produced increased security threats for relief aid workers. Principles of impartiality and neutrality have been torn down by NGOs' reliance on Western government funding. Also threatening NGO security are the provisions of international humanitarian law that are almost nonexistent in the chaotic intra-state wars of the post-Cold War era. Despite the increased security risk to humanitarians, governments have failed to respond. Harris and Dombrowski present methods that NGOs, the military, UN relief agencies, and donor governments can use to increase the security of those people trying to ease the suffering of civilians caught in conflict. The UN and NGO community have done little to try to achieve security for their field workers. The military can provide such security but first the conflicting cultures of the military and NGOs must be overcome. The military can collaborate through physical protection of relief operations, by filling expertise gaps, by providing information and threat assessment support, through evacuation support and through training of NGO personnel. Both entities can learn much from one another and positively translate their improved relationship to the service they provide in establishing stability and peace in war-torn societies. The authors of this article discuss the challenges the military and NGO community face in increasing collaboration. They conclude by setting an agenda for

NGOs, UN relief agencies, military forces, and donor governments in improving the security of humanitarian workers in the field.

Jonah, James, MacDonald, David, and Rikhye, Indar Jit. "Delivering Humanitarian Assistance in African Armed Conflicts: Conclusions." *Humanitarian Emergencies and Military Help in Africa*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990.

From a workshop regarding the humanitarian crisis in Africa, the central question of what could be done by outside military forces to alleviate humanitarian emergencies is addressed in this paper. Under an encouraging post-Cold War atmosphere there exist more opportunities to combine military logistical advantages with the extensive networks of NGOs in Africa, with the military acting as transport and NGOs as distributors of aid. The importance of such a relationship must maintain political neutrality and non-partisanship towards the warring parties is emphasized. As well, specific examples of crisis in Africa are discussed. Jonah concludes by noting the ambiguity of who is in charge of the ever-expanding activities of NGOs as a detrimental factor regarding the success of humanitarian operations.

Mackinlay, John, "Armed Relief." *Humanitarianism Across Borders – Sustaining Civilians in Times of War*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993.

The post-Cold War has brought an unexpected surge of international conflicts that require the use of military intervention by the international community. Mackinlay advocates that mutual gaps in culture and perception between relief agencies and military have harmed international humanitarian efforts and that a common approach in using military assistance to protect future humanitarian operations needs to be established. Such an approach should be nurtured in training centers which include UN, NGOs, military, and government players.

The expertise of UN agencies and NGOs on humanitarian matters vastly outweighs the military's, but an evolving landscape of global violence has made the need for military support a reality. Mackinlay presses that military staff, UN agencies, NGOs, and governments officials must study and map out a common code of conduct and iron out their idiosyncratic differences.

Peterson, Jonathan, (dir). "Civil-Military Relations: Working with NGOs." InterAction (American Council for Voluntary International Action), DVD videorecording. 2000.

InterAction, a consortium of American NGOs, presents a preparatory tool for military personnel who may be involved in humanitarian emergencies with NGOs. It defines NGOs as organizations, types of NGOs that exist, their operations, and beliefs. A number of interviews are conducted with both NGO practitioners in the field and military personnel concerning the characteristics of NGOs, their distinctness in the international community, and their relationships with the military. In conflict situations NGOs and the military have different cultures but work towards the same goal of establishing peace and stability in war-torn societies. The military's role in conflict situations is to ensure a secure environment and carry out its operational goals. The military is just one component of a broader response to humanitarian crisis. NGOs hold

strong values of neutrality, independence, and impartiality. Their line of command is consensual and decentralized. On the other hand the military is a structured, hierarchical, and rule-based organization. Its chain of command has specific functions and operates under an “end-state” framework. There is extensive pre-deployment training in the military where NGO training primarily takes place on the job. There is a great need for both organizations to bridge their cultural and institutional gaps, and this feat can be accomplished through mutual respect and joint training.

NGOs typically do not wish to be associated with the military. Such an association takes away from the neutrality NGOs hold in conflict situations. NGOs may make requests to the military for security in order to reach people in dangerous areas, evacuation of personnel in extreme circumstances, assistance in infrastructure projects, the location and removal of landmines, security briefings, and logistical support. NGOs will not compromise their core values. They will not act as intelligence gatherers and it is recommended that military personnel coming across a humanitarian situation in their operations contact the civilian-military coordinator in the area instead of taking an active role in providing assistance.

