

UNAMIR

MINUTES OF MEETINGS AND NOTES
FOR THE FILE

[1 JAN 1991] - 16 MAR 1994

PLEASE RETAIN
ORIGINAL ORDER

UNCLASSIFIED
RH/WG APR 2009

UN ARCHIVES

SERIES	<u>S-1120</u>
BOX	<u>46</u>
FILE	<u>2</u>
ACC.	<u>1998/0278</u>

In the army, as in the corporate world, the leader who expects instant action must first earn trust among his followers.

The Work of the Leader

by William G. Pagonis

Lieutenant General William G. Pagonis led the 40,000 men and women who ran the theater logistics for the Persian Gulf War during its three phases of operation: Desert Shield (buildup), Desert Storm (ground war), and Desert Farewell (redeployment). By military standards, it was a challenging assignment. By the conventions of any nonmilitary, complex organization, it was unheard of. Over the course of a few hectic months, his organization, the 22nd Support Command, grew from 5 people to 40,000. The team fed, clothed, sheltered, and armed over 550,000 people. They served 122 million meals. Within the theater, they transported and distributed more than 7 million tons of supplies, 117,000 wheeled vehicles, 2,200 tracked vehicles, and 2,000 helicopters. They pumped 1.3 billion gallons of fuel. They successfully supported General Norman Schwarzkopf's "end run" strategy, and did so in a harsh environment with almost no preexisting military infrastructure.

The 22nd Support Command's accomplishments are testimony to an often maligned branch of the Army. Logistics, at best, has been traditionally dismissed as mundane. But the lessons of leadership gleaned through Pagonis's experience in the Gulf cross military boundaries — they apply equally to general management and leadership development in the private, civilian sector.

*Lt. General Pagonis is author (with Jeffrey L. Cruikshank) of *Moving Mountains: Lessons in Leadership and Logistics from the Gulf War* (Harvard Business School Press, 1992).*

It has been a year and a half since I completed my tour of duty in Saudi Arabia as head of the United States Army's 22nd Support Command. And in the wake of the Allied victory over Iraq, I've read and thought a lot about my logistics profession. But I've also done a great deal of thinking about the goals, qualities, and prerequisites of leadership. And based on that reflection, I've reached a number of conclusions.

For one, I've concluded that leadership is only possible where the ground has been prepared in advance. To a certain extent, I'll be the first to admit, this process of ground-breaking is beyond the control of a lone individual in a large organization. If the organization isn't pulling for you, you're likely to be hobbled from the start. Fortunately for me and for thousands of other officers like me, the Army goes to great lengths — greater, I would argue, than any other organization — to groom and develop its leaders. Like my peers in the general officer ranks, I have been formally educated, informally mentored, and systematically rotated through a wide variety of postings, all designed to challenge me in appropriate ways (that is, to push me without setting me up to fail) and to broaden my skills and knowledge base.

But a leader is not simply a passive vessel into which the organization pours its best intentions. To lead successfully, a person must demonstrate two active, essential, and interrelated traits: expertise and empathy. In my experience, both of these traits can be deliberately and systematically cultivated; this personal development is the first important building block of leadership.

The leadership equation has another vital piece as well. Leaders are not only shaped by the environment; they also take active roles in remaking that

A true leader must demonstrate two active, essential, and interrelated traits: expertise and empathy.

environment in productive ways. In other words, true leaders create organizations that support the exercise and cultivation of leadership. This can only be achieved through rigorous and systematic organizational development.

The work of leadership, therefore, is both personal and organizational. The bad news is that this

to emphasize charisma—a mysterious and seductive quality. But when they do so, they overlook the real roots of leadership.

Expertise and Empathy

I can think of no leader, military or business, who has achieved his or her position without some profound expertise. Most leaders first achieve mastery in a particular functional area, such as logistics, and eventually move into the generalist's realm.

Expertise grows out of hard work and, to some extent, luck. It's hard work that develops a skill base, and it's often luck that gives us the chance to apply that base.

Throughout my childhood, my parents ran small businesses: first a restaurant, and then a small hotel with a restaurant. Every member of the family was expected to pitch in. For my part, I scrubbed floors, waited on tables, did kitchen-prep, and helped keep the books. All through high school and college, my responsibilities expanded. I learned new things and kept my hand in old things.

After college graduation and ROTC training, I sought and won an Army commission. My first assignment was at Fort Knox, where those years of hands-on business training proved immediately useful in streamlining the unit's mail operations. On the strength of this success, I was asked to tackle the mess hall. This was even easier: I was already a minor expert in private-sector mess halls. Because I had expertise, I was successful, and because I was successful, I was identified by my superiors as a potential leader.

There are dozens of instances where I've grumbled my way through an assignment only to discover that the assignment has taught me a great deal, and that this learning is applicable in unexpected ways. Back in 1971, for example, I suffered through a stint of desk-bound research in which I was part of a team charged with analyzing LOTS (logistics-over-the-shore) vehicles. I was sure I was wasting my time, crunching numbers and drafting memos rather than leading troops.

Exactly 20 years later, I was in charge of—among several other resources—a flotilla of LOTS ships, which plied the coasts of Saudi Arabia serving as a backup for our truck convoys. Because I had been a member of the team that helped specify their design, I knew exactly how to use those vessels. I had expertise, which not only helped me do my job but also reinforced me as a leader in the eyes of my subordinates.

Owning the facts is a prerequisite to leadership. But there are millions of technocrats out there with lots of facts in their quiver and little leadership potential. In many cases, what they are missing is empathy. No one is a leader who can't put himself or herself in the other person's shoes. Empathy and expertise command respect.

I got my first inkling of this back in the 1950s, when I was a newsboy in my hometown of Charleroi, Pennsylvania. I started out at the age of nine, hawking afternoon editions of the *Charleroi Mail* on the corner of 5th and McKean. Things started going along pretty well for me there. I had regular customers, and I could shout out the headlines with the best of them: "Korean armistice signed! Read all about it!"

I soon began to notice, though, that the real market for papers was in the local bars and restaurants, rather than on quiet street corners like my own. At my little stand, I was averaging 50 copies a day.

Brash I was, even foolhardy. So I took a few licks, but I wouldn't back down.

In the bars and restaurants, especially around dinner time, you could sell that many copies in two hours—and get tips, to boot.

I decided to mine this rich vein of opportunity. But the older newsboys, mostly 14 and 15 years old, dominated the commercial district, and they didn't appreciate my efforts to compete. A group of them paid me a visit, gave me a few licks, and suggested that I stick to my quiet little corner and stay out of their restaurants.

I did just that—for a little while. Then I went right back to selling papers in those crowded bar-rooms. Brash I was, even foolhardy, but I wasn't dumb. The opportunity was very good. And even then, I had a keen sense of justice. Why should the big kids control the best territory just because that was the way it had always been done? Even to the nine-year-old Gus Pagonis it was obvious that if you were going to do business, you'd better do it in the right place, and the big boys controlled the right place. I took a few more licks, but soon established myself as a savvy young businessman who wouldn't back down from a fight. I gained the older boys' respect and they no longer bothered me.

Years went by, and I gradually moved up in the newsboy hierarchy. Then one day I had a disturbing realization. I was now the "establishment." I was

means hard work – lots of it. The good news is that leaders are made, not born. I'm convinced that anyone who wants to work hard enough and develop these traits can lead.

Charisma, Presence, and Other Notions

No military commander would downplay the importance of personal presence in leadership. It's a vital attribute, particularly in a combat setting. Almost every combat-hardened officer can recall that fateful moment of truth when his or her command presence was first put to the test.

In my own case, that test came in 1968, during my first tour in Vietnam. My boat company had already more than proven its mettle, transporting artillery barges and supplies through intermittent sniper fire up and down the rivers of the Mekong Delta. But during the Tet Offensive of February, we were beset and besieged as never before.

Late one night, we received word that an orphanage was under attack and that we needed to transport troops to the site as quickly as possible. Leaving our artillery barges behind, we took about 30 volunteers in 6 boats and went 5 miles downriver. I wasn't told at the time, but the rest of my outfit was then ordered to follow along behind with our artillery barges in tow.

My small convoy had just landed the infantry troops near the orphanage when I got a radio call that our trailing barges were stopped dead in the water. The first barge had come under fire and "crabbed" – gone sideways in the river – and now two dozen boats were trapped behind the barge. Our battalion commander got on the air, advised us of the extreme danger upriver, and ordered us not to go back and rescue our comrades.

It was a moonlit night. From where we sat, chafing under our orders to stay put, we could look upriver and see the tracers burning across the water where the boats were stuck. They were in deep trouble. On the spur of the moment, following a time-honored military tradition, I developed "radio trouble" – that is, I turned the communications gear off – and addressed the crew of four on my small patrol boat. "We've got to go back and help," I told them, "but I don't want to force you. Anyone who doesn't want to join can stay here, no questions asked."

I'm proud to say that every one of those soldiers volunteered. We turned one of our boats around and headed upriver with tracers zinging over our heads

and bullets bouncing off the sides of the boat. When we reached the crabbed barge, I could see that the man behind the steering wheel had frozen. I jumped from my boat onto the barge, and shook him back into action. In short order, we got the boat turned around and headed home again.

One leader's orders had been ignored, and another's followed. Why? Adrenaline was one contributing factor. So was loyalty: our comrades needed help immediately. But most important was my soldiers' trust in my judgment. Had I not already earned that trust and developed a command presence in a thousand undramatic settings, those soldiers would not have followed my lead. Had I not demonstrated my confidence that we could pull off the rescue, they would not have followed. My troops would have taken the sensible course and followed the radio's lead.

This same lesson applies to leaders in private industry. We are misled by the popular-culture portrayals of leaders. Movies and television have to deal in superficialities and sound bites. They have



The commander ordered us not to rescue our comrades. I turned off the radio and asked for volunteers.

one of those big boys whom the young up-and-comers had to go up against. It seemed that I had a clear choice. I could perpetuate the cycle, or I could act in the spirit of empathy, based on my vivid recollection of what it felt like to get knocked around. I chose the latter course. At my urging, we came up with an arrangement that didn't cut too deeply into the profits of the veteran newsboys yet still gave the younger kids a chance to flex their entrepreneurial muscles. My peers went along with the plan because they knew I understood the situation from all sides. And I had earned a leader's respect from the younger kids through empathy.

Empathy was an absolutely vital quality in the context of the Gulf War. We asked ourselves constantly: What do the other people on our team need? Why do they think they need it, and how can we give it to them? The military always has its share of bendable rules. Can we find one to fit each situation?

Our hosts, the Saudi Arabian people and their government, were among the most important objects of this kind of attention. King Fahd had pledged his country's complete support and cooperation, and the Saudis delivered on that promise unstintingly. But both sides knew that the deployment of a half-million "infidels" into a strict Muslim society would be a daunting challenge.

We made our share of mistakes. Early in the most hectic phase of the Desert Shield deployment, for example, we decided to establish an Allied medical materiel command in the port city of Ad Dammam. American soldiers, male and female, reported to the site to unload boxes and crates of supplies. Unfortu-

nately, we had no idea that the building we were moving into was located next to a particularly devout Muslim community, whose members were deeply offended by the sight of women with uncovered hair and rolled-up sleeves, working up a good sweat in the desert sun. Members of the community complained to the local religious police, and our female soldiers were soon subjected to catcalls and jeering.

Before the situation developed into a crisis, U.S. military leaders met with the appropriate Saudi religious and civil officials to get a handle on the cause of the disturbances. We soon reached a simple compromise: all U.S. military personnel would henceforth wear long-sleeved shirts in the city, and our female soldiers would keep their hair covered with their hats. It was a small concession, but one that greatly pleased the religious police responsible for enforcing the Sharia, or Islamic law.

We learned a great deal about the sensitivities of a Muslim community through these negotiations, and we applied the lessons in our subsequent dealings with the Saudi population. We also took our learning one step further. It was clear that our hosts were inclined to avoid conflict with their 550,000 guests, at least until things were approaching a crisis stage. It was our responsibility, therefore, to anticipate their needs and avoid crises. One day several months after the ground war ended, I realized that our two inactivated firing ranges were still littered with unexploded ordnance, and that the bedouins would soon be traversing these areas again. We put ourselves in the shoes of the bedouins and also in the shoes of the Saudi officials who



During Desert Shield, we didn't know the sight of women with uncovered hair and rolled-up sleeves would offend the Muslim community.

had to protect the interests of these desert wanderers. We cleaned up the ranges well before the Saudi Arabians had to put pressure on us to do so. With that we earned their continued respect and cooperation.

Empathy also helps you know where you can draw the line and make it stick. For example, some Saudi Arabians disapproved of the U.S. female soldiers driving vehicles and carrying weapons (activities in which Saudi Arabian women do not engage). I made it clear that from the U.S. Army's perspective, a soldier was a soldier, and that our lean logistical structure absolutely demanded that all our soldiers be allowed to use the tools of their trade. That line stuck.

Empathy counts for even more on the individual level. This was brought home to me one afternoon in August 1991, some six months into Desert Farewell. A very young private was sent to me by the military police for disciplinary action. The facts of the incident were clear enough. On the previous night, two MPs had demanded to see the private's ID. He cussed them out and wound up spending the night in jail. He arrived in my office looking remorseful and more than a little bit scared, and launched into a hurried and jumbled explanation. It was hot the night before, he said, he was tired, the MPs were picking on him, and so on. But when he finished making his excuses, he said simply, "I screwed up. I shouldn't have done it."

I made him think things through from the MPs' point of view. They had a job to do. Terrorist attacks were still a very real possibility, and the recent

work of the war had already been accomplished, that the danger was past, that we were only mopping up after the main event. And, in fact, the weather was very hot – hotter than earlier in the summer when smoke from the oil fires in Kuwait had blocked out the sun. Inevitably, some tempers were wearing thin in the ranks. My young private had already learned his lesson, and he was more useful to me outside the brig than in.

The Steps of Leadership

I had the very good fortune early in my Army career to serve as an aide to a general officer in Germany. In that context, I visited most of the battalions and companies around the country. This was the military equivalent of a control experiment, in the sense that all of the commanders in the division were working on the same mission. But each of them approached his assignment a little bit differently – how he took care of his troops, how he briefed the results of his actions, how he presented himself. From company to company, and from battalion to battalion, what was really changing was leadership.

Even from my youthful and uninformed vantage point, it was obvious that some things worked and others didn't. And over time, I was able to distill the techniques of effective leadership that would work best for me. Cultivating leadership in yourself and in others should be done on both a personal and organizational level.

The first important step in the process of developing effective leadership may seem self-evident: *know yourself*. What's your expertise? What are your strengths? And, just as important, what are your weaknesses and how can you improve? Regularly scheduled self-examinations are a must for building and sustaining leadership.

Once you've assessed the raw material, you can draw up a plan that builds on your existing skills and knowledge. Take any steps necessary to sharpen those talents you already have or to compensate for ones you lack. Most leaders engage in public speaking, for example. Are you one of those rare leaders who can get away without making public appearances? Or could you benefit from some coaching in voice projection and deportment?

This kind of self-analysis allows you to be *real* – in my experience, a vital contributing factor in effective leadership. A person who is always playing to his or her weaknesses can't inspire much confidence in others. This is something to watch out for

Terrorist attacks were still a possibility, and the tragedy in Beirut was fresh in our minds.

tragedies in Beirut and Berlin were very much in our minds. Tight security and ID checks were therefore still needed to protect the safety of everyone at the base. Then, after telling my wayward private that I would personally thank the MPs for their vigilance, I let him off the hook. He was out of my office in a flash.

Why did I bend the rules? Because empathy demanded it. This was a tough period. The war was long since over, and the vast majority of Coalition forces were already back in their home countries. But we logisticians were still there, picking up and packing up the theater. We were fighting a subtle battle against the perception that the "important"

lished,
mop-
ct, the
in the
wait
mpers
private
more

ny ca-
n Ger-
battal-
is was
ent, in
vision
ach of
differ-
ow he
ented
n bat-
g was

intage
d and
distill
would
urself
al and

level-
ident:
at are
at are
Regu-
st for

u can
skills
sharp-
nsate
public
e rare
public
some

real -
in ef-
aying
confi-
ut for

in matters large and small, since it's the cornerstone of presence. For example, I use a gentle kind of humor quite a bit. Humor helps me make contact with other people. But I only use humor because it comes naturally to me. I'm real when I use it. Those who aren't, shouldn't! In the same spirit, truly hopeless public speakers - of whom there are very few, by the way - should concentrate on grooming effective proxies.

