



Australian Government

Australian Civil-Military Centre



Partnering for Peace

Australia's peacekeeping and peacebuilding experiences in the Autonomous Region of Bougainville in Papua New Guinea, and in Solomon Islands and Timor-Leste.

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Cover Images:

Front: An Australian peacekeeper with the ISF in Timor-Leste makes friends with a local child during a regional patrol in the township of Emera.

Back Cover Left: Australian civilian monitors take time out with children in Arawa on Bougainville, Papua New Guinea.

Back Cover Right: Australian aircrew serving with RAMSI and an officer of the Royal Solomon Islands Police Force deliver ballots during the 2010 national elections. Helicopters landed on very small segments of land, sometimes on cliff tops, to deliver or receive the ballot boxes.

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Contents

FOREWORD	4
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	5
Lessons for peacekeeping and peacebuilding	6
PART ONE: Overview	9
Key features and lessons learnt	10
PART TWO: The experience in Bougainville, Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands	19
Bougainville	19
Timor-Leste	23
Solomon Islands	27
PART THREE: Primary features and lessons learnt	31
Alignment with local priorities and support to local leadership	31
Capacity building	39
Regional cooperation	41
A comprehensive, integrated and coordinated approach	46
The rule of law	50
Civilian deployment	54
Women, peace and security	55
Financial stabilisation, economic reconstruction and aid	58
Tailored, clear and realistic mandates	61
Timing, transition and turnover	63
Data, monitoring and evaluation	67
PART FOUR: The Road Ahead	69
Bougainville	69
Timor-Leste	70
Solomon Islands	71
APPENDIX A: The Biketawa Declaration, 2000	73
NOTES	75

Foreword

Australia has a strong record of contributing to peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations. Among the first to be deployed under UN auspices, Australian troops monitored the ceasefire between Dutch and Indonesian forces in 1947. Since that time Australians have served in more than 50 United Nations and other multilateral peace and security operations around the world.

As the nature of peace operations has evolved, so too has Australia's contribution and engagement. We remain committed to active participation—as a dependable partner—in efforts to build peace and stability in our region and globally.

This report seeks to capture the experiences, innovations and practical lessons that have emerged over the last two decades from Australia's contributions to peace operations in support of our regional neighbours—Papua New Guinea's Autonomous Region of Bougainville, Solomon Islands and Timor-Leste.

The analysis of peace operations in these three countries highlights the strength of partnerships between the operations and the local leadership, and underlines the core principle that in order to have a sustainable impact, peace operations must be aligned with local priorities and support local capacities.

Regional participation has been a key feature of successful peace operations in Australia's neighbourhood, and this report draws out the significant advantages of the regional dimension to the operations in these three countries.

We are grateful for the valuable advice and guidance provided by representatives from the governments of Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Timor-Leste during the preparation of this report. We are also grateful for the insights and advice received from a number of people who were part of these peace operations on the ground. We would like to acknowledge the important contributions of Australia's regional partners to the success of the operations addressed in the report.

We also acknowledge the excellent work of the Australian Civil-Military Centre in producing this report. It is a further demonstration of the Centre's success in strengthening national civil-military capacities to prevent, prepare for and respond to conflicts.

We hope this analysis will be a useful resource for ongoing and future peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts within our region and beyond, and provide a practical contribution to national, regional and global dialogues on peace, security and development. We commend it to anyone working in the peacekeeping and peacebuilding domains.



Stephen Smith MP
Minister for Defence



Senator The Hon Bob Carr
Minister for Foreign Affairs



The Hon Jason Clare MP
Minister for Home Affairs

Executive Summary

Australia is a longstanding and committed contributor to global peace operations, having deployed more than 65 000 personnel to more than 50 UN and other multilateral peace and security operations since 1947. Over the past two decades Australia is proud to have contributed personnel, resources and leadership, alongside its regional partners, to a number of peace operations in the Asia–Pacific region. This report examines some of the primary features of these contributions in the Autonomous Region of Bougainville in Papua New Guinea, in Solomon Islands and in Timor-Leste and identifies a number of lessons that emerge from these experiences. It seeks to focus on those policy innovations, best practices and lessons that have greatest potential for use in peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts elsewhere.

Australia has been a partner for peace in each of these operations, recognising that assistance that aligns with local priorities and supports local leadership will be more effective and sustainable in the long term. Support from Australia and regional partners has built on the significant efforts made by the governments and peoples of Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Timor-Leste to emerge from conflict. Although this report focuses on Australia's experiences, it recognises that the credit for peaceful transitions belongs overwhelmingly to the leaders and communities of these three countries themselves.



Many of the weapons collected by RAMSI were destroyed in spectacular public ceremonies such as this one at Avu Avu on the Weathercoast of Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands.

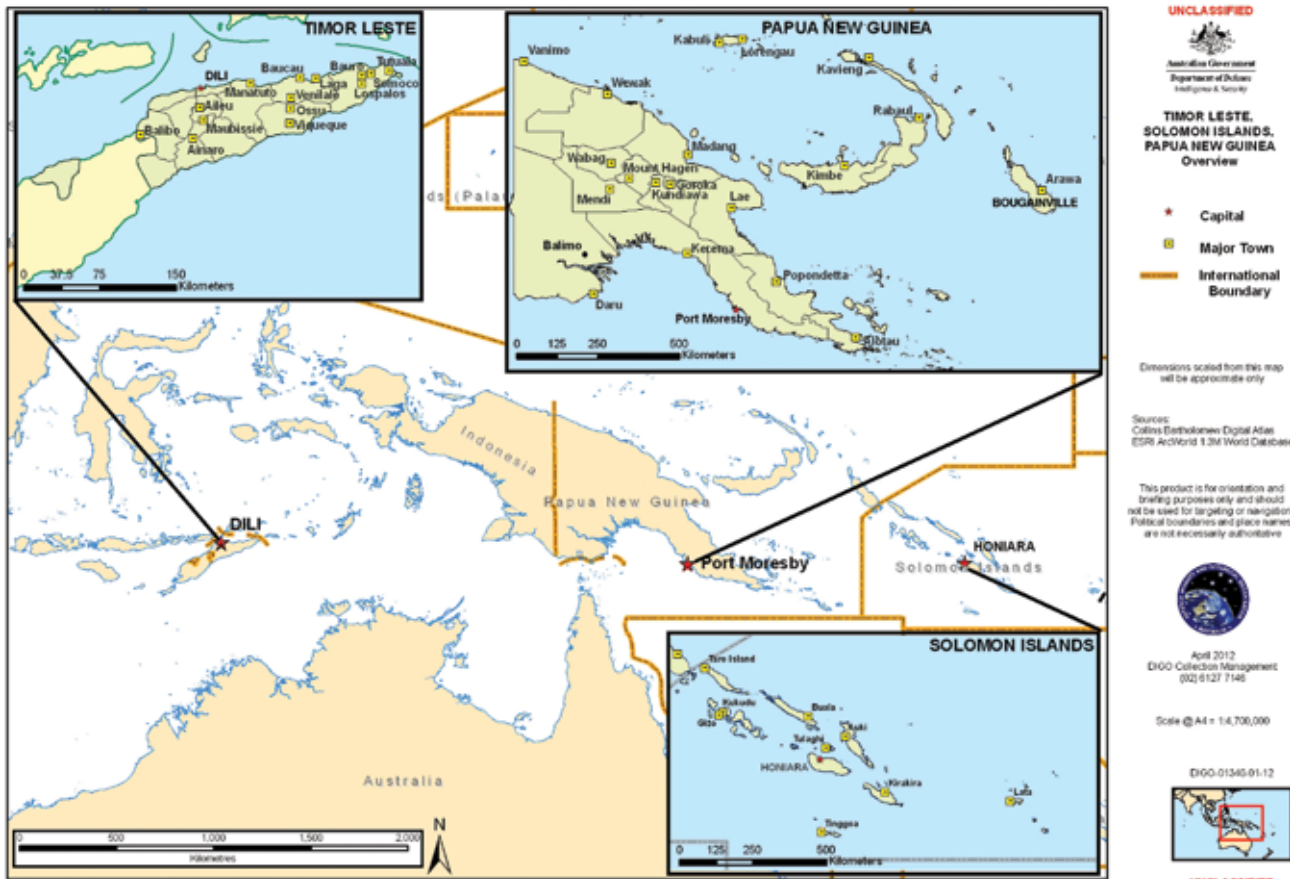


Australian medical staff work alongside Timor-Leste Defence Force colleagues during the Medical Civic Action Program in Oecussi, Timor-Leste. The Medical Civic Action Program was established to provide care for ill villagers and train local health providers operating under the Falintil-Forças de Defesa de Timor-Leste (F-FDTL) and the Timor-Leste Ministry of Health.

Lessons for peacekeeping and peacebuilding

- **National ownership and local leadership** are crucial to the success of peace operations. For outcomes to be sustainable, a peace operation must foster the capacities of the host government and align its support with local priorities, even in politically fragile situations. A successful peace process also requires broad ownership that extends beyond the political and military leaders of the day. International assistance is best aligned to local priorities through a mix of formal mechanisms and informal practice.
- **Capacity building should be central to peacebuilding operations** and should last far beyond individual missions. Through close consultation with the host government, this should include efforts to build responsive and trusted institutions. Capacity building is, however, a difficult, incremental and often political process, not a linear, technical exercise; it requires long-term commitments of financial, political and human capital by international partners but depends ultimately on strong host-country leadership and ownership. Such assistance must be calibrated to local needs and local capacity to absorb it.
- **Regional participation** has been a central feature of successful peace operations in Australia's neighbourhood and can offer distinct comparative advantages, including knowledge of context, cultural understanding and language skills. Regional cooperation enables burden-sharing and development of peacekeeping and peacebuilding capacity within the region. It can boost the legitimacy of a mission in the eyes of the host population and facilitate 'South-South' and 'triangular' cooperation. The contribution of even the smallest states can make a real difference to peace operations and improve regional solidarity. Partnerships between UN and regional operations, as envisaged under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter, can be advantageous, provided their respective roles are closely coordinated in design and implementation. Regional deployments benefit from geographical proximity and often from existing regional arrangements, both of which facilitate rapid deployment.
- **The security-development relationship** is central to international support for peace, stability and growth. Peacekeeping and peacebuilding are not linear, sequenced phases: instead, they are overlapping activities with mutually reinforcing outcomes. Peacebuilding tasks should, where appropriate, begin at the earliest stages of peacekeeping. International officials working within host governments can support rapid financial stabilisation and thereby help to provide a platform for economic recovery and growth. Caution is warranted when economic growth is too narrowly concentrated in individual natural resource sectors.
- **Comprehensive, integrated missions** that include civilian, police and military elements can better adhere to an overarching strategy that covers security and development objectives. Integrated missions generally benefit from better coordination and flexibility, enabling quick responses to emerging challenges. Integration and coordination processes should begin at the planning stage and include joint pre-deployment training. There must be a conscious and sustained effort to communicate regularly and honestly and to promote mutual understanding among the various parts of an integrated mission. Collaborative leadership and effective coordination mechanisms are important.

- Efforts to **strengthen the rule of law** can provide crucial connections between peacekeeping and peacebuilding. Security sector reform should be part of a comprehensive approach, integrated within wider public sector development and focused not only on military and police forces but also on judicial and correctional systems and oversight mechanisms as needed. Informal and traditional institutions should not be overlooked in efforts to promote the rule of law.
- **Deployable civilian capacity** is essential for effective peace operations today. To support local efforts, civilian experts can play important roles by assisting administrative authorities, providing technical advice and mentoring host-country officials. Civilian expertise from regional neighbours can offer unique advantages. To meet urgent, short-term requests for assistance, Australia has introduced a number of institutional innovations, among them the Australian Federal Police International Deployment Group and the Australian Civilian Corps.
- **Women can play crucial roles** as peacemakers and advocates for change in conflict-affected societies, as recognised by UN Security Council Resolution 1325, but are too often excluded from formal peace negotiations and critical decision-making processes. From their earliest stages, peace operations should engage women in meaningful partnerships and help host countries to redress conditions of gender inequality where they exist.
- **Mandates must be tailored, clear and realistic:** there can be no ‘one size fits all’ approach. Mandates should be adapted to the specific context of the host society, taking into account the local conditions at the time of deployment as well as longer term needs. They should be clearly defined and supported with adequate resources, and should allow operations to adapt to changes in local circumstances. Relevant peacebuilding objectives should be included in the mandate from the outset.
- The **timing** of initial deployments can have a profound impact on the success of a mission. The **transitions and drawdown** of international deployments are as important to maintaining peace as the initial deployment and need to be conducted at a pace with which the host government—or interim authority—is comfortable. They should be based on conditions on the ground, rather than be driven by timetables or budgetary considerations. Transitional planning must begin as early as possible, emphasising national capacity development and coordination with multilateral, bilateral and non-governmental partners. High rates of turnover among international personnel are a continuing constraint on the effectiveness of peace operations.
- There is a pressing need to improve **data collection and analytical evaluation** of peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts in conflict-affected countries. The Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI) has provided innovative examples of what is possible through its annual People’s Survey and the use of an Independent Experts Team to evaluate progress under the joint Solomon Islands Government—RAMSI Partnership Framework.



Australian peacekeepers serving with the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) assist their Japanese colleagues with the unloading of heavy United Nations engineering machinery.



UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon meets Pacific Islands officers undertaking training at the International Deployment Group (IDG) International Training Village in Canberra, Australia. Since 2003, a total of 608 Pacific Islands police have received IDG training in preparation for their assignments with the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI).

PART ONE: Overview

Australia has contributed personnel, resources and leadership to a number of peace operations in the Asia–Pacific region during the past two decades. This report reflects on some of the features of Australia’s contributions to peace operations in the Autonomous Region of Bougainville in Papua New Guinea (hereafter referred to as Bougainville), in Solomon Islands and in Timor-Leste and identifies a number of lessons that emerge from these experiences.

Australia has been a partner for peace in each of these operations, recognising that assistance that aligns with national priorities and supports local leadership will be more effective and sustainable in the long term. Australia’s assistance has supported the significant efforts made by the governments and peoples of Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Timor-Leste to emerge from conflict. While this report focuses on Australia’s experiences, it recognises that the credit for peaceful transitions belongs overwhelmingly to the leaders and communities of these three countries themselves.

The three settings cover a broad spectrum of security environments and operational responses, each distinctive in the nature of its conflict and the type of international assistance provided. This report examines them in chronological order. In **Bougainville** an intense civil war lasted nearly 10 years and directly caused over 1300 deaths and the displacement of 60 000 people before a sequenced peace process delivered a truce, a ceasefire and a negotiated settlement that has seen violent conflict give way to more peaceful stability. International operations made a crucial contribution but were agile and light in touch, supporting an indigenous peace process as notable for its local ownership as for the unarmed status of the international peace monitors.

In **Timor-Leste** a rapid process of independence was scarred by the violence and destruction that followed the historic popular consultation in 1999. Since then, successive peace operations have helped this state, now celebrating its 10th year of independence, through emergency stabilisation, peacekeeping, statebuilding and long-term peacebuilding. Despite a number of setbacks, including the political and security crisis of 2006 and the assassination attempts of early 2008, Timor-Leste has made substantial progress in security and development. It has enjoyed over four years of stability, during which the government has been able to focus on development. It has also launched a 20-year Strategic Development Plan that sets out a path for engagement with international partners and has consolidated stability by holding peaceful presidential elections in March and April 2012. Timor-Leste became a UN troop contributor itself in 2011. Following parliamentary elections in July 2012, the next challenge will be to manage the withdrawal of international security forces.

In **Solomon Islands** the five-year period from 1998 to 2003, known locally as ‘the Tensions’, saw militia violence and criminality deeply erode the state, producing severe economic decline, internal displacement, corruption and serious but localised insecurity. After a number of international and regional initiatives failed to resolve underlying conflicts and improve security, in 2003 a regional peace operation was deployed under the auspices of the Pacific Islands Forum, at the request of the Solomon Islands Government, to restore law and order and rebuild core public institutions. The police-led restoration of security and a strong capacity-development focus have supported steady progress towards more robust institutions and a return to security management by the Solomon Islands state. Careful transition planning and implementation will be essential to sustaining the progress achieved to date.

Each setting posed a different type of security problem:

- in Bougainville a widespread, militarised civil war that had reached a stalemate
- in Timor-Leste the need to build a new state following the violence of 1999 and to support that state through subsequent periods of fragility and crisis
- in Solomon Islands a fragile state unable to respond to militia violence and disorder through indigenous means alone.

Further, each setting was unique in its configuration of combatants, the nature of insecurity and the local resources with which to respond, the time frame and pace for rebuilding, and the local priorities for international assistance. In view of the scale of variation between the three contexts, instead of conducting a comparative analysis the aim here is to reflect on the different ways in which Australia has sought to provide assistance to its neighbours and to highlight some of the lessons Australia has learnt from this.

Key features and lessons learnt

This report examines the defining features of Australia's peacekeeping and peacebuilding contributions to Bougainville, Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands and details a series of practical lessons in how to support security and development in societies affected by conflict and crisis. Mindful that what worked in one setting might not work in another, the report identifies those policy innovations, good practices and opportunities to improve that have greatest potential for use in future peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts elsewhere.

Many of Australia's experiences serve to validate recommendations made in other important documents, notably the *Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (the Brahimi report)*; *A New Partnership Agenda: Charting a New Horizon for UN Peacekeeping*; *Civilian Capacity in the Aftermath of Conflict: Independent Report of the Senior Advisory Group*; and the *2011 World Development Report on Conflict, Security and Development*. Although a number of the lessons identified here are not wholly 'new', they derive from contexts that are unique and not well known internationally and represent peacekeeping and peacebuilding practices that are in various respects groundbreaking.

Alignment with local priorities and support to local leadership

The Australian Government takes it as given that local ownership and leadership are crucial, even in a fragile political situation, if successful peacekeeping and peacebuilding are to be achieved and sustained. The strength of national leadership and the level of support from local communities and grassroots networks is central to the effectiveness of peace operations. These elements must be taken into account and nurtured.

At the core of efforts to strengthen local ownership must be recognition that the personnel of peace operations are outsiders who, despite good intentions, might introduce agendas that are a poor fit with local preferences and priorities or, worse, sideline the local leadership that is so crucial to building peace. During the period of UN civil administration in Timor-Leste, Australia experienced at first hand the challenges of building the institutions, laws and systems of a new nation-state—and, in particular, the tensions inherent in doing so through an international administration that excluded local leaders from much of the early decision making.

In Bougainville Australia provided support to a peace process that was notable for its high degree of local ownership. From 1997 the peace process was supported by key Bougainvillean groups as well as by the Papua New Guinea Government, whose consent enabled the deployment of multinational peace monitors. The process was led by

former combatants but benefited at important moments from the inclusion of civil society groups, highlighting the importance of extending ownership beyond the political and military leaders of the day. In Solomon Islands, Australian contributions to RAMSI (the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands) came at the request of the Solomon Islands Government, and there has been a high degree of local support throughout the operation's deployment. Nevertheless, RAMSI's experiences also demonstrate the need for continual efforts to build and sustain local support.

Drawing on Australia's experiences in Bougainville, Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands, this report highlights a number of approaches to aligning international support with local priorities. These include both formal mechanisms (legal instruments, agreements, oversight procedures and consultative bodies) and informal practices (interpersonal relationships, civil society partnerships and community outreach).

Capacity building

Around the world Australian peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts focus on long-term capacity building, working in close consultation with host governments to strengthen public institutions and systems to a self-sustaining level such that a peace operation can withdraw. Capacity building is a central component of Australia's efforts to strengthen host-country ownership. Transformation can, however, be a slow process that demands the long-term commitment of financial and political capital by international partners. To be sustainable, capacity building requires strong host-country leadership and ownership and must be calibrated to local needs and the capacity of local institutions and systems to absorb it.



Working with the Solomon Islands Police Force, RAMSI has assisted in the restoration of law and order.



Newly elected members of parliament in Solomon Islands attend a RAMSI induction program for MPs held following the 2006 general elections.

The report highlights a number of examples of successful capacity building, including in Solomon Islands' correctional services and police force and in Timor-Leste's Ministry of Finance. It also identifies the specialised skills needed among international personnel for effective capacity building, including those of cultural affinity and local language; the ability to train and mentor local counterparts rather than to simply fill a capacity gap; and, above all, the need for patience and commitment in order to build capacity for the long term. Capacity building is a crucial task but not an easy one, and the report also examines some of its challenges and ways in which these might be overcome.

Regional cooperation

In each of the three locations Australian contributions have been part of a strong regional response. While Australia has a long history of participation in peace operations, the Bougainville peace process represented a new kind of venture, one that saw the emergence of determined regional cooperation, initially between Australia, New Zealand, Tonga, Fiji and Vanuatu in the South Pacific Regional Peacekeeping Force of 1994 and eventually among all 16 member states of the Pacific Islands Forum in RAMSI. These regional initiatives strengthened the sense among states of the region that their security was indivisible, an idea that received formal expression in the 2000 Biketawa Declaration of the Pacific Islands Forum (see Appendix A), under which RAMSI was mobilised in 2003.

RAMSI's regional nature has been central to its success. Every member of the Pacific Islands Forum participates in the mission, enabling the pooling of different skills and boosting the legitimacy of the mission in the eyes of the Solomon Islands people. It has also promoted a network of contacts across the Pacific and the development of peacekeeping capacity within the region. RAMSI has provided a vehicle for 'South-South' and 'triangular' cooperation in support of a regional neighbour.