Rieff, David. “Rwanda.” *A Bed for the Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002.

In a chapter focused on the conflict in Rwanda, Rieff questions whether military intervention would have resulted in preventing the mass genocide that took place, why the international community failed to respond to the slaughter, and how major donors tried to downplay the actual events. Rieff is critical of the NGOs involved in Rwanda, accusing many in the humanitarian system to not living up to and skewing the outcome of the Rwandan tragedy. He argues that the humanitarian community believes that Rwanda was a lesson that should provoke humanitarians into doing more and not arguing that in fact that they were powerless to stop the suffering in Rwanda. Rwanda should have showed humanitarians that they are helpless in certain situations and need the support of military intervention. He is critical of NGOs and the humanitarian community for not seeing the limits to the breadth of support their operations can provide. Rieff is also critical of the UN and its political nature which holds it back from providing the relief it claims it’s willing to provide.

Humanitarian aid from national governments may be a new form of colonialism where governments act where and when they see fit. NGOs alone cannot address the root causes of most emergencies and in believing they can are jeopardizing the tremendous relief they’re very capable of providing to those in need. Governments need to become more accountable to the international community for significant change to take place. NGOs are stuck between wanting to enact their ideological beliefs and realizing their own operational limits. Rwanda demonstrated the limits of the humanitarian practice and understanding. NGOs need to realize those limits and work within the boundaries.

Smith, Gayle E. "Relief Operations and Military Strategy." *Humanitarianism Across Borders – Sustaining Civilians in Times of War*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993.

Smith gives a concise analysis of the factors NGOs operating during conflict should consider. Smith argues that humanitarian practitioners should study military strategy and plan their interventions to prevent relationships with warring parties. Armed conflict impedes the effectiveness of humanitarian intervention and aid itself can be used as a tool and object of war. Any form of intervention in a conflict will have a political impact. NGOs run the risk of their operations being affected by warring parties or government donors seeking a self-benefiting outcome to the conflict.

NGOs must achieve even-handedness during conflict by: 1. Establishing their role in the division of labour of the international community. As the UN is regulated by its mandates and bilateral aid agencies controlled by their governments' political postures, NGOs must fill the gap left by the UN and bilateral aid agencies in conflict situations. 2. Analyzing the link between the emergency, the conflict, and the economic situation. NGOs should be aware that economic factors lie at the root of most conflicts and address this fact through their disaster relief efforts. 3. Analyzing military strategies of the host government and insurgents involved in the conflict, which involves examining the five dimensions of war: logistics, geography and demography, economics, politics, and the social domain. 4. Providing specialized training to those in the field as to how to operate during war.

Recommendations are given concerning how to decrease the effects relief aid can have on a conflict such as: increasing local management of relief operations, mapping out possible negative impacts military strategies would have on relief operations, and establishing rules of the game. Smith gives specific considerations that should be accounted for by the international humanitarian community while operating in war zones to ensure evenhandedness. As well, under what circumstances should NGOs throw their support to certain warring parties or leave the conflict situation altogether?

Slim, Hugo. "Humanitarianism with Borders? NGOs, Belligerent Military Forces and Humanitarian Action." *The Journal of Humanitarian Assistance*. February 2003. <http://www.jha.ac/articles/a118.htm> (July 3, 2003).

Slim challenges the reasoning behind the tendency for NGOs to protest belligerent military forces acting as humanitarians. He argues that everyone should be a humanitarian in war, not just NGOs. Belligerent military forces have interests which are perceived by their enemies as self-serving. Any humanitarian acts on their part would be seen as achieving aims of war. NGOs also argue that these forces have less expertise in providing humanitarian aid. Slim provides suggestions regarding how belligerent military forces can be humanitarians without promoting their war aims. Forces should not mix their personas by appearing as armed civilians providing aid. As well, forces should focus on their humanitarian strengths such as providing a secure environment and rebuilding infrastructure.

Thanassi, Chad. "Iraq: Humanitarian-Military Relations." Oxfam Briefing Paper. March 2003. [http://www.oxfam.org/eng/pdfs/pp030312\\_iraq\\_hummil\\_relations.pdf](http://www.oxfam.org/eng/pdfs/pp030312_iraq_hummil_relations.pdf) (May 23, 2003).

