First proposed in the report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*, the establishment of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) at the United Nations (UN) was taken up by the Secretary-General as part of the UN reform agenda and heralded as one of the few successes of the World Summit meeting in September 2005. The General Assembly and the Security Council founded the Peacebuilding Commission in concurrent resolutions in December 2005.

These resolutions laid out the main purposes for the PBC:

- to propose integrated strategies for post-conflict peacebuilding and recovery;
- to help ensure predictable financing for early recovery activities and sustained financial investment over the medium to longer term;
- to extend the duration of the international community’s attention to post-conflict recovery; and
- to develop best practice on issues that require extensive collaboration among political, military, humanitarian and development actors.

The Peacebuilding Commission is welcome as the first intergovernmental body with a focus on long-term involvement in activities to promote sustainable peace in post-conflict countries. It will fill a gap in the UN system, and will become the focal point on peace-related issues within the UN family.

The Commission will fill a gap, but it will not operate in a policy vacuum; to varying degrees, post-conflict countries already have national leadership strategies and benchmarks, systems of coordination and resource mobilization, and the PBC will have to find its place among these arrangements. Rather than simply adding another layer of complexity, the PBC must define its “added value”.

A commonly agreed element of this added value is the need for Integrated Peacebuilding Strategies (IPBSs)—strategies based on genuine partnerships between international and national actors. The PBC will inform the design of high-quality strategies in partnership with national governments and experts in the field, and promote their implementation by helping to mobilize a coalition of international interests within the affected country. The PBC will have an overarching coordinating role, ensuring that all actors operate from the same strategic framework and realistic plan for implementation. A plan that links political and security and development goals and develops clear transition benchmarks to bridge the gap between relief and development.

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Long-term, sustainable peace requires a “culture of prevention” and a “culture of peace”, generated from the bottom up as well as from the top down. It also demands a functioning state that is citizen-focused, that can protect and provide for its population. Thus, in order to build sustainable peace, all peacebuilding actors—the United Nations, regional organizations, governments and civil society—must be involved. Civil society is crucial; the engagement of large segments of society in peacebuilding will make the changes needed to support sustainable peace both deeper and more durable.

The value of civil society engagement

In recent decades, the influence of civil society organizations (CSOs) in global debates has increased considerably. In the areas of human rights, development and the environment, large lobby groups have successfully influenced the agendas of several important UN conferences. Cooperation between governments, civil society and the United Nations led to the Mine Ban Treaty, opened for signature in 1997, and the establishment of the International Criminal Court in 1998.

The United Nations has recognized the importance of constructive and strategic engagement with civil society in carrying out its tasks. As former Secretary-General Kofi Annan stated in an address to the Security Council on 22 June 2004: “engagement with civil society is not an end in itself, nor is it a panacea, but it is vital to our efforts to turn … peace agreements into … peaceful societies and viable States. The partnership between the United Nations and civil society is therefore not an option; it is a necessity.”

As the nature of conflict has shifted to more intra-state violence, and civilians are victimized on an unprecedented scale, CSOs have found themselves in a unique position for peacebuilding. The roles they play vary—from relief and development to local conflict resolution, advocacy, civic engagement and non-violent accompaniment—and so do their relationships with the United Nations. There is no one modality of civil society engagement applicable for all the various departments, agencies and funds of the United Nations. Rather, each body has its own procedures. For example, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) can apply for accreditation with the Department of Public Information (DPI), as well as Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) accreditation. However, these accreditations do not provide access to all UN bodies, and this includes the PBC.

The relationship between civil society and the United Nations still constitutes a “hot” issue when new institutions are born and rules of procedures are drafted. From the first, civil society was involved in lobbying for language on civil society interaction to be included in the resolutions establishing the PBC. The global conference “From Reaction to Prevention: Civil Society Forging Partnerships to Prevent Violent Conflict and Build Peace” (organized by the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict, GPPAC, in partnership with the UN Department of Political Affairs) at UN Headquarters in July 2005 provided an opportunity for civil society organizations to interact with governments and the United Nations on prevention and peacebuilding. Parallel to the organization of the conference, GPPAC engaged in dialogue with the informal Group of Like-minded States on Conflict Prevention (co-chaired by Germany and Switzerland). The main purpose of this group is to emphasize conflict prevention as a central priority of UN reform, to engage Member States in dialogue with civil society and GPPAC, and to advance the conflict prevention and human security agenda by the systematic follow-up of reforms, in particular regarding the PBC and the Peacebuilding Fund. After discussions at working and ambassadorial level and with input from GPPAC, the group prepared a document with text on prevention and peacebuilding issues for the debates on the World Summit Outcome document. It was handed to the President of the Fifty-ninth Session of the General Assembly, Mr Jean Ping, with the signatures of
The UN Peacebuilding Commission and civil society engagement

