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PART 1

Frameworks for peace

Introduction

Although noninternational armed conflicts associated with natural resources are more likely to relapse into conflict—and do so twice as quickly (Rustad and Binningsbø 2010)—the United Nations Environment Programme has noted that "fewer than a quarter (26 out of 137) of peace negotiations aiming to resolve conflicts linked to natural resources have addressed resource management mechanisms" (UNEP 2009, 5).

Disputes over natural resources and their associated revenues are a potential source of renewed violence; at the same time, natural resources provide essential and rapidly accessible means for a conflict-affected country to recover and achieve lasting peace and stability. Natural resources provide revenues for reconstruction; the foundation for rebuilding livelihoods and ensuring food and energy security; opportunities for reintegrating excombatants, returning refugees, and internally displaced persons; and the basis for rebuilding and growing the economy. To realize this potential, it is necessary to ensure that natural resources are fairly allocated and appropriately managed—a process that begins with the establishment of a framework for peace.

Peace agreements, the most common frameworks for peace, seek to end conflict and lay a foundation for a durable peace. On the one hand, such agreements have limitations. They do not, for example, necessarily represent the wishes of the whole population, but only those upon which the negotiating parties could agree; nor is membership in a negotiating party typically characterized by inclusiveness. On the other hand, a peace agreement that does not address a specific natural resource or dynamic does not necessarily preclude certain actions: in fact, many measures and strategies implemented in the post-conflict period are not addressed in the peace agreement. That said, including natural resource–related issues in peace agreements can provide an explicit mandate to address them after conflict (sometimes identifying the means), and the simple act of including such issues in the peace agreement can reassure belligerents that issues central to a conflict—such as inequitable land distribution—will be addressed as part of the post-conflict peacebuilding process.

This part of the book examines how incorporating natural resources into peace processes can help frame the proper conditions for a durable peace. In the course of the long and fragile process of peacebuilding, post-conflict countries face an ongoing threat of conflict relapse. The first chapter, "Reducing the Risk of Conflict Recurrence: The Relevance of Natural Resource Management," examines the risk factors that are most likely to cause war recurrence in postconflict contexts. According to authors Christian Webersik and Marc Levy, these factors include environmental change, resource scarcity, and dependence on natural resources for revenue—all of which can contribute to conflict relapse if not

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planned for and managed.¹ The authority and legitimacy of the national government and the institutions responsible for allocating and managing natural wealth play a critical role in the transition from war to peace. Webersik and Levy conclude by identifying natural resource policies that may help in designing more effective peacebuilding programs and reducing conflict recurrence.

The next two chapters analyze the role of natural resource provisions in peace agreements ending internal armed conflicts. On the basis of a review of ninety-four peace agreements-concluded in twenty-seven countries, between 1989 and 2004-Simon J. A. Mason, Damiano A. Sguaitamatti, and María del Pilar Ramírez Gröbli explore how natural resource-related provisions have been incorporated into peace agreements and whether they can promote sustainable natural resource management, given the realities of post-conflict contexts. "Stepping Stones to Peace? Natural Resource Provisions in Peace Agreements" presents case studies illustrating how peace agreements in four countries-Guatemala, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sierra Leone, and Sudan-dealt with various natural resources (namely, land, lootable resources, and oil). The authors then discuss the implications for policy makers, highlighting (1) the benefits and limitations of including natural resources in peace agreements; (2) the importance of considering noneconomic aspects of natural resources in negotiating peace accords (in particular, justice, security, social concerns, and environmental protection); and (3) challenges and solutions for the implementation of provisions included in peace agreements.

In "Considerations for Determining When to Include Natural Resources in Peace Agreements Ending Internal Armed Conflicts," Marcia A. Dawes brings a practitioner's perspective to the discussion of natural resource provisions in peace agreements. Dawes examines the factors that affect the feasibility and impacts of addressing natural resources issues in peace processes. She then analyzes the instruments available to the international community and natural resource practitioners to enhance the inclusion of natural resource provisions in peace agreements, as well as their implementation in the post-conflict period. Dawes offers five scenarios to guide the international community in the selection of natural resource issues to be included in a peace agreement, and presents the best strategies for ensuring inclusion of those issues.

In recognition of their connection to both armed conflict and post-conflict peacebuilding, natural resource issues have been increasingly integrated into peacebuilding strategies. In "Peacebuilding through Natural Resource Management: The UN Peacebuilding Commission's First Five Years," Matti Lehtonen explores the country-specific work of the UN Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) in Sierra Leone and the Central African Republic. Lehtonen's chapter illustrates how the PBC integrated natural resource management issues into its peacebuilding efforts, from initial analysis to design and implementation. He concludes by highlighting

¹ Other risk factors include poverty, economic inequality, demographic factors, and crime.

lessons and identifying future opportunities for integrating natural resource management into the UN's peacebuilding architecture.

For a peace process to be effective, natural resources may need to be considered long before a peace agreement is signed. In "Preparing for Peace: An Analysis of Darfur, Sudan," Margie Buchanan-Smith and Brendan Bromwich explore sustainable natural resource management in Darfur as a means of laying the groundwork for peace in Sudan, even while the conflict is ongoing. Buchanan-Smith and Bromwich analyze the impact of the conflict on natural resource management, as well as the effect on the environment of the accelerated urbanization that occurred between 2003 and 2009. They then consider the role of the international community, which has struggled to reverse environmental degradation and build peace in Darfur. Drawing from experience in the country, Buchanan-Smith and Bromwich conclude that a dual approach to humanitarian programming is required to address both short-term needs and long-term processes. They argue that dealing with natural resource–related issues during the crisis is critical to achieving long-term peace and recovery in the post-conflict period.

Together, the five chapters in this part emphasize that, when properly managed, natural resources play an important role in both ending conflict and promoting a long-lasting peace and recovery. The chapters propose a range of tailored approaches to capitalizing on the potential value of addressing natural resources in peace agreements: the inclusion of natural resource provisions in peace agreements as a means of promoting sustainable natural resource management; the expansion of peacebuilding programs to natural resource issues; and the integration of natural resource considerations in humanitarian programming during a crisis, even before a peace agreement has been concluded.

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