In preparation for a humanitarian crisis in post-war Iraq 2003, Oxfam underlines the importance of humanitarian assistance from NGOs and UN rather than the use of the military to provide aid. The article outlines the UN's and NGO's effectiveness in providing humanitarian aid, essential conditions of such relief, and the obligations of occupying powers.

Military delivered aid has proven to be more costly and jeopardizes the work of civilian humanitarian agencies and their role as strictly impartial providers of aid. Pending extreme insecurity, civilian agencies, under the coordination of the UN should provide humanitarian assistance.

The Economist "Special Report: If things go badly...; Iraq's humanitarian needs." . Vol. 366, Issue 8321 (Feb. 8, 2003).

This article, published before the American led war on Iraq, outlines the possible outcomes the war would create with respect to igniting humanitarian crises. The Iraqi civilian population has already suffered due to the Gulf War and the proceeding economic sanctions. Unemployment is high and the country's government-run food distribution network would be devastated by another war. As well, the provision of greatly needed medical supplies would be put at jeopardy if NGOs were forced to leave the country due to a war.

## Section V – NGOs and Post-Conflict Reconstruction

Anderson, Mary B. “A Framework for Considering the Role and Impact of International Assistance in a Post-Conflict Situation.” *The Challenge of Development within Conflict Zones*. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development, 1995.

The international development assistance community can provide substantial assistance to improve conditions for sustainable peace in conflict situations. It must recognize that the relationship between pre-conflict, active war and post-conflict situations are consciously linked. International assistance must strive to address and alleviate the underlying causes of conflict through aid and development. The psychological characteristics and economic and social damage of post-conflict situations have multi facets that must be recognized. Finally, the characteristics of post-conflict situations have numerous implications for donors. Anderson provides recommendations to donors that will further sustainable development and lasting peace.

Baker, Scott H. “Triad in Crisis: The Important Relationship of Humanitarian, Intervention and Reconstruction Organisations, The International Business Community and Societies in Conflict. Occasional Paper, INCORE, August 2002

Baker poses a number of critical questions in his paper on the relationship between the humanitarian community and the international business community in societies in conflict. He recommends that further research should be done examining this relationship, as the benefits from the two entities working together are numerous. Both parties have track records of making conflict worse and the international business community has even been accused of doing so intentionally. If the humanitarian community were to promote cooperation and coordination with the international business community their endeavors in long-term development would benefit.

Ball, Nicole. “Enhancing Security Sector Governance: A Conceptual Framework for UNDP” October 2002.  
[http://www.undp.org/erd/jssr/docs/UNDP SSR Concept Paper Oct 9 2002.DOC](http://www.undp.org/erd/jssr/docs/UNDP_SSR_Concept_Paper_Oct_9_2002.DOC)  
(May 7, 2003).

Ball makes a recommendation for UNDP policy in the area of security sector reform (SSR). She examines how a UNDP policy on SSR can be embedded in the United Nations’ approach to conflict prevention and peace-building. As well, she suggests that a crucial step in the success of SSR is in ensuring the security of the host country’s population. She also recommends that there must be a transparent view of the role of the police and the military. Also, the police must maintain a tight link between the judiciary and the correction service of a post-conflict nation to ensure democratic rehabilitation is successful.

Ball outlines the principles of good governance, stating that security sector governance must be home-grown to have a lasting impact. External actors play a key role in establishing good governance, but the local population must take the lead role. Ball states

the objectives external actors should have in their efforts to create a self-sufficient local government. The paper concludes with exploring the role of the UNDP in security sector governance.

Ball, Nicole. "The Reconstruction and Transformation of War-Torn Societies and State Institutions: How Can External Actors Contribute?" *Fragile Peace: State Failure, Violence and Development in Crisis Regions*. London: Zed Books, 2002.

Nicole Ball outlines current challenges faced by international actors in securing sustainable peace within war-torn societies. This article offers methods of reforming current practices in economic and political governance during peace-building. Ball defines peace-building itself and categorizes its major aspects. Security for individuals, social groups and society as a whole, not just for the ruling-government, is essential in establishing political development in a war-torn nation and in turn creating economic and social development. Such socio-economic development will have a sustained positive effect on reducing poverty, which lies at the heart of successful post-conflict reconstruction. Recommendations are given to external actors concerning how to improve assistance, with a focus on strengthening local needs and capacities, creating sustained partnerships, enhancing the effectiveness of peace-building assistance, and restarting government.