The Participating Police Force of the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands includes police from every Pacific Islands Forum country. Broad regional participation has brought to the mission diverse cultures, skills and experience, which have underpinned RAMSI's success.

In Timor-Leste the role of the Southeast Asian region was more prominent. In 1999, and again in 2006, Australia learnt the benefits of existing regional relationships for the mobilisation of emergency responses, drawing, for example, on longstanding security cooperation with Thailand and the Philippines in INTERFET.¹ This built upon Australia's deeply valued partnership with New Zealand, also crucial in Bougainville and Solomon Islands. The international response to Timor-Leste's various security challenges has seen Australian support channelled through new and hybrid institutional responses, demonstrating the complementary ways in which Australia can support large multilateral operations:

- through backstage diplomatic and logistical support
- by deploying civilian, police and military personnel directly to UN missions
- through leadership of emergency stabilisation missions under a UN mandate
- through complementary deployments that operate in close coordination with UN missions
- by supporting broader peacebuilding and development through bilateral and multilateral assistance.

Experience in Timor-Leste also highlights the significant connections and complementarities between regional responses and UN operations, including the importance of partnerships and the challenge of coordination among multiple actors. Australia's experiences in Bougainville demonstrate that there can be advantages in partnerships between UN and regional operations, as envisaged under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter, provided the respective roles are closely coordinated in design and implementation.

In each location previous bilateral defence cooperation between Australia and its regional partners in Southeast Asia and the Pacific Islands region underpinned regional cooperation in the missions. Existing defence cooperation programs established the good working relationships and ethos of partnership that are so crucial for effective peacekeeping and peacebuilding. Further, training initiatives delivered through Australia's bilateral defence co-operation have supported the development of stronger deployable capacity in regional states, notably in Papua New Guinea and Timor-Leste, which both became UN Troop Contributing Countries in 2011, and in Tonga, a contributor to RAMSI that has also made a substantial contribution to the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan. This report draws out the key features and advantages of the regional dimension in each of the missions discussed.

A comprehensive, integrated and coordinated approach

Peacekeeping and peacebuilding are not linear, sequenced phases: instead, they are overlapping activities with mutually reinforcing outcomes. Australia's support has required that traditionally disconnected military, police and civilian components operate in joined-up partnerships, not only with one another but with a diverse range of host-country, regional and international counterparts. In Australia's experience, a comprehensive, integrated approach to peace support allows complex problems to be addressed through multidimensional means and encourages unity of effort towards a common strategy that covers security and development objectives. Long-term planning for development can be incorporated from the earliest stages, while integrated planning and management structures help an operation to be more agile and responsive to changing conditions.

Substantial learning has been necessary in the Australian system in order to develop integrated and coordinated approaches to peacekeeping and peacebuilding, and much of that learning continues today. We have learnt that integration and coordination processes must begin at home, from whole-of-government planning in interdepartmental committees to joint pre-deployment training, with the security-development relationship at their core. This must continue in the field through a conscious and sustained effort to communicate regularly

and honestly and to promote mutual understanding among the various parts of an integrated mission, including on objectives and ways of working. Collaborative leadership and effective coordination are important. This report reflects a range of experiences and models in relation to mission integration, including the integrated planning processes, interdepartmental coordination groups and joint pre-deployment training that have each helped to improve partnerships across civilian, police and military components in the operations under consideration.

The rule of law

Effective institutions manage the internal and external stresses that, if disregarded, can produce conflict, violence, crime and instability. International assistance can play an important role in strengthening the capacity of public institutions to respond to differences peacefully through rules-based order rather than through violence. Australia's experiences have demonstrated the importance of such institution building for efforts to strengthen the rule of law in societies emerging from conflict, enabling positive feedback loops between security and development. The report highlights the centrality of rule of law efforts to Australia's comprehensive, integrated approach to peacekeeping and peacebuilding. It also notes that incorporating relevant informal and traditional institutions can, where appropriate, support the credibility and effectiveness of formal legal and justice sectors.

Security sector reform is one of the most visible and important components of Australian peacekeeping and peacebuilding support, particularly in Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands. Australia has learnt that security sector reform is more effective when it is part of a comprehensive approach, integrated with wider public sector development, closely coordinated with other donor support, and focused not only on military and police forces but also on judicial and correctional systems and oversight mechanisms where necessary. This report elaborates on the evolution of approaches to police, judicial and corrections reform in Solomon Islands and Timor-Leste.



With RAMSI's assistance, much of Solomon Islands' justice infrastructure—such as the Malaita Magistrates Court—has been rebuilt.



Solomon Islanders once again head the majority of the nation's law and justice posts. The Chief Justice, Attorney General, Director of Public Prosecutions, Public Solicitor and Commissioner for Correctional Services are all Solomon Islanders. Here the Director of Public Prosecutions, Ronald Bei Talasasa, is pictured (front left) appearing before the High Court bench.

Civilian deployment

Whereas peacekeeping was once considered a job only for soldiers, the past 20 years have seen considerable growth in civilian contributions to such missions. In order to respond adequately to the demands of states emerging from conflict and crisis, international assistance has in several instances required specialised experts to support the host government administratively, to provide technical advice, and to train and mentor host-country officials.

Support to peacekeeping and peacebuilding in Bougainville, Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands featured substantial civilian components from Australia and other regional countries, contributing a wide array of expertise ranging from civilian monitoring in Bougainville to aid coordination, banking regulation and police reform in Timor-Leste and financial management, prisons administration and parliamentary strengthening in Solomon Islands. Australian civilians have been involved at the highest levels of operational leadership, including as head of the integrated mission in RAMSI, as the deputy to the military commander in Bougainville's Peace Monitoring Group, as head of the Bougainville Transition Team (a wholly civilian body) and in a range of senior positions in the various missions to Timor-Leste. These leadership roles have highlighted the importance of close cooperation and coordination with local authorities, of clear messaging across the mission and of regular community engagement.

The need for deployable civilian capacity is internationally recognised.² The report highlights the institutional innovations that Australia has introduced to increase its national capacity to deploy civilian expert advisors as well as civilian police. These include the Australian Civilian Corps and the International Deployment Group of the Australian Federal Police, through which Australia can rapidly deploy specially trained civilian and police experts respectively. The International Deployment Group has contributed significantly to the development of deployable police expertise in each of the countries of the Pacific Islands Forum.



Australian aircrew help Timor-Leste and United Nations officials load a helicopter with vital ballots destined for some of the country's most isolated polling stations in the eastern province of Lautem.

Women, peace and security

The experiences of conflict in Bougainville, Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands each reflect the content of the UN Security Council's landmark resolution 1325 on women, peace and security: that the experiences and needs of women and girls differ from those of men and boys in conflict and post-conflict situations; and that women have essential roles in conflict prevention, management and resolution. The centrality of women to community-level peacemaking in Bougainville, Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands, as highlighted in the report, demands that more attention be given to their potential roles as partners in peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts in the future.

Australia has sought to build on this lesson through a number of national initiatives discussed in the report, most notably the 2012–2018 National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security, which commits Australian peacekeeping and peacebuilding missions to empower local women to be involved in formal peace and security processes. Australia supports regional police development to facilitate women's participation and protect women's and girls' human rights and has also supported RAMSI to help the Solomon Islands Government redress conditions of gender inequality.

Financial stabilisation, economic reconstruction and aid

Although each setting has presented unique challenges and is characterised by its own particular dynamics, the crises experienced in Bougainville, Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands all demonstrate the importance of the security-development relationship as both a driver of crisis and a guide to recovery. Insecurity and violence remain the biggest barriers to development, but for countries emerging from conflict and crisis there are huge development gains to be made. Security provides an essential platform for economic recovery and long-term development, while inclusive economic governance and poverty-alleviating aid help prevent violent conflict recurring.



At the same time that RAMSI police and military were assisting the Royal Solomon Islands Police Force to restore law and order, a team of civilian advisers was helping the Solomon Islands Ministry of Finance to stabilise the government's finances.

This virtuous circle of security and development is at the core of Australian support for peace, stability and growth in Bougainville, Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands; the report highlights numerous methods through which assistance was provided, including support to stabilise public finances, to strengthen economic governance and public accountability, and to rebuild vital infrastructure. Australia has learnt that such peacebuilding tasks should begin at the earliest stages of peace operations, demonstrating the need to see these processes as overlapping, mutually reinforcing activities. The three settings also highlight, however, the potential risks for post-conflict development posed by economic growth that relies on a single commodity or on aid, and by unintended effects of donor policies.

Tailored, clear and realistic mandates

During nearly two decades of supporting peacekeeping and peacebuilding, Australia has learnt the value of tailored, context-specific mandates that enable operations to adapt to changing dynamics and respond to the priorities and agendas of local leaders, allowing pragmatic flexibility. A 'one size fits all' approach does not work in the design and implementation of peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations. While the conflicts and crises experienced in each place might have had some characteristics in common, each demanded a unique response specific to its context and adequate resourcing to support the implementation of a mandate. This report highlights a range of innovative options for mandate setting, including UN-regional partnerships, as well as the importance of including longer term peacebuilding objectives in the mandate where relevant.



(L-R) Xanana Gusmão (President of the National Council of Timorese Resistance), Thailand's Major General Songkitti Jaggabatra (Deputy INTERFET Commander), Sergio Vieira de Mello (Administrator of UNTAET), Australia's Major General Peter Cosgrove (INTERFET Commander), and Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo (Bishop of East Timor) join hands during a ceremony to mark the official transition from INTERFET to UNTAET.



Peace Monitoring Group monitors distribute information as part of their community outreach efforts in Bougainville.

Timing, transition and turnover

The trajectories of Bougainville, Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands each shed light on three related aspects of timing: entry, transition and turnover. The timing of an initial deployment will inevitably depend on context-specific, often highly political, factors. But the timing of an operation's entry can have profound implications for the nature and possible effectiveness of a peace operation, whether a conflict setting is ripe for resolution (as in Bougainville), in urgent crisis (Timor-Leste in 1999 and 2006) or in a state of heightened fragility (Solomon Islands).

The report also examines the timing of transition, particularly the drawdown and exit of uniformed components. The experiences of both Bougainville and Timor-Leste (pre-2006) serve as a warning against the risks of possible premature drawdown. The crucial lessons—that transition should be locally owned, proceed at a pace with which the host country is comfortable, be based on the existence of suitable conditions rather than a fixed timetable or budget, and focus on the 'entry' of bilateral and multilateral donors rather than just the 'exit' of peace operations—are currently being applied in transition processes in Solomon Islands and Timor-Leste. The experience of Timor-Leste showed that identifying future threats to longer term stability can be an important factor in designing drawdown strategies. Simply continuing a peacekeeping operation so that it may be able to quell unforeseen threats to security is not sustainable and is not guaranteed to redress future faultlines, which at worst could be deferred to the eventual withdrawal of security elements. The report emphasises the importance of transition planning that begins as early as possible and focuses on the development of national capacity, in line with the priorities of local leadership and in coordination with multilateral, bilateral and non-governmental partners.

Finally, the report highlights the high rates of turnover among international personnel as a constraint on the effectiveness of peacekeeping and peacebuilding. Recognising this, Australia has introduced longer deployments for its civilian and police personnel.

Data, monitoring and evaluation

Australia's continuing efforts to improve its support for security and development have cast light on the need for better data collection and analysis in peacekeeping and peacebuilding. In order to plan missions, (re-)allocate resources, track progress and guide adaptation to changing conditions, peace operations and host-country authorities need both baseline data and ongoing data collection capacity.

Collection of baseline data must by definition begin early, but such efforts are rare, hampered in conflict environments by insecurity, difficulty of access, population displacement and, often, inadequate knowledge and skills on the part of deployed personnel. The report presents options for improving evaluation, pointing specifically to innovations developed through RAMSI, but notes that there remains a pressing need to improve methods of collecting data in peace operations and to build data collection and analysis capacity in fragile and conflict-affected countries.

PART TWO: The experience in Bougainville, Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands

Bougainville

The nine-year conflict (1988 to 1997) on Papua New Guinea's islands of Bougainville was one of the most destructive and violent the region has witnessed. It was characterised by a separatist struggle between the Bougainville Revolutionary Army, on one side, and the national government and Bougainville Resistance Forces on the other, as well as by localised, intra-Bougainville conflict rooted in community-level tensions and grievances. The conflict directly caused the deaths of over 1000 Bougainvilleans and 300 Papua New Guinea Defence Force personnel and led to unknown numbers of extrajudicial killings on all sides.³ Of a total population of 160 000, more than 60 000 people were displaced. The capacity and infrastructure of the once highly effective provincial government were largely destroyed and economic production plummeted.⁴

The peace process

The peace process that eventually brought the Bougainville conflict to an end has proved resilient. It was characterised by a high degree of ownership within Bougainvillean society, the willingness of the PNG Government to participate



Australian personnel on mission in Bougainville.



The Peace Monitoring Group in Bougainville focused efforts on building relations with local communities.

in and support the peace process from 1997, the light touch of vital international assistance, and continuing support from the United Nations, neighbouring states and local communities.

Early efforts to resolve the conflict included local mediation and reconciliation initiatives, often involving a mix of customary and religious elements, and broader local action, such as demonstrations, public meetings and peace marches, in which women played important roles. A series of international efforts had begun with international mediation of a ceasefire agreement in March 1990. After the ceasefire failed, in August 1990 New Zealand hosted talks on board its naval vessel HMNZS Endeavour. Neighbouring Solomon Islands hosted talks in January 1991 and again in mid-1994, in preparation for the October 1994 Arawa Peace Conference. Security for the conference was provided by the South Pacific Regional Peacekeeping Force, led by Australia and with participation from New Zealand, Tonga, Fiji and Vanuatu. The active involvement of these neighbouring states symbolised an important shift in the Bougainville Peace Process—a recognition of crucial regional dimensions to the Bougainville crisis and its resolution. Australia then hosted talks between opposing Bougainville factions in Cairns in September and December 1995; the December talks were jointly chaired by representatives of the UN Secretary-General and the Commonwealth Secretariat.

By 1997 the conflict had reached a stalemate in which all parties had an interest in settlement, but the peace process that emerged at that time was, in many respects, a continuation of previous efforts aimed at resolving the conflict. Each of these efforts had made an important contribution to the eventual peace:

- They allowed for the development of experience and expertise among personnel from Australia, New Zealand and the United Nations, skills that were later drawn on during the post-1997 peace process.
- They allowed interested international supporters of peace to gain a broader understanding of the conflict and the local context.
- International efforts to bring parties together allowed possible options for a settlement to be explored by the parties to the conflict, providing a process through which the combatants could develop their negotiating positions and the principles for a peace process.
- The failure of particular strategies helped to identify approaches that could be excluded from consideration in later phases.⁵

The timing and depth of regional and UN support made possible what previously was not—a permanent ceasefire, a peace agreement, and a sustained end to the violent separatist conflict. On 21 December 2004 an agreed constitution for the Autonomous Region of Bougainville was gazetted by the PNG Government, paving the way for elections to establish an autonomous government. The constitution provided for a legislature made up of 33 directly elected members, a president, a speaker, three women's representatives, and three ex-combatant representatives. Peaceful elections for the first Autonomous Bougainville Government were held in May and June 2005.

Five peace operations were deployed between 1997 and 2005. Each was a neutral, unarmed monitoring mission. Unlike most contemporary peace operations, these missions had no direct role in civilian governance, policing or security provision, which remained the responsibility of local authorities. The operations' purpose, stipulated by the parties to the conflict, was to support the peace process through logistics, monitoring, verification, mediation and confidence building.

The Truce Monitoring Group (TMG). After a truce agreement was reached in October 1997 Australia hosted a further meeting that resulted in agreement to establish a regional Truce Monitoring Group. The group's mandate

was to monitor the parties' compliance with the terms of the truce agreement, promote and instil confidence in the peace process, and provide to the people of Bougainville information on the truce agreement and peace process.

The Truce Monitoring Group deployed in December 1997 with personnel from Australia, Fiji, New Zealand and Vanuatu. Australia provided a civilian deputy to New Zealand's military commander, strengthening the pattern of close regional collaboration that remained a feature of the peace process.

The Peace Monitoring Group (PMG). The Peace Monitoring Group replaced the Truce Monitoring Group in May 1998, following the agreement on a permanent ceasefire under the Arawa agreement, which provided the basis on which the Papua New Guinea Government invited Australia, Fiji, New Zealand, Vanuatu and other regional countries to participate in the Peace Monitoring Group.

There were four primary elements to the PMG's mandate:

- To monitor and report on compliance with all aspects of the ceasefire.
- To promote and instil confidence in the peace process through the group's presence, good offices and interaction with the people of Bougainville.
- To provide assistance in implementation of the permanent ceasefire, as agreed by the parties and the contributing states.
- To assist in the democratic resolution of the situation, including through logistical support.

In practice, the PMG proved highly effective: it helped promote stability and build confidence in the peace process, oversaw the negotiation and conclusion of the Bougainville Peace Agreement in August 2001, and facilitated the containment and eventual destruction of over 1580 weapons.

At its peak the PMG included 300 unarmed military and civilian personnel from Australia, Fiji, New Zealand and Vanuatu. In addition to leading the mission, Australia provided the largest contribution of equipment and personnel—about 230 military and 20 civilians. The PMG commander was an Australian military officer; the deputy, the Chief Negotiator, was an Australian civilian.

The Peace Monitoring Group was a new kind of venture for Australia. The way in which the PMG was put together—a combination of military and civilian, including police personnel, with sustained participation by other countries in the region (New Zealand, Fiji and Vanuatu), operating under a clear mandate to which it stuck—was a first for our region. And, most importantly, it has, by any reasonable measure, worked.

– *Former Foreign Minister Alexander Downer, 2001.*

The Bougainville Transition Team (BTT). At the request of the PNG Government and Bougainville parties, a small transition team of civilian advisers from Australia, New Zealand, Fiji and Vanuatu continued to provide a regional presence after the withdrawal of the Peace Monitoring Group in June 2003. The Bougainville Transition Team, led by an Australian and funded by AusAID (the Australian Agency for International Development), remained operative until December 2003.

The deployment of these three regional peace missions was enabled by regional and domestic legislation that gave their establishing agreements legal status in Papua New Guinea. ⁶

The UN Political Office in Bougainville (UNPOB) and the UN Observer Mission in Bougainville (UNOMB). The Lincoln Agreement of January 1998, under which the Peace Monitoring Group replaced the Truce Monitoring Group, also provided for a UN mission to oversee the peace process. The UN Political Office in Bougainville (August 1998 to 2004) and its successor, the UN Observer Mission in Bougainville (2004 to June 2005), were small political missions led by a UN civilian with two political advisers, a military adviser, an administrator and a communications specialist. Their task was to monitor the ceasefire in cooperation with the Peace Monitoring Group, to report to the Security Council quarterly, and to chair the Peace Process Consultative Committee. This last role was crucial: the committee brought the parties to the ceasefire, the Peace Monitoring Group and the UN mission together in a forum that played an increasingly important consultative and coordination role for the peace process as a whole. Further, the UN mission supervised a program aimed at disarming Bougainville militias; it achieved only partial success in this regard, and the problem of incomplete disarmament was left to the new Autonomous Bougainville Government after the UN mission departed in June 2005.

Outcomes

The peace process in Bougainville, supported between 1997 and 2005 by regional and UN peace missions, has proved resilient but imperfect. Certainly, the violence and destruction of Bougainville's civil war have not recurred. There is, however, a tendency to mark the end of the peace process by the withdrawal of the UN Observer Mission in 2005. Continuing divisions and unresolved disputes have meant that tensions remain. In particular, there has been localised armed conflict in south Bougainville since 2005, involving 10 to 12 small armed groups and causing more than 150 deaths. Incomplete disarmament means small and light weapons present an ongoing threat: the many weapons still in circulation are used in armed roadblocks, in localised conflict in the south, in criminal activities, and to trade with other parts of Papua New Guinea.

Nevertheless, the Autonomous Bougainville Government has continued to promote the peace process, encouraging reconciliation with support from the UN Development Programme and other donors. The withdrawal of formal peace operations that began in 2003 saw support for peacebuilding move to bilateral and multilateral development agencies. The prospect of the coming independence referendum, deferred during the peace negotiations for a period of 10 to 15 years, and the prospective reopening of the Panguna gold and copper mine present challenges for the still-fragile peace on Bougainville and will demand the support of national, regional and international partners.

Timor-Leste

Timor-Leste's independence was a long time coming, but when it came it did so with extraordinary speed. Agreement for a referendum on self-determination was reached after only months of negotiation. The pace at which the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) organised the successful popular consultation that took place on 30 August 1999 was surpassed only by that of the violence that followed. The rapidly authorised and deployed International Force for East Timor (INTERFET) was an emergency stabilisation operation that created the conditions into which the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) stepped just months later, to build a new nation-state on a timetable that compressed generations of work into just a few years. UNTAET was remarkable for the magnitude of its task and the short time frame in which it was to achieve it.

Experiences of peacekeeping and peacebuilding in newly independent Timor-Leste were deeply marked by the necessity of crisis policy making and the resultant pace of implementation. It is in this context—that of an enormously ambitious task attempted in a remarkably short time frame—that the lessons of UNAMET, INTERFET and UNTAET must be considered. The 2006 crisis that brought large international deployments back to Timor-Leste through the International Stabilisation Force and the UN Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT) demonstrated the challenges associated with achieving long-term sustainability in a young country still grappling with poverty and unresolved political and security tensions.