A related challenge is to *learn how and what to communicate*. This comprises not only good speaking skills but also good listening skills and the ability to project and interpret body language. Many years ago, I set up formal systems to elicit constructive criticism from my subordinates. One of the first criticisms I got back was that I didn't listen well. This surprised me. Up to that moment, I thought my listening skills were as good as the next person's - maybe better. I poked around, asked questions, and eventually discovered that one basis for this judgment was a bad habit on my part. While listening to others, I had a tendency to sift quickly through mail or do an initial sort of my paperwork. My body language projected a lack of attention. With minor adjustments to my routine (maintaining eye contact during these meetings, relegating paperwork to later in the day), my report card improved. I also took to heart the advice of a wise commanding officer who said: "Never pass up the opportunity to remain silent." My subordinates soon began citing my listening skills as a strength rather than a weakness.

A third vital aspect of personal development relates directly to expertise: the leader has to *know the mission*. What needs to be accomplished? How can your expertise most effectively be channeled to do the job? This is an important part of the hard work I mentioned earlier. Leaders have to do their homework!

During the Gulf War, I directed my planning team to compile a binder, known within the command as the "Red Book," which was a complete and constantly updated collection of data outlining the developments of the conflict. Some four inches thick with charts and tables, it contained virtually all of the information I needed to keep abreast of our situation. While I was in transit from one theater location to another, that book was practically joined to me at the hip. General Schwarzkopf (or another general in the field or stateside) would frequently call me on the road or in the air with requests for specific information: how many tanks here, how much fuel there, how quickly can equipment be moved somewhere, and so on. I know that both my subordinates and superiors were regularly

impressed with my almost magical grasp of the numbers. No magic was involved, I just studied that binder every chance I could.

When the elements of personal leadership development are in place, a leader can concentrate on building an appropriate context for leadership. Not surprisingly, this kind of organizational development depends, in large part, on a leader's ability to empower and motivate others to lead.

Moving Outward: Organizational Development

By definition, leaders don't operate in isolation. Nor do they command in the literal sense of the word, issuing a one-way stream of unilateral directives. Instead, leadership almost always involves cooperation and collaboration, activities that can occur only in a conducive context.

I am convinced that an effective leader can create such a context. My goal, as I set out to build a leadership-supporting environment, is to combine centralized control with decentralized execution.

This involves, first, extensive delegation. In a sense, this prerequisite is a logical extension of the personal awareness and development described above. A person who knows his or her expertise and the mission can find the right people to fill gaps. As a result, authority is pushed further and further down into the organization.

Delegation is only half of the story, though. The other piece involves system-building to ensure that the right information flows back up through the organization to the leader. This is a special challenge in an organization as traditionally bureaucratic as the Army. ("Staff grows, paper flows, no one knows," as the old saying has it.) But I suspect it's true for all human organizations.

Organizational development, then, includes a delicate balance of effective delegation and system-building. Over the years, I have developed a number of techniques and tools that help maintain this balance and ensure a smooth-running operation.

The first of these techniques is to *shape the vision*. Simple is better, since delegation depends on a shared understanding of the organizational goal. In the Gulf, we coined short sentences that captured the aim of our organization. These little nuggets were then aggressively disseminated. During the deployment phase, for example, you couldn't walk 20 feet within our headquarters without encountering the message, "Good logistics is combat power!" During the redeployment phase, safety was the

overriding priority, and the vision became, "Not one more life!" Napkins, banners, buttons, newsletters: every possible tool was used toward building and underscoring a shared vision.

Vision must be defined by the leader. But it is the subordinates who must *define the objectives* that move the organization toward the desired outcome. "Objectives," in my lingo, are the concrete steps by which the vision will be realized. They must be specific and quantifiable. They should give subordinates the opportunity both to act and to assess the impact of their actions. For example: in my terminology, "win one for the Gipper" is a statement of vision. By contrast, "average 3.5 yards per carry on runs off tackle" is an objective articulated to advance the vision.

A second key responsibility of the leader in building a leadership-supporting organization is to *educate*. On the first day a new person enters my command, I hold an orientation session to clarify my personal style, the organization of the command, our vision, and our shared objectives. Everyone needs to start off with the same information base. I specifically direct new arrivals to read my notebook of bulletins—a series of memoranda in which I have codified the key methods and tools of my command. The bulletins remain in a central location where they can be accessed by any member of the command at any time.

In addition, I regularly hold educational meetings, informally referred to as "skull sessions." These involve gathering a large group of people from many functional areas into one room and leading them through a discussion of how they would handle a range of hypothetical-but-plausible chal-

It's better to think through the Sunday game on Saturday than to kick the corpse on Monday.

lenges. The goal, I tell them at the outset of the meeting, is to "do our Monday-morning quarterbacking on Saturday night." (In other words, better to think through the Sunday game in advance than to kick the corpse on Monday.) Through this device, my people are challenged to think in collaborative ways, to be aware of the real complexity of most situations, to become comfortable asking each other for advice and help, and, most important, to anticipate problems.

For the benefit of both the individual and the larger organization, it is vital to *give and get feed-*

back. Of course, every interaction with a subordinate, peer, or superior is an opportunity to do just that and should be used accordingly. But I've also found the need to implement a number of mechanisms to reinforce the feedback loop.

The organizational effectiveness (OE) session is one such tool. Once or twice a year, I take my top-level officers out of their normal routines for a one- or two-day organizational "retreat." On neutral ground, we go through role-playing exercises, take time for relaxation, and do some formal feedback exercises.

In this context, I've hit on one small innovation that helps to keep things productive. Each member of the command is asked to evaluate the person to his or her left. In doing so, the evaluator must identify three positive qualities in the person being scrutinized, as well as three areas where that person could improve his or her performance. Criticism tends to be taken more easily when it is not perceived as an attack. It was in this context, in fact, that I first learned about my bad listening skills—and, as we all know, the higher the rank, the harder to teach.

My second favored method for giving feedback has been a formal part of the Army organization for quite some time: the Evaluation Report. I put a personal twist on the ER by making it a multistep process. The conventional ER is a one-step process. After a subordinate has been in a given position for about a year, the superior officer fills out a written form rating the subordinate's performance. The problem is that the subordinate can perform below standard and never know it until a damning evaluation is filed away in the personnel files. This short-changes everybody—the individual, the evaluator, and certainly the organization.

In my command, the ER is a two- or even three-step process. Each individual is evaluated about one or two months into his or her tenure in a position. During this meeting, the superior points out areas of the job at which the ratee is particularly accomplished and identifies other areas that need work. In the months that follow, each individual has an opportunity to develop and improve his or her skills before the final evaluation report. In the meantime, the organization benefits from improved productivity and open communication.

In complex organizations, it is important to *emphasize formal communication* with structures designed to complement the chain of command. My notebook of bulletins is one such tool. There are many others.

My work days, for example, are punctuated by a series of meetings. The first is the daily "stand-up,"

ing and gaining a clearer sense of the theater's overall organization.

What was the point of all of this meeting, mentoring, and moving around? In a sense, it was to touch as many people, and as many kinds of people, as possible. Leaders must be motivators, educators, role models, sounding boards, confessors, and cheerleaders – they must be accessible, and they must aggressively pursue contact with colleagues and subordinates.

Muscle Memory: A Concluding Thought

Successful leadership is not mysterious. Leaders must set their own agendas and use the tools and techniques best suited to help them achieve their goals. But leadership is not entirely formulaic. Leaders must learn to trust their instincts and play their hunches.

When the fighting ended in the Gulf, an Army unit was asked to make the physical preparations

for the peace talks. As the talks grew near, I developed a strange conviction – a gnawing in the pit of my stomach – that something wasn't right up in Safwan, Iraq, site of the talks. The night before the meetings were scheduled to start, I commandeered a Black Hawk helicopter to go up and take a look and discovered that the job was less than half completed. The necessary supplies had been caught in a monumental traffic jam and hadn't gotten through. Through a superhuman effort, working all night with the materials that were at hand, we made it possible for the peace talks to proceed on schedule. (I'm sure that history will record only that General Pagonis inexplicably fell asleep during the talks and slipped off his chair!)

It is said that once a basketball player practices his shots enough times, he develops a "muscle memory" of how to sink those shots. Only then is he truly free to improvise on the court. Similarly, I'm convinced that if someone works hard at leadership, his or her instincts will tend to be right. His or her hunches will be based on expertise and empathy, and they'll be good ones. Leadership will seem to come easily.

Reprint 92607



subordi-
do just
I've also
mecha-

ssion is
my top-
or a one-
neutral
es, take
edback

ovation
number
rson to
st iden-
being
person
iticism
ot per-
in fact
skills
harder

edback
ion for
t a per-
ep pro-
ss. Af-
on for
ritten
e. The
below
valua-
short-
uator,

three-
at one
ition.
areas
com
rk. In
in op-
skills
time,
activ-

em-
es de-
l. My
e are

l by a
-up,"

attended by at least one representative of each functional area in the command. (During the Gulf War, the stand-up was a chance for people to make quick status reports and then field questions.) At the end of each day, we hold a "sit-down" meeting, which gives us a chance to engage in a more concentrated kind of analysis. The sit-down also uses a "three-up, three-down" device similar to the one employed in my OE sessions. Each functional commander reports daily on three areas in his or her command that are improving and three areas that need attention.

In between these two meetings are other communications devices. For example, a few hours of my afternoon are divided into 15-minute segments

For straight talk, nothing compares with what I hear during my daily basketball game with the troops.

called "Please See Me" time. When someone's ideas have puzzled or intrigued me, I ask them to come in and talk during one of these slots. In addition, any member of the command who has a question or a problem can sign up for a quarter-hour slot. This part of the scheduling process is completely democratic. Any member of the command can sign up for a meeting, and no one ever gets bounced through rank-pulling.

And finally, there's my favorite low-tech, high-yield information transfer system: the 3 inch x 5 inch index card. I stumbled upon the 3 x 5 as a mode of communication completely by accident early in my career, and I've used it ever since. In the Gulf, questions or comments written on a 3 x 5 were guaranteed to move through the chain of command (informing appropriate personnel along the way) until they reached someone with the knowledge and authority to respond to them, and then they were returned to their authors - all within 24 hours, guaranteed. During the height of the conflict, I got about 100 a day, and every one was useful.

Formal methods of information transfer are very important, but I find that you don't get a complete view of what's actually happening in an organization unless you also open regular informal communication channels. For straight talk, nothing compares with the comments I pick up during my daily basketball game with the troops. Similarly, when my wife and I invite troops into our home for a lasagna dinner, we hope to show them that we, too, are human and approachable.



The 3x5 index card became my favorite low-tech, high-yield information system.

Sometimes the soldiers come to me; other times, I go to them. I devote a good deal of my time to "management by walking around." In the Gulf, MBWA took me from the frontline logbases where ammunition, food, and fuel were distributed to the troops, to the materiel dumps. I spent time with the MPs guarding the main supply routes and the "washrack" jocks responsible for cleaning and sterilizing the tanks and helicopters we were about to send home. I visited enemy prisoner-of-war camps that had been hastily erected as the ground war ended, the docks and airfields, and a hundred other more or less remote facilities.

I worked hard to be a real and constant presence throughout the desert, in all parts of the command. But the Southwest Asian theater was so large that I couldn't be in enough places often enough. Recognizing that fact, I deputized a group of soldiers - dubbed the "Ghostbusters" - as my proxies. They went into the desert as my official eyes and ears, making sure everything was running smoothly, giv-

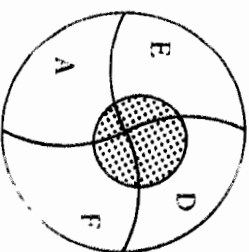
physical or mental challenge? Whatever you'd like to do, write it down. Now code your list: Put *A* next to the things you like to do alone and *P* next to those best enjoyed with other people. Put *S* next to those that may be spontaneous and *PA* next to those that must be planned ahead. Place an asterisk next to those you do very often, and an *X* next to those you hardly do at all. Use a dollar sign to mark the activities that cost money, and a zero to note those that are free. Finish up by numbering, in order of preference the five activities that mean the most to you, and next to each item list the advantages, pleasures, gains, benefits, or satisfactions you gain from the activity. Review your coded list when you've completed it. What have you learned about yourself?

The next self-test is an exercise called the "personality circle." It will help you understand the traits and abilities you can put to profitable use in planning and implementing your career; it will help you come to grips with the "core you."

There are four basic personalities, according to this theory, with dozens of complicated offshoots. If you're interested in psychology, you may want to find a book that explores all those offshoots. For the purposes of career planning, however, an understanding of the four basic areas will be sufficient. Look closely at the following diagrams and description of each of the four areas. You probably will see very quickly that, although bits and pieces of all four profiles may fit your own image, one of the four provides a fuller portrait.

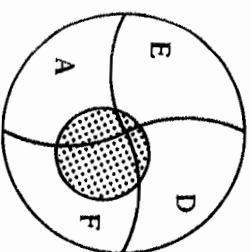
As you look at the diagrams, you'll see that the circle representing the personality contains an egg-shaped circle representing the individual. That inner circle, or nucleus, is egg-shaped because it is usually more heavily weighted toward one set of personality traits. But the spiral arms separating the areas are significant too. They show that the areas overlap and flow into each other, so that there is no sharp line of demarcation between them.

Here are the four basic personalities and their dominant traits:



1. The *Driver/Asser* personality

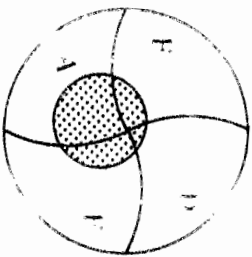
- Is a hard worker, and a fast worker too
- Appears not to care how other feel
- Relies on him or herself
- Is usually not a team player, preferring to go it alone
- Solves or looks for solutions to problems
- May push or "bull" things through without regard to others
- Can be tough, even nasty, when thwarted or held back
- Quits or gets fired before having a new job



2. The *Fact Finder/Analytical* personality

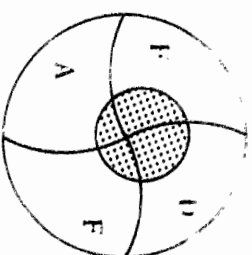
- Is practical and logical, seeking the facts and detailed information about any problem or situation

- Is a loner, calm and detached
- Is stubborn, resisting change, quick answers, and new ideas
- Is determined, gets the job done
- Can be blunt, tactless, and critical of others
- Is self-disciplined and in control of emotions
- Analyzes his or her job and future
- Resigns, if at all, under fire and then looks for a new job



3. The Amiable/People-Oriented personality

- Likes to be liked
- Accepts authority and direction
- Can be very persuasive
- Shies away from dominant people and does not like conflict or confrontation
- Is even-tempered and happy
- Prefers talking to writing and watching to reading
- Finds it hard to turn down a reasonable offer
- Considerate of others, gives plenty of notice after finding a new job



4. The Enthusiastic/Creative personality

- Thinks on his or her feet, coming up with quick solutions
- Can see the big picture as well as the smallest detail
- Chafes at authority, restriction, and repetitiveness
- Is usually action-oriented and tends to dominate discussions
- Is excitable and likely to exaggerate
- Likes to be recognized
- Gives notice without thinking of the consequences

As indicated earlier, the "core you" will usually encompass a little of each trait. It will usually be egg-shaped so that the driving personality, as an example, will be less analytical, amiable, and creative. But this is not always true; some people may have a concentration of traits in two or even three areas.

Whatever the distribution of specific traits, however, the larger the "core you" and the more concentric the shape of the inner circle, the better able you are to cope with life, to interact with others and to move ahead with your chosen career.

If you are a driving personality, in other words, you can still buckle down and analyze a complex situation in detail when you have to do so. You may not enjoy being analytical, or want to spend the day at it, but you can and will do it when necessary. Similarly, as a driver, you'll be able to think creatively when necessary. If you're not a driver but are called upon to dominate a situation, to drive ahead toward a goal, you can do

but they may also result in the success of a team effort and no immediately visible outcome where you can indicate what you've done.