Regarding to enhancing the effectiveness of peace-building assistance, nongovernmental organizations have the opportunity to play a critical role. Aid that has been typically channeled through nongovernmental and international organizations has in some instances been used for political purposes by the ruling governments involved, which in turn has helped promote conflict. NGOs and IGOs should not use wholesale approaches in providing aid in each crisis situation. The international community must develop practices to ensure aid is used more efficiently. The ad hoc system that exists in post-conflict recovery has created duplication among the institutions and frameworks involved in humanitarian intervention. Reform towards coordination is needed. The article pushes for a greater emphasis on establishing a more focused approach to humanitarian intervention, an approach which is supported by experienced and capable personnel and one that follows good practice.

Ball, Nicole. "The Challenge of Rebuilding War-Torn Societies." *Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict*. Washington DC: US Institute of Peace Press, 1996.

Ball discusses the challenges faced in rebuilding a war-weakened economy and regenerating the polarized political and social atmosphere. The chapter examines characteristics of post-conflict countries and their institutional, economic, social and security contexts. It structures the role of donor governments in post-conflict reconstruction and recommends methods towards rebuilding the economic, social and political environments. NGOs can help with the rebuilding of the country's socioeconomic characteristics and pave the way for a reformed local government.

Bock, Joseph G. and Anderson, Mary B. "Dynamite under the Intercommunal Bridge: How Can Aid Agencies Help Defuse It?", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 36, Issue 3 (May 1999): 325-338

Bock and Anderson discuss communal conflict and the role aid agencies play in preventing further conflict during times of peace. Aid agencies use two approaches: promotive, aimed at creating a foundation of trust between people and: pre-emptive, actions designed to divert and prevent conflict when communal tensions are high and violence seems imminent. Examples of each approach are given. The pre-emptive approach touches on understanding how violence is promoted and why, in order for future "flash-points" of violence to be deterred before it's too late.

The authors use the comparison of an investment in business with an investment in communal harmony to solidify their point. They conclude with outlining questions that aid agencies should be asking themselves in regards to their relief and development efforts, with the goal of ensuring future conflict isn't exacerbated by internal and external forces during the peace-building process.

Call, C. "International Peace Academy: From Promise to Practice: Strengthening UN Capacities for the Prevention of Violent Conflict." *UNDP, Justice and Security Sector Reform: Developing Guidance for the Field Workshop*. September 2002 [http://www.undp.org/erd/jssr/docs/IPA\\_Report\\_4.doc](http://www.undp.org/erd/jssr/docs/IPA_Report_4.doc) (May 15 2003).

This discussion paper focuses on police reform under the United Nations Program on Development (UNDP), Justice and Security Sector Reform (JSSR). It provides a deeper understanding of the relationship between police effectiveness and accountability in JSSR, identifying eight specific sets of tensions and trade-offs: 1. Public information, crime statistics, and the media 2. Measurement and evaluation 3. Finance and budgeting 4. Human Resource Management 5. Training and equipment provision 6. No tabula rosa 7. When to get in, when to get out, and 8. Terminology.

The UNDP and its partner NGOs can assist by developing various methods of measuring police performance and in turn offer assistance regarding how to more efficiently facilitate the process of police reform.

Carey, Henry F. "Conclusion: NGO Dilemmas in Peace Processes" *International Peacekeeping Special Issue, Mitigating Conflict: The Role of NGOs*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (Spring 2003): 172-179

This concluding article summarizes the different views of the positive and negative effects NGOs have on peace processes and the key roles of NGOs in conflict settings. Humanitarian efforts have great potential in preventing further conflict through their community and grassroots operations. However, there exist numerous aspects of NGOs activities in conflict that have been counteractive to establishing peace and stability. Key themes of the NGO community's contribution to peace processes include: the overlapping of NGOs roles and subsequent problems of coordination, the trade-off between short-run and long-run NGO goals and strategies, and the tension between

neutrality and politically-driven motives to NGO involvement in weighing legality against morality. The international community has numerous conflicting incentives, interests, and definitions in managing the peace process and often long-term considerations are sacrificed to the imperatives of short-term pragmatic concerns.