Time is rarely on the side of peace operations, and Timor-Leste's experience illustrates this challenge at important transition points—from international administration to national control, from mission to successor mission, and from emergency stabilisation and humanitarian aid to long-term sustainability and development. In recent years, as international assistance has changed to focus on long-term capacity building, the difficulties of such endeavours have become more apparent. Above all, however, the experiences of peacekeeping and peacebuilding in Timor-Leste have demonstrated the need for local leadership and the advantages of strong national ownership and direction.



Peacekeepers from the International Stabilisation Force on bike patrol. Timor-Leste's stable security situation allows bicycle patrols to travel a good distance and engage easily with communities.

Towards independence

The **United Nations Assistance Mission in East Timor (UNAMET)** was authorised on 11 June 1999 to conduct, in accordance with the 5 May Agreements between Indonesia and Portugal, a referendum on self-determination in Timor-Leste. UNAMET had a very narrow mandate—to organise and conduct an election on the basis of a direct, secret and universal ballot. This it achieved in less than three months, in an environment marked by substantial hostility.

UNAMET comprised more than 240 international staff, more than 400 UN volunteers, more than 270 UN civilian police, 50 military liaison officers and 3500 local staff, with a total budget of US\$52.2 million. In addition to deploying personnel with UNAMET, Australia mobilised its full diplomatic, logistical and planning resources to support UNAMET's deployment and operations.

Timorese voters' unequivocal rejection on 30 August 1999 of the offer of autonomy set the country on a UN-supported path to independence but was followed by weeks of violence, the destruction of critical infrastructure and a large-scale breakdown of law and order.⁷ Many Timorese were killed and more than 500 000 people out of a total population of about 890 000 were displaced, often by force. Three weeks of sustained violence saw the capital, Dili, and other main towns and villages razed.⁸

These events captured international attention and on 15 September 1999 the UN Security Council authorised the deployment of an Australian-led multinational force 'to restore peace and security in East Timor, to protect and support UNAMET in carrying out its tasks and, within force capabilities, to facilitate humanitarian assistance operations.'⁹

The **International Force for East Timor (INTERFET)** was deployed with speed: within a week of Security Council authorisation, its first troops had arrived in Dili. In addition to leading the mission, Australia provided the largest



President José Ramos-Horta, Prime Minister Xanana Gusmão and Chief of the Australian Defence Force, Air Chief Marshal Angus Houston, AC, AFC at Falintil-Forças de Defesa de Timor-Leste (F-FDTL) parade at Metinaro, Timor-Leste on 3 February 2011.

military contribution: three infantry battalion groups, representing about half of INTERFET's 11 000-strong force, plus headquarters and support units, and maritime and air assets. Australia's total military deployments to Timor-Leste between July 1999 and June 2000 represented a contribution of over A\$600 million, of which the majority was for INTERFET.¹⁰

Twenty-two countries contributed to INTERFET, with regional states playing central roles—particularly Thailand and New Zealand, which provided the second- and third-largest contributions respectively. INTERFET successfully halted and rapidly reversed the humanitarian crisis. Most importantly, however, it bought the United Nations some time to plan the larger **UN Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET)**, established under UN Security Council resolution 1272 (1999).

UNTAET, an undertaking unprecedented in the United Nations, was accorded overall responsibility for the administration of Timor-Leste, including full legislative and executive authority. When INTERFET handed over responsibility to UNTAET in February 2000, many of the military contingents, including approximately 2000 Australian personnel, simply transferred to UN command. Australia's contribution included the deputy force commander and sizeable military and UN police presences. Civilian contributions involved technical advisers—finance ministry, immigration and customs—as well as an AusAID secondee as head of the donor coordination unit.

UNTAET handed over authority to the new, independent state of Timor-Leste on 20 May 2002, and the UN presence transitioned to the successor operation, the **UN Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISSET)**. Established by Security Council resolution 1410 of 17 May 2002, UNMISSET's role was to provide assistance to administrative structures critical to the viability and political stability of Timor-Leste.

The 2006 crisis

UNMISSET (May 2002 to May 2005) and the subsequent political mission, the **UN Office in Timor-Leste (UNOTIL)**, May 2005 to May 2006) worked with the newly independent Timor-Leste government institutions on the gradual transition of operational responsibilities to the Government of Timor-Leste and focused increasingly on capacity building.

But as UNOTIL was preparing to withdraw, in accordance with the completion of its mandate in May 2006, a new crisis sparked a political, security and humanitarian emergency once again. The crisis emerged from a series of events that culminated in the dismissal, in mid-March 2006, of nearly 600 members (or one-third) of the Timorese armed forces who had complained of discriminatory treatment. After a period of peaceful protest, the impact of the dismissal of the 600 and a series of further mutinies in the military and police, compounded by political tension, eventually led to an effective unravelling of law and order in Dili, resulting in the death of at least 37 people, injuries to another 150, and the displacement of some 150 000 people.¹¹

On 24 May 2006 the Government of Timor-Leste formally sought assistance from Australia, Malaysia, New Zealand and Portugal. The Australian-led Combined Joint Task Force, later known as the **International Stabilisation Force (ISF)**, began deploying to Dili the next day with a mandate to:

*stabilise the situation and facilitate the concentration of the various conflicting groups back into safe and secure locations; audit and account for the location of weapons that belong to each group; and create a secure environment for the conduct of a successful dialogue to resolve the current crisis.*¹²

The same day the President of Timor-Leste, Xanana Gusmão, the Prime Minister, Mari Alkatiri, and the Speaker of the National Parliament, Francisco 'Lu'Olo' Guterres, also wrote to the UN Secretary-General to seek international support for the assistance being extended by the 'aforementioned friendly countries'. The Secretary-General conveyed this letter to the Security Council.¹³

At its height the ISF was made up of nearly 4000 military and police personnel. Australia provided the largest contribution, including about 3000 military and 200 police.¹⁴ Although not a UN operation, the ISF was mandated by the UN Security Council, as expressed in an initial Presidential Statement and numerous subsequent resolutions.

On 25 August 2006 the Security Council authorised a new UN peacekeeping operation, the **UN Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT)**. Alongside its ISF partners Malaysia, New Zealand and Portugal, Australia transferred its police personnel from the ISF to UNMIT; by the end of October 2006 the ISF was a combined Australian—New Zealand military force with about 1000 soldiers deployed in Dili. Under a memorandum of understanding with the United Nations, the ISF provided security and logistical support to UNMIT. Since 2009 the ISF's size has gradually decreased to its current force strength of about 450 personnel; it is expected to draw down roughly in parallel with UNMIT's scheduled departure at the end of 2012. A full assessment of a planned withdrawal of Australian troops from Timor-Leste will be made in conjunction with the government in Dili following the July parliamentary elections.

Outcomes

There has been a substantial improvement in Timor-Leste's security situation since the 2006 crisis. Beyond occasional spikes in violence, the most serious instance of insecurity concerned the 11 February 2008 attacks on then President José Ramos-Horta and the convoy of Prime Minister Xanana Gusmão. Localised low-level violence between gangs and martial arts groups remains a primary source of insecurity. At the time of writing, the peaceful holding of two rounds of presidential elections in March and April 2012 is an important marker of progress in Timor-Leste.

Progress has also been made on a number of previously destabilising matters:

- Members of the Timorese armed forces who had been dismissed in 2006 have received financial compensation packages.¹⁵
- All camps for internally displaced persons were closed by 2009.
- Efforts to strengthen the security sector have gradually made progress, including through the promulgation of national security laws and the preparation of government policy.
- Leaders of the Timorese military and police forces have steadily improved the relationship between the two institutions, including at the working level.
- A number of political dialogues (known as the 'Maubisse Talks') have been organised by national leaders and the Catholic Church to foster ongoing dialogue on democratic processes and other matters of national concern between national leaders, political parties, the Church, civil society and youth groups.
- In March 2011 the national police resumed primary policing responsibilities after a phased handover from UNMIT.¹⁶
- More generally, international assistance has supported the government in strengthening its public institutions, framed by sound policy and legal frameworks.

The country has experienced considerable economic growth in the past five years, as well as a modest improvement in its human development indicators¹⁷, although, as discussed in Part Three of this report, growth has been overwhelmingly concentrated in the resource sector and factors such as high youth unemployment are of concern.

Solomon Islands

The recent history of Solomon Islands illustrates the tragic consequences of conflict for the livelihoods and development of communities and for the governance and resilience of a state. Between 1998 and 2003, this archipelagic state of some 550 000 people—one of the largest states in the Pacific Islands region—was crippled by ethnic conflict that triggered violent criminality, a severe economic downturn and the displacement of over 20 000 people. Yet the experiences of Solomon Islands also demonstrate the viability of strong international assistance in breaking cycles of violence and providing a foundation from which to build peace and long-term development.

Solomon Islands gained its independence from Britain in 1978, during the late wave of Pacific decolonisation. In the late 1990s, economic downturn exacerbated tensions relating to the distribution of land and development gains. The attraction of economic opportunities in the capital, Honiara, on the island of Guadalcanal, had prompted several decades of migration from the neighbouring island of Malaita, and grievances about the ownership and use of customary land emerged between groups from these two most populous of Solomon Islands' provinces. As the Guadalcanal groups' demands for compensation went unmet by the government, escalating tensions saw the establishment of militia groups on Guadalcanal. In 1998 the militia began a campaign of violence and intimidation (known as the 'Isatabu Freedom Movement') against Malaitan settlers, which by the end of 1999 had displaced more than 20 000 people from their homes on Guadalcanal.¹⁸

In response, groups of Malaitan men formed their own militia group, the Malaitan Eagle Force, and issued counterclaims for government compensation. The MEF had links with elements of the Royal Solomon Islands Police, itself dominated by ethnic Malaitan officers, and so the country's only security force became party to the conflict. In 2000 the MEF seized a large number of high-powered weapons from a police armoury, thereafter controlling a superior military cache and announcing their preparedness to secure compensation by force.



Solomon Islands Prime Minister, Sir Allan Kemakeza, and RAMSI Special Coordinator, Nick Warner, hold aloft remnants of destroyed weapons in celebration of a guns-free Solomon Islands declared on 22 August 2003, less than a month after RAMSI's deployment.



By partnering with the Solomon Islands National Peace Council and its Weapons Free Village campaign, RAMSI helped to rid Solomon Islands of guns.

The peace process

The dispatch of a Commonwealth Special Envoy in June 1999 to mediate between militia groups resulted in two peace accords, but they had little practical effect.¹⁹ A second Commonwealth initiative that year—the deployment of a Multinational Police Peace Monitoring Group of 25 unarmed officers from Fiji and Vanuatu, financed by Australia and New Zealand—similarly lacked impact. Following the June 2000 coup, Australia and New Zealand brokered a ceasefire, and Australia hosted peace negotiations in Townsville several months later. The resultant Townsville Peace Agreement provided a framework for ending hostilities between militia groups; it was based largely on financial incentives to be paid by the Solomon Islands Government.

The Peace Agreement, which lacked the consent of important parties and rested on the incorrect assumption that the Solomon Islands Government would have the capacity to implement its provisions, was deeply flawed. But it did contain two provisions of particular relevance for the subsequent work of the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands: they concerned the establishment of an International Peace Monitoring Team and an indigenous Peace Monitoring Council (subsequently the National Peace Council). The IPMT, the institutional antecedent to RAMSI, consisted of a team of 35 Australians and 14 New Zealanders, plus representatives from Vanuatu, Cook Islands, Tonga and the Commonwealth Secretariat (from Botswana).²⁰ IPMT personnel were unarmed, a mix of police, military and civilians, and had the following mandate:

to build confidence in the peace process between the parties and within the community; to conduct the return of weapons from militants and communities (disarmament); to store such armaments securely; and to report to and to work in support of the [indigenous Peace Monitoring Council].²¹

By the time of its withdrawal in July 2002 the IPMT had collected 2043 weapons and 2.86 tonnes of explosives, most of which were surrendered within the first three months of the IPMT's deployment. Given the limited size and scope of the operation, this was a significant achievement that created a palpable sense of progress while the peace process itself languished. Many of the weapons surrendered were, however, relics from World War 2 or hand made; the high-powered weapons remained at large, being used by splintering militia groups engaged in violent criminality and extortion. Although the IPMT ultimately struggled to fully achieve the objectives of its mandate—which were, in practice, unrealistically ambitious—it set the foundations for the later, more comprehensive peace operation.

What success the IPMT did have owed much to its partnership with the Peace Monitoring Council. The council operated through a network of community-level peace monitors, and its confidence-building measures were important. In particular, it worked closely with civil society groups (especially the Melanesian Brotherhood, the Sisters of Melanesia and other religious organisations) to build grassroots community support for a peace process. The clearest symbol of this was the Weapons Free Village campaign, in which a village that was found to have surrendered all its weapons and that pledged to remain free of weapons in the future was given the right to display a sign declaring its weapons-free status. This process built on existing sites of social authority, strengthening the role of community networks that would later help RAMSI translate its security objectives into reality.

The partnership with the Peace Monitoring Council was the IPMT's most important legacy. During its early months RAMSI relied on practices developed through the partnership, but the IPMT's experience also had other implications for RAMSI. In particular, it persuaded RAMSI planners that, although there were advantages to unarmed operations, the situation in Solomon Islands needed to be tackled with a more potent deterrent.

It is estimated that conflict and violence in Solomon Islands directly caused at least 200 deaths between 1998 and 2003.²² Development, meanwhile, continued its backward slide. The Solomon Islands economy, already strained by the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997, contracted by 25 per cent between 1998 and 2002. Corruption, the violent extortion of government funds and compensation payments combined with falling revenue to halt service delivery, particularly in the health and education sectors.²³

The Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands

It was into this context that in July 2003 Australia, at the request of the Solomon Islands Government, led the first RAMSI deployment of over 2000 personnel charged with restoring basic security, disarming and disbanding militia, stabilising government finances, restoring the delivery of essential government services, building state capacity and facilitating long-term development.²⁴

RAMSI is a regional operation, established under the auspices of the Pacific Islands Forum's Biketawa Declaration (see Appendix A) and involving participation from all Pacific Islands Forum members. The mission is implemented through a regional treaty (the RAMSI treaty) and under domestic legislation in Solomon Islands (the Facilitation of International Assistance Act), passed unanimously by the Solomon Islands Parliament before the mission's deployment.

Although different elements of RAMSI's mandate have been emphasised at different times, consistent with local conditions and priorities, in design the operation has remained a comprehensive civilian-led mission, integrating security, law and justice, development, finance and governance components and civilian, military and police personnel. One of RAMSI's defining features is that its security efforts are led by its Participating Police Force, with the military playing a supporting role.



This banner, displayed during a peace rally in Honiara on 22 August 2003, reflects the mood of a nation given a fresh start through its embrace of RAMSI and the declaration of a guns-free Solomon Islands.



Members of RAMSI's Participating Police Force stand on the beach the morning after deployment as an Australian warship approaches the shores of Guadalcanal, the island which hosts the national capital, Honiara.

Outcomes

RAMSI has helped to stabilise the security situation in Solomon Islands, foster economic recovery and rebuild government institutions. Early successes in restoring security broke the cycle of violence, paving the way for the return of vital public services, renewed development aid, and a sense of normalcy in the lives of many Solomon Islanders in the areas worst affected by violence.

After one year of RAMSI's operations, Solomon Islands had experienced a remarkable turnaround in security. The Solomon Islands Intervention Task Force, a bipartisan body established by the Solomon Islands Prime Minister to monitor RAMSI's activities and performance, found as follows in its one year review:

*There is overwhelming support and acceptance of RAMSI in the Solomon Islands. Its overall performance for the first year was seen by many to be successful. The achievements made in such a short period of time, particularly with restoring law and order, have been far reaching and have resulted in large and wide ranging changes.*²⁵

By mid-2004, 3700 weapons and over 300 000 ammunition rounds had been collected and destroyed—estimated to be 90–95 per cent of the total. Militia gangs were disbanded, primarily through a law enforcement approach that saw many members arrested and prosecuted, along with a number of former police officers.

After this initial period of both security and financial stabilisation, RAMSI's focus moved to the longer term processes of governance reform and capacity building. The military force was substantially drawn down in 2004 and the Participating Police Force gave progressively more attention to training and support rather than active policing. What emerged from this transition was a statebuilding agenda underpinned by a security guarantee, concentrating on public finance and economic policy, law and justice, accountability, and policing.

Over the years, through the contributions of thousands of police officers and civilian personnel from across the region, RAMSI has helped rebuild the Royal Solomon Islands Police Force and the justice system, and its assistance has supported balanced national budgets, a significant average annual increase in government revenue, better management of government debt, promotion of economic reform (including in the telecommunications sector), strengthening of formal accountability institutions such as the Auditor-General's Office, a vibrant media, and improved electoral management.

RAMSI is now drawing down, consistent with a 'Partnership Framework' agreed with the Solomon Islands Government in 2009 and an agreed transition process. In this, and throughout its operations, RAMSI places a premium on close consultation and coordination with the Solomon Islands Government. RAMSI has been buoyed by strong support from the Solomon Islands people, this being quantified by a large-scale, annual demographic survey (the People's Survey) that collects attitudinal data on matters relating to access to services, security and prosperity.

Since RAMSI's deployment, Solomon Islands has seen continued progress with security and development outcomes, but strengthening institutions and governance is long-term work. Among the ongoing challenges are economic management, good governance and restoring public confidence in the national police force, as well as ensuring the sustainability of gains after the mission's eventual departure.

PART THREE: **Primary features and lessons learnt**

Alignment with local priorities and support to local leadership

- National ownership and local leadership are crucial to the success of peace operations.
- For outcomes to be sustainable, a peace operation must foster the capacities of the host government and align its support with local priorities, even in politically fragile situations.
- A successful peace process requires broad ownership beyond the political and military leaders of the day.
- International assistance is best aligned to local priorities through a mix of formal mechanisms and informal practices.

The Australian Government takes it as given that local ownership—interpreted here to mean the extent to which an operation responds to and is directed by local preferences and priorities—is essential if successful peacekeeping and peacebuilding are to be achieved and sustained over time. The strength of national leadership, the level of support from communities and grassroots networks, and the spirit of partnership between host societies and international agencies are crucial to the effectiveness of peace operations. In Bougainville, Australia provided support to a peace process notable for its high degree of local ownership. Led by former combatants, the peace process also benefited at crucial moments from the inclusion of influential women and religious leaders, highlighting the importance of extending ownership beyond the political and military leaders of the day. In Solomon Islands, Australian contributions through RAMSI came at the request of the Solomon Islands Government and have enjoyed a high degree of local support throughout the operation’s deployment. The RAMSI experience has, however, also demonstrated that practical cooperation can vary with time and that there is a need for continual efforts to build and sustain local support. In Timor-Leste, Australia witnessed at first hand the difficulties associated with establishing the institutions, laws and systems of a nation-state—and, in particular, the tensions inherent in doing so through an international administration.

Australia’s experiences have highlighted the importance of three vital areas of local ownership: the level of consent; mechanisms for supporting local ownership and leadership; and community engagement and outreach.

The level of consent

The operations discussed in this report are each characterised by the permissive political environments into which they were deployed. Notwithstanding fluctuations over time in the level of political support for each operation, the depth of political cooperation throughout Bougainville, Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands is distinctive.

Bougainville’s peace operations, in particular, are notable for their responsiveness to the strong expression of leadership by the local parties themselves. The initiative for deploying unarmed peace monitors—first in the Truce Monitoring Group, then in the Peace Monitoring Group alongside the UN missions (the UN Political Office in Bougainville from 1998 to 2004 and the UN Observer Mission in Bougainville from 2004 to 2005)—originated

with the parties to the conflict. Even the largest operation, the Peace Monitoring Group (1998 to 2003), was light in footprint, comprising about 300 unarmed military and civilian monitors at its peak. Small in size and limited in scope, the operations, by virtue of their nature, contributed to the minimisation of tensions between international control and local ownership that are inherent in many other settings.

None of Bougainville's peace operations had any role in governance or capacity building, in either the civilian or the security sectors. A Bougainville provincial government, established under Papua New Guinea law, operated throughout the period in which the Truce Monitoring Group, the Peace Monitoring Group and the UN missions were present. Executive authority remained vested in the national government, and the Bougainville administration retained responsibility for public service delivery, gradually re-establishing health and education services from mid-1997 in BRA-controlled areas that had previously been off-limits.²⁶

The particular history of Timor-Leste meant that its peace operations had a very different profile and more complex issues of consent—particularly for UNAMET, INTERFET and UNTAET.²⁷ Nevertheless, each deployed permissively, which, after 2002, meant with the express consent of the Timor-Leste Government. For example, having warned the United Nations that its drawdown of uniformed personnel was premature, at the peak of the 2006 crisis the Timor-Leste Government directly invited Australia, Malaysia, New Zealand and Portugal to deploy the International Stabilisation Force.

In Solomon Islands, RAMSI was deployed with the formal endorsement of the Solomon Islands Parliament and an explicit request from the Solomon Islands Prime Minister to his Australian counterpart. RAMSI operates in Solomon Islands under domestic legislation and, in addition to having reporting requirements to the Pacific Islands Forum, has been subject to a number of reviews and evaluations by the Solomon Islands Government and Parliament.



The Solomon Islands National Parliament Foreign Relations Committee conducts one of its many public hearings in Marau, East Guadalcanal as part of its review of RAMSI. (L-R) Hon Peter Boyers; Secretary to the Committee, Celsus Talifilu; Chair of the Committee, Hon Laurie Chan; Hon Clay Forau; and Hon Mark Kemakeza.