32 ambassadors. These efforts, as well as input from other civil society actors, helped to get language on civil society written into the resolutions establishing the PBC.

The respective resolutions “encourage... the Commission to consult with civil society, non-governmental organizations, including women’s organizations, and the private sector engaged in peacebuilding activities, as appropriate.” However, the PBC is still negotiating the modalities for civil society engagement. Some Member States are calling for an innovative form of relationship with civil society, while others view the PBC as an intergovernmental body in whose informal discussions civil society actors do not have the right to take part. So far, engagement has been ad hoc, and no formal procedures have yet been created.

But for a peacebuilding strategy and implementation to be effective and sustainable, it must be the result of dialogue among all actors involved rather than the sole decision of governments. Not including civil society in developing strategies for sustainable peace leads to a process that is not owned by the people affected by conflict, who feel it is externally imposed. It is vital that peacebuilding strategies and initiatives are locally derived and internationally supported; it therefore follows that civil society should have input at all stages of the process. Civil society engagement will be particularly critical in the following areas.

- Local ownership and engagement. Local ownership of the peacebuilding process and local engagement in the development and implementation of rebuilding strategies are central to successful peacebuilding. CSOs are uniquely equipped to mobilize individuals in peacebuilding activities and may constitute some of the remnants of social networks in post-conflict situations.

- Linking the PBC with local populations. CSOs can be important sources of local knowledge and expertise in various sectors related to rebuilding societies after conflict (such as disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, justice and social reconciliation). They can liaise between the PBC and the local population, helping to identify local priorities for the PBC and transmitting information about the coordinated peacebuilding strategy to citizens.

- Providing goods and services. There are often a number of CSOs already operating on the ground in post-conflict areas, providing humanitarian relief and coordinating other essential activities, including justice mechanisms. This work can be effectively adapted to aid the strategies of the PBC.

Collaboration between the PBC and civil society should be accountable, flexible and inclusive. Developing mechanisms to enable transparency, participation, evaluation, information sharing and complaints and redress ensures that the PBC’s work is accountable to those most affected by it. At the same time, the functioning of the PBC must be flexible to meet changing needs as the Commission itself evolves and as circumstances in the countries in which it works alter. A flexible approach will also assist effective engagement with civil society; for example, finding a way to allow the participation of local civil society representatives in PBC meetings even when they do not have ECOSOC or DPI accreditation. An inclusive approach, embracing CSOs at all levels and from diverse geographic and thematic areas, will mean that the PBC can draw on a world of expertise and experience. It will also help the Commission to ensure more sustained support: at the regional level, CSOs can help to organize national civil society groups, advocating for their involvement in the PBC’s processes and building links with the Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO, the office supporting the work of the PBC); national civil society leaders can foster support for peacebuilding among the population. By early engagement with civil society at the international level, the PBC Organizational Committee can develop working methods and set standards to ensure that the Commission gains the utmost benefit from CSO involvement at all levels.

For a peacebuilding strategy and implementation to be effective and sustainable, it must be the result of dialogue among all actors involved.
Coordinating civil society engagement with the PBC

GPPAC is an international network of civil society organizations working in conflict prevention and peacebuilding.10

One of the main tasks of its International Secretariat is to function as a bridge between regional (and national and local) concerns and developments and the international agenda. In relation to the Peacebuilding Commission, the International Secretariat plays a liaison role between New York and GPPAC’s regional and national partners—translating developments at the PBC to GPPAC partners and informing PBC members and PBSO staff of relevant civil society activity in the countries with which the PBC is concerned. In New York, the GPPAC secretariat works closely with the World Federalist Movement-Institute for Global Policy (WFM-IGP) to monitor Commission meetings. Successful lobbying efforts with WFM-IGP have so far ensured that civil society representatives from Burundi and Sierra Leone (the two countries on the PBC’s agenda as of April 2007) have participated in both sets of the PBC’s country-specific meetings.