- Do you like to work on your own, setting your own goals? Or do you function best as part of a team, working alongside other people, with your duties defined by others?
- Do you like to take responsibility, make decisions for yourself and for others? Or would you rather be an essential cog in a smoothly running machine doing what you're told?
- Do you need variety in what you do? Or are you happiest with the same defined task day after day?
- Are you competitive, doing your best when you are measuring your achievements against others? Or are you content to perform your own job, doing the best you can without worrying about what others are doing?
- Do you have physical stamina so that you can work long hours without fatigue? Or do you want a nine to five job without much physical or mental stress?
- Do you value creativity of expression? Or do you want security above challenge, stability over variety?

There are no right or wrong answers to such questions. There are so very many jobs in this world and so very many jobs that are right for you. There's no point in misinterpreting your own values and looking in the wrong direction, for the wrong job, for the wrong reasons. Sort out what's important to you, and start your job search from there.

Look at the Human Equation

When it is time to look at the human element of your job-search formula, you need to be alone, with time to reflect and to meditate. Go out and sit on the beach. Go sit under a tree somewhere. Get yourself away from all interruptions, from the family, friends, TV, and telephone, which will break your train

of concentration. This is the time for some real soul-searching. When you ask yourself questions like, 'What kind of a life do I want with my family?' you need to have uninterrupted time to listen to your innermost feelings.

Like the young man mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, you may decide to put family relationships ahead of making a million dollars, or you may decide that you can do more for your family by working long and hard to get ahead. That's a choice you have to make, but you should make the choice and not drift into it by indecision. Remember, not making a decision is making one by default. If you stay in your present job because you can't make up your mind to leave when you know you should if you want to go ahead, you've really made a decision. (Albert Einstein once said, 'You are not a person who makes decisions; you are a person who takes place in them.') It's as by way of action.

If you want a job that will let you spend time with your spouse and children, you can find one. You can be available to help the kids with their homework; get involved in community activities; attend school plays, sports, and other functions; and work with the PTA. Chances are, though, that such a job may limit your opportunities to advance. That's okay as long as it's what you want and you know what you want. If this turns out not to be what you want, you may wind up taking out your frustrations on that same spouse and children.

If, on the other hand, you decide on an all-out effort to get ahead, you will have to be prepared to travel, work nights and weekends, bring work home from the office, and so on. Family life and family relationships, as a result, may suffer.

Managers do their best work before and after normal working hours, according to a poll by human-resource consultants Goodrich & Sherwood Co. of two hundred top managers at leading companies. Prebusiness hours are favored by 46 percent of the managers, while 22 percent say they work best after other employees have left for the day. Over 70 percent work at home on weekends, while 88 percent work at home in the



1st Edition

Displaced Persons in Civil Conflict



Disaster Management Training Programme

1.4-02333

Displaced Persons in Civil Conflict

1st Edition

Module prepared by: Frederick Cuny



Disaster Management Training Programme

1991

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	ii
Preface	iii
Introduction	1
Overview of the problem	1
Objectives	2
Reasons for concern	2
Part I: Civil Conflict and Displacement	5
Types of conflict	5
Signposts and how to identify them	8
Trigger events of displacement	9
Who is most likely to flee	10
Internal migration	10
Cross-border migration	10
Scale of displacement	12
Voluntary displacement	16
Displacement as a pressure-relief mechanism	17
Displacement patterns	17
Part II: Assistance	21
Life and security	21
Immediate and relief needs	22
Vulnerable groups	24
Needs after cessation of conflict	26
Effects of conflict	26
Planning for reconstruction	27
Part III: Operational considerations	29
Logistical constraints	29
Political difficulties	30
"Humanitarian" problems	30
Working with people in conflict zones	31
Disarmament and pacification	32
Priorities	32
Strengthening counterpart organizations	33
Part IV: Issues in dealing with the host country	35
Human rights violations	35
Role of the government in assistance programs	35
Status of the displaced	37
Registration of displaced persons	39
Role of the government to international agencies	40
Restrictions	40
Part V: International organizations	41
United Nations organizations	41
Other organizations	44
Glossary	46

■ ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This training module has been funded by the United Nations Development Programme in collaboration with the Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Coordinator for the Disaster Management Training Programme (DMTP) in association with the University of Wisconsin Disaster Management Center.

This module was written by Frederick Cuny.

The text was reviewed by: Lance Clark; Fedde Groot of UNHCR; Babar Khan Mumtaz, Development Planning Unit, University College London; John Rogge, Disaster Research Center, University of Manitoba; and staff members of UNDP and UNDRO.

Editorial services, including design, educational components and formatting, were provided by Intertect Training Services. Design consultation and desktop publishing were provided by Artifax.

Cover Photo: UNDRO News September/October 1985



INTRODUCTION

opment
disaster
ne

bar
don;
staff

Purpose and scope

This training module, *Displaced Persons in Civil Conflict*, is designed to introduce this aspect of disaster management to an audience of UN humanitarian professionals who form disaster management teams, as well as government counterpart agencies, NGO's and donors. This training is intended to increase the audience's awareness of the nature and management of disasters, leading to better performance in disaster preparedness and response.

The content has been written by experts in the field of disaster management and in general follows the UNDP/UNDRO Disaster Management Manual and its principles, procedures, and terminology. However, terminology in this field is not standardized and authors from different nations may use the same terms in slightly different ways. Therefore, this is a glossary of terms used in this module at the end of this text. Definitions found in the glossary are those of the UNDP/UNDRO Disaster Management Manual. Most of the definitions in the text are those of the authors.

Overview of this module

The purpose of this training module is to introduce you to basic concepts related to working with non-combatant, internally displaced persons in civil conflict. The first part of the module discusses the primary causes of civil conflict and how to identify the pressure points leading to conflict. It should help you recognize: populations most likely to be displaced, types and forms of migration, the different phases of migration, and settlement patterns.

In the second part of this module, you will learn more about the needs of displaced persons, focusing on issues of protection and security, relief and assistance, and the needs of vulnerable groups. Problems associated with the implementation of assistance programs to meet these needs are analyzed in the third part of the module. Some of these problems are: political and logistical constraints, limitations of the international aid "system," inaccessibility of displaced, pacification schemes and safety concerns of relief teams in conflict zones.

Issues which arise in dealing with the host country are presented in Part 4. You should come away with a heightened awareness of human rights violations, the role of national governments in assistance programs and potential hostility toward international agencies. The roles and limitations of these international agencies are set forth in the final part of this module.

Training methods

This module is intended for two audiences, the self-study learner and a participant in a training workshop. The following training methods are planned for use in workshops and are simulated in the accompanying "training guide". For the self-study learner the text is as close to a tutor can be managed in print.



Workshop training methods include:

- group discussions
- simulations/role plays
- supplementary handouts
- videos
- review sessions
- self-assessment exercises

The self-study learner is invited to use this text as a workbook. In addition to note-taking in the margins, you will be given the opportunity to stop and examine your learning along the way through questions included in the text. Write down your answers to these questions before proceeding to ensure that you have captured key points in the text.



INTRODUCTION

This module is designed to help you:

- understand the causes and patterns of conflict-induced displacement
- identify the impact of this displacement on various populations
- explore what organizations can do to assist the displaced
- consider operational challenges related to assistance
- discuss the roles of international organizations in working with displaced populations

Overview of the problem

It is estimated that there are approximately 20 million internally displaced persons worldwide. These are persons displaced by human-made or natural disasters. Most have fled from warfare or other types of violence, repression or persecution. They are called internally displaced because, unlike refugees, they remain inside their own countries.

It has been estimated that there are more than:

• 9 million in Africa — principally in the Horn — in Ethiopia, Somalia and the Sudan; in Southern Africa — in Angola and Mozambique — and another 3.6 million forcibly resettled in townships in South Africa

• 100,000 in Central America — in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala

• 4 million in Asia — in Afghanistan, Cambodia, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Burma, Lebanon and Iraq

• 100,000 in the Soviet Union

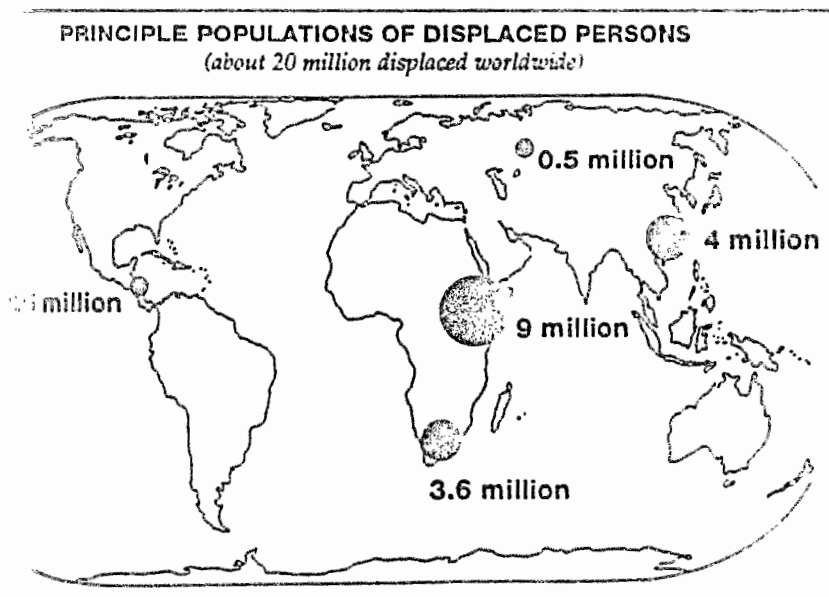
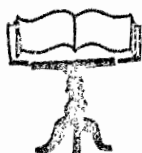


FIGURE 1

DISPLACED PERSONS



The causes of displacement reflect the growing instability of many countries. In most cases, the people have been displaced by civil conflict or separatist wars within their country. In some cases, they have been forcibly resettled by their governments. These relocations are often carried out by the government to exert control over a tribal or ethnic group. Others have been displaced because of ethnic strife or persecution.

The flight of the displaced to other parts of their country may fail to provide them with the protection they need. Often the host population is unable to accept their presence and they may find themselves in other zones of conflict or in highly volatile situations where they are viewed with mistrust by the host community. The displaced often need to relocate repeatedly, sometimes because of starvation or because food is used as a weapon to control them.

Unfortunately, displacement is usually not temporary. The situations that cause displacement often go on for years without resolution.

Definitions

This document will focus on internally displaced persons, defined as "non-combatant individuals and families forced to leave their homes because of the direct or indirect consequences of conflict but who remain inside their country."

The term "displaced person" is often used in a broader context. Some organizations refer to people who are forced to leave their homes as a result of drought or famine as displaced. Others include people who have been forcibly resettled by their government if the resettlement is ethnically, tribally or racially motivated. While each of these groups is in a difficult situation, this paper will focus on people displaced by war or civil conflict who remain in their own country.

Reasons for concern

The international humanitarian relief system is just now beginning to meet the challenge of working with the displaced. The 15 million people who have crossed international borders generally fall under the mandate of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) or other United Nations agencies and receive protection and assistance. They are eligible to receive food, shelter and medical assistance as well as health, rehabilitation and training. The UNHCR helps them integrate into the country of asylum, helps them to relocate to a third country or facilitates their voluntary return. For the displaced, there is no such system. While they may flee for the same reasons as refugees, because they remain within the borders of their own country, they are not afforded the protection that refugees receive. They must look to their own government, not the international system, for the protection, even in those cases when it is their own government that has caused the displacement. International human rights organizations and agencies are often unable to provide suitable protection or assistance. The obstacle of national sovereignty is one of the most formidable aspects of the problem.



In 1988, the United Nations General Assembly called on the Secretary-General to study the need for creation of an international mechanism to coordinate assistance programs for internally displaced people. By 1990, the General Assembly passed a resolution (44/136) "assigning to the United Nations Resident Coordinators the function of coordinating assistance for internally displaced persons, in close cooperation with Governments, local authorities of donor countries and United Nations agencies in the field." The Secretary-General has also recently called for preventive measures and proactive action to avoid displacement, including the addressing of "root causes." For UN staff, assisting the displaced is a major challenge. Successful assistance can reduce conflict and help lay the groundwork for successful reconstruction, rehabilitation and even the further development of the country. Inadequate attention to the problem, however, can prolong conflicts, make achievement of peace more difficult and create long-term dependencies that are difficult to overcome long after the conflict.

While relief and assistance are critical to the well-being of the displaced, human rights must also be protected from any abuse by government forces or by members of opposition groups. Often violations are overt. They are a result of policies that restrict or impede assistance and relief reaching the displaced.



CIVIL CONFLICT AND DISPLACEMENT

In this part of the module you will learn:

- the primary causes of conflict
- how to identify the pressure points leading to conflict
- how to recognize:
 - those most likely to be displaced
 - types and patterns of migration
 - the different phases of migration
 - settlement patterns

The causes of conflict

Conflict within a society may be created by many different factors. In the early stages of conflict, especially wars, it is often difficult to identify the underlying causes or motivations of the combatants. Civil conflict is the result of many individual factors, some of which are rather fundamental. If thoroughly understood, these factors can provide opportunities for conflict resolution. Two opinions are central to this text. The first is that most conflicts are rooted in economic disparities. Later they may be cloaked in ideological, racial or even religious overtones but, at the most fundamental level, they represent a contest for control over economic assets, resources and systems.

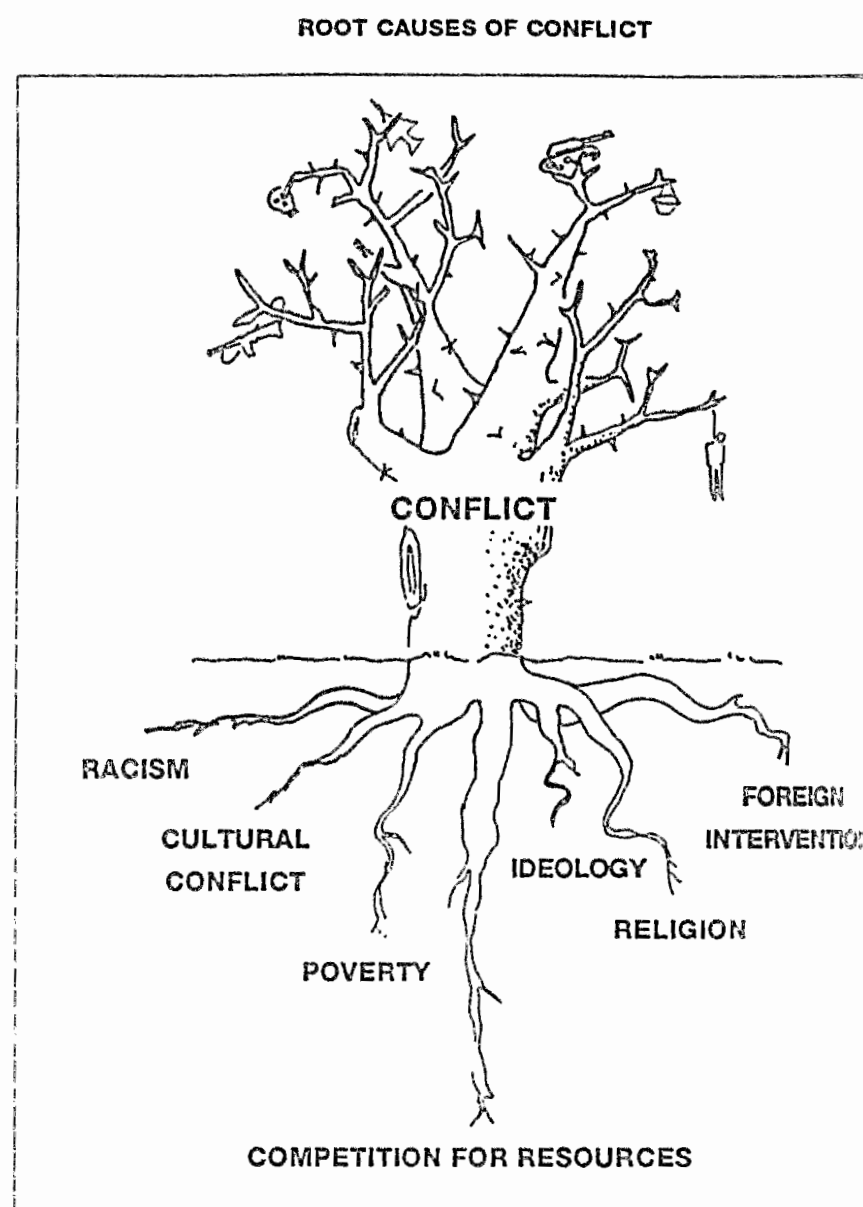
The second opinion is that most combatants would rather not participate in conflict. Given suitable alternatives and an honorable way out, most would choose to return to productive enterprises rather than continue to risk their lives.