Through its participation in RAMSI, Australia has learnt that meaningful partnerships with host governments and local leaders require ongoing renewal and support. The 2009 Partnership Framework between the Solomon Islands Government and RAMSI provides a good example of how this might be achieved in practice. Heightened political friction in 2006 and 2007 in Solomon Islands demonstrated the extent to which the viability of peacebuilding agendas depends on the political consent environment. During this period cooperation between RAMSI and political leaders was at times severely strained. In 2007 a Pacific Islands Forum Taskforce review of RAMSI recognised the operation's success in helping Solomon Islands emerge from conflict and economic crisis, but also noted that, despite the existence of consultation mechanisms, the most important line of reporting—that between RAMSI and the Solomon Islands Cabinet—was also the weakest.

Efforts to improve political consultation and renew a spirit of cooperation culminated in the formal Partnership Framework, which continues to guide the operation's work (see Box 1). In addition, since 2009 senior RAMSI officials have reported regularly to the Solomon Islands Cabinet to improve local ownership and cooperation.

Box 1. The Partnership Framework between the Solomon Islands Government and RAMSI

The 2009 Partnership Framework was jointly developed by the Solomon Islands Government and RAMSI to define the goals and objectives for RAMSI's work. It was designed to provide clear objectives and targets, and indicative time frames were linked to each objective.

The Partnership Framework is best understood as part of an ongoing process for negotiating, maintaining and verifying national consent for the operation and its program of work. Rather than altering RAMSI's mandate, the framework added more detail, essentially codifying the operation's many sub-goals and programs that had evolved over time. In addition to emphasising that RAMSI operated with the consent of, and in cooperation with, the Solomon Islands Government, the document set out a 78-page Performance Matrix as 'a means for jointly monitoring progress toward achievement of the targets set in the Framework'.

The framework provides a structured way forward and helps to manage expectations. It also contributes to RAMSI's transition by providing a mechanism for assessing when milestones have been reached that enable a phase-down of RAMSI's involvement in particular areas and, eventually, RAMSI's departure.

Supporting ownership and local leadership

At the core of efforts to strengthen local ownership is the recognition that the personnel of peace operations are outsiders who, despite good intentions, too often introduce agendas that are a poor fit with local preferences and priorities or, worse, sideline the local leadership that is so crucial to building sustainable peace.

Building local capacity, particularly of national institutions and their personnel, is a central pillar of Australia's support to strengthen national leadership and enable ownership and is discussed further later in this report.

Strengthening local ownership and leadership and aligning mission objectives with national priorities requires open channels of communication and regular consultation, which can be facilitated by formal agreements, forums and frameworks between international and local parties. The appropriateness of particular mechanisms will vary across contexts, but the three settings under consideration here provide a diverse range of options that hold promise for

peacekeeping and peacebuilding elsewhere. Australia's experiences have demonstrated not only the significance of constructive relationships with local leaders and communities but also the need for careful, continuous efforts to build and sustain these relationships over time.

Box 2. AusAID Framework for Working in Fragile and Conflict-Affected Countries

The majority of Australia's aid is directed to helping fragile and conflict-affected states. Of the top 10 recipients of Australian aid, seven are considered to be in this category. AusAID's Framework for Working in Fragile and Conflict-affected Countries, announced in 2011, represents one important way in which Australia has sought to improve its support, based on the lessons learnt through practical experience.

- Development assistance alone cannot solve fragility and violent conflict, but it can play an important role in helping develop capable and accountable states.
- Sustainable transitions must be driven by fragile and conflict-affected countries themselves.
- Fragility and violent conflict are closely linked: large-scale violence is more likely in fragile states and can be part of a cycle that is difficult to break.
- Development assistance will be more effective if it is part of a broader approach that includes security and diplomatic activities and efforts to promote a thriving economy.
- The risk of doing harm through poorly designed aid is high.

The framework identifies three aims for AusAID's work in fragile and conflict-affected countries:

- Building more responsive states through robust and inclusive political settlements and enhancing state capacity.
- Preventing violent conflict by dealing with the underlying causes of violence and through short-term stabilisation.
- Building resilient communities by responding to the impacts of violence and fragility and building societal capacity.

In Bougainville the Peace and Truce Monitoring Groups were 'light-footprint' operations: relatively small in size and limited in scope to confidence building, verification and logistical support, these operations were tailored to support the locally led, locally controlled peace process. This approach worked, responding to the strong assertion of local leadership in the peace process. The combatants themselves articulated the principles on which any international mission should operate and remained in leadership roles throughout the peace process. Bougainville also benefited from the influence of community leadership, particularly by women. The unarmed posture of each mission was supported by the armed Bougainville groups, who were concerned that the presence of armed outsiders could provoke potential spoilers. In practice, the arrangements under which local parties would provide security to unarmed monitors worked well. An unanticipated benefit was that it also encouraged the members of the Truce and Peace Monitoring Groups to place greater importance on building good relationships with local leaders and communities, so as to prevent misunderstandings that might result in threats of violence against the operation.

The small number of international actors in Bougainville made coordination a much easier task than is often the case in post-conflict countries. Local oversight of Bougainville's peace operations was achieved through a Peace Process Consultative Committee, which was charged with coordinating the peace process and chaired by the senior UN representative in Bougainville. It also served as a forum through which any potential problems could quickly be resolved. The parties themselves were represented on this committee, and the Truce and Peace Monitoring Groups reported to it.

Although there was a larger international presence in Solomon Islands, there too the number of international actors was much smaller than is often the case. As in Bougainville, this meant that the task of coordinating international actors and aligning their work with local leadership was relatively more straightforward. RAMSI has worked in partnership with local leadership since its arrival in 2003 to build a peaceful country where national institutions and systems of law and justice, public administration and economic management can eventually be sustained without further RAMSI assistance. The Solomon Islands Government demonstrated leadership in the negotiation and implementation of the Partnership Framework with RAMSI, which, as the Framework's introduction states, is based on the close alignment of RAMSI activities with the Solomon Islands Government's priorities and objectives. The Solomon Islands Prime Minister chairs meetings of the Joint Performance Oversight Group, which provides strategic oversight of the Partnership Framework and to which a team of independent experts reports annually on progress being made under the Framework. Solomon Islands' leaders also play an important role in discussions on RAMSI's transition, with cabinet having endorsed the transition process at the end of 2011.

In Timor-Leste, however, peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts are more representative of the ownership challenges posed by a large influx of bilateral, multilateral, non-governmental and private donors alongside a series of large multinational peace operations.²⁸

The experience of transitional administration in Timor-Leste brought into stark relief the tensions between local ownership and international control. Although UNTAET benefited from substantial goodwill and local legitimacy among pro-independence groups, frictions between the international administrators and Timorese leaders emerged as UNTAET began to exert its authority under UN Security Council resolution 1272, which endowed the operation 'with overall responsibility for the administration of East Timor' and empowered it 'to exercise all legislative and executive authority, including the administration of justice'.²⁹ For Timorese leaders who thought they had just won independence, their return from exile and imprisonment to rule by UN bureaucrats jarred with their expectations for self-government. Although Timorese political elites were increasingly integrated into decision-making processes leading to the formal transition of authority from UNTAET to the newly independent state of Timor-Leste, the operation's overall record of promoting local ownership of the process was poor. An UNTAET official later wrote for the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations:

In 1999 and 2000 UNTAET worked reasonably effectively with the Timorese elites, both informally and in the national consultative council. It was much less effective, however, engaging Timorese directly in many day-to-day activities where Timorese support was needed and where Timorese capacity needed to grow. Several factors exacerbated this, including the lack of UNTAET personnel with relevant language skills, and the lack of translation services ... If nothing else, future missions need to be able to communicate effectively from the beginning, and to bring host-country nationals into decision-making at all levels, not just at the elite level.³⁰

Since the country's independence in 2002, however, the government of Timor-Leste has articulated progressively stronger leadership over the peacebuilding process, including in the crucial areas of security sector reform and transition planning. This has culminated in the joint transition plan agreed between the Timor-Leste Government and the UN Mission in Timor-Leste (see box 12).

Beyond its own borders, Timor-Leste has served as chair and leading advocate for the g7+ group of fragile and conflict-affected countries, drawing on its experiences of hosting international interventions to demand improvement in peacebuilding and statebuilding responses. In 2010 Timor-Leste became a co-chair of the International Dialogue for Peacebuilding and Statebuilding, which in 2011 agreed a New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States between g7+ countries and their development partners (see Box 3). The New Deal was endorsed at the 4th High Level Forum in Busan in November 2011 by 41 states and organisations and will be piloted in five countries, including Timor-Leste (see Box 4).

Box 3. The g7+ and the New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States

As chair of the g7+ group of fragile and conflict-affected states, Timor-Leste has led international efforts to demand improvement in peacebuilding and statebuilding responses. The g7+, which was formed at the first meeting of the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding in Dili in 2010 and is co-chaired by Timor-Leste and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, began as a group of 13 fragile states seeking to present a collective voice in international policy forums and promote better partnerships between international actors and fragile and conflict-affected states. There are currently 19 members of the g7+, among them Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Timor-Leste.

At the second dialogue meeting, in Monrovia in June 2011, over 100 countries, multilateral and civil society representatives and dialogue partners agreed on five peacebuilding and statebuilding goals considered to be the cornerstones of a well-functioning state—legitimate politics, security, justice, economic foundations, and revenues and services.

Dialogue partners subsequently developed the New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States, which was endorsed by countries and international organisations at the Fourth High-Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness, in Busan in 2011. The New Deal has three primary elements:

- a focus on the peacebuilding and statebuilding goals
- supporting country leadership and national ownership
- a push for international and domestic resources to be better used.

This is a groundbreaking effort by fragile and conflict-affected countries to have a stronger collective voice in international affairs. The g7+ is a genuine demonstration of leadership from fragile and conflict-affected states and has focused global attention on the difficulties faced by such countries and the approaches needed to resolve them.

The New Deal presents us all with a clear challenge for 2012 and the years ahead, recasting and broadening the sustainable development agenda to encompass peace planning, statebuilding and responding to violence.

Box 4. Implementing the New Deal: Australia's agreement with Timor-Leste

Australia is a strong supporter of the g7+ and the New Deal, and in November 2011 signed an innovative agreement with Timor-Leste piloting the New Deal in that country. The agreement explicitly commits Australia to aligning its assistance with Timor-Leste's own Strategic Development Plan, contributing to shared objectives and providing long-term, predictable financing, alongside the Government of Timor-Leste's budget. Australian support will focus on improving governance, security, economic opportunities and services for all Timorese citizens.

Australia is also taking steps in line with the New Deal in other fragile states. In Afghanistan, for example, it is committed to strengthening the Afghan Government's leadership and capacity and is delivering 50 per cent of its assistance through Afghan Government systems. With Afghanistan, Australia is co-chairing the International Dialogue Working Group on New Deal Implementation in 2012.

Community engagement and outreach

Community-level awareness and understanding of a peace operation's objectives and its relationship to the host government are important in building local ownership of the peacebuilding process. By undertaking public outreach and developing civil society partnerships, peacebuilding missions can help to nurture community engagement and leadership. Public communication strategies are expected to become even more important to peace operations in an age of increasing social media usage.

Public communications and community outreach initiatives were prominent features of Australia's support to Bougainville, Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands. In Bougainville the absence of local media was redressed by the



An Australian peacekeeper talks to a Timorese man during a routine patrol around Dili.



RAMSI Special Coordinator, Graeme Wilson, and his son, Matthew, listen to Solomon Islands Permanent Secretary responsible for RAMSI, Paul Tovua, during a community outreach event on Gela, Central Province in January 2009.

Peace Monitoring Group through its Military Information Support Team, which produced a monthly newsletter in both English and pidgin. Called Nius Bilong Pis (News of the Peace), the newsletter was distributed by monitoring teams during their patrols and served as an important means of community engagement. Nius Bilong Pis featured articles on the peace process, development initiatives and local sporting events and was designed to instil a sense of normalcy and confidence in the peace process. The Peace Monitoring Group also worked to build confidence in the peace process through sport and music, including by producing 20 000 copies of a popular Songs of Peace cassette, which was distributed throughout the island and featured Bougainville musicians in collaboration with an Australian songwriter.

In the Australian-led INTERFET, public outreach included the production of leaflets, a weekly newspaper and radio broadcasts, using Bahasa Indonesia and Tetum, as well as English.³¹ These communication channels were a core component of INTERFET's information operations and a 'key force multiplier' for the military contingent; they continue to be used in Timor-Leste by UNMIT and the ISF.³²

For RAMSI, deliberate public communications activities featured heavily on deployment, its high-profile presence first marked by the ceremonial landing of amphibious vessels on a beach near the capital, Honiara, delivering cargo from the HMAS Manoora transport ship anchored in full view of the shore. A schedule of daily press briefings, village visits and public addresses by senior RAMSI officials, and their appearances on the Australian-funded Talking Truth radio show, were defining features of the operation's early communications strategy. From 2006 RAMSI further strengthened its program of communications and community engagement. Known as Community Outreach, the program has been the principal channel for communicating the operation's work in a country where formal media reaches less than 20 per cent of the population. RAMSI's Community Outreach aims 'to visit as many communities as possible throughout Solomon Islands, and give them a chance to learn more about how RAMSI is working in partnership with their Government, to raise any concerns they may have as well as provide important feedback to RAMSI'.³³

At its peak RAMSI conducted an average of 100 'outreaches' each year, aiming 'to simply and sincerely exchange information with the community'.³⁴ It also conducts larger meetings, known as 'Wokabaot TokToks', which last about five hours and involve community-led workshops and discussions. After 2006 RAMSI also introduced a new emphasis on informal community engagement, including through sport. RAMSI personnel were involved in coaching community sporting teams and running clinics for young Solomon Islanders. A less formal means of communication, these activities deepened RAMSI's connections with local communities. More recently, however, RAMSI has scaled back these activities as it adopts a lower profile and seeks to create the space for a more prominent role for the Solomon Islands Government, in the context of RAMSI's drawdown.

Capacity building

- Capacity building should be central to peacebuilding operations and should last far beyond individual missions. Through close consultation with the host government, this should include efforts to build responsive and trusted institutions.
- Capacity building is a difficult, incremental and often political process, not a linear, technical exercise.
- Overcoming fragility and conflict can take generations. It requires long-term commitments of financial, political and human capital by international partners but depends ultimately on strong host-country leadership and ownership and must be calibrated to local needs and local capacity to absorb such assistance.

Around the world Australian peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts focus on long-term capacity building—strengthening public institutions and systems to a self-sustaining level such that a peace operation can withdraw. Capacity building is a central component of Australia's efforts to strengthen host-country ownership. Transformation is, however, a slow process, necessitating a long-term commitment of financial and political capital by international partners.

Australian support for capacity building in Bougainville came late, after the withdrawal of the Peace Monitoring Group and the Bougainville Transition Team. The sequence of the peace process played some role in this, focused as it was on reaching a negotiated settlement between armed parties to the conflict, rather than strengthening governance and institutions. Although Australia helped to fund advisers to participants in the peace negotiations and the drafting of the Bougainville Constitution, in hindsight more could have been done to support the capacity of the Autonomous Bougainville Government to manage the demands of the peace process once the peace operations withdrew. The delicate political situation in Bougainville, however, would have made it very difficult to perform most such tasks before there had been substantial progress in implementing the 2001 peace agreement. This shows that, while it might be desirable to begin the task of capacity building early, the prospects for delivering such support are highly contingent on the political context, particularly in relation to sensitive matters such as law and justice.

In Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands capacity building began in the early stages of assistance: in Timor-Leste, it began under UNTAET, following INTERFET's security stabilisation; and in Solomon Islands it began with the deployment of RAMSI civilian officers at the very outset of the mission.

In RAMSI's initial stabilisation phase the operation pursued armed groups and individuals through a law enforcement approach, bolstering the capacity of Solomon Islands police, the judiciary and prisons by placing international personnel in line positions—not as advisors but as officers with executive authority. With time, the rule of law approach began to move from actively enforcing law (particularly through executive policing) to a posture of training, advising and mentoring local officials. While front-line policing by RAMSI's Participating Police Force has helped to stabilise Solomon Islands' security situation, long-term peace and security depends on the Royal Solomon Islands Police Force developing the capabilities and public confidence it needs to assume full responsibility for law and order. Building this capacity has been a high priority for the PPF. The RSIPF's competent handling of large demonstrations in Honiara in November 2011 demonstrated that it has made significant gains.

To guide future capacity development as it gradually withdraws from front-line policing, the PPF has developed an innovative and holistic transition strategy in consultation with the RSIPF. A joint statement of intent, signed in November 2011 by the PPF Commander and the Acting RSIPF Commissioner, formalised the strategy, which

focuses on ensuring that policing capabilities continue to be acquired in ways that are aligned with RSIPF priorities. Training will cover skill sets such as operational safety, public order management, close personal protection and aviation security. So that capacity is sustainable, the PPF is also training RSIPF trainers, some of whom already deliver courses on the PPF's behalf. There is emphasis on leadership programs and the development of corporate skills; for example, capacity development is helping to improve the quality of budget submissions, so that the Solomon Islands Government can develop priorities for and resource its police. Mentoring programs for provincial police commanders will play an important role as the PPF withdraws progressively from RSIPF provincial posts. RAMSI will continue to support the provision of equipment and additional police housing, particularly in the provinces.

The trajectory adopted in the security sector is mirrored in RAMSI's focus on governance reform, whereby the initial practice of staffing government departments with line officials (including the Auditor-General, the Accountant-General and the Economic Reform Unit in the Ministry of Finance and Treasury) has largely given way to the advisory model of capacity building. These civilian components are responsible for some of RAMSI's most important achievements in support of the Solomon Islands Government—the rapid stabilisation of public finances, the significant increase in revenue, reducing official corruption, overseeing viable budgets and managing debt. From this ensued the rapid return of public services and vital new investment.

Nearly a decade later RAMSI and its bilateral and multilateral partners continue to help Solomon Islands become peaceful, well-governed and prosperous. Such peacebuilding efforts are necessarily long term and require sustained international commitment based on the attainment of conditions, not a pre-ordained timetable. But the incremental nature of peacebuilding also indicates the difficulty of assessing the effectiveness of the capacity building approach adopted by RAMSI and many other operations around the world. RAMSI's assistance has facilitated substantial capacity development in Solomon Islands, yet a number of its gains remain fragile and vulnerable to reversal. RAMSI's experience sounds a cautionary note in relation to the capacity building approach that currently dominates international practice. There is a need to avoid an approach that assumes the task is technical rather than political and that focuses on importing knowledge via international bureaucrats rather than fostering it locally.



Australian peacekeepers hand out information pamphlets about the role of Australians in Timor-Leste, at a village near Gleno.



RAMSI police adviser, Chris Cooper, and Solomon Islands Assistant Police Commissioner, Eddie Sikua, lead a session during one of RAMSI's Making A Difference capacity development workshops. Capacity building is a central component of RAMSI's efforts to strengthen host country ownership.

Regional cooperation

- Regional participation has been a central feature of successful peace operations in Australia's neighbourhood. It can offer distinct advantages, including knowledge of context, cultural understanding and linguistic skills.
- Regional cooperation enables burden sharing and the development of peacekeeping and peacebuilding capacity in the region. Strong regional support can boost the legitimacy of the mission in the eyes of the host population and promote regional solidarity, enabling both 'South–South' and 'triangular' cooperation.
- The contribution of even the smallest states can make a real difference to peace operations.
- There can be advantages in having a division of labour between regional and UN operations, provided their respective roles are closely coordinated in design and implementation.
- Regional cooperation can facilitate rapid deployment, given the advantages of geographical proximity and regional arrangements where they exist.

Although Bougainville, Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands faced markedly different security problems demanding unique forms of international assistance, they share a common feature—strong regional support for peace. In each case Australia has been fortunate to lead an alliance that demonstrated three benefits of regional cooperation: the special legitimacy of regional organisations and regional governance frameworks; the valuable expertise of regional partners, particularly through South–South cooperation; and the logistical and financial advantages of proximity.

Regional legitimacy

Peace operations characterised by strong regional cooperation have proved to be more acceptable, credible and appropriate—that is, legitimate—in the eyes of Australia's neighbours in times of conflict and crisis. As this report highlights, the regional dimensions of peacekeeping and peacebuilding support in Bougainville, Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands are among their most prominent features. It is important, however, to note that this might not be the case everywhere, in all situations: the politics of legitimacy will vary according to context, and regional approaches might under some conditions be subject to capture by vested interests. Nevertheless, in the operations under discussion here regional cooperation has played a constructive, even pivotal, role.

In the Pacific Islands region the experience of supporting peace in Bougainville throughout the 1990s and early 2000s helped to forge new regional partnerships that ultimately led to the 2003 deployment of the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands under the auspices of a regional organisation, the Pacific Islands Forum. These regional efforts began in an ad hoc manner, the result of bottom-up initiatives rather than a top-down decision by a regional authority. The participation of Fiji and Vanuatu in Bougainville's Truce Monitoring Group brought much-needed cultural and communication skills to strengthen the operation. This in turn was based on the previous success of Fijian, Tongan and ni-Vanuatu troops cooperating alongside Australian and New Zealand personnel in the October 1994 South Pacific Regional Peacekeeping Force, which had provided security for the Arawa Peace Conference. Further, it was expected that a regionally representative mission would be more legitimate in the eyes of the local parties. These two benefits—cultural affinity and regional legitimacy—together with the practices of regional cooperation developed in Bougainville, strengthened regional security frameworks. This growing sense of regionalism receives its clearest expression in the 2000 Biketawa Declaration (see Appendix A) in which Pacific Islands Forum members recognise 'the need in time of crisis or in response to members' request for assistance, for action to be taken on the basis of all members of the Forum being part of the Pacific Islands extended family'.