In Geneva, several organizations, including civil society and UN agencies, are in the process of defining “International Geneva’s” potential added value to the work of the PBC.11 GPPAC’s International Secretariat aims to link this process of meetings and research papers to the civil society processes taking place in New York and in-country, so that all actors can work together.

GPPAC has made both horizontal and vertical connections possible, and there is already a network of actors from both civil society and the PBC in constant dialogue. By actively engaging CSOs in Burundi and Sierra Leone, and at the same time paying regular visits to UN officials and UN Member States at their Permanent Missions in New York, an opening has been created in which players can share knowledge and information. This is helping to promote trust and openness between governments and civil society actors, which will perhaps lead to modalities for civil society engagement with the PBC.

National civil society consultation: Burundi and Sierra Leone

The inclusion of civil society at all stages of the peacebuilding processes in Burundi and Sierra Leone will ensure ownership, efficiency and transparency; it will ensure that the PBC and governments’ activities are coherent with existing peacebuilding activities. One way that GPPAC makes sure of civil society engagement is the facilitation of consultations on the PBC. Locally and regionally driven, these consultations familiarize civil society with the work of the PBC and prepare CSOs to give timely and informed recommendations to the Commission. Consultations are currently taking place in Burundi and Sierra Leone, and it is through these consultations that local civil society representatives were designated to present recommendations to the Peacebuilding Commission during its country-specific meetings of October and December 2006. The representatives had the opportunity to address the Commission both formally at the official meetings and informally at briefings arranged prior to the meetings. This participation allowed the PBC to hear civil society’s priorities for peacebuilding, enabled contacts to be built between local civil society and the government and UN peacebuilding teams, and ensured that civil society received a first-hand account of the meetings and the decisions made by the Commission.
SIERRA LEONE

Since Sierra Leone’s independence, CSOs have played a significant role in ensuring democracy, popular participation and good governance. However, political infiltration and weak institutional infrastructure meant that by 2003 civil society cooperation had disintegrated. In order to enhance their influence and recognition in peacebuilding, several CSOs formed umbrella organizations, such as Network on Collaborative Peacebuilding NCP-SL, Partners in Conflict Transformation and the National Forum for Human Rights. Today, civil society organizations are working on various community capacity-building programmes, for example in conflict transformation and management and peace education.12

From 19–20 July 2006, the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP, which is steering the GPPAC process in West Africa), in partnership with its national network NCP-SL, organized a civil society consultation in Sierra Leone involving around 30 participants from civil society organizations working in various thematic areas across the country, as well as representatives from government agencies, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), the Special Court for Sierra Leone and the United Nations Integrated Office in Sierra Leone (UNIOSIL).

During the meeting, participants identified gaps in the current peacebuilding initiatives, such as piecemeal implementation of TRC recommendations, a lack of effective monitoring and evaluation mechanisms, and a lack of adequate resources for the effective performance of public institutions. They also noted problems in the relationship between the government and civil society, which in the past has been characterized by poor communication and interaction: CSOs feel that government does not consult them in policy processes, while the government believes that it does. The programme “Enhancing Interaction and Interface Between Civil Society and the State to Improve Poor People’s Lives”, has been set up as a first step to improve the relationship.13

The participants emphasized that peacebuilding in Sierra Leone can only be effective if resources are refocused and a holistic approach adopted. They identified eight priority areas, which are in line with the Sierra Leone government’s four priority areas presented at the PBC’s October 2006 country-specific meeting (youth employment and empowerment, justice and security sector development, democratic process development and institutional capacity-building). The additional priority areas identified by civil society were strengthening effective collaboration among governments and civil society in the Mano River Basin, gender mainstreaming in peacebuilding, the establishment of a research and resource unit to develop research and analysis skills, and the establishment of monitoring and evaluation mechanisms.