These two factors give development agencies an opportunity to make a contribution to conflict reduction. By targeting development assistance in a way that competition for resources is reduced and job opportunities provided, it is often possible to "drain away" substantial numbers of people who otherwise would be drawn into the conflict. It is also possible to use development assistance so that it draws warring parties away from each other and engages them in activities which decrease the likelihood that they will enter the conflict.

Most conflicts are rooted in economic disparities.

Most combatants would rather not participate in the conflict.

FIGURE 2



Some of the more important causes of conflict are as follows:

1. *Competition for resources:* Most conflicts are, at their most basic level, a competition for resources. This competition may be manifested in disputes over land, water rights, grazing rights or jobs.
2. *Ideology:* Of all the causes of conflict, ideology is the most difficult to deal with. In most cases, however, ideology is a later development and is often superimposed on more basic causes as a justification or as a means of organizing people for a common purpose.
3. *Racism:* Racism, tribalism, or other manifestations of discrimination are key causes of conflict. Racism is difficult to temper and, in many cases even after people have lived side-by-side for generations, a sudden spark, fueled by latent racism can lead to violence. Generally, however, racism is superimposed over an economic conflict. If all sides have equal access to jobs and opportunities, to land and other resources, conflict can be contained.



Religion: Religion and religious intolerance is another cause of conflict. It is difficult to address. Sometimes, religious differences are the fundamental cause but in many cases, this too is superimposed on a more fundamental dispute with religion being a means of rallying people.

Foreign intervention: Many conflicts are caused by foreign intervention. In some cases, there may be outright meddling by a foreign government. In others, conflict may be caused by the presence of foreigners, such as refugees or guerrillas operating out of bases or sanctuaries in the country, to create conflict as an adjunct to their own agendas.

Poverty: Poverty and injustice are major factors fuelling conflict in the Third World. Increasingly, conflicts are seen as a war between the haves and the have-nots. When people perceive that there is no end in sight to their economic hardship, they may take up arms. When stuck in a quagmire of economic oppression and social injustice, large numbers of the poor may take a more activist stance and demand more assistance to alleviate economic hardships. The demand for bread has toppled more than one government.

Cultural conflict (leading to separatist aspirations): In many cases, two distinct cultures find it difficult to live in harmony. If the two cultures live in separate and distinct geographic areas, it is not uncommon that aspirations for independence arise. Separatist movements may result from a sentiment that resources are not equally shared or, conversely, resentment at having to share resources with another region or population. It is important to recognize that one conflict will often generate others, especially if the original conflict is prolonged. This is due to several factors. Governments may become weaker and less able to control events in other areas. Dissidents may see an opportunity to exploit the government's weakness. The general proliferation of arms that usually accompanies conflict often leads to a breakdown of law and order. This is especially true in areas adjacent to the conflict zone, where local grievances may flare up. Conflict may also arise from the migration of people and competition for resources in the areas of influx. Even within the conflict there may be several sub-conflicts.

It is important to identify the underlying causes since many of them may be easy to resolve. For example, if a major cause is competition for resources such as water or pasture, the programming of development into those areas to increase the resource base may help reduce tensions and violence.

Foreign
intervention

economic level,
and in

cultural to
national and
as a

nationalism are
in many cases,
often separatist
or, racism
and access to
the

Q. How might development agencies reduce the causes of conflict?

A. _____

Pressure points and how to identify them

Pressure points can be defined as zones where demographic and economic changes are occurring, usually rapidly, that lead to possible conflict. These zones exhibit certain characteristics. Among the places where conflict can be expected are:

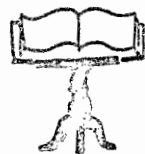
1. **Areas of environmental degradation:** Changes in habitat such as desertification, deforestation or declining rainfall force people to migrate in search of better land, pasture and water. These migrations may put pressure on resident populations in the areas where the migrants settle, leading to increased competition for available resources. This competition, if acute, can lead to violence.
2. **Areas of chronic food insecurity:** Food insecurity is normally related to available resources. If the resources are only marginal and periodic shortfalls in food production occur, people are forced to migrate in search of food or work to earn the income needed to procure food. Migrants often saturate local labor markets, driving wage scales down and creating tension between the local workers and the migrants.
3. **Labor poles:** Labor poles are areas where large numbers of day laborers are employed, such as in large-scale agricultural schemes. They are often areas of tension during crisis-induced migration. Thousands of displaced may migrate to these areas in search of work, drastically lowering the wage scale and making it difficult for the resident workers to find work at a decent wage. In many cases, secondary migration occurs: either the incoming workers continue onward when it becomes clear that they can't find jobs, or the resident workers are forced to migrate to maintain their income level. Experience has shown that incidents of violence may occur around these labor poles as people compete for increasingly fewer jobs.

Desertification in Ethiopia



UNDRO news
September/October 1983

LABOR POLES



Overp-
overp-
area
conflic
even b
area; o
the ne
create
alien
large-
such as
cumber
roditie
ground

gerit

migrat
ent fa
Military
to a m
could b
occupat
causes
ities ar
any ev

Disstra
landin
collage
and sl
and m
people
increas
collapse
agricult
disrupt
of outpu
can bec
importe
occurs,
forced b
Collapse
in many
destroy
doing b
basic en
cycle of
As peop
gradual
find it u
cases, jo

ses of confi

and econo
conflict. The
e conflict ca

that such as
e people to
hese migrat
where the
available
nce.

rm. y relat
al and per
to migrate
rocur food
age scales
e migrants
rs of day
ral scheme
migration.

search of tw
icult for the
ny cases,
ers continu
s, or the res
e level.

occur aroun
wer jobs.

Overpopulation: Conflict often occurs in areas that become overpopulated as a result of migration. Overpopulation may occur at garrison towns (towns controlled by government forces in the midst of a conflict zone) where the arrival of displaced persons may double, or even triple, the normal population; in villages at the edge of a conflict zone; or in squatter settlements that quickly become overpopulated with the new arrivals. Conflict generally breaks out because of tensions created by overcrowding or competition for scarce resources in the settlements, especially water and agricultural land.

Large-scale development programs: Large-scale development programs such as irrigated farming, dams and reservoirs often displace significant numbers of people, change the economics of an area or force changes in traditional migration patterns. All of these factors can create conflict in or around the development schemes.

Triggering events of displacement

Migration of people out of a zone of conflict may be triggered by several different factors. These factors may occur independently or simultaneously.

Military operations: Ground operations by armies, insurgents or militias are a major trigger to migration out of a conflict zone. Ground operations could include invasions of an area, military sweeps, sustained military occupation, foraging or widespread conscription. Aerial bombing rarely causes widespread migration out of rural areas. However, if towns or cities are attacked and urban dwellers have open escape routes, many may evacuate.

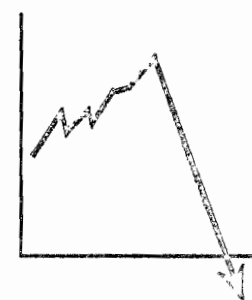
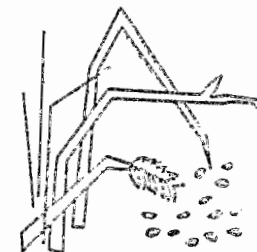
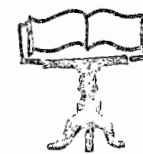
Destruction of crops or economic assets: If military activities destroy standing crops, livestock, harvested grains, or the economic assets of villagers on a wide scale, people in the affected area are likely to migrate.

Food shortages: Conflict can disrupt both agricultural production and food marketing creating both a shortage of food and a lack of income for people in the food production and supply chain. As food shortages increase, migration will increase proportionately.

Collapse of agricultural systems: In most Third World countries, agricultural systems are extremely vulnerable to conflict. Conflict can disrupt the production sequence, thereby causing a substantial reduction of output. If this production loss is substantial, the agricultural system can break down. This breakdown creates food shortages and, more importantly, loss of income for large numbers of people. When that occurs, famine is likely to break out and large numbers of people will be forced to migrate.

Collapse of the economy: Conflict can cause the collapse of an economy in many ways. It can destroy or disrupt the marketing systems. It can destroy the economic assets of a community. It can push the cost of doing business to a level that destroys profitability for even the most basic enterprises. It can deplete the labor market. It can also establish a cycle of migration that strips the economy of both labor and purchasers. As people begin to migrate out of the conflict zone, businesses will gradually find the number of buyers declining, and at some point will find it unprofitable to continue. They will close their shops and, in many cases, join the migration stream.

GARRISON TOWNS



ANSWER (from page 8)

Development agencies might reduce the causes of conflict by targeting assistance to reduce competition for resources, by providing jobs or by engaging warring parties in activities which draw them away from each other.

Houses destroyed by
shelling during civil strife.



MPLA/ Luanda
UNDRO News, Sept/Oct 1983

Identifying the predominant types of migration helps to determine the types of resources that need to be applied at different points in the migration stream.

Groups most likely to flee

In the initial stages of civil conflict, the people most likely to flee are those who live in the countryside, such as farmers, pastoral and rural laborers. This is not only because armies and insurgents maneuver in the field, but also because cultivation is one of the enterprises most vulnerable to disruption in warfare. Furthermore, rural people living isolated on farms or in remote villages feel their vulnerability more acutely. However, this depends on the area affected by conflict. Urban settings can also be affected by civil conflict, forcing urban dwellers to flee.

Types of migration

Migration and conflict can be classified as sudden, precautionary, or economically induced.

Crisis-induced migration: This type of migration usually occurs as the result of military operations. Crisis-induced migration is often characterized by people fleeing out of fear when sudden, unanticipated events occur that force them to abandon their homes and move out of harm's way.

Precautionary evacuation: Precautionary evacuation occurs when people decide to move as a precaution against violence, to avoid an aspect of the conflict (such as conscription), or to leave while they can still sell their assets and evacuate in an orderly manner.

Economically-induced migration: In sustained conflicts, studies have shown that the majority of people leave for economic reasons. These factors could include substantial increases in the cost of living due to shortages of basic commodities, collapse of local economies, collapse of the macro-economy, the unavailability of work or alternative income, or the lack of buyers for goods produced.

Identifying the predominant types of migration helps to determine the types of resources that need to be applied at different points in the migration stream. For example, people who migrate suddenly as a result of conflict usually have few assets when they reach areas where relief agencies can provide assistance. Therefore, their assistance needs are more likely to be of an emergency nature.

People fleeing as a precaution normally have time to convert their assets to cash and usually require less in the way of immediate assistance. Furthermore, their pattern of migration will be substantially different from those making a sudden evacuation.

Economic migrants, too, are likely to have more assets than those who evacuate rapidly. However, if they have been holding out until the last possible moment, the relative amount of cash or convertible assets that they are bringing may be less than those making a precautionary move.

Patterns of migration

The actual pattern and direction of migration may be influenced by several factors. One of these is location. People generally move away from conflict. Those who live on the periphery of a conflict zone are likely to migrate away from the zone. If they live in the middle of an unstable area, they are likely to move towards towns or cities that they believe are safe. In short, migration patterns are highly influenced by the choices available.



ly to flee are those
and rural laborers. The
the field, but also
rable to displacement
rms or in remote
this depends on the
cted by civil conflict

cautionary, or

usually occurs
travel is often
udden, unanticipated
is and move out of

in occurs when
nce, to avoid an
ave while they can
ner.

licts, studies have
ac reasons. The
at of living due to
onemies, collective
alternative migration

ps to determine the
oints in the migration
a result of conflict
ief agencies can
om likely to be

o convert the migra-
e assistance. For the
different from those

ets than those who
ut until the loca-
rrible assets than the
nary move.

influenced by several
away from conflict
likely to migrate now
they are likely to
ort, migration route

The cycle of seasons also affects the pattern of migration. Precautionary economic migration tends to increase at the end of the harvest season, peak two or three months afterwards. At the end of the harvest, farmers decide how much grain they have harvested and make a rough estimate of whether or not they can survive until the next crop is harvested (making allowances for the amount of seed that must be held in reserve). If they cannot survive on the amount of grain they have gathered, and do not have assets such as animals that could be converted to cash or bartered for food, and if there are insufficient alternative income possibilities, such as temporary labor in the nearby markets, the families will be forced to migrate.

If a harvest has been marginal, cultivators may decide to attempt to stay in the area and see how the next harvest season unfolds. They will usually stay in the area until they can see if the climatic factors, especially rainfall, are favorable. If rains are late, migration will increase midway through the planting season.

Migration can also be cyclical. Displaced persons often move their families to safe areas, then return seasonally to attempt to work the original land.

The cause of displacement affects also migration. People who are forced to migrate suddenly tend to have fewer assets and migrate in stages. They move to a safe area and regroup, then to a nearby town in search of work. As family members accumulate assets, they move on to a larger town or labor pole where they accumulate more assets, then begin moving on toward the larger cities.

People who migrate as a precaution usually tend to go farther in their first move, sometimes moving directly to a labor pole or, in some cases, directly to the capital city.

Persons moving for economic reasons also tend to go farther in their first move, depending on the amount of cash they have been able to raise by selling their assets.

Local conflicts and pressure points can also be a major influence. Migration routes, especially in Africa, are highly influenced by traditional rivalries and conflicts. For example, people of one tribe will often adjust their migration routes by hundreds of kilometers to avoid passing through an area where traditional rivals live. In areas where tribes or clans have a history of conflict over pastures, water or land, or where cattle raiding, kidnapping or slave raiding has occurred, migrants may take great pains to avoid potential conflict zones. In some cases, transit routes have been established to permit nomads to pass through cultivated areas without incident. Migrants usually follow these traditional routes but, if an incident occurs, conflict could erupt quickly.

Localized conflicts during times of drought or famine might also trigger migration. This occurs when people migrating from one area in search of more secure resources come into conflict with people who are settled along the migration route. Clashes between the migrants and the resident population can lead to displacements of both groups.

Conflicts can also arise in the locations where the migrations terminate. Migrants may bring traditional rivalries into their new community or conflict may develop as a result of competition for scarce employment opportunities. If an incident occurs, word will quickly spread to others who

are still in the process of migration, and migration routes may be adjusted to avoid the pressure points.

Tribal or ethnic areas are also of concern. The location of tribal areas or populations with the same or similar cultural, linguistic, or ethnic characteristics can draw displaced persons where they may perceive that assistance or sympathy exists.

Phases of displacement

Displacement can be broken down into five general phases: the preliminary phase, the evacuation/emergency phase, the migration phase, the settlement phase and the return phase.