Such action was taken by the Pacific Islands Forum members in establishing RAMSI in 2003. All Forum members have contributed to RAMSI, and the operation retains strong regional governance dimensions: RAMSI reports annually to the Pacific Islands Forum through a Forum Ministerial Standing Committee while RAMSI's day-to-day work is overseen by a body called the Triumvirate, comprising the RAMSI Special Coordinator, the Solomon Islands Permanent Secretary responsible for RAMSI and the Pacific Islands Forum representative.

Box 5. Regional cooperation and RAMSI: strengthening partnerships, building capacity

RAMSI was established by Pacific Islands Forum Foreign Ministers on the basis of the Forum's Biketawa Declaration on regional cooperation (see Appendix A). Its regional leadership structure integrates a Special Coordinator from Australia, a Deputy Special Coordinator from New Zealand and an Assistant Special Coordinator from Fiji. RAMSI is monitored by a number of regional oversight mechanisms, including a Forum Ministerial Standing Committee that meets annually in Honiara.

RAMSI's regional nature is most evident in its Participating Police Force. Every member of the Pacific Islands Forum contributes sworn police personnel to the PPF. The Australian Federal Police International Deployment Group (IDG) provides training to these officers through classroom and field activities in Australia, including exercises at the IDG training village and in remote locations. Since 2003 a total of 608 Pacific Islands police have received IDG training in preparation for their RAMSI assignments.

In Timor-Leste the role of ASEAN states was more prominent. The contributions of ASEAN states to INTERFET, for example, helped to demonstrate that the operation was truly a multinational response. Australia advocated that the prospective multinational force should have a substantial regional component, drawing on longstanding defence cooperation in the Southeast Asian region to help build the coalition that became INTERFET. Australia's later experiences in Timor-Leste demonstrated again the benefits of prior relationships for the mobilisation of emergency responses.

South–South and triangular cooperation

Both Bougainville and Solomon Islands benefited from the contributions of Pacific Islands states, many of whose personnel brought valuable cultural affinity, language and communication skills and an understanding of the local context. The capacity of many small Pacific states to deploy large numbers of personnel is limited: of the 16 Pacific Islands Forum members, seven have populations under 100 000, including Niue at just 1400 people, and only five have populations greater than half a million.³⁵ Triangular cooperation in the Pacific Islands region has proved effective in combining the particular strengths of South-South cooperation with adequate resources: by supplying the vast majority of financial resources and equipment for these missions, Australia, supported by New Zealand, has facilitated the valuable contributions of other regional partners. Notably, smaller states have often made proportionally greater contributions: Niue, for example, has generally deployed two police officers to RAMSI from its total force of 16, representing by far the largest proportional contribution to the operation. The diverse cultures, skills and experience that each and every member of the Pacific Islands Forum brings to the mission have underpinned RAMSI's success.

Variation in the professionalism, commitment, training and skills of personnel is inevitable in peace operations, both within a national contingent and across a multinational operation. Overall, however, Australia recognises that its personnel rarely match the cultural skills, understanding of context and appropriateness of approach of our Pacific Island partners in regional settings.

Australia also recognises the need to encourage and support South–South cooperation in ways that build the capacity of neighbouring states. For example, all regional personnel in RAMSI's police and military components receive pre-deployment training in Australia, which has enabled regional personnel to learn from one another,

Box 6. Regional defence cooperation: strengthening partnerships, building capacity

Established defence cooperation programs between Australia and its regional partners played an important role in the preparation, deployment and management of operations in Bougainville, Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands. Prior bilateral defence cooperation was instrumental in building regional support for these operations, in each case providing planners with a platform of good working relationships and existing channels of communication between regional participants. In the field the operations benefited from personnel who had received joint regional training and, often, who knew one another and were familiar with the systems, capabilities and language of their regional counterparts. In this way existing defence cooperation initiatives established the working relationships and ethos of partnership that are so crucial for effective peacekeeping and peacebuilding.

Defence cooperation programs between Australia and its partners in the Pacific Islands region have helped to build regional capacity for peacekeeping and peacebuilding deployments, particularly through training initiatives that have supported the development of stronger deployable capacity within regional states. For example, defence cooperation between Australia and Papua New Guinea includes specific support for the development of peacekeeping capacity within the Papua New Guinea Defence Force, involving pre-deployment and force preparation training. This bilateral cooperation helped PNG to contribute troops to RAMSI in 2003. In 2011 PNG became a UN Troop Contributing Country, deploying peacekeepers to Darfur and South Sudan.

Timor-Leste contributed police to UN peace operations from as early as 2005, and in 2011 it became a UN troop contributor. In this it has been supported by Australia's defence cooperation assistance, which is strengthening the capacity of the Timorese Defence Force, complementing the security sector reform agenda of the UN Mission in Timor-Leste through bilateral assistance. The program involves the following:

- leadership training, development and skills enhancement for junior military personnel
- higher level staff training in the areas of command, leadership and discipline and military planning, logistics and administration
- English language instruction to prepare military personnel for further military education and training opportunities
- communications, equipment and management training to support the military command network
- senior-level secretariat and military advice, including capability and force development, military doctrine, communications, and finance and budget coordination.

to have access to state-of-the-art training facilities, and to develop personal relationships that have proved crucial to cooperation in the field and between capitals. Through participation in RAMSI, regional police and military forces are benefiting not only from training but also from practice in new environments and by building regional relationships to enhance future cooperation. Further, regional training has helped to standardise doctrine. Equally significant has been the extent to which such joint regional training can improve the cultural awareness of Australian personnel. It exposes large contingents of Australian personnel to the different perspectives, training and methods of their Pacific Islands counterparts, which have often been better suited to the Solomon Islands context.

The next step in deepening regional cooperation and preparedness would be to strengthen joint exercises in the Pacific Islands region, involving civilian, police and military personnel. As Australia's experience in Timor-Leste shows, prior cooperation between nations improves the mobilisation and implementation of coalition operations. The rapid international response in 2006 through the International Stabilisation Force, for example, benefited from the previous experiences of Australian, Malaysian, New Zealand and Portuguese forces, who had worked together from 1999 to 2003.

After 13 years of hosting international forces, Timor-Leste has now deployed its own military to overseas peacekeeping operations, sending troops to the UN Interim Force in Lebanon alongside Portuguese troops and providing an expert to the UN Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS). Timor-Leste had previously provided police to the UN Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and currently has two police deployed to the peacebuilding mission in Guinea-Bissau (UNIOGBIS). As noted in Box 6, Papua New Guinea became a UN Troop Contributing Country in 2011, deploying peacekeepers to Darfur and South Sudan. Solomon Islands is currently considering the possibility of deploying police to UN peacekeeping missions.



Australian civil and military monitors with the Peace Monitoring Group in discussion with regional partners.



A joint International Stabilisation Force patrol by the Australian Federal Police and the Royal Malaysian Army in Dili. The rapid international response in Timor-Leste in 2006 through the ISF benefited from the previous experiences of Australian, Malaysian, New Zealand and Portuguese forces, who had worked together in Timor-Leste from 1999 to 2003.

Geographical proximity, adequate resourcing and the interests of neighbours

Geographical proximity provides obvious benefits for peacekeeping and peacebuilding, overcoming the logistical challenges that so often delay urgently needed assistance in crisis situations. In the lead-up to Timor-Leste's historic independence referendum, for example, Australia played a crucial role in mobilising its own diplomatic, financial and logistical resources to facilitate the timely provision of assistance. During early preparations for UNAMET, Australia committed to accelerating the mission's planning and deployment, particularly through logistical support. Australia's northern-most city, Darwin, lying just over 400 miles from Dili, was offered as a bridgehead for the UN deployment. This helped speed up UNAMET's deployment and, during the post-referendum violence, helped speed up the evacuation and response. Similar advantages of proximity were evident in both Bougainville and Solomon Islands, neither of which experienced the problems of slow deployment and logistical gaps that have constrained operations elsewhere.

In 2000 the northern Australian town of Townsville served as the neutral location for peace negotiations to resolve conflict in Solomon Islands, and in 2001 it played host to the Bougainville Weapons Disposal Talks involving 200 ex-combatants, the PNG Government, the UN Observer Mission in Bougainville, Port Moresby-based Australian and New Zealand diplomatic missions, and the Peace Monitoring Group. Over the longer term, proximity can reduce the cost of sustaining peace operations, a significant advantage given the consistently over-stretched, under-resourced nature of global peacekeeping.

Australia's deployments to Timor-Leste in 1999 and 2006 and to Solomon Islands in 2003 demonstrated the importance of strategic maritime and air-lift capabilities to support such operations. Australia expects that demand for these assets will continue, including in efforts to provide humanitarian and disaster relief³⁶, and is investing in



RAMSI police advisers, Greg Harding of Niue (L) and Taubia Kaikeikei of Kiribati (R), enjoy the company of fellow Royal Solomon Islands Police Force officer, Patrick Mundano, in October 2007 in Isabel Province.



A health officer serving with the International Stabilisation Force meets a local child in Dili.

its strategic lift capabilities—notably through the acquisition of six C-17 Globemaster aircraft, five KC-30A multi-role tanker transport aircraft, and two landing helicopter dock (LHD) amphibious ships, the largest ever built by Australia.

The potential of regional cooperation to improve the effectiveness of peace operations remains contingent on adequate resourcing. The fact that the conflicts and crises considered in this report occurred in Australia's own region has led to them being accorded particular foreign policy priority, enabling the long-term commitment of resources to support peace and security in neighbouring countries. The experience of UNAMET, for example, demonstrated the scale of resourcing needed to adequately support a mission's timely deployment. Australia provided A\$20 million of UNAMET's total budget requirements; of this, A\$10 million was for logistical support, including the mission's helicopters and aircraft handling and storage facilities. In the first weeks of UNAMET's deployment, Australia provided 31 four-wheel-drive vehicles, 500 personal medical kits, 9 start-up kits for medical facilities, over 1000 vaccinations, 600 camping kits, 6000 ration packs, 50 air-conditioners, office accommodation for the UN, and extensive induction and training facilities for UN volunteers, civilian police and military observers in Darwin.³⁷ The speed with which UNAMET became operational, and the scarcity of the problems commonly experienced by operations as a result of logistical delays, offer important lessons about the kinds of backstage support needed for large, multilateral peace operations elsewhere.

A comprehensive, integrated and coordinated approach

- Missions that are comprehensive in scope and integrated in structure—including civilian, police and military elements—can better adhere to an overarching strategy that covers security and development objectives.
- Integrated missions generally benefit from coordination and flexibility advantages, allowing for quick responses to emerging challenges.
- Integration and coordination processes should begin at the planning stage and include joint pre-deployment training. Ongoing exercises and training for coordination can strengthen preparedness within national and international systems.
- Among the various parts of an integrated mission, there must be a conscious and sustained effort to communicate regularly and honestly, and to promote mutual understanding. Collaborative leadership and effective coordination mechanisms are important.

As noted, peacekeeping and peacebuilding are not linear, sequenced phases: instead, they are overlapping activities with mutually reinforcing outcomes. Australian support to Bougainville, Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands has required the traditionally autonomous military, police and civilian components to operate in partnerships, not only with one another but also with a diverse range of host-country, regional and international counterparts. In Australia's experience, a comprehensive approach to peace support—combining structural integration with practical coordination—allows complex problems to be dealt with through multidimensional means and encourages unity of effort towards a common strategic objective. Long-term planning for development can be incorporated from the earliest stages, while integrated planning and management structures help an operation to be more agile and responsive to changing conditions.

Substantial learning has been required within the Australian system to develop integrated and coordinated approaches to peacekeeping and peacebuilding, and much of that learning continues today (see Box 7). Integrated planning processes, interdepartmental coordination groups and joint pre-deployment training have each gone some way to improving partnerships across civilian, police and military components in practice.

Most operations to which Australia has contributed have required cooperation between civilian and military leadership—in practice, not always an easy partnership. In Bougainville the Peace Monitoring Group was commanded by a military officer (usually a brigadier), with an Australian civilian as deputy, known as the Chief Negotiator (usually a mid-level diplomatic officer). The military leaders were generally more focused on making progress towards exit, which entailed different benchmarks and methods compared with their chief negotiators, whose diplomatic style was more conscious of the cultural dynamic in which delays and setbacks were an inevitable part of the peace process. Further, the unarmed posture of the Truce and Peace Monitoring Groups tested the usual practices of the Australian Defence Force planners, who remained concerned about the threat to force security. In practice, however, such threats did not emerge: while there were incidents of TMG and PMG vehicles being fired on, no injuries or deaths occurred among personnel in the course of their duties. The Peace Process Consultative Committee, established precisely to prevent the escalation of minor incidents into larger threats to the peace process, played an important role in achieving this outcome.

Box 7. The Australian Civil–Military Centre

Recognising that efforts to promote integration and coordination are not merely confined to field deployments, in 2008 the Australian Government established the Australian Civil–Military Centre, a whole-of-government initiative to improve Australia’s effectiveness in civil–military collaboration for conflict and disaster management overseas.

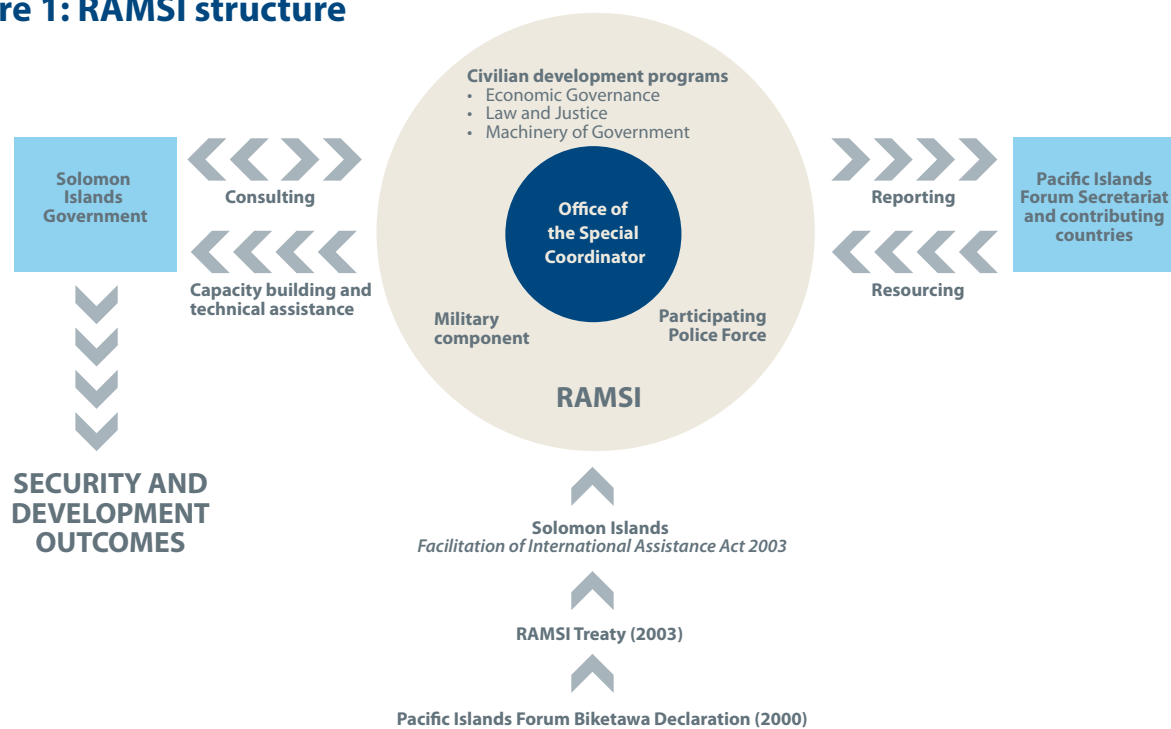
The centre engages with and supports government departments and agencies, non-government organisations and international partners, including the United Nations, in matters of civil–military collaboration. It supports the development of best-practice approaches to civil–military engagement through training, education, research and doctrine. Staffed by officials of relevant Australian Government departments and agencies—the Department of Defence, the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the Australian Agency for International Development, the Australian Federal Police and the Attorney-General’s Department—as well as a representative of the peak body for non-governmental development agencies, the Centre is strengthening the network of peacekeeping and peacebuilding experts within the Australian system.

In 1997 Australian military and civilian planning for the Truce Monitoring Group was conducted through largely separate processes. Similarly, Australia’s capacity for integrated planning for the 1999 post-referendum crisis in Timor-Leste was limited.³⁸ Separate units in the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the Department of Defence each advised government through separate channels, and an interdepartmental Timor-Leste Policy Group was not established until 17 September 1999, just three days before INTERFET’s deployment. Since then, joint planning processes have improved the speed of deployments and have seen long-term priorities considered in the earliest phases. In 2003 Australian planning for RAMSI occurred through an interdepartmental committee. This integrated planning mechanism was augmented in the period immediately preceding RAMSI’s deployment by an intensive process that brought together senior planners from Defence, the Australian Federal Police, the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and AusAID in a facility outside Canberra with the aim of forging a consolidated view of RAMSI’s purpose. Desktop exercises were conducted among the officials who were to lead RAMSI’s various components, the purpose being to prepare joint contingency plans and determine the primary

objectives for RAMSI on each day of its first week. Such joint planning helped to strengthen the operation's integrated approach and also forged strong working relationships between RAMSI's senior personnel before they arrived in the field.

RAMSI's integrated leadership structure, including civilian, police and military elements, has enabled the operation to pursue and implement a strategy that accommodates both the security and the development needs of Solomon Islands' population. RAMSI is led by a Special Coordinator (from Australia) who is supported by a Deputy Special Coordinator (from New Zealand) and Assistant Special Coordinator (from Fiji). Together with the commander of the RAMSI Participating Police Force, the commander of RAMSI's military component and the coordinator of RAMSI's civilian development programs, these officials comprise the mission's executive group, where security and development outcomes are carefully coordinated. RAMSI's civilian development work is done by three 'pillars'— Law and Justice, Economic Governance, and Machinery of Government—each headed by a program director. This structure has allowed RAMSI to support the Solomon Islands Government in achieving important development gains for programs spanning a wide range of policy and administrative activity (see Figures 1 and 2).

Figure 1: RAMSI structure



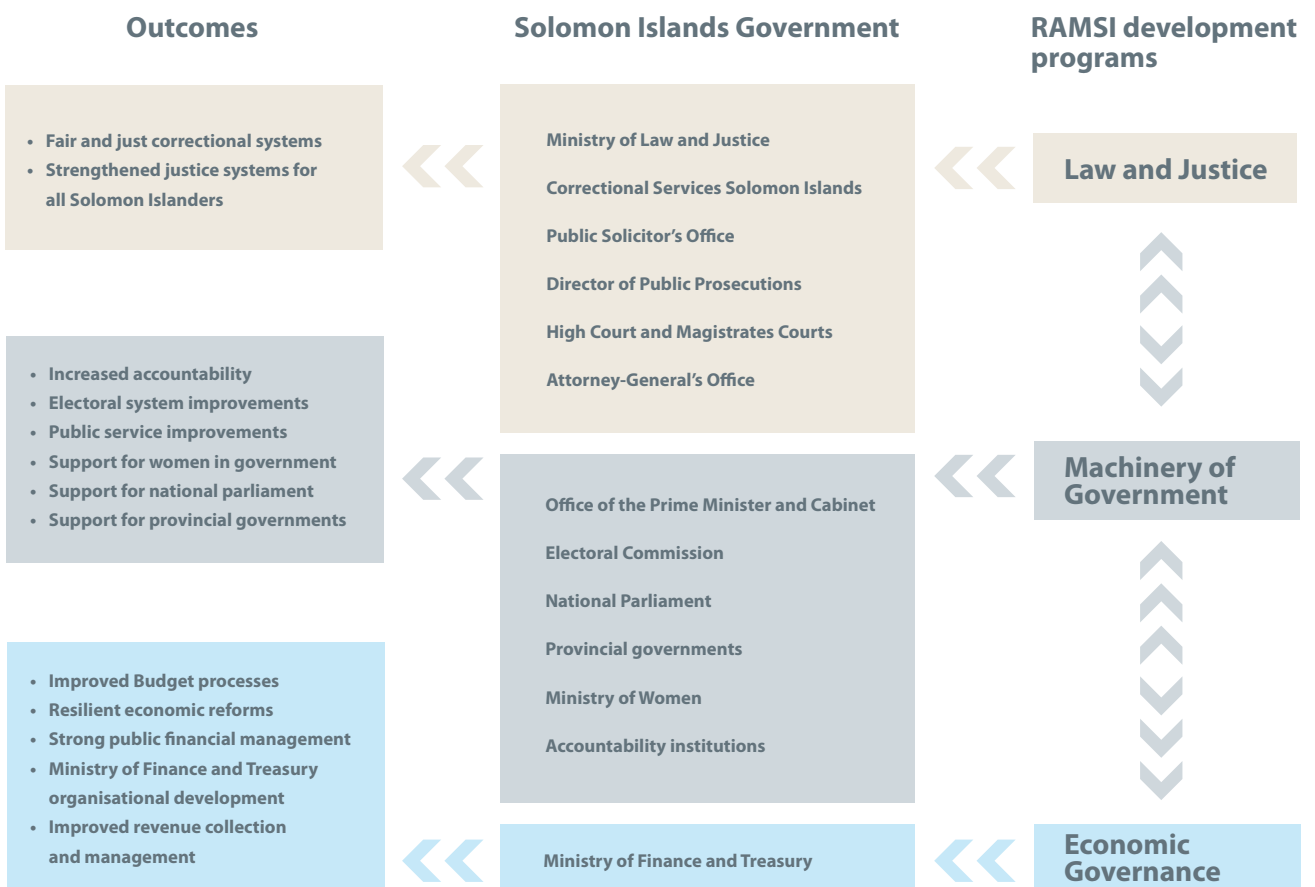
There is strong coordination between all elements of RAMSI as well as a collaborative approach to leadership. Because of its integrated nature, RAMSI has been able to respond quickly and effectively to challenges and to work closely with local authorities to achieve shared objectives. The achievement of peaceful elections in 2010 provides a good example of coordination and collaboration in practice. In the lead-up to the elections, additional assets and personnel were provided from RAMSI's contributing nations in support of the Royal Solomon Islands Police Force, who successfully took the lead in managing security operations. RAMSI police had trained and worked with the RSIPF for an extended period, and RAMSI police and military personnel had developed strong interoperability in their support role. Regular briefings to the RAMSI civilian executive ensured that the security–civilian interface

remained close. At the same time, RAMSI civilian advisors provided support to the Solomon Islands Electoral Commission to ensure that the elections ran smoothly.