Duffield, Mark. "The Merging of Development and Security." *Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security*. New York: Zed Books Ltd., 2001.

In this chapter Duffield examines the transformation of societies as a whole through global liberal governance. He first comments on the fall of alternatives to liberal governance that existed in the forms of international socialism and Third Worldism till the 1970s. The conflict and instability in many developing countries is due to the institutional and social breakdown of these nations. Development aid began not only to follow trends of supporting economic liberalization but also to support democratic and pluralistic institutions. Since these liberal structures did not support the long-term costs of reconstruction conflict, regions remained instable. The association of conflict with underdevelopment and the propensity for instability to communicate its effects more widely in an interconnected world have merged development and concerns of global security together. Accordingly, security is now a major policy issue in development.

Evans-Kent, Bronwyn and Bleiker, Roland. "Peace Beyond the State? NGOs in Bosnia and Herzegovina." *International Peacekeeping Special Issue, Mitigating Conflict: The Role of NGOs*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (Spring 2003): 103-119

This article examines the potential and limitations of NGO efforts in peace-building and long-term stability in the context of post-conflict reconstruction in Bosnia and Herzegovina. NGOs have the ability to act outside of formal political structures and maintain strong relationships at grassroots level. However, these advantages are being challenged by their growing dependency on donor states' funding and subsequently their demands. Key dilemmas NGOs face in reconstruction are exacerbated by problematic relationships with donors, tension between local and international organizations, and little regulation of NGO activities.

Aid now has a conditional nature that accords to the priorities of donors rather than the needs of the communities. Too much time is spent on preparing detailed project proposals according to donor priorities. In addition, low donor funds and frequent changes to donor expectations have created increased competition between NGOs and a lack of long-term initiative. The duplication of projects and in adequate training of some NGOs has created serious quality control issues. Donors and international organizations need to put more focus on local expertise and knowledge. Local NGOs should explore a particular niche and develop a reputation in this area while building relationships with larger organizations to ensure sustainability.

Fitz-Gerald, Ann. "Military and Post-conflict Security: Implications for American, British and Other Allied Force Planning and for Post-conflict Iraq." *Institute for Research on Public Policy: Choices, National Security and Interoperability*. Vol. 9 No. 3 April 2003 <http://www.irpp.org/choices/archive/vol9no3.pdf> (May 15 2003).

Fitz-Gerald examines the broad issues faced in Security Sector Reform (SSR) by the key actors in post-conflict situations, highlighting the facets of SSR in regards to the evolving situation in Iraq. SSR strategies must now be factored into pre-conflict, conflict and post-conflict planning. International interveners must have a clear idea of the longer-term agenda to which their short-term intervention strategy contributes. Details of security sector transformation are discussed with the linkages between SSR, peace support operations, small arms and light weapons, DDR programs, and civil society are given, along with recommendations for improvement to the overall system.

NGOs will represent insurgents sent in by donor governments and the UN into post-conflict situations by taking primarily watchdog or monitoring roles as civilian overseers. Civil society plays a major role in helping develop a democratic security force and SSR. Transparency must be evident to the civil populace, who will likely, after a conflict situation, be highly skeptical of local police and government. NGOs will therefore provide the knowledge and the skills needed to provide a more informed level of oversight of elected officials.

Minear, Larry. "A Conceptual Framework." *The Challenge of Development within Conflict Zones*. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development, 1995.

There are numerous issues of discussion concerning development within conflict and the role of major institutional actors. Minear identifies seven critical policy issues: reviewing co-operation expectations and restraints, analyzing current institutional responsibilities with a view to filling identified gaps, developing a better fit between external and internal structures and resources, allocating a more appropriate share of international resources from shorter-term emergency to longer-term development use, clarifying relationships between UN humanitarian and political-military activities, establishing a more humane international political framework, and enhancing professionalism and accountability.

The setting of conflict has changed rapidly since the end of the Cold War and political constraints are now being replaced by financial constraints. There have been numerous cases of chronic underdevelopment where need is greater after conflict rather than before. Development at times has been a cause of conflict largely due to the intra-state nature of contemporary wars. Minear lists the responsibilities, limitations, impacts and opportunities of the major actors in humanitarian crisis: donor governments, the UN, and NGOs. Since all actors share an interest in improving the functionality of the humanitarian system a serious review should be undertaken to create synergy among all three parties.