PHASES OF DISPLACEMENT

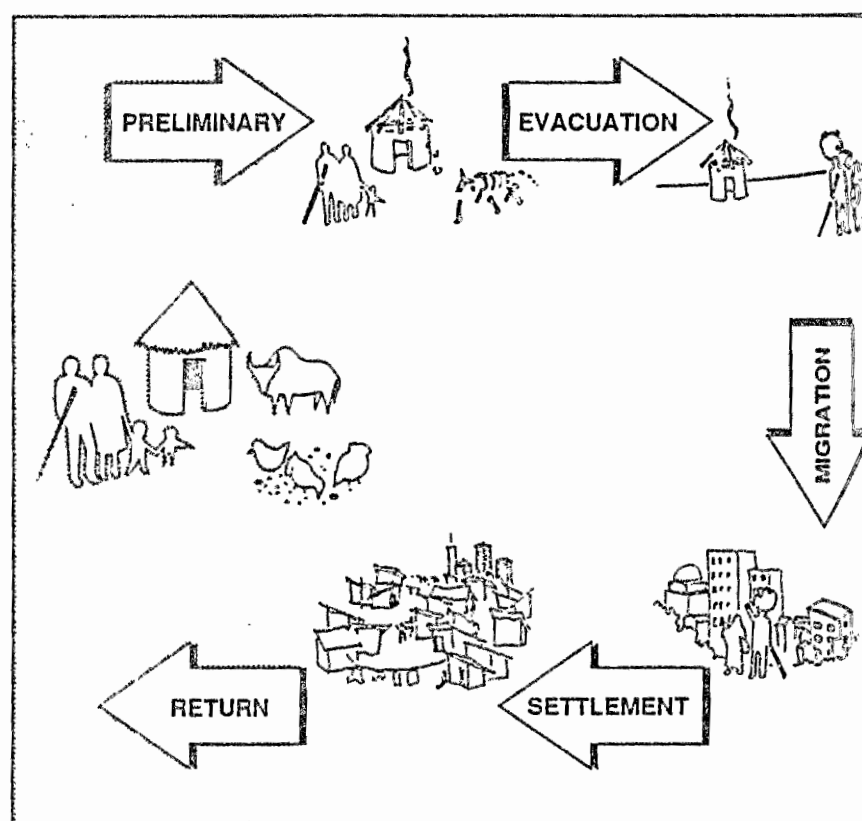


FIGURE 3

The preliminary phase: During the preliminary phase, pressures build within the community that cause people to consider leaving their homes. These pressures can include insecurity, declining access to food (either from declining income or declining sources of food), loss of job opportunities, conscription, and increasing competition for available resources. With a general breakdown in law and order, localized conflict may increase.

The evacuation or emergency phase: There are three elements to consider in this phase: the triggers that force a decision to evacuate, the evacuation itself, and the arrival of the family at a sanctuary.

Decision to
be common
loss of a
element th
sanctuary —
actual decli
to leave wh

Some cases
sometime
evacuation m
tribal chie
a decisi
to go to r
ary, may b
A, such as a
ary may al
choice of
n of the ne
ation of o
or language
location c
w much co
de on whet
deliberati
actual ev
evacuatio
is an inn
milies trav
ying off th
is, the am
sanctuary is b
evacuation.

They evacuat
and conver
rying their
on, they,
manage to
others to ver
ood.

Whether char
winners and
members
evacuatio
these mig
on of migr
zone, fair
migration r

by Le adjuste

tribal areas
ethnic
perceive that

he preliminar
the settle



asures built
their homes
ed (either
opportunities
ces. With
increase.
nts to core
e evacuation

A decision to evacuate can be triggered by many different events. Among more common are: military activities; violence; threat of imminent danger; loss of a family member; loss of access to food, income or credit; or imminent threat of conscription. In some cases, the decision may be precautionary — the head of the family notes the general trend of events or gradual decline of security or the economy and decides that it would be better to leave while assets can still be converted to cash.

In some cases, the evacuation may be stimulated by the departure of others (sometimes referred to as the "bandwagon effect") and in some cases evacuation may be decided by others in the community, such as village elders, tribal chiefs or political leaders.

Once a decision is made to evacuate, migrants must decide where and how far to go to reach a place where they will be safe. That point, or sanctuary, may be in a nearby town or area held by a friendly party in the conflict zone, such as a rebel-held area or, more commonly, a garrison town. Sanctuary may also be in a point outside the conflict zone.

The choice of which destination to seek is often influenced by: the location of the nearest point of sanctuary; the escape routes that are open and safe; the location of other family members, friends, relatives, clan members, or language groups; the location of perceived income opportunities; and the location of markets where the breadwinners' skills can be used.

How much consideration is given to each of these factors usually depends on whether or not the evacuation is precautionary, occurring after careful deliberation, or whether the move is sudden and unplanned.

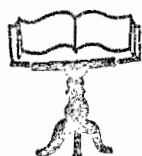
The actual evacuations also follow a common pattern. In the case of precautionary evacuations, whole families are usually forced to move. As long as there is an imminent threat of danger, it proceeds swiftly, but haltingly, with families travelling only at night, generally avoiding other settlements and staying off the main roads. If the family is walking and not using pack animals, the amount of food that they can carry is limited. If the distance to sanctuary is long, the family's nutritional status may decline during evacuation.

If the evacuation is precautionary, the families will generally carry more assets and convert them to cash or food as they go along. The fact that they are carrying their assets may attract attacks from bandits along the way. For this reason, they, too, often travel only at night in small groups. However, if they manage to keep their assets as they go along, they are more likely to venture into communities along the way to sell or barter for food.

Another characteristic of precautionary evacuations is the sending of breadwinners and working-age males first, then gradually bringing other family members out of the conflict zone.

Precautionary evacuation tends to follow established migration routes as long as these migrants are uninterrupted. For example, if the evacuees have a tradition of migrating as seasonal agricultural laborers to areas outside the conflict zone, families making precautionary moves will usually follow the same migration routes.

SANCTUARY



Operationally, the emergency phase can generally be said to last as long as there are new arrivals into the sanctuary and as long as malnutrition, morbidity and mortality rates are above normal.

The *sanctuary* is the first safe place that the displaced stop after leaving the conflict zone. It is the first point where humanitarian assistance can be provided. In many cases, the people arriving are in terrible shape. They may be malnourished, sick and exhausted from their evacuation. They may have been traumatized by attacks upon them during their journey. In some cases, they may have passed through endemic disease areas for which they had no resistance. Typically, large numbers of people will arrive without any assets, and families may be separated from or have lost some of their members.

In these conditions, emergency assistance and relief are required. Typically, large percentages of the people will accumulate around a health post, a water point or other rallying place, and a camp will evolve.

Some of the new arrivals may be able to find work in nearby towns or on local farms, especially if resident farmers have a tradition of employing migrant labor or establishing temporary sharecropping relationships.

Operationally, the emergency phase can generally be said to last as long as there are new arrivals into the sanctuary and as long as malnutrition, morbidity and mortality rates are above normal. From the migrants' point of view, however, the emergency phase lasts either until they can be assured that their families can live on the assistance being provided or they have accumulated enough resources to move on to an area where they can find steady employment. In the initial stages of a conflict, it may be possible for the early arrivals to find employment opportunities near the sanctuary. But soon, these openings will be taken and the job market saturated to a point where the wage scale is sufficiently depressed that subsequent arrivals must move outward in search of jobs and income. It can thus be said that the emergency phase ends when onward migration begins.

The migration phase: At the point where people begin moving out of the sanctuary, the pattern of movement quickly develops the characteristics of normal, though accelerated, migration. The ultimate destination for many of the people will be the large cities or capital of the country. In the early years of these migrations, much of the flow of people from the sanctuaries towards the cities will be segmented. In other words, people will stop as soon as they are able to secure adequate income possibilities. Close to the sanctuary, spontaneous settlement in nearby villages or on farms will occur. But progressively, as each labor market becomes saturated, subsequent arrivals must move further "up the line."

In many countries there are large labor poles such as mechanized farming schemes, large-scale irrigated agricultural schemes or industries such as mines that can employ large numbers of additional short-term laborers. Thus, much of the migration will be towards these labor poles. However, as they too become saturated and wage scales begin to decline, more and more families will go directly to the urban centers.

At the labor poles, the influx of new and cheap labor may force many of the earlier arrivals to quit the area and move on towards the urban centers. This secondary displacement is a major cause of conflict in these areas.

leaving
can be
They may
may have
ne case
y had to
ay visible
ir

d.
health

vns or
ring
s.

as a
tion,
point
sured
have
n find
ible for
ary. Do
point
als are
the

ut of m
tics of
many
ly year
s to m
a a
ry,
it
arrival

d
tries
m
ales.
cline,

many
center
as.

The settlement phase: When migrants reach a destination where they can stay without expectation or fear of having to move onward, the settlement begins. In towns and cities, most migrants tend to move into squatter settlements located in the marginal areas of the city environs, or on the periphery of the metropolitan area. Outwardly, these settlements are often indistinguishable from other squatter settlements and, indeed, many of the displaced may move into areas where other migrants, not displaced by conflict, have already settled. The displaced tend to move to areas where they have friends, relatives or clansmen. In recent years, displacement has become one of the major contributors to urbanization and the proliferation of

The return phase: As in any migration, a certain number of people will return when conditions permit. When and how many people return are dependent on many factors including the relative level of security in the people's homeland, the amount of time since the original displacement and the time when a return is possible, the level of indebtedness incurred by families desiring to return, and the availability of work and income-generating facilities in the place of origin.

Very little systematic research has been done on whether displaced people who formerly lived in rural areas ever return, and if a full settlement of the conflict which caused their displacement is achieved. The one group of migrants who are most likely to return are former urban dwellers in the conflict areas. Merchants, skilled workers, teachers and government officials are generally more likely to return if a settlement can be achieved.

A certain amount of spontaneous return occurs during lulls in the conflict. Few studies have been done about these spontaneous returns, but it is likely that they resemble the following patterns of spontaneous return of refugees.

The persons most likely to repatriate are those living closest to the conflict zone. Translated into crisis migration terms, people living in or near the transition zone and in garrison towns are those most likely to return. This is because they will be better able to maintain contacts in their original communities, and they will be aware more quickly of opportunities to return safely.

People who have retained rural agricultural skills are the most likely to return during ongoing conflicts because they fear loss of their land.

Spontaneous returns may be influenced by a lack of job opportunities or poor infrastructure in other communities. In other words, the best option is to return.

Returns are also influenced by considerations such as whether the displaced can reclaim their lands and whether sufficient infrastructure exists in the aftermath of the conflict.

Displaced persons on the way back to their village of origin.



UNHCR/E. Birrer

Q. List three factors which often influence a displaced person's choice of destination to seek upon leaving home.

A. _____

Q. Which of the following might be factors used by displaced persons to determine when and whether to return to their homes?

- ☐ The time between their original displacement and when a return is possible
- ☐ The relative degree of security in their homelands
- ☐ The level of indebtedness incurred in their new communities

A. _____

Secondary displacement

Migration that results from civil or separatist wars may create pressures to expand the conflict and produce areas of tension that can erupt into local conflicts. This is due to several factors. The displaced may establish a new version of their society in the cities, bringing with them all the unresolved conflicts. The movement of people from one zone to another may also increase competition for available resources and lead to resentment against the newcomers by the host population.

The arrival of large numbers of unskilled workers in a labor market serves to depress wages and causes resentment among local workers.

A final added-tension is that new migrants can increase pressures on available services and infrastructure. For example, in many communities, large numbers of new migrants may decrease the amount of water available in a village or settlement. Displaced persons are often blamed for inflated costs of housing and for shortages of essential commodities. They may also be blamed for increased crime and other social ills.

ANSWER (from top of page)

The choice of destination is often influenced by:

- ☐ the location of the nearest point of sanctuary
- ☐ the escape routes that are open and safe
- ☐ the location of other relatives or friends
- ☐ the location of perceived income opportunities

ed person'

isp ed
ir homes?
when

mmunities

pressures if
into local
lish a sm
unresolved
y also
ent again

market
rkers.
sures on
mmunities
er available
r inflated
y may ak

Migration as a pressure-relief mechanism

It is often difficult to predict when displacement will occur and what type of pattern of migration will follow. Even when all the indications are present, displacements may remain in place longer than anticipated. This has led some scholars to theorize that crisis-induced displacement is largely a self-regulating pressure-relief mechanism. In other words, out-migration of persons during periods of stress often relieves or eases the pressures that force displacement. For example, in conflicts that are created as a result of competition for resources, out-migration of substantial numbers of people reduces the competition for those resources and thereby lowers the level of conflict.

Settlement patterns

Since relief programs for displaced persons tend to focus on the areas in which they reside, it is important to understand the characteristics of the settlement types usually encountered. In general, there are three physical settlement patterns: camps, spontaneous settlements, and pockets within existing squatter settlements.

Camps: Sometimes referred to as welfare centers, relief camps or reception centers, emergency camps for the displaced are normally locations where relief supplies are distributed and which become a focal point for the delivery of emergency services to persons in the first stages of displacement. These camps can vary in size from several dozen persons to many thousands. Their growth will ultimately be decided on the basis of the amount of assistance that can be provided to sustain the situation, the security of the area, and government policies relating to the use of the camps.

Assistance in camps for displaced persons generally follows the same pattern as assistance in camps for refugees. A full range of food, shelter and health programs needs to be provided along with water, sanitation and site improvements.

Governments often try to contain displaced persons exclusively in camps. In these cases, caution should be exercised, for such restrictions can lead to an escalation in the levels of service that must be provided. If camps are normally in more remote locations, assistance will probably require substantial transport investment and result in higher per capita costs. One way to keep costs manageable is to permit the displaced to work and participate in the local economy to the greatest extent possible.

Camps should be avoided wherever possible. They foster dependencies and often result in a loss of self-esteem. Camp life is commonly cited as a cause of breakdowns in traditional social networks and coping mechanisms. Camps have also been cited as the basis for increased domestic violence.

Spontaneous DP settlements: Spontaneous settlements composed largely of displaced persons quite often spring up around towns and cities. People with similar ethnic, linguistic or cultural backgrounds to the displaced are often located in smaller towns close to the area of displacement. Thus, spontaneous settlements may form an extension of an

Korem camp

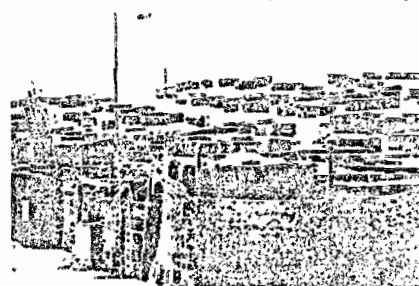


Northern Ethiopia/Camera
UNDR0 News May/June 1985

In general, there are three physical settlement patterns: camps, spontaneous settlements, and pockets within existing squatter settlements.

Camps should be avoided wherever possible.

Spontaneous settlement



Villa el Salvador Lima, Peru UNDP/Lois Jensen
World Development, March 1989

ANSWER (from page 16)
All three are correct.

A. _____

Pockets within squatter settlements: If a government demonstrates hostility towards the displaced, they are likely to try to integrate into existing squatter settlements, making it more difficult for authorities to locate them. Most squatter settlements are considered illegal by the authorities, but the mere fact that they exist demonstrates that a government is powerless to prevent their development. By grafting onto these settlements, some degree of solidarity can be achieved — if not overtly, at least subtly. If the government upgrades the facilities in the settlement, the displaced benefit along with all the rest of the residents. On the other hand, actions detrimental to the displaced may be perceived as a threat to the non-displaced population who, in self-defense, may unite with the displaced against the government actions.

. In which
k with disj
ockets will

ing quotation

at all adolescence

declared conflict

e night, my

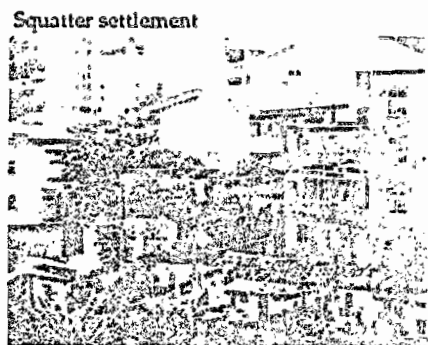
w spontaneous
ne quality of
either the re
ter, these so
nent and rel
difficult to re
nd for reaso
es that spon
t's choice wh
identified.
an grow along

rall, r ling
us settlement
rban area. Th
ver a period
itory betwe
ontaneous
rom the

demonstrate
egrate into
es to locate
thorities, but
is powerless
ents, some
ly. If the
displaced be
actions
to the non-
the displac

Displaced persons who have integrated into squatter settlements are the most difficult group to assist. Consequently, they often experience malnutrition rates, especially for children under five. In a 1984 survey of squatter settlements with high proportions of displaced persons in the capital of El Salvador, surveyors found the gross malnutrition rate measured by middle-upper-arm circumference (MUAC) to be around 7 percent. However, when DPs were isolated within the same communities, the malnutrition rate for their children proved to be 27 percent.

In determining overall priorities of assistance, it is important to identify specific population groups so that aid may be properly targeted. However, targeting can be extremely difficult, as it is socially and politically disruptive to provide food and other services for the displaced and not for other low-income families residing within the same community. Therefore, provision of comprehensive assistance to both populations within the same geographic area could have many positive political benefits for the government. Unfortunately, the resources to sustain such an operation are usually unavailable.