Nevertheless, the task of improving Australian whole-of-government responses remains, inevitably, a work in progress. That civilian, police and military components bring different approaches and techniques is a strength of contemporary peace operations, not a weakness; this multidisciplinary nature should be preserved, not homogenised. This means, however, that personnel in the field and at home must be equipped to understand the different approaches and be prepared to navigate the practical difficulties inherent in integrated missions.

The formal planning and training mechanisms just outlined have improved Australia’s capacity for integrated, coordinated responses. But in Bougainville, Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands, Australian personnel have also learnt the importance of good working relationships—informal links that could overcome the gaps in formal coordinating systems—with international partners at middle and senior levels of command and those between military and civilian agencies in Canberra and in the field.

Figure 2: RAMSI’s civilian development support



The rule of law

- Efforts to strengthen the rule of law can provide crucial connections between peacekeeping and peacebuilding.
- Security sector reform should be part of a comprehensive approach, integrated within wider public sector development and focused not only on military and police forces but also on judicial and correctional systems and oversight mechanisms as needed.
- Informal and traditional institutions should not be overlooked in efforts to promote the rule of law.

In Australia's deployments, as in peace operations globally, rule of law factors have gained increasing importance during the past two decades. Australia has embraced the idea that effective, efficient and accountable judiciaries, prisons and police forces are crucial for the promotion of security and development. This recognition has guided Australia's actions—nowhere more so than in its assistance to Solomon Islands and Timor-Leste. Taking up the notion that the failure of state institutions renders governments incapable of enforcing legal order and providing justice, Australian efforts to improve peacekeeping and peacebuilding contributions have accorded central focus to capacity building in justice and security within host partners.

Policing and police reform

In Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands regional police officers have operated with executive policing authority; that is, they have directly carried out policing duties. But as peace operations in both locations are now in transition, policing attention today is increasingly devoted to capacity building activities, including training, mentoring, oversight and organisational development.

Box 8. The Australian Federal Police International Deployment Group

International policing efforts are often constrained by the limited availability of deployable police officers: standing military capacity is the norm, but rarely is there excess capacity in national police forces to enable substantial deployments. Australia recognised this deficiency in its own system following the large deployment of Australian Federal Police officers to RAMSI. As a result, in 2004 it created an International Police Deployment Group, a standing corps of staff trained and available for rapid deployment in peace operations. Officers are specially trained and available for rapid deployment to peacekeeping and police capacity building missions in the region and around the world. The group offers continuity of personnel, steadiness of time and uniformity of approach and is designed to redress critiques of international police capacity building in international missions. It has a state-of-the-art training facility in Canberra that provides ongoing staff development as well as joint pre-deployment training with the Australian Defence Force and regional partners.

Australian police were among the first deployed to Timor-Leste in 1999, and today there are some 50 Australian officers deployed to the UN Mission in Timor-Leste, representing one of the largest contingents in an overall UN police force of more than 1200 officers. UNMIT was established by the UN Security Council in order to respond to the 2006 crisis, and was the second-largest of all UN operations in terms of police numbers. UNMIT was mandated to restore security and order through executive policing and to assist 'with the further training, institutional development and strengthening' of the Timorese police force.³⁹

In addition to its UNMIT contributions, Australia supports Timorese police through a bilateral program run by the

Australian Federal Police, established in July 2004 and, until December 2007, jointly implemented with AusAID. The program's principal aim is to support Timor-Leste's police force in becoming more robust and crisis-resistant. It does this through a number of measures, including mentoring and advising police leaders and targeted police and leadership development. The Timor-Leste Police Development Program provides policy advice, assistance with infrastructure, institutional strengthening and management training for senior leaders, and various forms of corporate support. The program carries strong name recognition in Timor-Leste and, over time, has developed a solid relationship with the Timorese police. The longer deployments of Australian officers in the program—two-year assignments compared with Australia's 12-month rotations in UNMIT—have facilitated better working relationships with Timorese counterparts and improved language skills, although few attain a conversational standard of Tetum. The current program represents a commitment of about US\$75 million over four years from 2010, which covers the deployment of more than 30 police advisors as well as the purchase of infrastructure for the Timorese police force. Over \$6 million was committed to rebuilding the recently opened Police Training Centre in Dili.

RAMSI's police-led approach to security in Solomon Islands is one of the operation's defining features. For much of its deployment, RAMSI's Participating Police Force has consisted of between 250 and 300 officers drawn from every member state of the Pacific Islands Forum, though its size has varied over time. Australia provides the largest contingent, contributing about three-quarters of the total force and almost its entire budget. In the early phases of the mission, RAMSI officers were sworn in as 'line' members of the Royal Solomon Islands Police Force and accorded the same powers as their Solomon Islands counterparts. Today, only four officers are formal members of the RSIPF, including RAMSI's police commander, who is sworn in as the RSIPF Deputy Commissioner.

The police-led restoration of law and order, including the reform of the Royal Solomon Islands Police Force, has been one of RAMSI's highest priorities since its 2003 deployment and one of the mission's most significant achievements. As in Timor-Leste, this has entailed a dual function—to carry out executive policing and to support police reform



The newly modernised Correctional Services Solomon Islands is proving to be a popular career choice for Solomon Islanders.



With RAMSI's assistance, much of the country's justice infrastructure, such as the High Court and Honiara Magistrates Court, has been rebuilt or refurbished since 2003.

and capacity development within the RSIPF. Unsurprisingly, the former has in practice proved more effective than the latter, given that it is a much more difficult task to rebuild a fractured police force heavily implicated in the preceding period of violence. Stronger cooperation between international and local police has in recent years enabled capacity building efforts to focus on rebuilding public trust in the RSIPF, particularly by developing force professionalism and effectiveness.

It is clear that these rule of law efforts are making important contributions in Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands. A number of challenges do, however, remain. The ability of international policing assistance to transform the culture and service of a national police force has limits. As with many other components of peace operations, the rotation policies for police have in the past meant that individual officers often have insufficient time in the country in question to become more than strangers working in a geographically, politically and culturally strange land.⁴⁰ Learning from these past experiences, Australia has extended its rotations for deployed personnel, particularly in the International Deployment Group, helping both Australian officers and their host-country counterparts to develop stronger working relationships.

A second challenge is that Australia's contributions, like those of its partners, have tended to focus on the formal institutions of police, military, courts and bureaucracies, while in Bougainville, Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands communities often rely on traditional or non-state sources for justice and security. That is, it is easy to overlook the significance of informal institutions in rule of law promotion. For example, recognising the importance of informal and traditional structures for promoting justice and the rule of law, RAMSI is supporting the World Bank's Justice for the Poor program, a global research and development program that aims to enhance justice for poor communities. It has a particular focus on managing conflict at the local level in places where there may be many overlapping justice mechanisms, such as those of the state, religious organisations and traditional leadership.



Members of the International Stabilisation Force Quick Response Force provide training to Timor-Leste's National Police Rapid Intervention Unit.



Chairman of the Solomon Islands National Peace Council, Paul Tovua (left) joins in RAMSI's first weapons destruction ceremony in Honiara. During its first year, RAMSI destroyed some 3000 weapons and over 300 000 ammunition rounds – about 90-95 per cent of the total.

Law, justice and corrections

Current Australian approaches to peacekeeping and peacebuilding have moved towards a systemic approach in relation to security and stability: while stabilisation through international military and police has an important role to play, longer term recovery and sustainability are understood to depend on the strength of public institutions in the host country.

In Timor-Leste, Australia's Justice Sector Support program works with other international partners to support and strengthen the interface between the police, judicial and correctional systems. The program aims to improve the access of the Timorese population to the justice system, both by building the capacity of agencies that provide justice services and by funding civil society organisations who help communities to navigate the justice system. Portugal is an important partner in this program, as it is across the spectrum of international assistance in Timor-Leste, not least because Portuguese is the language of Timor-Leste's legal system. The results to date show important progress:

- The police and courts are now using a shared management system that makes it easier to track the progress of cases in the system, leading to more openness and faster resolution of cases.
- Australia has helped respond to the impacts of domestic violence by providing a range of support, including court monitoring, counselling and safe houses for women and child victims of domestic violence and sexual assault, and community education on domestic violence. More than 250 women attended the emergency treatment centre in Dili in 2011.
- Australia has built physical infrastructure to take justice services closer to communities, including two safe houses for women and child victims of violence, houses in district capitals so that prosecutors can travel to these areas to conduct investigations and trials, and mobile courts so that cases can be heard in remote areas.
- Australia has also supported the development of the Timorese Government's Justice Sector Strategic Plan which was endorsed by Parliament in 2010.

Australia's comprehensive approach to strengthening the rule of law is most clearly seen in RAMSI, where police reform is part of a broader program of public sector development that encompasses the judicial and correctional systems and national accountability institutions such as the Auditor-General's office. RAMSI tackled the problems of militia violence, weapons proliferation and extortion in Solomon Islands through a law and order approach. The operation worked within the existing criminal justice system and according to existing Solomon Islands law, which meant it avoided the problems of parallel systems encountered in transitional justice efforts elsewhere, including in Timor-Leste.⁴¹

RAMSI's planning was guided by lessons learnt through prior experience, including in Australian deployments to Cambodia in the early 1990s: in particular, that the effectiveness of a rule of law approach to peacekeeping depends on much more than the ability to make arrests. Alongside its policing component, therefore, RAMSI immediately began to bolster the criminal justice system through the deployment of advisors and in-line officials who served as Solicitor-General, the Director of Public Prosecutions, and the Public Solicitor, as well as judges and magistrates.

Early assessments in RAMSI planning highlighted the correctional system's inadequacy for supporting the intended rule of law approach. In particular, Solomon Islands' largest correctional centre, Rove Prison, was overcrowded and lacked the security necessary for holding arrested militants.⁴² RAMSI's efforts to strengthen the corrections system involved both aid to rebuild prison infrastructure as well as the placement of in-line and advisory personnel

to manage daily operations. A RAMSI officer, for example, occupied the in-line position of Commissioner of Correctional Services at Rove Prison from 2003 until 2007. Staff in Solomon Islands' correctional services now operate with minimal adviser support. By the end of 2011 over 90 per cent of the staff had received training and achieved the required accreditation levels. All correctional services except that in Gizo in Western Province (which is in the process of being upgraded) now meet UN standards for prisoners, and Correctional Services Solomon Islands is seen as a model in the region and provides training for other Pacific nations.

Civilian deployment

- Deployable civilian capacity is essential for effective peace operations today.
- To support local efforts, civilian experts must be ready to assist administrative authorities, provide technical advice and mentor host-country officials.
- Civilian deployments from regional neighbours can offer unique advantages.
- To meet urgent, short-term requests for assistance, Australia has introduced a number of institutional innovations, including an International Deployment Group of police personnel and the Australian Civilian Corps.

Whereas peacekeeping was once considered a job only for soldiers, the past 20 years have seen significant growth in civilian contributions to such missions. In order to respond adequately to the demands of states emerging from conflict and crisis and to establish positive feedback loops between security and development, international assistance increasingly requires specialised experts to support administrative authority, to provide technical advice, and to train and mentor host-country officials.

The UN has recognised the need for a broader, deeper pool of civilian experts to support the capacity development needs of countries emerging from conflict.⁴³ Experiences in the Asia–Pacific region have given Australia considerable familiarity with the civilian capacity needs of contemporary peacekeeping and peacebuilding. Bougainville, Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands have each demanded substantial civilian assistance. In Bougainville, this support was provided by civilian monitors and peacebuilding consultants. In Timor-Leste, civilian experts provided a broad range of assistance, from aid coordination and banking regulation to police reform. Civilians in RAMSI have helped Solomon Islands to strengthen financial management, prisons administration and parliamentary processes, including through the deployment of Australian officials from government departments not traditionally associated with overseas assignments, such as Treasury and Finance. As noted earlier in the report, civilian expertise deployed from regional neighbours—for example, from Pacific Island countries in the case of Bougainville and Solomon Islands—can offer unique advantages in terms of knowledge of historical context, cultural understanding and linguistic skills.

To meet this demand, international partners need to develop their own reserves of civilian capacity for deployment. Australia has introduced a number of institutional innovations that have substantially increased our capacity to deploy civilian experts (see Box 9). Further, Australia recognises the need for constant efforts to build and improve the language skills, cultural sensitivity and specialised expertise among our personnel, in order to better prepare them to be effective peacekeepers and peacebuilders.

Since 1997 Australia's deployments to Bougainville, Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands have developed a new strand of expertise in the Australian Government as individuals have served in multiple postings across these locations, especially in the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and in AusAID. In addition to developing cultural and language skills, some personnel have been able to acquire specialised expertise in the conflict-related affairs of Australia's neighbours and in the processes of regional coordination.

Box 9. The Australian Civilian Corps (ACC)

Established by the Australian Government in late 2009, the Australian Civilian Corps is designed to rapidly deploy civilian specialists to countries experiencing or emerging from conflict or natural disaster. Administered by AusAID, the ACC register includes over 200 personnel and is on track to reach its target of 500 trained and screened civilian specialists by 2014. ACC specialists are drawn from a wide range of fields including public sector management, electoral assistance, financial management, aid coordination, law and justice, needs assessment, planning and monitoring, agriculture and food security, and stabilisation and recovery. ACC specialists are selected for their technical skills as well as their ability to work in challenging overseas environments. In 2011 and 2012 ACC specialists were deployed to Afghanistan, Haiti, Papua New Guinea, Sierra Leone and South Sudan to support stabilisation, recovery, elections and peacebuilding efforts.

Women, peace and security

- Women can play crucial roles as peacemakers and advocates for change in conflict-affected societies, as recognised by UN Security Council Resolution 1325, but are too often excluded from formal peace negotiations and important decision-making processes.
- From their earliest stages, peace operations should involve women in meaningful partnerships and help host countries redress conditions of gender inequality where they exist.

The experiences of conflict in Bougainville, Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands attest to the UN Security Council's landmark resolution 1325 on women, peace and security: that the experiences and needs of women and girls differ



During a visit to the Timor-Leste village of Maliana, Australian peacekeepers get to know the local children. Women and children are the primary victims of conflicts and are often more inclined to come forward and explain what they have experienced to female officers.



A young girl at a religious service in Honiara that welcomed RAMSI members.

from those of men and boys in conflict and post-conflict situations and that women have essential roles in conflict prevention, management and resolution.

In all three conflicts women suffered violence of all kinds, including sexual violence. But women have also played crucial roles as peace advocates and negotiators. Before discussing this in more depth, it is important to note that women's roles in conflict situations are not, of course, limited to peacemaking: women in Bougainville were implicated in violence, and in Timor-Leste they were deeply involved in the struggle for independence, including as combatants, commanders and couriers for the resistance. Nevertheless, the centrality of women to community-level peacemaking in Bougainville, Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands demands that more attention be given to their potential roles as partners in peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts.

In Bougainville, a predominantly matrilineal society, women played crucial roles as negotiators in their communities, often as lead negotiators with the Bougainville Revolutionary Army. Bougainvillean women launched peace initiatives and led reconciliation ceremonies, peace marches and prayer meetings that helped sustain community support for peace, and female monitors were deployed with the Truce and Peace Monitoring Groups. The Bougainville Inter-Church Women's Forum, held over a week in August 1996 in Arawa, was attended by 700 women from all over Bougainville; its call for peace talks marked a turning point in the conflict. Women also actively participated in the meetings that led to the Lincoln and Ceasefire Agreements and those that helped to shape the Bougainville Constitution.

In Timor-Leste a Congress of Women held in June 2000 called for action on the status of women, including on questions of their representation in public life, violence against women and the high rate of female illiteracy. They also demanded to be consulted on the development of Timor-Leste's new constitution. Few women, however, had formal roles in the early statebuilding process.



Royal Solomon Islands Police Force female officers march down the main street of Honiara on International Women's Day, 8 March 2010. RAMSI is helping to support gender equality by promoting women's leadership potential and removing legislative barriers.

Box 10. Women, Peace and Security: Australian National Action Plan, 2012–2018

In October 2000 the UN Security Council adopted resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. The resolution recognises that the experiences and needs of women and girls differ from those of men and boys in conflict and post-conflict situations and underlines the essential role of women in conflict prevention, peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction efforts. Since then, the UN has established a Women, Peace and Security agenda by passing additional Security Council resolutions—1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009) and 1960 (2010). Australia is proud to have co-sponsored these subsequent resolutions.

To support the implementation of this agenda, both nationally and internationally, Australia has developed a National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security, based on the five thematic areas the United Nations identified to guide global efforts:

1. prevention—incorporating a gender perspective in conflict prevention activities and strategies and recognising the role of women in preventing conflict.
2. participation—recognising the important role women already play in all aspects of peace and security, and enhancing women’s meaningful participation, both domestically and overseas, by
 - striving for more equal representation of women and men in Australian peace and security institutions
 - working with international partners to empower local women to be involved in formal peace and security processes in fragile, conflict and post-conflict settings in which Australia is operating.
3. protection—protecting the human rights of women and girls by working with international partners to ensure safety, physical and mental wellbeing, economic security and equality, with special consideration for protecting women and girls from gender-based violence.
4. relief and recovery—ensuring a gender perspective is incorporated in all relief and recovery efforts in order to support the specific needs and recognise the capacity of women and girls.
5. normative—raising awareness about and developing policy frameworks to progress the Women, Peace and Security agenda and integrating a gender perspective across government policies on peace and security.

In 2011 the Australian Government appointed a Global Ambassador for Women and Girls. The Ambassador is responsible for high-level advocacy to promote Australian Government policies and activity in relation to gender equality and the social, political and economic empowerment of women and girls, particularly in the Asia–Pacific region. Protection of women and girls in conflict zones and increasing the representation of women in leadership roles are central components of the Ambassador’s mandate.

Women in Solomon Islands also played crucial peacemaking roles, particularly among the mostly matrilineal society of Guadalcanal. The Women for Peace group, formed to bring warring parties together, was particularly influential. Despite their active promotion of peace efforts, however, women were excluded from the 2000 Townsville peace talks. This exclusion of women from decision-making roles in peace processes is not uncommon: a 2010 report by UNIFEM found that fewer than 7 per cent of negotiators on official delegations in peace processes have been women. Such marginalisation of women represents missed opportunities for engaging prominent advocates for peace in a broader community partnership.

Australia has sought to contribute to redressing this situation through a number of initiatives, including its 2012–2018 National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security, which sets out what Australia will do, at home and overseas, to integrate a gender perspective into its peace and security efforts, to protect women’s and girls’ human rights, and to promote their participation in conflict prevention, management and resolution. The action plan emphasises the importance of empowering local women to be involved in formal peace and security processes (see Box 10).

Further, AusAID’s 2011 gender strategy, Promoting Opportunities for All—Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment, strives to deliver results that improve the lives of women and men, their families and their communities. One of the four pillars of this strategy aims to increase women’s voice in decision-making, leadership and peacebuilding, recognising that ‘in peace negotiations, women can make significant contributions by bringing different perspectives and ensuring the needs of women and children are included. This is particularly important where constitutions are being written or amended’.

The learning process is also evident in Australia’s support for RAMSI’s gender equality assistance in Solomon Islands. Initially, the operation did not have a specific focus on women, but gender equality was subsequently identified as a cross-cutting issue in the 2009 Solomon Islands Government – RAMSI Partnership Framework. Since 2009 RAMSI has employed a Gender Adviser who provides advice across RAMSI programs and counterpart government agencies. The operation is also helping the Solomon Islands Government redress conditions of gender inequality through a number of measures, including legislative reform and the collection of gender-based data. RAMSI’s Women in Government program focuses on the removal of barriers that hold back women’s participation and representation in government, including by advocating genuine change to policies, legislation and employment terms and strengthening organisations that can foster women’s leadership development.

Australia also supports the United Nations women, peace and security agenda through peacebuilding programs. The Australian Federal Police works with other police forces in the region to facilitate women’s participation and protect women’s and girls’ human rights; for example, its Pacific Police Development Program supports the Pacific Islands Chiefs of Police Women’s Advisory Network and provides funding, project management and technical advisors to support project implementation.

In Timor-Leste the AFP’s Timor-Leste Police Development Program includes training in gender-based violence investigations and has produced a manual for use in training the Timorese police force about gender-based violence. This training and the manual set a baseline for all new training in gender-based violence in Timor-Leste. In Solomon Islands, through RAMSI, the AFP works to raise community awareness about family violence and to increase the level of community confidence in the Royal Solomon Islands Police Force’s ability to redress it. This project also supports the development of frameworks for investigation and prosecution.