Monshipouri, Mahmood. "NGOs and Peacebuilding in Afghanistan." *International Peacekeeping Special Issue, Mitigating Conflict: The Role of NGOs*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (Spring 2003): 138-155

The successful reconstruction of Afghanistan requires NGO involvement in promoting nation building and peace. NGOs can address relief, rehabilitation, gender inequality, landmine issues, and longer-term development efforts by providing the impetus to drive the international community into positive sustained development. The Afghanistan humanitarian crisis has created substantial refugee and poverty issues which need to be addressed head-on to ensure peace-building flourishes. NGOs must avoid becoming engaged in local and international politics and focus on accessing and meeting the needs of Afghans. Human security should be the number priority of the international community or else forces of terrorism will form again and transcend state borders. The landmine issue and women rights are also covered in this article. Monshipouri suggests that NGO strategies should be based on maintaining neutrality and focused on long-term achievement and that foreign aid and other international relief should not limit the local economy.

Nicolet, Claude. "The Interrelationship between the Evolution of Civil Society and Progress in Regional Security: The Balkans." Occasional Paper.

Nicolet advocates the need for a strong civil society led by local NGOs for sustainable peace-building efforts to be successful. He notes the factors that hinder the establishment of peaceful coexistence in war-torn societies and the building of a broad civil society. The influence of international NGOs is discussed along with the various relationships and problems they manifest, using the Balkans as a backdrop.

Civil society organizations, including NGOs, are now recognizing the importance of security and internal threats to peace. Nicolet closes by offering his views on how security and the civil society impact one another. The local populace holds the key to successful peace-building, the international community can either support or hinder the process.

Pugh, Michael. "The Social-Civil Dimension." *Regeneration of War-Torn Societies*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000.

Pugh focuses in on the contextual issues influencing regeneration and peace-building efforts by International Financial Institutions (IFI), the UN, and NGOs concerning social welfare and civil society development. The first section examines disparities in social-civil peace-building, specifically how the insurgence of global capital can minimize state activity. Pressures in subcontracting and the integration of relief and development and its connection with peace-building are also discussed.

With regard to the transformation of civil society, Pugh recommends that immediate democratization may not be the best solution to transforming a war-torn society. He uses the case of the Former Yugoslavian conflict as a backdrop for his recommendation. Finally, how to increase participation and accountability of involved actors in establishing peaceful regeneration rounds out Pugh's report. Civil and social programs

lack the immediate results unlike relief efforts. However, to ensure the sustained reestablishment of an accountable and transparent government a long-term approach is needed to develop these “soft” programs, one which ensures broad involvement of the local society.

Richmond, Oliver. “NGOs and an Emerging Form of Peacemaking: Post-Westphalian Approaches.” Columbia International Affairs Online. March 2000. <http://www.ciaonet.org/isa/rio02/> (May 17, 2003)

This highly academic article pertains to the emerging role of NGOs in a third generation of international conflict and peacemaking activity. NGOs can provide the link between local and global in conflict resolution by playing critical roles in humanitarian, developmental, human rights, educational, and conflict resolution activities. Richmond outlines the inadequacies of first-generation peacemaking and its method of basing conflict resolution on zero-sum interests. He sees the emergence of NGOs as a normative response to the flaws in this first-generation system. A response which promoted heightened roles of IGOs and NGOs and formed a new generation of peacemaking, with NGOs providing humanitarian aid as well as taking on early warning, preventative peace-building, conflict resolution and reconciliation roles. NGOs help alleviate tensions between state-on-state humanitarian interventions.

NGO involvement is not without its limitations and internal flaws. The customs and laws of the local environment in terms of ethnic, religious, and language constraints present NGOs with dilemmas regarding an equal provision of their services in war-torn societies and getting aid out to those who need it most. As well, the NGO community has seen a great amount of overlapping and counterproductive effort toward aid operations, which have created mass coordination problems in the field. NGOs have also been criticized for their lack of sustained involvement in local communities and their quest for media attention. Thus, it is essential for NGOs to increase their credibility pertaining to their legitimacy, efficiency, effectiveness, and code of conduct in their operations. A third-generation of peacemaking is being formed and NGOs carry an enhanced role, one which comes with the responsibility of long term commitment in post-conflict environments.