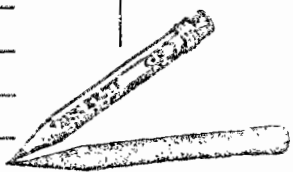


Squatter settlement
Cooperation South/UNDP 1989 No. 1

1. Explain how crisis-induced displacement may act as a self-relieving pressure-relief mechanism.



2. In which physical settlement site is your agency best prepared to work with displaced persons: in camps, in spontaneous settlements or in shacks within existing squatter settlements? Explain why.





ASSISTANCE

part of the module is designed to enhance your understanding of the needs of displaced persons. It covers the following aspects:

- protection and security
- relief
- needs of vulnerable groups
- needs after the cessation of conflict
- reconstruction needs

Protection and security

Displaced persons must often be protected from serious human rights violations. While the UNHCR has a mandate to protect refugees, at this time, no international organization has been given a mandate to do this for internally displaced persons. The displaced must look to their own government, instead of to the international community, for protection and security. This can be problematic, for it is often their own government that is the source of the problem. In other cases, the government may not have the resources or ability to protect and assist them. While the UN has a mandate to provide relief and assistance, it has neither the mandate, the resources nor the competence to provide protection or security. Furthermore, the UN often runs into major problems in gaining access to those in need, principally because the host government places administrative obstacles in the way. In some cases, host governments may even deny that a displacement problem exists.

As a result of these obstacles, the UN must rely on an ad hoc protection system. A common principal strategy is placing as many international agencies as possible in the areas where the problems are occurring. It has been demonstrated that the presence of international agencies serves to reduce the incidence of human rights abuses. In cases where UN peacekeeping forces are engaged, it is often possible to coordinate humanitarian assistance with peacekeeping operations.

The press can be a powerful ally in helping to reduce protection problems. Few countries want the adverse publicity that the media can focus on human rights abuses. Countries with major human rights violations sometimes have difficulty obtaining the international credit and development resources that are needed for development programs.



REFUGEES

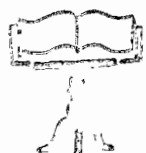
While the UN has a mandate to provide relief and assistance, it has neither the mandate, the resources nor the competence to provide protection or security.



DISPLACED PERSONS

United Nations
a higher moral
responsibility: it
represents the
collective moral
force of the world
community.

ASSISTANCE RELIEF



The threat of aid termination is often proposed as a means of reducing human rights abuses. Experience has shown that this threat has rarely been carried out. Generally, UN staff must work quietly behind the scenes to bring the government into compliance with international standards. These quiet efforts must also be strong and carried out in concert with other major donors.

NGOs may be able to play a role in identifying and publicizing problems related to human rights. However, if they become too active in this regard, their ability to operate in the country might be severely curtailed.

Operational difficulties include lack of coordination, the use of ad hoc approaches, obstacles created by governments, and the issue of national sovereignty. In many cases, the UN staff has little leverage since it is reluctant to use the cancellation of aid as a threat. It is clear that many governments have recognized that donors can be manipulated. The UN staff is particularly vulnerable because of its role as a servant of the member states. Thus, UN staff must be careful not to be drawn into an adversarial relationship with the government. It must continually strive to find ways to reinforce and build on the positive steps that governments may take to reduce tensions and facilitate operations. Nonetheless, the United Nations has a higher moral responsibility: it represents the collective moral force of the world community. Actions must never be taken that legitimize a government's ill behavior towards its citizens, or denial of any of their rights guaranteed under the UN's Declaration on Human Rights.

Assistance and relief needs

If we approach the problem of displaced persons only from an emergency services perspective, we neglect many long-term needs where development approaches and programs can be applied. Furthermore, if we continue to apply emergency relief beyond a certain point, we run the danger of creating dependencies and establishing inequities in the communities where the displaced take up residence. This, in turn, creates local resentments, elevates tensions and may spark localized conflicts.

Generally, emergency assistance is necessary during the preliminary and evacuation phases, but more developmental assistance is required in the migration and settlement phases. In the return phase, a combination of transport and reconstruction assistance is required.

Preliminary phase: During the preliminary phase, if it is possible to reach the affected area, it may be possible to provide assistance in such a way that displacement can either be prevented or limited. For example, if displacement will result from food insecurity or lack of income to procure food, a combination of short-term work programs to provide jobs and income along with various types of food aid may provide enough support so that people will not be forced to leave their homes. If potential displacement will result from localized conflict, such as that arising out of a competition for resources, increasing the resource base with development aid may serve to reduce the level of conflict or at least contain it. For example, conflict may arise out of access to water. By increasing the number of water points in the competing communities, conflict could be reduced.

International agencies
resorting to adjudication
by outsiders can

Most assistance needs
are designed to increase

assistance needs during

displacement to move, it is

as they reach sanctuary

refugee, medical assistance

ably protection. Refugees

is a worst condition to

migration phase: During

aid to support small-scale

seasonal settlement, and

labor poles. Since

competition for resources

adding additional work

the water supplies and

might be during the

health services and education

relate into their new

should not be

extended to the entire

During the migration

the a range of conflict

and monitoring should

development aid to

ation and rapid population

Settlement phase: Once

on settling into their new

them assimilate and

care of their own new

people need are land

ation, roads, etc.).

In larger urban areas

programs to upgrade the

ditions can provide greater

solidarity in general.

If the rate of influx to

necessary to investigate

programs on a large scale

usually develop tracts and

municipal services such as

in tenure arrangements

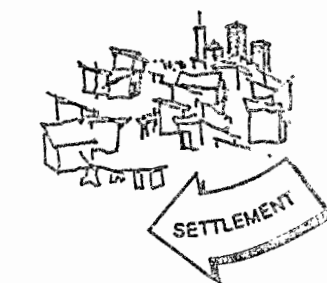
as homes on the allocated

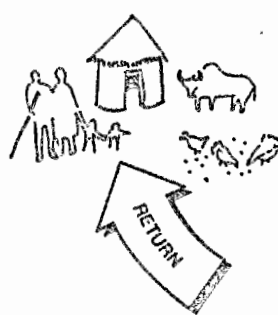
As mentioned earlier,

assistance to newcomers to

company their arrival in

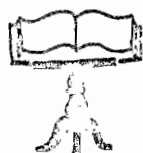
As mentioned earlier, there might also be a need to provide immediate care to newcomers to help reduce the high infant mortality rates that accompany their arrival in urban zones.





*It is important
that assistance be
provided to the whole
community, not just
the returnees.*

VULNERABLE GROUPS



Burundi, 1984



UNHCR/Vanappelghem

Assistance needs during the return phase: When families indicate that they are willing to return to their original homes, assistance agencies might wish to encourage that return by providing support. This may include return transport, short-term financial assistance and, possibly, food aid.

Once the families have returned to their area, general reconstruction assistance should be provided. This may include: credit, provision of tools, agricultural inputs, housing reconstruction aid, etc. There might also be a need to assist families in reacquiring title or access to lands abandoned earlier. It is important that assistance be provided to the whole community, not just the returnees, since those who stayed may have had an even harder time than those who left. To do otherwise would create resentments that would make reconstruction more difficult.

The conflict may have separated families and scattered various family members to different parts of the country. Therefore, it is often necessary to help establish tracing services and family reunification programs. It is generally fairly easy for adults to locate other adults, but if families have been separated from their children, outside assistance can be extremely helpful.

Q. Match which type of assistance is most needed within the following phases of displacement: (Place one letter after each number.)

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Preliminary and evacuation phases | a. developmental assistance |
| 2. Migration and settlement phases | b. transport and reconstruction assistance |
| 3. Return phase | c. emergency assistance |

Vulnerable groups

The categories of vulnerable displaced persons are variously defined to include: unaccompanied minors, the elderly, the mentally and physically disabled, victims of physical abuse or violence and pregnant, lactating or single women. As in most crisis situations, these groups of people are most vulnerable to disease and death.

In the emergency phases, women and children often receive less food than other members of a family and therefore are more likely to be malnourished by the time they come into the assistance system. Small children are more susceptible to diseases, especially those who live on isolated farms where they have little contact with communicable diseases.

The combination of undernutrition and exposure to communicable diseases increases the vulnerability of children under five.

It has also been observed that the displaced experience very high infant mortality rates in the first six months after they arrive in cities, especially when they live in squatter settlements. This is probably because it takes some time for the family to begin to earn enough money to buy all the food they need and because drinking water in many of these settlements is of poor quality, leading to high rates of diarrhea.

indicate that agencies might include refugees.

instruction of tools might also be abandoned in communities even hard to reach.

rious family necessary measures families have extremely

in the following number.)

assistance construction

ance

defined to 1 p. sically lactating or people are me

ve less food to be m. Small o live on ble disease municable

2. te very high ive in cities. probably enough me in many of of diarrhea.

Women are often vulnerable, not only to disease but to exploitation and harassment, especially if no adult male from their family is present. For displaced persons often attract the worst kind of attention from their communities. The incidence of rape, beating and kidnapping is often high. To some extent, this can be reduced by expanding the number of staff members with a high proportion of single women, providing proper lighting and avoiding settlement designs or layouts that create dark, remote areas where such incidents can easily take place. It is difficult to stop these things without strong support from the local government and security forces.

The majority of displaced adults are women and many of these are heads of households. In many emergency programs, especially in garrison towns at the periphery of the conflict zones, women and children make up two-thirds to three-quarters of the population, yet most relief programs have a male bias. For example, many loan programs created to assist the displaced are less effective because women are not eligible to apply. Other programs, such as food-for-work, are often predicated on males being the primary breadwinners.

Displaced women often stay vulnerable because programs for them tend to be minimal. Few programs go beyond handicraft projects or small cottage industries. Therefore, assistance programs for displaced persons should consider involving women in decision-making whenever possible.

1. Briefly describe a strategy which has been implemented successfully by an agency in your region to meet a specific need of a vulnerable group. Explain how this strategy might need to be modified in working with displaced persons of the same vulnerable group.

Immediate needs after cessation of conflict

The conclusion of a conflict quickly brings many new responsibilities to the displaced. A distinct set of short-term assistance programs must be established to help the people return to their homes and complete the process of settling in. The reconstruction of the war-torn areas and revitalization of the economy can begin. Examples of some of the immediate needs are: family reunification, repatriation assistance, restoration of basic services, especially health and sanitation, temporary income support and, sometimes, food aid.

Women are often vulnerable, not only to disease but to exploitation and sexual harassment, especially if no adult male from their family is present.

Assistance programs for displaced persons should consider involving women in decision-making whenever possible.

ANSWER (from page 24)
1-c; 2-a; 3-b

*Special programs
must be instigated to
help get young people
back into productive
enterprises as soon
as possible.*

After-effects of conflict

Demobilization of forces presents a number of problems for people in the conflict zone. One the first is land mines. Land mines are one of the most lethal and senseless weapons of modern warfare. The abundant supply of mines on the international market has made it easy for even the poorest guerrilla force to obtain large quantities and sow them over vast areas. After demobilization of forces, the people who planted the mines and maintained records on their locations often leave the areas before the mines are cleared. Thus, for many months and even years after the conflict, people and animals stumble over the mines and are killed or injured. Therefore it is important that coordinators of assistance immediately organize a mine-sweeping organization and meet with the leaders of both forces to try to keep their layers in areas where they have sewn mines to guide mine-sweepers in removal.

The second lingering after-effect of conflict is the impact that it has on youth. Often entire generations of young people have been denied access to proper schooling and a healthy supportive environment. The failure of governments and the international community to get these youths properly demobilized has been cited as one of the major causes of high crime rates and continuing political instability in the former conflict zones. Special programs must be instigated to help get young people back into productive enterprises as soon as possible. Because displacement results in urbanization, many young men and women, few have the desire to return to rural areas and become farmers or herdsmen. Special programs are needed to assist urbanized youth.

Another major issue involves disarming former irregular forces (rebels and paramilitary militia). In civil conflicts, small arms proliferation is an alarming rate. Often virtually everyone in the conflict has access to highly lethal weapons. Assault rifles, pistols and rocket-propelled grenades are among the types of weapon that individuals can easily hide and thus many people will attempt to retain. Innovative ways must be found to disarm the population as a means of bringing stability back into the area. In some cases, such as in Namibia, Mozambique and Nicaragua, the UN has offered both cash and commodities to families turning in their weapons. In cases where records have been maintained indicating which individuals have received them, the surrender of weapon may be a desirable precondition to obtaining UN assistance.

Preparing for reconstruction

Reconstruction activities are normally funded by the major donors in the international financial institutions, such as the World Bank. The UN can play two important roles. First, in the provision of emergency rehabilitation assistance, the UN coordinator can develop programs that provide aid in such a way that it will support and lay the foundation for reconstruction activities. For example, in the provision of emergency shelter to help returning refugees and displaced persons, programs can be devised to provide building materials such as corrugated iron roofing sheets, timber

panelling
lated into
non provid
ed a short
ecure and
on the reha
ation.

oad way th
assistance
help rebuild
require prio
reconstruct
upport and
struction p
created to
plays a

tain how
displaced p
ally reuni
temporar

as for people who are one of the abundant supply of even the poorest over vast areas of mines and mines are a danger to people and before it is impossible to keep mine-sweepers try to keep mine-sweepers

ape that it has been denied. The failure of these youths of high crime zones. Spent back into the results in urban turn to rural led to assist

gular forces arms proliferation access to the propelled by hide and must be found back into the again, the UN their weapons which individuals desirable pro

or donors is. The UN rehabilitation provide reconstruction after to help be devised to sheets, the

ed panelling which can be used for emergency shelter and them be incorporated into a permanent house. Usually such approaches are rather than providing tents or other forms of emergency shelter that will be used a short period of time and will cost many hundreds of dollars to procure and deliver to the affected areas. By providing tools and materials in the rehabilitation phase, a contribution is also being made to reconstruction.

second way the UN participates in reconstruction is by providing technical assistance to government agencies, especially those in the affected areas to help rebuild their capabilities and expand their expertise in sectors which require priority attention during the reconstruction period.

When reconstruction commences, it is not unusual for UN agencies to provide support and technical assistance to the government to help it execute a reconstruction program. This is a vital role, for often new institutions will have to be created to plan and coordinate the reconstruction program.

The UN plays a vital role in preparing a country to return to peace.

The UN plays a vital role in preparing a country to return to peace.

Explain how a UN agency has worked to meet some immediate needs of displaced persons after a recent conflict in your region. Consider family reunification, repatriation assistance, restoration of basic services, temporary income support or food aid.



3

OPERATIONAL CONSIDERATIONS

Part of the module provides insights into the problems associated with implementation of assistance programs for displaced persons. Some of these are:

- political and logistical constraints
- constraints of the international aid "system"
- inaccessibility of displacees
- pacification schemes
- safety of relief teams in conflict zones

Part also provides guidance in strengthening counterpart organizations.

Political constraints

Assisting displaced persons is one of the most politically sensitive activities carried out by the UN staff. In cases where the government is one of the parties in a civil conflict, UN staff is often placed in the difficult position of having to deal with government agencies who are reluctant to provide assistance to people whom they consider "enemies." In many cases, government actions or policies may be root causes of the conflict.

The fact that the UN may provide assistance through the host government often leads to charges that the UN is not a neutral agency. Many liberation groups mistrust the UN and most donors and NGOs find the UN's position frustrating. Unfortunately, this is a working reality. When the UN is involved, humanitarian assistance can only be provided within certain limits. However, those limits can be quite broad and the UN has a major role to play in humanitarian operations which cannot be discounted. In any assistance program for the displaced, all UN staff must clearly understand what these limits are and how to operate effectively within the constraints.

Assistance is often provided to internally displaced persons from the government side. This is because most of the displaced migrate to government-controlled areas, due to migration routes, family ties, language differences and economic survival. Displacement is often as much an economic survival strategy as a flight from conflict. The displaced must earn a living. They cannot rely on international relief, so they must go where the economy is functioning. They may migrate to the government side because they are

familiar with, and have a right to participate in, the national economy. They are not necessarily, as is often claimed, making a political statement or choosing one side over the other. There are obvious political obstacles for any international organization to aid displaced persons in opposition-controlled areas.

Logistical difficulties

Logistical problems are hampering the delivery of assistance.