Financial stabilisation, economic reconstruction and aid

- The security–development relationship is central to international support for peace, stability and growth.
- Peacebuilding tasks should, where relevant, begin at the earliest stages of peacekeeping since these processes are overlapping and mutually reinforcing.
- Rapid financial stabilisation provides a crucial platform for economic recovery.
- Caution is warranted when economic growth is too narrowly concentrated in individual natural resource sectors.

The provision of security through peacekeeping is an often essential precondition for the resumption of local economic activity, the (re-)engagement of bilateral and multilateral aid donors, and the attraction of private investment, each with a potentially valuable role to play in helping countries emerge from conflict. Inclusive economic growth and better prospects for employment and livelihoods can build new constituencies for peace among those who see the chance to benefit from peace rather than violence.

Australia's experiences show that connecting peace and prosperity in such a virtuous circle might necessitate substantial support to stabilise public finances, to strengthen economic governance and public accountability, to rebuild vital infrastructure, and to provide evidence of a sustainable peace dividend. Australia has learnt that peacebuilding tasks should begin at the earliest stages of peace operations, demonstrating the need to see such processes as overlapping, mutually reinforcing activities, rather than linearly sequenced phases.

In Solomon Islands the economy had contracted by 25 per cent between 1998 and 2002. Official corruption, violent extortion of government funds and compensation payments to armed militia combined with falling revenue to halt service delivery, particularly in the health and education sectors. Working closely with Solomon Islands Government departments, RAMSI helped to resolve this situation with remarkable speed. RAMSI advisers began working in the Solomon Islands Ministry of Finance and Treasury within days of the operation's deployment, focusing immediately on stabilising government finances and restoring the fundamentals of economic governance. Since then the longer term strengthening of the Auditor-General's Office, the Leadership Code Commission and the Ombudsman has improved governance accountability mechanisms. Today RAMSI advisers continue to work alongside their counterparts in the Solomon Islands Government in important areas, to improve public financial management systems and strengthen the government's ability to raise and manage revenue. By helping to stabilise both the security situation and economic governance institutions, RAMSI's deployment generated the conditions needed for normal economic activity to resume in Solomon Islands. Growth has averaged over 6 per cent since 2003, and government finances have recovered to historically healthy levels. The Solomon Islands Government has also



A shop operator at a market built by RAMSI. By helping to stabilise the security situation and economic governance institutions, RAMSI's deployment generated the conditions needed for the resumption of normal economic activity in Solomon Islands.

taken steps to improve the business environment, making it easier for businesses to operate: between 2009 and 2011 Solomon Islands moved up from 106th to 74th out of 183 countries listed in the World Bank's Ease of Doing Business report. Significant economic and development challenges remain, however, including poverty and dependence for economic growth on the depletion of finite timber resources. These are long-term problems not directly related to the Tensions. Now that the economy is stable, RAMSI is considering how its support for economic institutions could be transitioned to the traditional long-term development programs already operated in Solomon Islands by bilateral and multilateral donors.

In Timor-Leste financial stabilisation and economic growth have been important in helping the country recover from conflict. Following independence, Australia moved quickly to support Timor-Leste in improving and developing its economy. Australia's assistance focused in particular on improving public financial management, which is crucial for Timor-Leste given its reliance on oil and gas revenue: as of 2010 petroleum income accounts for about 270 per cent of non-oil GDP. Timor-Leste recognised the benefit of protecting this valuable and long-term revenue source through the far-sighted establishment of the world-class Petroleum Fund. The fund, largely modelled on Norway's approach to managing oil and gas revenues, is legislated so that governments in Timor-Leste can gain access to more than the estimated sustainable income of the fund only by gaining approval from the Parliament. Transparent management of the Fund has seen Timor-Leste become one of only 13 countries to comply with the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative.⁴⁴ As at 31 December 2011 the Fund was worth US\$9.3 billion.

Australia and Timor-Leste are cooperating to increase opportunities for employment in other parts of the economy besides the oil and gas sector. In particular, Australian assistance has aimed to increase economic opportunities by focusing on rural development. Programs have been embarked on to improve crop yields, to rebuild road infrastructure so as to create work in rural communities and help get agricultural products to market, and to support microfinance institutions. Further, AusAID's national infrastructure program incorporated a US\$16.5 million Youth Employment Promotion program that provides short-term employment for 70 000 young people in all districts of Timor-Leste.

Bougainville's largest source of potential revenue, the Panguna mine, has remained closed for more than two decades because of its centrality to the conflict. Support for economic growth and development has come both from the allocation of resources from the national government and development donors—but not integrated into any of the peace operations. Instead, Australia's bilateral aid program operated alongside the Truce and Peace Monitoring Groups and the Bougainville Transition Team, aiming to complement their role by facilitating aspects of the peace process and contributing to better economic and development conditions.

Initially there were demands for development assistance to be more directly used to promote peace as a reward to those Bougainvillean communities who supported the peace process. Such efforts are not uncommon in peace processes, but their perverse outcome can be to instrumentalise peace—to provide reasons for local peacemaking efforts based on the external supply of positive incentives rather than through social and political drivers in the conflict environment. This was evident, too, in programs from the United Nations and other donors, who made funds available to assist participation in reconciliation ceremonies, gradually creating demand among some for funding before reconciliation could be attempted.

The limitations of this approach soon became apparent and from 1998–99 Australian aid increasingly focused instead on supporting the economic development that would provide livelihoods—notably the rehabilitation of cocoa production and of transport infrastructure.

Box 11. RAMSI and the donor community

RAMSI is a founding member of the Core Economic Working Group, a donor coordination forum in Solomon Islands that includes Australia, New Zealand, the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the European Union, and the Solomon Islands Government. The CEWG is led by the Solomon Islands Government, whose Finance Minister chairs its meetings. Through this group, the Solomon Islands Government and donors agree on a range of economic and budgetary management reform actions. CEWG donors support this work in a variety of ways, including through the provision of technical support and through the payment of budget support in recognition of completed reforms. As an active participant in this process, RAMSI has helped Solomon Islands to strengthen its financial accountability and reporting systems and supported major economic reforms, such as increasing the determined value of timber logs for export to reflect world prices.

Tailored, clear and realistic mandates

- Mandates must be tailored to the specific context of the host country, taking into account the local conditions at the time of deployment as well as longer term needs. There can be no ‘one size fits all’ approach.
- The mandate should be clear, focused and realistic and supported by adequate resources. It should allow operations to adapt to changes in local circumstances.
- Longer term peacebuilding objectives should be included in the mandate from the outset where relevant.

Throughout its long history of providing peacekeeping and peacebuilding support, Australia has learnt the value of tailored mandates, properly designed for local circumstances, that allow operations to adapt to changing dynamics and respond to the priorities and agendas of local leaders, demonstrating pragmatic flexibility.

A ‘one size fits all’ approach does not work in the design and implementation of peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations. While the conflicts and crises experienced by Bougainville, Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands might have had some characteristics in common, each demanded a unique response specific to its context, supported by adequate resourcing. The objectives of each mission varied substantially, defined by the particular needs of the conflict setting, the priorities of local parties, and the change in these factors over time. Their mandates have varied in scope: some were relatively narrow and short-term in focus, while others have been much more comprehensive and long-term in outlook. Operations in Timor-Leste had UN mandates; those in Bougainville included regional and UN mandates; and RAMSI in Solomon Islands was regionally mandated but commended by the UN Secretary-General and welcomed by the President of the Security Council. The role of Australian assistance has ranged from unarmed monitoring to high-end military stabilisation and has included executive administration, police-led rule of law assistance and civilian capacity building. Some Australian contributions have been formally integrated into large UN operations; others have involved working closely with UN missions, large and small.

This variation highlights the need to ensure that mandates are context-based, credible and achievable. Australia learnt the problems of transplanting models across contexts when the approach that had worked in Bougainville—an unarmed, ‘light touch’ monitoring mission based on a prior peace agreement—was applied with less success through the International Peace Monitoring Team in Solomon Islands in 2000 to 2002. While the tightly focused, limited mandates of Bougainville’s operations contributed to their larger effectiveness, conditions in Solomon Islands demanded the more comprehensive approach that later defined RAMSI.

RAMSI's mandate contained provisions for both short-term stabilisation and longer term peacebuilding, as agreed by the Solomon Islands Government and the countries of the Pacific region through the Pacific Islands Forum before the mission's deployment in 2003. Noting the need to ensure that mandates are adequately resourced, Australia, supported by New Zealand, agreed to provide RAMSI's funding. The RAMSI Treaty, an agreement between the Solomon Islands Government and the other 15 members of the Pacific Islands Forum, reflected the mission's mandate and established the legal basis for RAMSI, along with the Solomon Islands Facilitation of International Assistance Act 2003, which gave effect to the treaty in Solomon Islands' domestic law. RAMSI's leadership and organisational structure—including its three 'program pillars' covering law and justice, economic governance and the machinery of government—as well as its performance framework and evaluation tools also reflect the mandate.

The longer term elements of RAMSI's mandate are reflected in the Solomon Islands Government – RAMSI Partnership Framework, which details how RAMSI will support the government and how it will progressively draw down as various milestones are met or as responsibility is assumed by other donors or the Solomon Islands Government itself. It thereby avoids 'mandate creep' while allowing the operation the flexibility necessary to respond to national priorities and changing local conditions.

The value of partnerships between UN and other operations is highlighted by experiences in both Bougainville and Timor-Leste. In Bougainville the complementary relationship between the UN-mandated mission and the three regional operations—the Truce and Peace Monitoring Groups and the Bougainville Transitional Team—brought both legitimacy and practical advantages to the peace process. In Timor-Leste the strength of regional contributions to the UN-authorized, Australian-led INTERFET mission in 1999 illustrates a different method for promoting global–regional partnerships through UN mandates.⁴⁵



HMAS Wewak delivers equipment to support the Peace Monitoring Group in Bougainville.



International Stabilisation Force peacekeepers provided security to the UNOTIL compound in Dili.

Timing, transition and turnover

- The timing of initial deployments can have a profound impact on the success of a mission.
- The transitions and drawdowns of international deployments, which are as important to maintaining peace as the initial deployment, should be based on conditions on the ground rather than be 'timetabled' and should focus on the 'entry' and ongoing engagement of bilateral and multilateral donors rather than just the 'exit' of peace operations.
- Transitional planning must begin as early as possible and should emphasise national capacity development.
- Successful transitions require broad national ownership, flexibility and strong coordination with multilateral, bilateral and non-governmental partners.
- High rates of turnover among international personnel are a continuing constraint on the effectiveness of peace operations.

The trajectories of Bougainville, Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands each shed light on three related aspects of timing—entry, transition and turnover. The timing of an initial deployment will inevitably depend on context-specific, often highly political factors; nevertheless, the nature of entry can have profound implications for the effectiveness of a peace operation, whether a conflict setting is ripe for resolution (as was the case in Bougainville), in urgent crisis (Timor-Leste) or in a state of continuing decline (Solomon Islands).

Timing

The peace operations deployed to Bougainville benefited from, and indeed were defined by, the timing of their initial entry. In 1997 the conflict was ripe for resolution, having reached a stalemate in which all parties had an interest in settlement. Community pressure and the combatants' perspectives were important, and the incoming national government found itself able, politically, to enter open-ended, less conditional negotiations and became committed to resolving the conflict by peaceful means.

In Timor-Leste the earliest UN operations were deployed on a rapid timetable. UNAMET organised the popular consultation in less than three months, but INTERFET's emergency response set new benchmarks for the rapid mobilisation and deployment of multinational forces. For Australia, this entailed the largest single deployment of forces since the end of World War 2. The successful deployment of a stabilisation force that rapidly restored security had an important legacy for Australia's subsequent peacebuilding efforts.

The hurried manner in which UNTAET came into existence coloured all aspects of its implementation. Authorised for an initial period of just over 15 months (ultimately extended to 31 months), UNTAET was remarkable for the magnitude of its task and the short time frame in which it was to achieve it. With little real preparation, international civil servants were dispatched and Timorese nationals returned from exile to build a nation anew. UNTAET quickly established its own executive authority, a proto-legislature, and a judiciary in late 1999.⁴⁶ In a flurry of 36 regulations in 2000, it established a central bank, a taxation system and a legislature; in 2001 in 31 regulations it established a defence force, a framework for electing a constituent assembly, the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation, and a police service, among other institutions; and in just a few months in 2002 UNTAET issued a further four regulations, including one to regulate the country's first presidential elections in April of that year.

In Solomon Islands the deployment of RAMSI followed a number of attempts to reverse the deteriorating security situation, including through the deployment of the regional International Peace Monitoring Team. RAMSI was

neither an emergency response to an urgent crisis nor timed for a particular moment in a peace process; instead, the operation responded to deteriorating conditions. Although the mission's planning was short by the standards of usual government policy initiatives, it was long in comparison with usual peacekeeping practice. In contrast with the crisis-driven urgency of planning for UNTAET, for example, RAMSI was planned in response to serious but slow-burning decline, following a direct request from the Solomon Islands Prime Minister for assistance. Over a period of several months the Australian Government conducted internal mission planning as well as consultation with regional partners and the Solomon Islands Government itself. This longer planning process helps to explain the early integration of long-term peacebuilding objectives from the operation's outset.

Transition

The three settings also provide insights into the timing of transition, particularly of the drawdown and exit of operations. The experiences of both Bougainville and Timor-Leste (pre-2006) serve as a warning against premature drawdown.

International operations remained in Bougainville for more than seven years, beginning with the Truce Monitoring Group's deployment in December 1997 and ending with the withdrawal of the UN Observer Mission in August 2005. This total duration, however, obscures the change in the size of the international presence over time. The number of Peace Monitoring Group personnel was reduced from mid-2000, initially by about one-third and later to about 75 monitors, reflecting assessments that the peace process was increasingly well established and some fear that a longer duration might encourage excessive dependence on a continuing PMG presence.⁴⁷ An unfortunate trade-off, however, was that the weapons disposal plan to be overseen by the UN mission, agreed between the Bougainville armed factions and included in the 2001 Peace Agreement, could not be implemented without significant technical support from the PMG. This required flexible interpretation of the PMG mandate to include tasks such as providing and transporting secure containers and registering weapons and rendering them safe for storage. But the continuing drawdown of PMG personnel in accordance with the general transition strategy meant that such support could not be provided indefinitely. Given the determination of some armed factions to retain their weapons, the continuation of the PMG alone would not have guaranteed the completion of disarmament and demobilisation, although it could have encouraged a redesign of the disarmament process envisaged in the 2001 peace agreement. The incomplete status of disarmament continues to pose a serious threat to security in Bougainville today.

The drawdown of peace operations in Bougainville came earlier than many local parties advocated. From 1997 it became evident to local as well as international parties that both the Bougainville Administration (which continued to be the administrative arm of the Autonomous Bougainville Government under the 2001 Peace Agreement) and the elements of the Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary based in Bougainville faced challenges with governance and service delivery. Yet it was also clear that the departure of the Peace Monitoring Group and then the UN mission would leave the Autonomous Bougainville Government, the administration and the Royal PNG Constabulary elements in Bougainville with heavy responsibilities, on which the maintenance of a fragile peace would depend. The Bougainville Transition Team that replaced the Peace Monitoring Group in June 2003 was in essence a compromise response to the requests by the Bougainvillean parties for a continued regional presence but, with fewer than 20 civilian monitors deployed for six months, this small operation had limited scope to deal with questions of capacity and governance. From about 2003, however, Australia, along with New Zealand, as the main donors operating in Bougainville, began to provide support intended to strengthen the administration and Bougainville's Royal PNG Constabulary elements (which, from late 2003, became known as the Bougainville Police Service).

These experiences have informed Australia's approach to transitions in Solomon Islands and Timor-Leste, which give priority to locally owned, conditions-based processes and planning that begins early, through concerted coordination with host governments and bilateral and multilateral partners.

In Timor-Leste the events of 2006 have been widely interpreted as demonstrating that the uniformed elements of the UN peacekeeping presence withdrew prematurely—on the basis of a political timetable for exit rather than an assessment of conditions, including socio-economic factors, that would enable peace to be sustained. It should also be considered, however, that the peacekeeping mandate in 2005 was not designed to focus on the eventual causes of the crisis in 2006, with its definition of threats still focused on the causes of the violence in 1999. In 2005 it would have been difficult to argue that these threats remained. Current planning for UNMIT's withdrawal—within the Timor-Leste Government, the UN system and the governments of contributors such as Australia—is emphasising the process of transition rather than the event of exit. The UNMIT – Timor-Leste Joint Transition Plan is an innovative model of this approach (see Box 12) and provides a useful framework with which to engage longer term bilateral and multilateral donors.

Although the dangers of leaving too early are evident, so are the risks of staying too long. This delicate balance is at the forefront of RAMSI's transition planning, currently being done in partnership with the Solomon Islands Government through the Partnership Framework (see Box 1). The main lessons drawn from experiences in Bougainville and Timor-Leste—that transition should be based on the attainment of suitable conditions rather than a fixed timetable and that transition strategies should focus on the 'entry' of bilateral and multilateral donors rather than just the 'exit' of peace operations—are being applied. RAMSI's transition process has already begun; the remainder of its civilian programs are preparing to transfer to other traditional donor partners, including to the bilateral aid programs of Australia and New Zealand. Support for the Royal Solomon Islands Police Force is expected to remain for some years. The focus of RAMSI's Participating Police Force has already moved from frontline policing to capacity building. RAMSI planners and their Solomon Islands counterparts are acutely aware of the importance of

Box 12. Transition planning: best practice in Timor-Leste

In September 2011 the Government of Timor-Leste and the UN Mission in Timor-Leste agreed on a Joint Transition Plan that would guide UNMIT's withdrawal. Having achieved real progress in stability and institutional development—including in electoral management, government ministries, the justice sector and the national police force—the Government of Timor-Leste is now working with UNMIT to implement the 15-month plan. Their approach represents current international best practice on transition planning:

- It began early.
- It benefits from national leadership.
- It is conditions-based, focused on attaining and maintaining essential enabling requirements.
- It will be implemented through a gradual process.
- It is coordinated through ongoing dialogue between the Timor-Leste Government, UNMIT and bilateral and multilateral partners to ensure the smooth transfer of functions.
- It is comprehensive, covering seven key areas of work.

Importantly, the Joint Transition Plan is a living document that can be reviewed and adjusted according to the experience of the transition process itself.

getting transition ‘right’; notably, the mission has no predetermined end date, and its transition will continue in a steady, measured manner. RAMSI has a well-considered communications strategy in operation and is working closely with the Solomon Islands Government to ensure that clear, coherent messages about transition are conveyed to the local population.

Turnover

Short rotations and high rates of turnover among international personnel persistently constrain the effectiveness of peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations around the world. These constitute a barrier to the accumulation of knowledge and experience by individual personnel and the establishment of working relationships with local communities.

In Bougainville most Truce and Peace Monitoring Group personnel served for terms of just three or four months, although a number of monitors did more than one tour during the seven years. In contrast, the UN mission was led for five years by UN Special Envoy Noel Sinclair, for whom the benefits of continuity—developing context-specific expertise, strong personal relationships and a coherent approach—helped to overcome some of the constraints faced by his small political team. In Timor-Leste the continuity provided by Sérgio Vieira de Mello’s leadership of UNTAET aided the strategic coherence of the operation; similarly, Atul Khare was Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Timor-Leste from 2006–2009 and had previously served as Deputy Special Representative and as Chief of Staff to the former Special Representative for a total of six years of UN service in Timor-Leste. UNMIT, meanwhile, has benefited from the return of personnel who had served in previous UN missions in Timor-Leste. In all the operations analysed in this report, however, it is evident that there is a need for personnel who understand the local context, have good working relationships with host-country counterparts and can draw on sufficient experience to build



RAMSI’s People’s Survey is conducted through surveys and focus groups, like this one in Malu’u. The People’s Survey is an innovative monitoring and evaluation tool that offers valuable insights into the opinions of Solomon Islanders on a wide range of issues.

on past efforts. This is repeatedly undermined by high rates of turnover. Short rotations limit the effectiveness of an operation's personnel and contribute to 'adviser fatigue' among host-country populations, weakening the likelihood of achieving the local–international partnerships that are central to current peacebuilding approaches.

Australia has made progress in tackling this recurrent problem, introducing longer deployments among its civilian and police personnel, notably in the Timor-Leste Police Development Program. Further reform is required, though, if the constraining effect of rotation policies is to be adequately redressed.

Data, monitoring and evaluation

- There is a pressing need to improve data collection and analytical evaluation of peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts in fragile and conflict-affected countries.
- RAMSI offers innovative examples of monitoring and evaluation through its annual People's Survey and the use of an Independent Experts Team to evaluate progress under the joint Solomon Islands Government – RAMSI Partnership Framework.

Australia's continuing efforts to improve its support for security and development have highlighted an as yet unmet need for better data collection and analysis in peacekeeping and peacebuilding. In order to plan missions, (re-) allocate resources, track progress and guide adaptation to changing conditions, peace operations and host-country authorities need both baseline data and ongoing data collection capacity. It is relatively easy to observe and measure progress in security stabilisation through indicators such as the number of violent incidents; it is much more difficult to measure need and track outcomes in broader capacity building initiatives.

Crucially, the collection of baseline data must begin early, but such efforts are rare. For example, in Timor-Leste the first UN Population Fund–supported census was not conducted until July 2004, while the first demographic health survey, conducted by USAID, was not completed until 2009–10.