Stockton, Nicholas J. “The Failure of International Humanitarian Action in Afghanistan.” *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations*. Vol. 6, No. 3 (July-Sept. 2002): 265-272.

Stockton accuses the humanitarian community of not following their basic principles in his insight of the crisis in Afghanistan following a U.S. led war with the Taliban government. The humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan demanded logistical support because of the country’s terrain and a neutral humanitarian community due to links between American and British governments and major relief NGOs. The coalition and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) could have provided such relief. The civil humanitarian monopoly by the UN and NGOs needed the support of the military that by International Humanitarian Law was responsible in providing humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan. The UN/NGO community, facing insurmountable logistical challenges in the physical terrain of Afghanistan and now

security threats due to their lack of neutrality, has failed to provide greatly needed relief support.

Thakur, Ramesh. "Why War Trumps Peace." *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations*. Vol. 8, No. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 2002): 405-411.

Thakur presents compelling arguments on the magnetism of war over peace. Long-lived conflicts exist for a variety of reasons revolving around vested interests against finding a peaceful solution. Financial stakes and the control of precious resources of particular groups and individuals could be lost if peace were to reign and equality flourish. The state itself is a priced asset that generates competitive nationalism and the power to oppress others. Those not in a position of power can create conflict as well through asymmetric warfare, including terrorism. To establish peace one must look forward and have a pragmatic view. However, forms of justice have a backward-looking view, one that is backed by force, and seeks to punish rather than to integrate and compromise.

United Nations, "Security Sector Reform and Transnational Justice: A Crisis Post-Conflict Programmatic Approach." United Nations Program on Development. November 2002 <http://www.undp.org/erd/jssr/docs/jssraproachfinal.DOC> (May 15 2003).

The Bureau for Conflict Prevention and Recovery (BCPR) of the UNDP outlines its programmatic approach to JSSR in this paper. First, the link between human development and JSSR is established. Then JSSR is placed within the context of BCPR's approach to conflict prevention and peace-building. Finally, BCPR's approach to JSSR itself is defined, followed by some fundamentals of good governance relating to JSSR.

NGOs play a role in civil society oversight within JSSR, particularly regarding monitoring police and legislative areas and through educating the general populace concerning their own rights. Altogether, the role NGOs play helps to ensure that the newly formed post-conflict government does not become the source of insecurity in the country, but is a part of the solution.

Whitman, Jim (ed). "The Political Limits of Humanitarian Assistance." *After Rwanda: The Coordination of United Nations Humanitarian Assistance*. London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1996.

Specialized agencies, national militaries, and NGOs have accomplished a great deal in combining their resources and comparative advantages in the field of humanitarian assistance, but the political influences from donor governments constrain their initiatives. Emergencies have been framed and a triage appears to be forming regarding the response of donor governments. Short-term fixes are being applied to situations that need long-term commitments towards development and not just towards relief efforts. Though they may not be as popular or garner as much public support, funds put towards development such as resettlement of refugees, mine clearance, infrastructural programs, demobilization, and demilitarization will assist significantly in averting future conflict.

World Bank. "A New Reconstruction Framework." *Post-Conflict Reconstruction: The Role of the World Bank*, Washington D.C., 1998.

The Bank's post-conflict reconstruction approach is outlined in this chapter. A five stage framework for Bank operations in post-conflict situations includes creating a watching brief for conflict countries and the development of an exit strategy. Coordination with other IGOs and NGOs is touched on. As well, recommendations for Bank operations and risks to the Bank in post-conflict countries are described. Values of cooperation and leadership are needed in order for the international community to achieve successful coordination.

Wright, Neill, "The Hidden Costs of Better Coordination." *After Rwanda: The Coordination of United Nations Humanitarian Assistance*. London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1996.

From the lessons learned from the crisis in Rwanda, Wright examines not just the coordination of the humanitarian community but also their relationship with the newly established government in Rwanda. In the Rwanda case, preventive action could have been taken to avoid the genocide and massive refugee development, but the international community did not respond. Humanitarian action should not substitute for the lack of political will in the international community, but only buy time and space for such action. Efforts to rebuild local civil authority, justice, and the rule of law should be the main focus of an international community trying to reconstruct a failed state. Humanitarian action should be viewed as a temporary solution to an evolving problem.

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