After the PBC’s country-specific October meeting, members of the civil society working group (which had been elected during the civil society consultation) held meetings with their constituencies, as well as with government and UN officials. The feeling is that a relationship is developing between civil society and the government of Sierra Leone in their bid to design the next steps for the realization of the PBC’s work in the country. In the December country-specific meeting, successful lobby efforts from GPPAC, WFM-IGP and like-minded members of the Commission again resulted in the participation of a representative of the in-country civil society consultation. A follow-up meeting, organized by civil society in Sierra Leone but including presentations from the government and the United Nations, took place on 19 January 2007. It was decided during this meeting that the civil society representatives on Sierra Leone’s joint UN–government peacebuilding committee (on which civil society has observer status) would be NCP-SL and the Mano River Women’s Peace Network.

The next formal country-specific meeting for Sierra Leone is planned to take place in mid-2007 in New York. The next phase of the PBC’s work on Sierra Leone will focus on developing an IPBS, which will have clear benchmarks and indicators against which progress will be measured. The PBC will
meet for regular, informal country-specific thematic discussions in between its formal country-specific meetings. The PBSO will facilitate regular information sharing with relevant actors in the country, including civil society. A small group of PBC members has visited Sierra Leone, and there are plans to organize meetings on lessons learned.

BURUNDI

The Forum for Reinforcement of the Civil Society, in collaboration with GPPAC and Search for Common Ground, organized a consultative workshop on 2 October 2006 in Bujumbura. There were around 35 participants from national and international CSOs. They discussed strategic priorities for peacebuilding and civil society commitments in implementing these priorities. A representative of this consultation presented its priorities at the PBC’s October country-specific meeting. These included the installation of transitional justice mechanisms, adapted to the Burundian context and subject to broad popular consultation; institutional capacity-building in democratic governance for members of parliament, the government, political party leaders, communal and village councils, the army and police, as well as leaders of civil society organizations; the creation of a planning and coordination mechanism among all actors to ensure participatory design of projects and activities that respond to the true concerns of the population; the promotion and protection of human rights; and the promotion of the healthy management of public goods, in particular through the installation of an independent national observatory on corruption and economic embezzlement. The government’s priorities, set after the PBC’s October meeting, are similar and include promoting good governance, strengthening the rule of law and the security sector as well as ensuring community recovery—but they do not cover everything identified by civil society, such as the promotion and protection of human rights, and the promotion of a permanent social and political dialogue between all actors.

A civil society steering committee, elected during the meeting in Bujumbura, came together after the PBC’s October meeting to discuss its outcomes and next steps. They organized another national consultative workshop on 23–24 November 2006. This brought together 83 participants from 68 different CSOs and focused on the priority areas identified by the government, looking at how civil society could engage effectively in addressing these areas. The participants produced a plan of action and expected results for interventions in each of the identified priority areas. Thanks to lobbying by GPPAC, WFM-IGP and like-minded members of the PBC, civil society was invited to participate in the PBC’s formal country-specific meeting in December 2006.

Similar to the process in Sierra Leone, a joint committee of the government and United Nations has been established in Burundi to deal with the PBC’s work, and civil society has been invited as an observer. At the end of January 2007, 90 representatives of civil society met and established an eight-member committee to follow up the PBC process. The chair of this committee, Biraturaba (the GPPAC national focal point), will also serve as the observer to the joint government–UN committee.

The PBC’s work is now to develop an IPBS. The civil society committee set up to follow the PBC process will identify what CSOs can contribute to the development of this strategy. Several meetings of the PBC’s joint committee are planned, as well as a donor roundtable to mobilize resources for peacebuilding activities. The next formal country-specific meeting on Burundi in New York is planned for mid-2007.

The relationship between civil society and the government in Burundi is challenging. The Government of Burundi did not reach out to civil society when preparing for the country-specific meetings of the PBC in New York. Nonetheless, civil society organized its own meetings and continued to invite government and UN officials to take part; the invitations were turned down. Possible openings
for civil society engagement with the government are gradually appearing, however. One positive sign is the Burundian government’s vote to extend invitations to civil society representatives for the country-specific meetings of the PBC. It is hoped that in the development of the IPBS, civil society will be involved not just as a potential operational partner, but as a vital collaborator in strategy design.