UNHCR/J. Crip
REFUGEES Magazine June 1990

It is often quite a challenge to reach the displaced with assistance. In many cases, they reside in remote areas where access and transportation may be difficult. The topography may be rugged and seasonal rains may make surface transportation hazardous and difficult. In the conflict zone, security conditions may prohibit or severely restrict travel. In areas adjacent to the conflict zone, security conditions may be marginal at best, especially for the displaced.

In these situations, full attention must be given to advance planning. It is often necessary to stockpile supplies in, or near, areas to which the displaced migrate to avoid shortages during times when these areas are isolated by conflict or climatic conditions.

In some cases, the UN may have to rely on extraordinary means of transport. Garrison towns may have to be supplied by aircraft. On-site management may require the use of small planes to move quickly over vast areas where needs can change instantaneously. Emergency operations are often said to require planning in three dimensions: air, land and sea. However, operations planners should be aware that long-range relief operations, especially when aircraft are involved, are extremely expensive. Emphasis should be placed on procuring as many relief supplies as possible from local or nearby sources. It is often possible to use a broad range of market interventions that can have the same results as bringing large amounts of relief supplies from outside the affected area.

"Structural" problems

Many relief workers talk about the "international relief system." However, no one system exists. Rather, there are groups of organizations that provide different types of assistance at different levels. In any situation, these groups may band together formally or informally to provide relief to the displaced. Some organizations act in the capacity of fund raisers; others act as donors. Some provide funds directly to the displaced while others provide funds to other agencies that will help the displaced.

There are many difficulties with this ad hoc structure. NGOs are often seen as the primary operating agencies in emergencies. While many agencies have excellent capabilities, most can only provide a fairly limited range of services. Many of the most important areas where lives can be saved are overlooked. For example, only a handful of agencies have the capability of providing assistance in the sectors of water and sanitation. Few agencies are experienced in setting up and maintaining the "heavy" logistics system required for providing massive food aid.

the displ
position to
ities. Age
support
system for
ve grown
ements. E
for before c
attention
all, both in
ten transfe
10.

ing peo
ople may
encies hav
ng assistan
people as
they can ren
re-intensify
de level of
they were to
olved in h
selected in
so that c
ing cross-b
ent-held a
ages in the

st three lo
in operati

economy. The
movement or
obstacles to
position-

nce. In
transportation
and season
and difficult
to inhibit or reverse
the security
the impact
on to advance
in, or no
stages during
climatic

means of
t. On-site
likely over
operations in
and sea.
ge relief
ly expensive
lies as per
d range of
ng large

m." However
is that pro
n, these gro
the displa
act as donor
provide fund-

DOs are ofte
many age
ited range
e saved are
e capability
w agencies
ics system

the displaced are no longer in an emergency situation, few agencies
position to provide assistance to help people integrate into their new
ilities. Agencies rarely can provide the necessary jobs, education and
ary support to enable the displaced to take care of their own needs.

The system for international assistance is vastly over-stretched. The
have grown far beyond the capability of international agencies to meet
requirements. Experienced personnel are often drawn from one operation
er before completing each contract. For this reason, UN staff should
attention on building up cadres of national emergency management
nel, both inside the government and in the private sector. By so doing,
then transfer of international personnel will not disrupt an ongoing
m.

Helping people in conflict zones

People may remain in the areas of conflict. In recent years, donors and
agencies have shown an increased willingness to run the risk of
giving assistance to people in those areas. Agencies have begun to realize
that people are usually better off remaining in or near their homes
they can remain at least partially self-sufficient. The nature of long-
low-intensity civil wars often permits people to stay home with an
able level of risk. In many cases, people are safer in rebel-held areas
if they were to flee to government-held zones. The UN has recently
involved in helping to arrange corridors through which relief aid can
be unmolested (in Angola, Ethiopia and Sudan), in establishing temporary
refuges so that civilians can be assisted (in El Salvador) and in
establishing cross-line feeding programs where people can come into
government-held areas, obtain the assistance they need and take it back to
villages in the conflict zone (in northern Ethiopia).

List three logistical considerations which should be taken into
account in operations plans for transporting supplies to displaced
persons.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____



*UN staff should
focus its attention on
building up cadres of
national emergency
management personnel,
both inside the
government and
in the private sector.*

Providing development assistance in a way that encourages new settlement patterns or resettlement has many political connotations and must be approached carefully.

ANSWER (from page 31)

Considerations mentioned in this section include: area topography, seasonal climate, security conditions, changes in needs, and expense of long-range operations.

Q. Some of the difficulties with the ad hoc structure of the international relief system include: (Circle the letter next to each correct answer.)

- a. Many important areas where lives can be saved are overlooked
- b. The system is vastly underutilized
- c. Experienced personnel are often drawn from one operation to another before completing each contract
- d. Few agencies are in a position to provide assistance with long-term post-emergency needs.

Avoiding pacification

A number of programs styled as assistance to displaced persons are actually pacification programs. These include relocation projects designed to reduce the rebels' popular support base and programs designed to force neutral peasants to choose sides (usually the government's side), or to establish effective control over populations for military or security purposes.

Pacification programs are especially prevalent in Central America. Relief organizations participate in these projects without understanding broader issues and implications. Providing development assistance in a way that encourages new settlement patterns or resettlement has many political connotations and must be approached carefully.

The nature of assistance determines if the program is promoting pacification. Relief aid designed to create dependencies and hold people in camps may have different implications in different situations. Relief organizations must be very careful in formulating projects and try to understand all the issues that are involved. This is not to say that long-term assistance of a developmental nature should not be provided. However, when governments begin planning alternative housing, new urban development, or so-called "peace villages," UN staff should be alert to the implications and recognize that they are getting into very sensitive areas.

Setting priorities

Priorities in programs for the displaced change over time. In or near conflict zones, the top priority is usually protection. A well-structured emergency assistance program may also be a top priority to save lives. Often protection depends on assistance. An international presence in the area must often be established to ensure respect for human rights.

Initial response: The primary factors that cause high death rates in an emergency are malnutrition, measles and diarrhea. Each is related to the other. A child that is severely malnourished will not be able to survive a case of measles. Severe diarrhea can quickly dehydrate and kill a malnourished person or someone with measles. In order to save lives, these three things must be addressed. Therefore, the cornerstones of an effective emergency response are:

the internal
correct

overlooked

ration to

with long

are action
d to re-act
neutral
stablish
es.
erica. M
anding th
ee in a
y politic

ing
people
stief offi
nd all the
nor of a
gov. mme
so-called
recognar

near cond
nergency
a protect
st often

tes in so
d to the
arrive a
nourish
ee threat
nergency

There are provision of food, immunization against communicable diseases, and diarrhea control carried out by providing clean water, oral rehydration and sanitation. Until these three sets of problems are addressed, it is difficult to prevent increased mortality, especially among women and children.

Priorities in settlements: In the period immediately after arriving in settlements, special attention should be focused on women and children. It has been shown that abnormally high infant mortality rates occur during the first six months after the displaced arrive at their destinations.

Priorities during the settlement phase: At this stage, the top priority is creating employment opportunities so that families can earn enough money to survive until they can return to their homes.

Strengthening counterpart organizations

As a provider of technical assistance, the UN plays a key role in helping governments develop the capacity to deal with the problems of displaced persons. In the initial stages of a crisis, few governments are adequately prepared to handle the problems of displaced persons. The UN can support governments by providing experts, training and financial support.

A great deal of forethought should be given to proposals to create institutions or capacities in government to assist the displaced. The type of institution created often has implications for the way in which assistance will actually be provided. For example, if the UN encourages the government to assign responsibility for displaced persons to an agency that normally provides assistance to refugees, the displaced will likely be treated as a refugee-like problem and more attention will be given to relief than to the development needs of the people. If the mandate is assigned to regional governments or to a ministry of local government, it is likely that the programs will be much broader and more developmental in nature.

In some cases, the UN has encouraged the government to establish a state commission for the displaced to serve as coordinator of assistance, protection and to formulate plans which are executed by the line ministries. This approach can work well as long as the technical assistance does not encourage the agency to focus more on relief than on development assistance.

Local and regional branches of government are often the most important ones in providing assistance to the displaced. When considering technical assistance and institution building, they should receive high priority.

In countries that have weak regional and local governments, there is a tendency to centralize authority and decision-making in the capital. The UN should devise strategies for moving decision-making into the theater of operations so that "hands on" management can take place.

In large countries where the displaced are located in remote areas, centralized government decision-making can delay operations and affect the quality of decisions. In these cases, it is important to devise strategies that encourage government authorities to send senior officials with the authority to make on-site decisions to the field. One way to do this is to build

The UN can support governments by providing experts, training and financial support.

Local and regional branches of government are often the most important entities in providing assistance to the displaced.

ANSWER (from page 32)
Correct answers are a, c and d.

a large operations base in a central location and endow it with resources. Governments are unlikely to entrust such an operation to a junior official and will send a person with sufficient authority to resolve key assistance issues locally.

Safety of relief teams in conflict zones

As coordinators of assistance for the displaced, the UN staff bears a special responsibility for ensuring that all personnel operating in or adjacent to conflict zones work in conditions of minimum risk and maximum security. Guidelines and procedures for personnel should be established in conjunction with the host government and, where possible, with insurgent groups. The UN is often charged with the responsibility of notifying relief workers and other organizations about the risks they may face from military operations in or near their relief activities. In this regard, the UN is often able to obtain clearances for special flights into contested areas on airplanes bearing United Nations markings, to arrange for safe transport through the front lines in specially-marked UN vehicles, and to establish special relief corridors whereby food and relief supplies can be delivered under flags of truce or through designated corridors without undue restraint. It is important for the UN to carefully assess the risks before encouraging relief organizations to commit personnel and resources to operations in non-secure areas. A UN assurance that an area or means of transport is safe carries much weight and responsibility.

Two of the most important aspects of working in remote and insecure areas are communications and stand-by evacuation support. To the greatest extent possible, UN coordinators should ensure that relief personnel have immediate and 24-hour access to telecommunications facilities and that suitable means are immediately available to evacuate personnel in case of emergency. This may entail the assignment of light aircraft to be available on short notice to evacuate staff.



is most suc-
the displac-
placed are
guish with-
ll be increas-
istance.
otionally lar-
camps. The
ensuring the

ral or ethnic
d framework
istance to the
-rat in a com-
ne ow
id. The Sec-
d that the p-
d during the

Os have the
s for long p-
ement will
s resources
on the UN-
uation. The
re neutral
r the distan-
n urban area
ure 4)

ibilities

neutrality
international
organizations



principle is also compatible with government and international relief
types. Generally, governments are poorly-suited to operate in camps
international organizations often specialize in these types of services.
other hand, government is always structured to provide municipal
es. Extension of water and sanitation is not only easy, it is also more
ective as new mechanisms, structures and ministries do not have to
med. Thus, governments should plan to build on their inherent
ths and on those of international organizations and avoid creating new
tions.

Location of the displaced

er later, every government proposes some sort of relocation program
overwhelming evidence that such programs are rarely successful and
a major commitment of funding. If a government decides to go ahead
relocation, it is important that criteria be set to ensure that all moves are
ly voluntary. If a government is to avoid controversy, the following
should be established and observed:

- All relocations must be voluntary.
- An internationally-recognized NGO should verify that each move is voluntary.
- No government-sanctioned relocation should be undertaken if the proposed site is in a zone of conflict.
- If an individual chooses to relocate to a site that is in or near a conflict zone, financial support for the move should be provided by a non-governmental or international agency rather than by the government.
- No relocation activities should take place until adequate food, water and public health services are ready on site to service the resettled families.
- Once relocated, a framework for assistance should be immediately available to help people make the transition to their new life.

governments often try to force people to relocate by exerting various
of pressure — some subtle, others overt. Widespread debate is
only surfacing about how far governments can go in trying to force
pliance with their resettlement objectives. In the worst-case scenario,
ment troops cordon off a section of a community. The troops round
people and physically convey them to the relocation site, often
tearing or burning their houses to discourage them from returning.

a less traumatic but still harsh and unacceptable approach,
governments have cut off water or food supplies to relief-dependent
unities in the hope of forcing the people to move out. Such a move is
ly accompanied by an announcement that subsidized food and other
services will be available at the new site.

urban areas, governments may take a more subtle approach. As a
aneous community begins to form, the government simply ignores its
ence and neglects to extend municipal services such as water, sanitation
electricity to the new settlement.

That a government has the right to decide on its urban development
is indisputable. Furthermore, there are often very legitimate reasons
wanting a community to be established or to grow in a certain area.

All governments have the right of eminent domain and the right to use legal methods to plan and guide urban growth.

Supporting people with any degree of self-help is much better than creating an artificial relief situation that must be maintained for any length of time.

All governments have the right of eminent domain and the right to use legal methods to plan and guide urban growth. Despite this, the overwhelming evidence shows that virtually all moves to resettle people involuntarily fail. In forced resettlement, the government only alienates affected persons and increases their determination to return to the place from which they were evicted. When families do return, they may take greater precautions to integrate into the host community and find other, more secure sites to settle. This makes it even more difficult for the government to find them and send them back to the relocation site.

"Carrot and stick" approaches may meet with some success but, ultimately, success will be more dependent on income and employment opportunities than on provision of relief supplies. Few governments are adequately prepared, especially financially, to support displaced persons between the time of the move and the time that they are fully established in new settlements. As soon as the level of service falls, people will begin to abandon the settlement and return to the community from which they were relocated.

Economically, agencies should be cautious with regard to "carrot and stick" approaches. It is expensive enough to supply relief services to the displaced in spontaneous settlements; moving them to a relocation center escalates the level of support required and thus the costs. Governments that try this approach soon realize that its limits are more financial than logical. Supporting people with any degree of self-help is much better than creating an artificial relief situation that must be maintained for any length of time.

The least successful approach is that of creating disincentives to spontaneous settlements by neglecting to provide urban services. There will always be entrepreneurs who will find ways of supplying needed services (for example, donkey cart water tankers). In the end, the cost to the government will be higher if services are not provided in a logical and planned manner as the communities evolve. It is always more costly to go back and install utilities in dense, unplanned settlements than to lay out a community in a logical manner and encourage growth along rational lines.

Q. *List three policies which should be observed when any government establishes a relocation program.*

A. _____

then any

disease factor should also be considered. By refusing to extend water, sanitation and health services into spontaneous settlements, a government increases the likelihood of communicable disease outbreaks. No government should ignore the adage that "disease knows no boundaries." Conditions of overcrowding, poor sanitation and unclean water are the breeding grounds for epidemics that may spread to planned areas.

Stratification of displaced persons

point in every assistance program, the question of whether and how displaced persons will arise. Registration is a legitimate concern, of the government but also of other humanitarian agencies. Overall population statistics are one important by-product of registration, and protection and tracing are good reasons for some form to be adopted. However, it is important that the registration system be secure and that it be designed in a way that it cannot be used to provide any party with information that might be detrimental to the DPs.

several options exist for registering displaced persons:

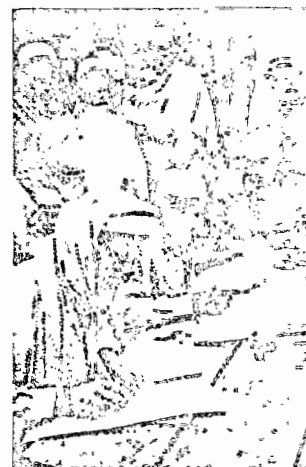
Assigning registration to a neutral international organization such as a UN agency or the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). The primary advantage to this approach is that the neutral body is the only one maintaining lists. Central control can be maintained to discourage misuse of registration cards. Statistics may be provided to the government or other entities as necessary for planning purposes. Designating a lead agency in each community as the registrar for the settlement. Each agency carries out registration using a standard format developed by all the participating agencies and produces overall information for statistical and planning use. Each organization is responsible for ensuring that errors or duplication are minimized for the communities they serve.

Using a multi-organization registration system. A system utilizing the services of a number of assisting organizations can be developed and made secure through random numbering. To do this, a standard registration card is issued to each family bearing the logos of the participating relief agencies. Upon receiving a card, the head of the family goes to the registering agency and is issued a number which is recorded for verification purposes only. The card can be presented at any time to any one of the participating agencies to obtain relief supplies or services. The recording organization is responsible for making periodic inspections of different distribution programs to ensure that duplication is minimized.

