Preventing conflict: promoting security for the poor and increasing aid effectiveness

Saferworld submission to the UK Conservative Party's Globalisation and Global Poverty Group - July 2006

A.   Introduction: linking conflict and development

1.   The *Built To Last* paper states that it is the Conservative Party's "moral obligation to make poverty history". A future UK Government will have the opportunity to make this possible if it ensures that stronger links are made between promoting development and promoting human security, across the Government's work, and particularly in DFID.

2.   If the key aim of the Globalisation and Global Poverty Policy Group (GGPPG) is "to put the interests of the poor people on our planet first", tackling insecurity must be a priority. Insecurity has been identified as the greatest barrier to development for poor people in developing countries. That was the conclusion of the World Bank's *Voices of the Poor* report that interviewed thousands of local people across Africa, Asia and Latin America[1]; and 22 of the 34 countries most away from reaching the Millennium Development Goals are in or emerging from conflict. Conflict negatively impacts on all of the globalisation and global poverty policy review's key issues: aid, trade and economic development; and in turn, each of these issues impacts on conflict. Violent conflict deters foreign investors, and can reduce a country's growth rate by an average of 2%.[2] Nine out of ten countries with the highest infant and child mortality rates have suffered conflict in recent years.[3] Insecure environments also provide fertile breeding grounds for organised crime and terrorism worldwide. Half of all countries that emerge from conflicts return to conflict within five years.[4] Secure environments are therefore a fundamental prerequisite to the achievement of human and economic development, private sector development, investment, trade and for defending the freedoms of the poor.

"If war hadn't taken place we would have led a very prosperous life. My father's health has now been ruined as a result of the war. Our community, which was prospering well due to agriculture and fishing, has been totally affected*"* Mr. Nazeen, Sri Lanka.

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[1] *Voice of the* Poor, World Bank, 2000.
[2] Collier, 2004.
[3] Human Development Report, 2005, UNDP.
[4] Collier, 2004.

3.	The links between development and security are increasingly gaining international recognition. Last year, the UN High Level Panel Report on Threats, Challenges and Security, the Commission for Africa report and international statements such as the G8 communique´ highlighted the interrelationship between conflict, security and development. All of these produced policy recommendations to help improve global development and security. Despite UK Government commitments to implement these, little action has been taken to take the recommendations forward. A future UK Government must expedite the implementation of the recommendations made, if it is serious in tackling global poverty.

4.	Referring to the questions outlined in the issues and options document, we focus on a number of key issues. Under Promoting secure environments for poverty reduction, we highlight what policies a future UK Government must promote and support to create safe and secure environments in which development can prosper. This covers activities such as security sector reform and arms control.

5.	Under Delivering development, we illustrate how the mainstreaming of conflict assessments across all of DFID's and international donors' programming, as recommended by the Commission for Africa, will help to ensure that any aid intervention does not exacerbate existing tensions or fuel conflict.

6.	And finally, in section D, under International community and conflict prevention, we look at how a UK Government can promote preventive policies to the international community through the African Union and the UN.

B.	Promoting secure environments for poverty reduction

Conservative party statement:

"**The rule of law and prosperity go hand in hand.**" David Cameron, June 2006.

Recommendation for future UK policy:

- **Provide assistance to security sector reform programmes that are developed jointly with partner governments and civil society and based on an assessment of the security needs of the people and the state.**

7.	A transparent, accountable and professional security sector is fundamental for creating conditions to foster development. Too often in developing countries, and particularly in fragile states and post-conflict environments, security forces are unable or unwilling to protect citizens. Where the security sector has had a history of being a tool for repression – unprofessional forces can fuel violent conflict as local communities take their security into their own hands. Providing safety, security and access to justice for poor people is therefore a priority for poverty reduction and peace-building.

"We feel in Kibera that without security we cannot have development."
Andrew Otieno, Kibera, Kenya.

8.	A UK Government that increases funding for activities that finance security sector reform projects in developing countries and fragile states, can help bring about more positive and accountable security structures that meet the needs of poor

people. Security sector reform should be recognised as an integral aspect of democratisation and of government reform involving greater transparency and accountability. One such police reform project supported by Saferworld in Kenya is based on principles of community-based policing. As part of the project, Community Police Forums have been established where the police, local farmers, civil society, nomads, landlords and other representatives of the area, work together to develop policies and plans to improve on the security of the area. Police training has also helped to professionalise the police forces. Since the introduction of community-based policing in the pilot projects in Kibera and Isiolo, the areas have seen the crime rate cut by up to 30%, businesses and schools re-opening and has introduced a culture of freedom and security.

"It used to be very difficult to run a business in Kibera. The thugs would come to your shop and mug your customers, steal your goods and bring fear. But now we can operate without fear." Shopkeeper, Kibera.

C.   Beyond aid: linking arms to poverty reduction

Conservative party statement:

"Uncontrolled arms sales help to fuel brutal and destabilising conflicts around the world. There is a profound moral imperative to ensure that the global arms trade is governed by firm, consistent and fair rules".
David Cameron, May 2006.