**Building peace with civil society**

The PBC’s establishment recognized a significant deficiency in the UN system: there was no central department dedicated to the promotion of peace, despite the UN’s mandate to “save succeeding generations from the scourge of war”. Early success will establish strong grounds for the expansion of the PBC’s work and vital extra funding. It is therefore of great importance that all stakeholders—international organizations, national governments, donors and civil society—build on each other’s strengths.

Considering the multitude of national and international actors that must cooperate effectively to bring about peace, an open, inclusive, structured and long-term consultative process is crucial, and the creation of the Peacebuilding Commission provides an excellent opportunity to create this kind of process. The PBC is in a position to facilitate the bringing together of all stakeholders and to stimulate dialogue and cooperation. In developing an IPBS based on input from all the various actors, the PBC can ensure that everyone involved in peacebuilding works from the same agenda, with agreed goals. This will enhance national ownership and, most importantly, sustainable peace. Rather than creating a situation of ad hoc meetings, starting work with a structured schedule and an inclusive meeting policy will help the PBC to establish an effective peacebuilding process. CSOs are all too often unable to contribute fully to current peacebuilding processes; the PBC is able to engage civil society and thereby strengthen the peacebuilding process in a variety of ways.

**Building effective partnerships**

The PBC is well placed to promote effective partnerships among governments, CSOs, intergovernmental organizations and donors. It could provide a joint platform for all those involved in peacebuilding to discuss and share their experiences. Discussions on specific countries or more general themes could take place in the field, at UN Headquarters or in Geneva. The PBC does not necessarily have to organize these meetings; rather it could stimulate and promote such initiatives. The joint committees set up in Burundi and Sierra Leone could take the lead in establishing a long-term, structured and inclusive in-country consultation process that includes civil society, and thus ensures transparency and avoids duplication.

**Early local engagement**

Early engagement with civil society in the countries concerned is critical to national ownership of the peacebuilding process. It can foster local buy-in for the peacebuilding strategy; build confidence in the work of the PBC, the UN country team and the national government; capitalize on existing peacebuilding efforts; and pave the way for better governance by connecting civil society with local and national governments.
One mechanism for achieving this early local engagement would be to support the in-country civil society processes currently organized by GPPAC. This could be done by promoting interaction with civil society to national governments and UN officials in-country (such as participation in civil society consultations and regular meetings with representatives of these consultations) and providing financial support. The PBC could further help by ensuring that local civil society has access to its documents and reports in local languages. It is vital that the PBC continues to extend invitations to representatives of local civil society processes to participate in its country-specific meetings (although the actual representatives should be designated locally). This increases the legitimacy of the work of the PBC in the country at stake, as the civil society representative is able to tell its constituencies how and why decisions are made.

It is impossible for the PBC to set to work in all countries affected by armed violence, and it is understandable that the Commission can only deal with a limited amount of cases. But those countries unlikely to be selected should not be completely ignored. The PBSO could track these countries and make sure lessons learned from selected cases are shared with governments dealing with similar situations. Civil society organizations can also play a role, sharing their knowledge, expertise and experience.

**Consultation at UN Headquarters**

Civil society participation is equally important at the international level, and the development of formal and informal consultation mechanisms would aid collaboration between civil society actors and the PBC. NGOs could observe and monitor PBC meetings based in principle on the arrangements set forth in the ECOSOC resolution on consultative relationships between the United Nations and NGOs. Relevant arrangements include access to the provisional agenda of PBC meetings, the right to attend public meetings and the right to submit written statements relevant to the work of the Commission. Consideration could be given to local organizations that do not have ECOSOC consultative status—the PBC has been flexible about extending invitations to civil society representatives that do not have ECOSOC accreditation thus far, and it is hoped that this practice will continue.

Until now, civil society’s invitations to PBC meetings have been last-minute, creating logistical complications that in some cases have resulted in representatives being unable to attend. For effective planning and input from civil society it would be extremely helpful if the PBC made its schedule available in advance. It can also be hard to obtain information on the PBC’s activities between meetings, which makes it difficult for national and international CSOs alike to give substantive feedback into the PBC’s discussions. Briefings—in New York, but most importantly in-country—could be organized to inform CSOs on the work and progress of the Commission between meetings. The PBSO could also post regular updates on the PBC web site.