Although data collection is often hampered by insecurity, difficulty of access and population displacement, peace

Box 13. Annual performance reporting for RAMSI: a monitoring and assessment tool

RAMSI's annual performance report measures its performance—over the previous calendar year—against the Solomon Islands Government – RAMSI Partnership Framework and companion RAMSI Performance Matrix. These were adopted in 2009 as transparency and accountability measures for the second phase of RAMSI. The performance report is produced by a team of independent experts. During a two-week mission to Solomon Islands, the team reviews Solomon Islands Government and RAMSI performance documents and consults with a range of Solomon Islands Government ministers, senior officials and donors and with RAMSI. The team presents its preliminary findings to the Joint Performance Oversight Group, co-chaired by the Solomon Islands Prime Minister and RAMSI Special Coordinator, before completing its report. The final report is endorsed by the Joint Performance Oversight Group before being provided to the Pacific Islands Forum Ministerial Standing Committee on RAMSI for submission to the Pacific Islands Forum Leaders' Meeting.

Accurate and comprehensive performance reporting plays a crucial role in Solomon Island Government and RAMSI planning. Information gathered through preparation of the RAMSI annual performance report helps decision makers determine the future use of RAMSI resources.

operations do not always seize valuable opportunities to collect basic demographic, economic and development data—for example, through aid distribution venues or voter registration processes.

RAMSI offers a number of innovative methods for improving data collection and evaluation. The mission introduced annual performance reports in 2006 and, following the agreement on the Performance Framework in 2009, the RAMSI annual performance report has been produced by an independent team of experts whose appointment is agreed to by the Solomon Islands Government, RAMSI and the Pacific Islands Forum (see Box 13).

Australia's experiences with peacekeeping and peacebuilding provide evidence of a need to improve methods of collecting data in data-poor environments, to fast-track national census initiatives, and to explore methods such as household survey sampling, ethically and in accordance with international best practice. RAMSI's People's Survey, a large-scale independent demographic survey that has been carried out annually since 2006, is one innovative method for tracking progress, being based on popular perceptions of a wide range of matters, including business and employment, law and order, public accountability and access to services (see Box 14). The results are used in RAMSI's reporting to the Pacific Islands Forum and in evaluating progress against the jointly agreed Solomon Islands Government – RAMSI partnership objectives. The survey contributes to data collection capacity in Solomon Islands, since it is conducted by trained local surveyors. It also provides input to the Solomon Islands Government's policy-making process. Solomon Islands' Prime Minister, Gordon Darcy Lilo, described the 2011 People's Survey as a valuable tool for government, its results not only reflecting 'what has been achieved so far' but also 'what areas need further commitment and hard work'.⁴⁸

Box 14: The People's Survey: a monitoring and evaluation tool for RAMSI

The People's Survey is an independent annual survey that offers valuable insights into the opinions of Solomon Islanders on a wide range of matters, including business and employment, law and order, public accountability and access to services. The survey is used across RAMSI's partnership with the Solomon Islands Government to establish benchmarks and set targets and in a wide range of areas, among them law and order, household economy and delivery of services. It also informs RAMSI's reporting to the Pacific Islands Forum and provides a mechanism for measuring the views of Solomon Islanders in relation to progress against the jointly-agreed Solomon Islands Government – RAMSI Partnership Framework objectives.

Surveys and focus group discussions are undertaken in communities across Solomon Islands by trained local surveyors. Results of the latest People's Survey—the fifth since 2006—were released in February 2011. A total of 4972 people completed the questionnaire; many others participated in more than 70 focus group discussions and face-to-face interviews.

The defining feature of the People's Survey is its focus on perceptions rather than 'hard facts': findings reflect how respondents feel about local and national concerns, about their own experiences and about how their lives have been affected, or not, by changes over time. The survey thus provides insights into the impact of economic, social and policy changes on the people and communities of Solomon Islands and, importantly, information about people's views of their own needs and priorities.

PART FOUR: **The road ahead**

Bougainville

That widespread violent conflict has not resumed on Bougainville is testament to the quality and resilience of the peace process. Since signing the Peace Agreement in 2001, Bougainvilleans have been able to do the following:

- successfully conduct elections for the Autonomous Bougainville Government in 2005 and 2010, contributing to continued stability and post-conflict recovery
- begin to restore major roads in support of economic recovery
- start to rebuild primary school education, health clinics and childhood immunisation services
- resume electricity supply to key areas of the Autonomous Region.

Post-conflict Bougainville remains fragile, however, and faces numerous challenges in realising the aspirations of its people. Much remains to be done to implement the Bougainville Peace Agreement's requirement for the transfer of powers and functions from the PNG National Government to the Autonomous Bougainville Government. Constraints in the policing and justice sectors continue to present challenges to foreign investment and economic development, and economic self-sufficiency has not been achieved. It is not possible to predict the outcome of the referendum on Bougainville's political status (which must be held between 2015 and 2020), adding further uncertainty to an already fragile environment.

Building on successes to date, Australia continues to support the Autonomous Bougainville Government in its efforts to redress the capacity constraints that limit the Peace Agreement's full implementation ahead of the



President of the Autonomous Region of Bougainville, Chief John Momis, attends a reconciliation ceremony in Wisai in South Bougainville in October 2011.

mandated referendum. Specifically, Australia is assisting the ABG in its efforts to enforce law and order, strengthen the Bougainville Police Service and support weapons disposal, improve service delivery in the education and health sectors, and create the conditions for economic growth and employment.

In 2011 the ABG began a Panguna peacebuilding initiative. The initiative aims to re-unify parties in the Panguna area and to facilitate a constructive dialogue on the re-opening of the Panguna copper mine. Despite the intense sensitivity associated with the mine, steady progress is being achieved, all major parties being committed to negotiations in relation to a possible new mining agreement. Learning from past experiences, this ABG-led initiative is drawing reconciliation and the resumption of economic activity into the same consultative process.

Timor-Leste

Timor-Leste is facing an important period of transition, building on the past four years of stability. Presidential elections in March and April 2012 were held peacefully. Parliamentary elections will be held on 7 July 2012, with a new government forming in August. The UN has made clear its intention to withdraw UNMIT by the end of 2012 if the elections run smoothly and a new government forms without controversy. The International Stabilisation Force is expected to draw down roughly in parallel with UNMIT, following an assessment of the security situation after elections in consultation with the Government of Timor-Leste. The new government will need to make early decisions on whether it wants the United Nations to stay on in any capacity beyond development-oriented funds and programs. The Joint Transition Plan suggested four possible models for future UN engagement in Timor-Leste, ranging from an integrated political mission to a presence with a development focus. These options are under discussion.



The Polícia Nacional de Timor-Leste resume primary responsibility for policing at this ceremony in Manatuto District.

The departure of international security forces by the end of 2012 presents an opportunity for Timor-Leste's institutions—particularly the security services—to demonstrate that they have the resilience to withstand any future threats to stability.

The recent period of consolidated stability has seen economic growth of close to 10 per cent a year, and Timor-Leste sits on a Petroleum Fund worth US\$9.3 billion (at 31 December 2011). If spent effectively, this money should ensure that Timor-Leste can finance its development into the future. The government will need to respond to concerns raised by the International Monetary Fund that high government spending from the Petroleum Fund is leading to inflation because of the low absorptive capacity of the Timorese economy. The government faces many challenges in ensuring that the money is spent in ways that encourage all Timorese to feel they are participating in Timor-Leste's growth. The government deals with these concerns in its Strategic Development Plan, which has set a path for the country and donors to follow. In November 2011 Australia signed a Strategic Planning Agreement for Development with Timor-Leste, which aligns Australia's development assistance with the Strategic Development Plan. This enacts aspects of the 'New Deal' to ensure that Australia's development assistance remains supportive of Timor-Leste's own priorities.

Solomon Islands

The 2009 Solomon Islands Government – RAMSI Partnership Framework sets out a road map for RAMSI's phased drawdown as various targets are met and responsibility for RAMSI activities is passed to other donors or back to the Solomon Islands Government. This process is already under way, the RAMSI Participating Police Force having withdrawn from front-line policing and a number of provincial locations. Correctional Services Solomon Islands is now supported by only a handful of advisers, and adviser numbers in other areas are reducing as local capacity grows.



Community outreach meetings provide opportunities for direct communication between RAMSI and Solomon Islands communities on issues such as RAMSI's drawdown.

RAMSI and the Solomon Islands Government are aware of the challenges involved in engineering a successful transition and are working closely together and with other donors to ensure the process is phased and designed appropriately. For the time being RAMSI will continue to provide extensive support to the Royal Solomon Islands Police Force to further develop its leadership, its capacity and the level of public confidence it enjoys. Support for governance and service delivery has now reached a stage where it can be provided more effectively through traditional aid programs, with their long-term horizons, than by a temporary regional stabilisation mission. For that reason RAMSI and the Solomon Islands Government are working towards transitioning the bulk of remaining elements of RAMSI's civilian programs to traditional donors over the coming period.

The Solomon Islands economy is performing well and the public's confidence in the security environment is increasing. There is goodwill among donor partners and, most importantly, commitment on the part of the Solomon Islands political leadership to ensure that the stability gains that RAMSI has helped to provide are sustained in the long term.

Appendix A: The Biketawa Declaration, 2000

1. **Forum Leaders recalled their 1995 Vision Statement, the Forum Economic Action Plan Eight Principles of Good Governance and the 1997 Aitutaki Declaration. With the aim of elaborating upon these earlier statements and in the interests of regional cooperation, Forum Leaders while respecting the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of another member state committed themselves and their countries to a number of guiding principles and courses of actions:**
 - (i) Commitment to good governance which is the exercise of authority (leadership) and interactions in a manner that is open, transparent, accountable, participatory, consultative and decisive but fair and equitable.
 - (ii) Belief in the liberty of the individual under the law, in equal rights for all citizens regardless of gender, race, colour, creed or political belief and in the individual's inalienable right to participate by means of free and democratic political process in framing the society in which he or she lives.
 - (iii) Upholding democratic processes and institutions which reflect national and local circumstances, including the peaceful transfer of power, the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary, just and honest government.
 - (iv) Recognising the importance and urgency of equitable economic, social and cultural development to satisfy the basic needs and aspirations of the peoples of the Forum.
 - (v) Recognising the importance of respecting and protecting indigenous rights and cultural values, traditions and customs.
 - (vi) Recognising the vulnerability of member countries to threats to their security, broadly defined, and the importance of cooperation among members in dealing with such threats when they arise.
 - (vii) Recognising the importance of averting the causes of conflict and of reducing, containing and resolving all conflicts by peaceful means including by customary practices.
2. **Forum Leaders recognised the need in time of crisis or in response to members' request for assistance, for action to be taken on the basis of all members of the Forum being part of the Pacific Islands extended family. The Forum must constructively address difficult and sensitive issues including underlying causes of tensions and conflict (ethnic tensions, socio-economic disparities, lack of good governance, land disputes and erosion of cultural values). To this end, the Secretary General in the future after consulting the Forum Chairman should urgently initiate the following process:**
 - (i) Assess the situation, make a judgment as to the significance of the developments and consult the Forum Chair and such other Forum Leaders as may be feasible to secure approval to initiate further action;
 - (ii) Consult the national authorities concerned regarding assistance available from the Forum; and
 - (iii) Advise and consult with the Forum Foreign Ministers, and based on these consultations, undertake one or a combination of the following actions to assist in the resolution of the crisis:
 - a. statement representing the view of members on the situation;
 - b. Creation of a Ministerial Action Group;
 - c. A fact finding or similar mission;
 - d. Convening an eminent persons group;

- e. Third party mediation;
- f. Support for appropriate institutions or mechanisms that would assist a resolution; and
- g. The convening of a special high level meeting of the Forum Security Committee or an ad hoc meeting of Forum Ministers.

(iv) If after actions taken under (iii) the crisis persists, convene a special meeting of Forum Leaders to consider other options including if necessary targeted measures.

3. Any regional response to a crisis should take account of the guidelines set out in Annex A.

4. Annex A

- (i) Actions are discussed with the authorities in the country concerned;
- (ii) The Forum and persons involved on behalf of the Forum should have credibility i.e. must be seen as honest and impartial brokers who are genuinely interested in bringing about a fair resolution;
- (iii) There must be coherence and consistency in the strategy followed;
- (iv) There must be continuity and conclusion of the process i.e. staying the course;
- (v) There must be cooperation with other key international and regional organisations and national actors and coordination of all these efforts;
- (vi) There must be a sufficient degree of consensus on the resolutions by those who have to implement them i.e. local players and supporters and those that support them (i.e. outside organisations and governments);
and
- (vii) The intervention must be cost-effective.

Notes

¹ Additionally, the contributions of nations outside the region—particularly France, Portugal, the United States and the United Kingdom—were essential.

² See United Nations, *Civilian Capacity in the Aftermath of Conflict: independent report of the Senior Advisory Group*, A/65/747–S/2011/85, 22 February 2011.

³ The total number of deaths indirectly caused by the Bougainville conflict was much higher, due chiefly to the air and sea blockade that prevented access to goods and services, particularly medical services.

⁴ For a more comprehensive background see Anthony Regan, *Light Intervention: lessons from Bougainville*, US Institute of Peace Press, Washington DC, 2010; John Braithwaite, Hilary Charlesworth, Peter Reddy & Leah Dunn, *Reconciliation and Architectures of Commitment: sequencing peace in Bougainville*, ANU Epress, Canberra, 2010.

⁵ Anthony Regan, *Light Intervention: lessons from Bougainville*, US Institute of Peace, Washington DC, 2010.

⁶ See 'Bougainville (International Assistance Groups) (Privileges and Immunities) Act' in W. Dihm and E. P. Wolfers (eds), *Neutral Regional Truce Monitoring Group for Bougainville: A Collection of Key Agreements and Statements* Government of Papua New Guinea, Waigani, 1998, pp. 33–37.

⁷ See *Chega!*, Final report of the Timor-Leste Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation, www.cavr-timorleste.org, and *Per Memoriam ad Spem*, Final report of the Commission of Truth and Friendship Indonesia–Timor-Leste.

⁸ See Report of the Secretary-General on the Situation in East Timor, S/1999/1024, 4 October 1999.

⁹ UN Security Council resolution 1264, 15 September 1999.

¹⁰ Department of Defence Annual Report 1999–2000, p. 18.

¹¹ See United Nations, 'Report of the Secretary-General on Timor-Leste pursuant to Security Council resolution 1690 (2006)', S/2006/628, 8 August 2006.

¹² 'Arrangement between the Government of Australia and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste concerning the Restoration and Maintenance of Security in Timor-Leste', 25 May 2006, made available by the Timor-Leste Institute for Development Monitoring and Analysis (Laio Hamutuk), viewed 16 February 2012, www.laiohamutuk.org/reports/UN/06SOFAs.html.

¹³ See S/2006/319 of 24 May 2006.

¹⁴ Department of Defence, Annual Report 2005–06, p. 88; Australian Federal Police, Annual Report 2005–06, p. 56.

¹⁵ United Nations, 'Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (for the period from 8 January to 8 July 2008)', S/2008/501, 29 July 2008.

¹⁶ UN Security Council, 'Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (for the period from 8 January 2011 to 20 September 2011)', S/2011/641, 14 October 2011, p. 6.

¹⁷ UN Security Council, 'Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (for the period from 21 September 2010 to 7 January 2011)', S/2011/32, 25 January 2011, p. 19.

¹⁸ Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, Profile of Internal Displacement: Solomon Islands 2004, www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3d32e1a54.html.

¹⁹ The Honiara Peace Accord (28 June 1999) and the Panatina Agreement (12 August 1999).

²⁰ Braithwaite et al., 2010, p. 39; see David Hegarty 'Monitoring peace in Solomon Islands', Background paper prepared for the Solomon Islands Workshop: Building Peace and Stability, Canberra, 24–26 October 2001.

²¹ Mandate quoted in David Hegarty, 'Peace Interventions in the South Pacific: lessons from Bougainville and Solomon Islands', Paper presented at the Asia–Pacific Centre for Security Studies Conference, Honolulu, 15–17 July 2003.

²² Muggah estimates 150–200 deaths and 430–460 non-fatal small arms–related injuries; Braithwaite considers that the estimate of 200 is still too low and that up to 400 is likely; see Robert Muggah, 'Diagnosing demand: assessing the motivations and means for firearms acquisition in the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea', State, Society and Governance in Melanesia discussion paper 2004/7, p. 5; and Braithwaite et al. p. 20.

²³ See Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Solomon Islands: rebuilding an island economy, DFAT, Canberra, 2004; Jeni Whalan, 'Aid for education in post-conflict Solomon Islands', *Prospects*, vol. 41, no. 2, 2011, pp. 237–47.

²⁴ The initial deployment included 1700 military and 300 police officers, plus civilian support.

²⁵ Solomon Islands Intervention Task Force, A Review Report on the First Year Performance of the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI) 24 July 2003 to 23 July 2004, Solomon Islands Government, Honiara, November 2004.

²⁶ However, this did not include the 'no-go zone' controlled by Francis Ona and his followers.

²⁷ Discussion of these issues is beyond the scope of this report; for more see Peter Carey with Pat Walsh, 'The Security Council and the question of East Timor', in Vaughan Lowe, Adam Roberts, Jennifer Welsh & Dominik Zaum (eds), *The United Nations Security Council and War: the evolution of thought and practice since 1945*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2008; Ian Martin, 'International intervention in East Timor', in Jennifer Welsh (ed.) *Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003; Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998–2000: an Australian policy challenge*, DFAT, Canberra, 2001.

²⁸ See Jarat Chopra, 'The UN's Kingdom of East Timor', *Survival*, vol. 42, no. 3, 2000, pp. 27–39; Simon Chesterman, 'Ownership in theory and practice: transfer of authority in UN statebuilding operations', *Journal of Statebuilding and Intervention*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2007; Emilia Pires & Michael Francino, 'National ownership and international trusteeship: the case of Timor-Leste', in James Boyce & Madalene O'Donnell (eds), *Peace and the Public Purse: economic policies for postwar statebuilding*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder CO, 2007.

²⁹ UNTAET's six-part mandate directed the operation to (a) provide security and maintain law and order through the territory; (b) establish an effective administration; (c) assist in the development of civil and social services; (d) ensure the coordination and delivery of humanitarian assistance, rehabilitation and development assistance; (e) support capacity building for self-government; and (f) assist in the establishment of conditions for sustainable development.

³⁰ David Harland, *UN Peacekeeping Operations in Post-conflict Timor-Leste: accomplishments and lessons learned*, UN Peacekeeping Best Practices Unit 4/2005, 2005. See also Paulo Gorjão, 'The legacy and lessons of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor', *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, vol. 24, no. 2, 2002, pp. 313–36; Jarat Chopra, 'The UN's Kingdom of East Timor', *Survival*, vol. 42, no. 3, 2000, pp. 27–39.

³¹ See John Blaxland, 'Information-era manoeuvre: the Australian-led mission to East Timor' Land Warfare Studies Centre working paper no.118, 2002, pp. 41–3.

³² *ibid.*, p. 50.

³³ See www.ramsi.org.

³⁴ *ibid.*

³⁵ Solomon Islands (540 000), Fiji (860 000), New Zealand (4.3 million), Papua New Guinea (6.8 million) and Australia (22.4 million).

³⁶ Australian Government, Defence White Paper 2009, p. 54, para. 7.11.

³⁷ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998–2000: an Australian policy challenge*, DFAT, Canberra, 2001, p. 94.

³⁸ John Blaxland, 'Information-era manoeuvre: the Australian-led mission to East Timor' Land Warfare Studies Centre working paper no.118, 2002.

³⁹ See UN Security Council resolution 1704, 2006, OP4c.

⁴⁰ See James Schear & Karl Farris, 'Policing Cambodia: the public security dimensions of UN peace operations', in Robert Oakley, Michael J Dziedzic & Eliot M Goldberg (eds), *Policing the New World Disorder: peace operations and public security*, National Defense University Press, Washington DC, 1998.

⁴¹ See Simon Chesterman, *You, the People: the United Nations, transitional administration and state-building*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004; Hansjorg Strohmeyer, 'Making multilateral interventions work: the UN and the creation of transitional justice systems in Kosovo and East Timor', *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, vol. 107; Tanja Hohe, 'Justice without judiciary in East Timor', *Conflict, Security and Development*, vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 335–57.

⁴² See James Watson, 'A model Pacific solution? A study of the deployment of the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands', Land Warfare Studies Centre working paper no. 126, pp. 26–7.

⁴³ See *Civilian Capacity in the Aftermath of Conflict: independent report of the Senior Advisory Group*, 2011.

⁴⁴ See www.eiti.org.

⁴⁵ Chapter VIII of the UN Charter, 'Regional arrangements', provides a formal basis by which a regional peace operation can be authorised by the United Nations.

⁴⁶ Regulation No. 1999/1 on the Authority of the Transitional Administration in East Timor, UNTAET/REG/1999/1, 27 November 1999; Regulation No. 1999/2 on the Establishment of a National Consultative Council, UNTAET/REG/1999/2, 2 December 1999; Regulation No. 1999/3 on the Establishment of a Transitional Judicial Service Commission, UNTAET/REG/1999/3, 3 December 1999.

⁴⁷ See Anthony Regan, 'Establishing the Truce Monitoring Group and the Peace Monitoring Group', in M Wehner & D Denoon (eds), *Without a Gun: Australia's experience of monitoring peace in Bougainville 1997–2001*, Pandanus Books, Canberra, 2001.

⁴⁸ www.ramsi.org/media/news/the-peoples-survey-a-tool-for-developing-solomon-islands-.html.



Australian Defence Force and Australian Federal Police officers on a joint patrol in Dili.

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