Recommendations for future UK policy:

- **Ensure a successful implementation of conclusion of negotiations on the Arms Trade Treaty and its effective implementation.**
- **Introduce an end-use monitoring system for arms exports, similar to that used in the US, in the UK and across the EU.**
- **Introduce full extraterritorial controls on arms brokering and trafficking.**
- **Ensure that British companies wanting to license the production of weapons overseas should first have to apply to the UK Government for a licence.**

9.   The proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW) fuels conflict and crime. Any attempt to improve security to enable accelerated development must therefore promote action to address the irresponsible transfer of arms and the proliferation of small arms within societies.

"Guns are bad things and should be collected up. It is too easy for people in this environment to access them to do evil things to themselves and others." Simon Kongyong, Sudan.

10.   The Conservative Party's recent support for an **Arms Trade Treaty** is a welcome and positive step towards curbing the proliferation of illicit arms around the world. The current Government is seeking a resolution to start negotiations on an ATT at October's UN General Assembly. The ATT, once agreed, should be reflected in individual states' domestic legislation. A future UK Government should promote this process and encourage international monitoring of progress. Many countries have limited and often inadequate capacity to enforce transfer controls, so they will also require support to improve their capacity in this area.

11.   At a more domestic level, despite the UK Government taking a strong lead on arms export controls, defence equipment originating or being organised from the UK continues to reach unstable states or embargoed countries. Loopholes in existing controls allow persons or companies involved in arms transfers to bypass the licensing system through brokering and moving production overseas. In addition, there is no system to verify that the weapons that leave UK shores are used as the Government intended. Strengthened legislation is required to close these loopholes as well as increased end-use monitoring.

12.   Little is done to check what happens to arms exports after they have been licensed and left the UK. Current reporting on arms exports does not include information on the identity or even the nationality of the **end-user**.[5]   More information on end-use is required, and the establishment of a system of delivery verification and monitoring of end-use to ensure that the exported British military equipment is used as the Government intends.[6] The US has end-use monitoring systems of this type in place: the State Department Blue Lantern programme and the Department of Defence Golden Sentry programme, which operate on the principle that where a particular transfer trips a number of 'red flags', checks are carried out. In 2004, the State Department performed 530 Blue Lantern checks, with 93 'unfavourable determinations'.[7] A similar system should be introduced in the UK and across the EU.

13.   Current UK policy asserts extra-territorial controls on **arms brokers** only where the brokering activities are in relation to long-range missiles or torture equipment, or to embargoed destinations. However, UK defence companies that have offices worldwide are able to bypass UK export controls and export to clients from countries that are not subject to UK export controls. For example, Imperial Defence Services Limited website states: "The Ranger H-P Pistol can only be obtained from this company, who will either export it to clients from the UK or from Bulgaria when easier for export licensing procedures to certain destinations."[8] UK laws urgently need to be strengthened to control traffickers and brokers wherever they are located.

14.   There is an increasing trend for UK companies to be involved in arms production in other countries. This involvement can take several forms, for example: co-production and joint venture deals in which final assembly takes place elsewhere; the **licensed production** of arms by companies in overseas countries; or via subsidiary companies, based overseas, but owned by UK parent companies. These arrangements tend to be both under-regulated and poorly reported by governments. In the case of overseas-based, UK-owned subsidiaries, it appears that UK controls do not apply at all – even to embargoed destinations. This is despite the fact that they may be owned, or controlled, by a UK-based parent company.

In 1999, UK defence company Vickers Defence Systems bought South African company Reumech, South Africa's largest military vehicle manufacturer, creating Vickers Defence Systems OMC. In November 2004, the South African company

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[5] UK reporting is disaggregated based on the final intended destination of the equipment or technology, not on the nationality of the recipient, so, for example, a licence granted for a transfer of equipment to an Australian naval vessel in Indonesian territorial waters will appear in the Indonesia entry of the national report.

[6] In recent years, the UK Government has licensed military equipment to *inter alia* Angola, Colombia, Indonesia, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Pakistan, Philippines Saudi Arabia, Syria, South Africa and the United Arab Emirates – all states that have reputations as conduits of arms to other irresponsible parties.

[7] 'End-Use Monitoring of Defence Articles, FY 2004', *US State Department Directorate on Defence Trade Controls,* https://www.pmdtc.org/docs/End_Use_FY2004.pdf.

[8] http://www.imperialdefence.co.uk/defence_equipment.htm.

became a subsidiary of UK company BAE Systems, changing its name to Land Systems OMC. BAE Systems holds a 75 percent share in the South African company.

The South African-based company has sold armoured vehicles to nearly 40 countries around the world. The South African Government submissions to the UN Arms Register between 2000 and 2004 identify exports of armoured vehicles, originally manufactured by OMC, to over 20 countries including the Ivory Coast, Nepal and Uganda - destinations which would raise serious concerns under the EU Code of Conduct for Arms Exports if exported directly by the UK parent company.

D.	Delivering development: how the effectiveness of DFID's aid can be improved

Conservative party statement:

"I believe that effective aid is essential for economic empowerment, and that is why a Conservative government would spend more on aid".- David Cameron, June 2006.