**Maintaining a Focus on Neglected Areas**

For peacebuilding activities to be successful, the international community must adopt a long-term approach in conflict areas and invest in under-resourced peacebuilding activities. There is a need for awareness-raising activities in countries at stake. Citizens need to be informed about the work of the PBC, and this is a task for the Commission, as well as government and civil society. CSOs and media can inform their constituencies about the range of activities going on, how to get involved in them and how to actively participate in policy processes.
To obtain the resources necessary to consolidate peace, the PBC needs the credibility to pressure donors to focus attention on areas that are perpetually under-resourced, for example security sector reform and justice. Civil society organizations can help bolster credibility and apply pressure by visiting policy makers, writing newspaper articles and organizing meetings for a broader public.

**Annual Dialogue**

The PBC could host an annual dialogue between NGOs and the PBC Organizational Committee. This would allow relevant actors from around the world to come to New York and discuss thematic issues as well as progress in the countries where the PBC is working and regional aspects of the PBC’s work. Financial assistance would ensure the balanced regional representation of NGOs at these meetings. The dialogue would be most effective if it were to coincide with a scheduled meeting of the PBC, to maximize the attendance of PBC members. Possible output from the dialogue could consist of recommendations for the PBC’s annual report to the General Assembly.

**Lessons Learned and Knowledge Networks**

Although significant peacebuilding experience exists within the UN system, there is no system in place to ensure institutional memory. The PBC will be able to help by becoming a clearing house for expertise on both thematic and country-specific levels. To make sure that expertise is located and placed at the UN’s disposal, the PBSO will need to develop a networking role, reaching out to institutions and experts beyond the UN, including civil society. The PBSO will also provide a focus for knowledge on areas that currently lack an institutional home, such as democratic transition and the rule of law. An advisory group could help to build up this bank of knowledge, and the PBSO could organize seminars where actors (both from national governments and civil society) from Burundi, Sierra Leone and other conflict-affected countries can meet to exchange experiences and lessons learned.

**Consultative Review**

Toward the end of 2007, after the first year of its work, the PBC should organize a comprehensive review meeting, inviting actors from Burundi and Sierra Leone to offer their perspectives on the outcomes of the first year of the PBC and challenges faced. After five years there will be a review of the Commission, as mandated by its establishing resolutions. This could include a consultative process to review CSO engagement mechanisms at UN Headquarters and in the countries concerned, in order to assess whether they have proven effective, or if they should be modified.

**Conclusion**

Although the international community has a vital role, sustainability in peacebuilding ultimately relies on the work of national governments and societies. Armed with the most rigorous analysis and best intentions, international actors have not succeeded where they have attempted to bypass national ownership or fail to understand local contexts.
The key to successful transition to sustainable peace is early engagement with the functioning of the state and with civil society, so that strategies are rooted in a shared compact between the post-conflict society and the international community. To be effective, the PBC must take a coordinated and long-term approach, involving not just UN agencies, but donors, regional intergovernmental organizations and civil society. If the PBC becomes a forum of bureaucrats alone it will surely fail. The work, expertise and commitment of civil society organizations—both on the ground and at the regional and global level—should be drawn on at all levels of the PBC. Equally, the PBC should encourage national governments and other international actors in the field to adopt broader consultation strategies with civil society leaders.

The Peacebuilding Commission has taken an important place within the United Nations family, and several PBC members, in close cooperation with the PBSO, are seeking ways to create innovative mechanisms to help build sustainable peace. GPPAC, in its turn, and in cooperation with other civil society actors, is committed to a collaboration that will make the PBC’s work a success and, most importantly, promote sustainable peace.

Notes

10. For more information about the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict, go to <www.gppac.net>.
11. For more on International Geneva and the Peacebuilding Commission, see the article by David Atwood and Fred Tanner in this issue of Disarmament Forum.
13. Ibid., p. 6.
16. Some of these recommendations are based upon WFM-IGP, 2006, op. cit.