Recommendations for future UK policy:

- **Commit to using conflict assessments in the formulation of country and regional development assistance plans.**
- **Commit DFID to demonstrating the impact of these assessments on decisions made about how aid will be delivered, including decisions on budget support, and how particular human security issues will be addressed, e.g. through support to security and justice sector development.**
- **Urge all international donors to use conflict assessments when making decisions on development assistance.**

15.	Progress towards development is continuously being undermined by violent conflict and political instability. Aid has the potential to prevent conflict and promote human security by addressing the sources of conflict – such as poverty, inequality, weak governance and unemployment. However, it can fail to play this positive role if development actors do not recognise or avoid addressing conflict issues. Providing aid without attention to the impact of ongoing conflicts on development and human security, or via states that exclude certain ethnic groups, can also increase the risk of conflict starting or continuing.

16.	DFID has used a conflict assessment methodology since 2001 and states that 20 of these have been conducted, however, there is little evidence of their findings influencing core development decisions. For example, conflict issues did not play a prominent enough role when the UK provided direct budget support to Ethiopia despite unresolved issues over the demarcation of the border with Eritrea; and to Uganda despite the continuing problems in the north. Recent political events have led the UK to withhold payments to both Ethiopia and Uganda.

17.	A future UK Government must ensure that decisions about core aid programmes are recognising the link between poverty and conflict. Conflict assessments should be done as a matter of course to inform programming decisions. This includes decisions on whether to provide budget support to a country or to a particular sector, whether to provide the majority of aid through the state, how core education, health and other development programmes will ensure that they are having a positive impact on the root causes of conflict, and so on. The assessments

should draw on existing experience of earlier conflict assessments, and other social analyses – particularly those focusing on inequality and social exclusion. Efforts should be made to understand and explain how proposed aid relationship and development programmes will relate to the root causes of conflict as well as the root causes of poverty.

18.   The UK Government should also promote the use of use of conflict assessments to all donors at the level of the EU - including within European Commission Country and Regional Strategy Papers and international institutions such as the World Bank.

In Nepal, DFID, along with a number of donors conducted conflict assessments in Nepal after the emergence of the Maoist movement had produced increased conflict. These assessments demonstrated that international development assistance may have played a role in fuelling the conflict by reinforcing the exclusion of rural communities from development. Donors are now trying to address these issues now, but earlier assessments would have allowed them to play a more positive role in trying to prevent the conflict.

E.   <u>The international community and conflict prevention</u>

Conservative party statement:

"If a country is experiencing conflict, the instability this generates will often neutralise the benefits of aid from the developed world. I have visited Rwanda to learn how the developed world can help poor countries avoid conflict." Andrew Mitchell MP, 2006.

Recommendations for future UK policy:

- **Provide the African Union and sub-regional organisations with flexible and rapid funding for operations, and with capacity-building support to allow them to fulfil their role in peace and security in Africa.**
- **Make international actors more accountable for their behaviour in post-conflict environments by including this in the OECD Development Assistance Committee's peer reviews and extending these to multilateral actors.**

19.   The "African Peace and Security Architecture" – consisting of the African Union and the Regional Economic Communities (such as ECOWAS, IGAD, SADC) have been increasingly active in responding to Africa's peace and security needs in recent years. As a result, "African Solutions to African Problems" have become a source of growing interest from international actors and donors. However, this interest is often uncoordinated, placing additional burdens on already overstretched organisations, and it is also often heavily focused on the capacity to intervene militarily. The process of mobilising funds for individual operations slows down the AU's ability to respond to emergencies and the process of reporting to many donors on closely earmarked funds places a further burden on its capacity. The CfA report committed the UK Government to gaining agreement amongst donors to jointly providing at least 50 per cent of the AU's Peace Fund, annually and in unearmarked funds, from 2005 onwards. This recommendation must be expedited.

20.   A future Government should also refer to the need to ensure that the only current source of coordinated financing, the EU's Africa Peace Facility, continues to be funded, but with increasing attention to capacity-building and preventive capacity,

not just funding to Peace Support Operations. The EU needs to do more to ensure the long-term capacity of the AU is being built and that preventive capacity is getting the attention it deserves.

21.	The UN Peacebuilding Commission was created last year to improve international assistance to help countries emerging from conflict. A future UK Government must demonstrate proactive support for this new Commission both in ensuring the new body is provided with the adequate human and financial resources to function effectively but also has international political support to meet its objectives on the ground – including from the international financial institutions. Many international actors promote the need for better coordination in post-conflict environments, such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone and Liberia, on one hand, but despite some improvements, their practice often promotes incoherence and competition. The OECD DAC conducts periodic reviews of the effectiveness of its members' development assistance. The criteria for these should be expanded to review their practice in post-conflict contexts (e.g. participation in coordination mechanisms, rapidity and appropriateness of financing, willingness to support specific post-conflict requirements), and the reviews should be extended to cover the work of multilateral institutions – such as the EU, World Bank, IMF and UN.