It should be remembered that DPs will actively seek to avoid any type of enumeration, including surveys to enumerate the population and other information-gathering activities. They recognize that they are in a precarious position and, in short, do not want to be on anyone's list.

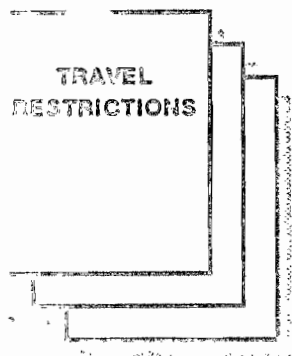
ANSWER (from page 38)

The following policies might be listed: relocations must be voluntary; an NGO should verify that each move is voluntary; proposed sites should not be in zones of conflict; financial support for relocation to sites in or near conflict zones should not be provided by the government; food, water and public health services should be ready on site for resettled families; and assistance should be available to help people make the transition to their new life.



UNHCR/A. Hollman





Hostility of the government to international agencies

Governments committing human rights abuses or denying the displaced their full rights as citizens will soon be in an adversary relationship with donors. Eventually, the government is likely to become hostile to the presence of international agencies and accuse them of interfering with the national sovereignty of the country. Non-governmental organizations are likely to bear the brunt of the government's displeasure. In this situation the UN should formulate a comprehensive program framework under which NGOs can operate and thereby provide some degree of protection for their work. At the same time, the UN should be careful not to encourage the NGOs to undertake activities on behalf of the international community that will lead to a further eroding of their relationship with the host government. The UN has often been accused of using the NGOs as a "lightening rod" to determine the political limits of a particular program. When the NGOs get into trouble, the UN has not been able to provide adequate help.

Travel restrictions

When governments are carrying out human rights abuses, it is often difficult for United Nations personnel to obtain travel and work permits where the displaced have sought refuge. Restrictions on travel and access to the displaced must be vigorously protested and a blanket permission to travel to these areas should be sought. The United Nations should establish its right to visit the displaced wherever they are as a prerequisite for assisting the government.

ANATI
RIZA

of the module
persons. It sh
agencies
international
the international

UN orga
UN system
requires the
by the
into urb
developmen
and seek w
must often l
needs in th
of relief a
they are e
assistan
side assista
models. In exc
and the
UNDP off
caused by th
special post
and pro
several cas
ordinary in
special represen
UN create
Humanitarian Aff
on displ

nal agencies

ing the displaced
relationship with
hostile to the
interfering with the
organizations are
a. In this situation the
work under which the
protection for their
to encourage the
nal community that
the host government
"lightening rod" to
when the NGO gets in
nel,

es, it is often difficult
permits where the
d access to the
permission to travel to
ld establish its right to
or assisting the



INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

part of the module presents the major actors in the areas of assistance to
need persons. It should help you understand the roles and limitations of:

- the UN agencies
- the International Committee of the Red Cross
- NGOs
- Donors
- the International Organization for Migration

Roles of UN organizations

In the UN system there is a growing awareness that assistance to the
need requires the application of development resources to the many
blems faced by the displaced. For example, when many displaced
move into urban areas, the problem becomes largely an urban and
economic development issue. If large numbers of the displaced remain in
rural areas and seek work as farm laborers, agricultural development
programs must often be expanded. While the displaced often have very
relief needs in the initial stages of displacement, as time goes on,
continuation of relief may not be appropriate. Furthermore, as residents of
country, they are entitled to development benefits and opportunities for
development assistance equal to those of their fellow citizens.

To provide assistance, the UN Field Offices have devised a number of
ing models. In exceptionally large emergencies, such as in Ethiopia,
Zimbabwe and the Sudan, the UN has established special emergency
in the UNDP offices and mandated the staff to focus exclusively on
blems caused by the emergency. In other situations, the UN has simply
ated a special post for an "emergency officer" to advise the ResRep and
prepare plans and projects in cooperation with the host government and the
ers. In several cases where the emergency situation has been deemed to
of extraordinary importance, the Secretary General has appointed a high
ed, special representative to serve as coordinator.

In 1990, UN created the Office of the Senior Advisor to the Administrator
Humanitarian Affairs at its headquarters in New York. A large part of its
ork focuses on displaced persons.

*As residents of
the country, they
are entitled to
development benefi.
and opportunities
for development
assistance equal to
those of their fellow
citizens.*

Today, the UN is moving closer to concerted action regarding humanitarian assistance to displaced populations through the UN Disaster Management Team (DMT) structure. The operating procedures of the UNDMT are set forth in the UNDP/UNDRO Disaster Management Manual.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE UN DISASTER MANAGEMENT TEAM

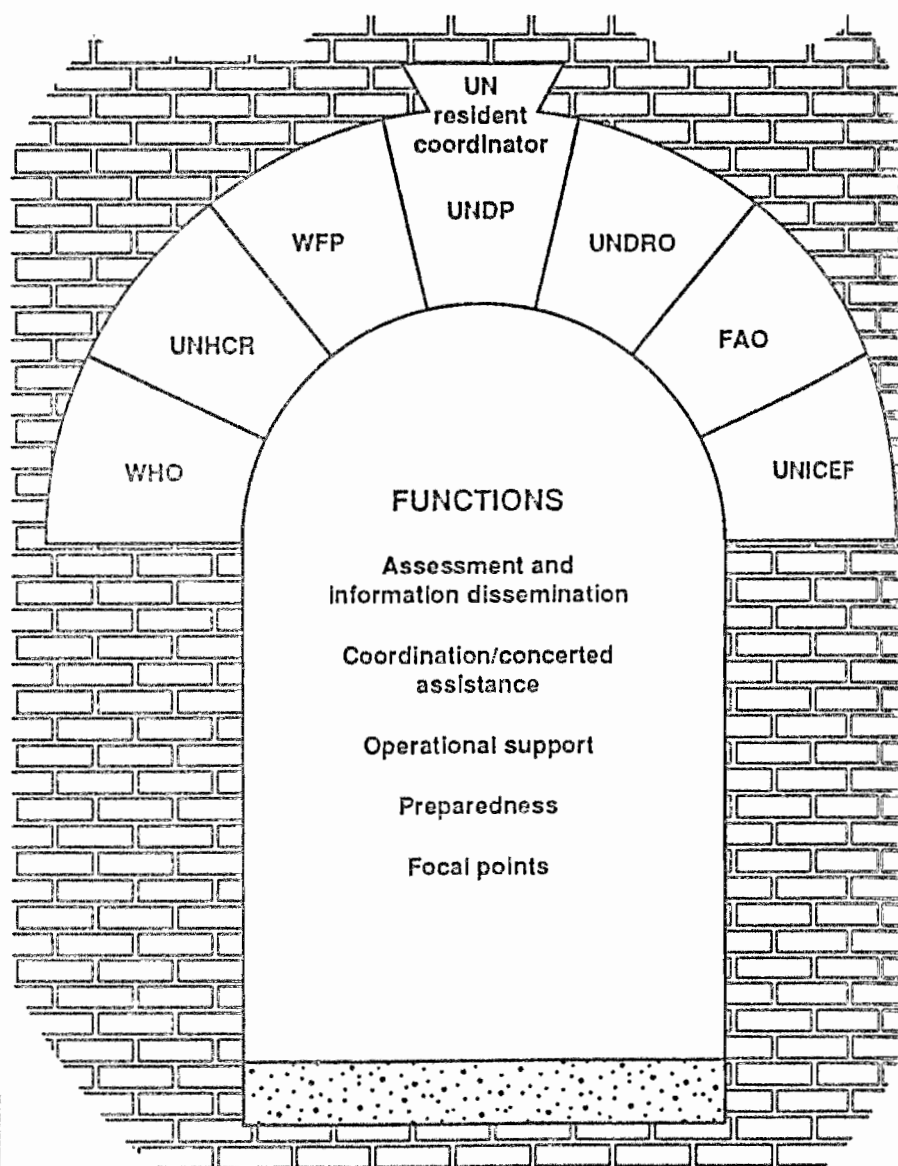
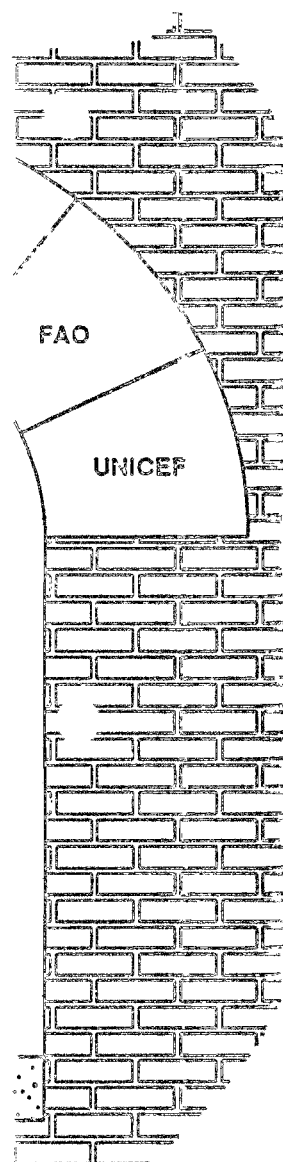


FIGURE 5

and Nat
persons
C. E. Bec
here they
ing assis
1. This oc
on in sou
ed perso
ne, feed
on of ck
displac
ary cam
of Nation
support
and assist
and supp
UNDRO
ed with
on. More
country n
until the
gates in
Food Pr
le food to
entions a
alled area
ment ch
le govern
EF, the In
has estab
nit provi
gency nec
as at the in
ed Health
medical and
tentatives
rities to fi
need recei
of their me
alliance ov
rly identifi
-lean, WH
on to be ex
ventions fo
WHO an
quarters in
le technic

regarding
the UN Disaster
Procedures of the
Management Manual.

MANAGEMENT TEAM



United Nations organizations that often become involved with displaced persons include:

UNICEF: Because of UNICEF's unique mandate to assist children everywhere they are in need, the organization often becomes involved in providing assistance to the displaced in areas outside of government control. This occurred in Kampuchea in 1979-80 and is currently the situation in southern Sudan. UNICEF may also provide assistance to displaced persons in government-held zones. Building on its strengths in child care, feeding for vulnerable groups, family reunification and the provision of clean water and sanitation, UNICEF is often involved in helping displaced children and their mothers in the settlements and temporary camps where they have moved.

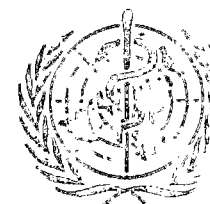
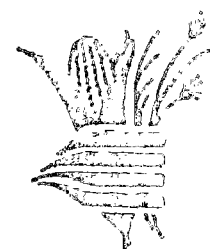
United Nations Disaster Relief Office (UNDRO): UNDRO generally plays a supporting role to the Resident Coordinator by providing technical assistance, contracting for emergency services and providing logistical support. The UNDP ResRep represents UNDRO in countries where UNDRO does not have a presence. In the early 1980s, UNDRO was entrusted with overall responsibility for assistance to displaced persons in Lebanon. More recently, UNDRO played an important role in helping third-country nationals displaced by the instability in the Iraq/Kuwait region until they could return to their homelands from Jordan. UNDRO participates in all of the important UN interagency coordination groups.

World Food Program (WFP): The role of the World Food Program is to provide food to governments or, in some cases, to non-governmental organizations assisting the displaced. If the displaced are in government-controlled areas, emergency food aid may be provided through government channels. If, however, the people are residing in areas outside government control, the food will normally be provided through UNICEF, the International Committee of the Red Cross, or NGOs.

WFP has established an emergency unit at its headquarters in Rome. This unit provides assistance to the WFP representative in determining emergency needs, managing international logistics and coordinating with donors at the international level.

World Health Organization (WHO): The World Health Organization is the medical and public health arm of the UN system. Their representatives help the local Ministry of Health or public health authorities to formulate and execute programs to ensure that the displaced receive proper medical attention and public health support. One of their most important functions is establishing epidemiological surveillance over the displaced population so that disease threats can be properly identified, detected and controlled. In Latin America and the Caribbean, WHO's Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) has proven to be extremely effective in helping develop medical and health interventions for the displaced.

Both WHO and PAHO have established emergency sections in their headquarters in Geneva and Washington respectively. These offices can provide technical support and information during emergencies.





CAME

OXFAM



United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees: While the mandate of the UNHCR does not extend specifically to internally displaced persons, UNHCR has been able to provide relief and protection in a number of cases, either at the specific request of the General Assembly authorizing the High Commissioner to use its good offices, at the invitation of the Secretary General in participating in those humanitarian endeavors of the United Nations for which UNHCR has particular expertise and experience (GA Res. 2950 (XXVII) of 12/12/72, para. 2), or in situations where the agency has been involved in helping returning refugees in the same area. For example, in Sri Lanka in the late 1980's, UNHCR accepted limited responsibility for assisting returning displaced persons as well as refugees repatriating from India. In Zimbabwe, the interventions of UNHCR led to a repatriation and resettlement program for both internal and external returnees. The integration of the returnees into a single group resulted in a speedy and successful process of return. There are two reasons why UNHCR has, on these occasions, been requested to be involved in assistance to internally displaced persons. First, there is a close resemblance between the problems faced by internally displaced persons and refugees. Second, UNHCR's specific expertise and experience in providing the type of protection and assistance required for internally displaced persons is widely recognized. UNHCR's involvement in protecting and assisting refugees and displaced persons throughout the world has been commended by the General Assembly.

Other UN Organizations: From time to time, other UN agencies may become involved in providing assistance to the displaced. For example, the International Labor Organization (ILO) may be called to develop projects to provide employment to the displaced (such as under its Special Public Works Program). The Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) has often been asked to assist the displaced in establishing agriculture or livestock projects to provide income support. Employment generation has often been studied by groups such as the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) or the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP).

Roles of Other Organizations

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)

The ICRC is mandated under international agreements to provide assistance to civilians in conflict zones outside of government control. However, in order to remain neutral, the ICRC usually provides assistance for non-combatants on both sides of a conflict. Therefore, the ICRC may be operational in many of the same areas in which UNDP is providing assistance to the displaced in government-held areas and in the garrison towns.

The ICRC has a right to offer its services in situations of non-international armed conflict under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 (Common Article 3), under the Additional Protocol II of 1977 and under the Statutes of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. The ICRC is further

in areas. In
with the p
ment will
such as
ments pref

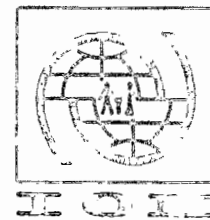
of the large
items of d
Assistance
of assistance
need. Ho
the host g
may p
or food

ational c
a (formerl
tional orga
of displ
with the p
cars, it ha
migration
with large

Consider a
region in
izations. D



DONOR



while the many...
displaced persons...
in a number of...
assembly authorities...
invitation of...
an endeavor of...
artise and...
), or in situations...
ing refugees...
UNHCR...
persons as...
interventions of...
a for both internal...
into a single...
turn. There...
uested to be...
in...
nally displaced...
dise and exp...
red for internal...
vement in...
throughout...

agencies...
l. For example...
d to develop...
s under its...
nization (F...
g agricultu...
nt generati...
mission for...
d Social

RC)

wide assist...
however, in...
for non-...
ay be...
viding...
ie garrison

n-internati...
on Article...
s of the...
C is furthe

areas. NGOs are often the source of innovative approaches to
with the problems of the displaced and their flexibility permits them
eriment with new ideas that may be tailored to specific needs.
ers such as USAID, the European Community and many European
ments prefer to implement their programs through international

TS

of the larger donor countries have specialized agencies that deal with
blems of displaced persons. For example, AID's Office of US Foreign
at Assistance (OFDA) in Washington often provides funding and
al assistance to USAID missions to develop and support programs for
placed. However, in most cases, the donors channel their funds
h the host government, NGOs, the ICRC, or through the UN system.
ers may provide aid in the form of cash, equipment, technical
ate or food.

International organization for migration

IMM (formerly the Intergovernmental Committee on Migration) is an
tional organization which has become increasingly involved in the
ms of displaced persons. Its mandate is to assist governments in
g with the problems of migrations, both internal and international. In
years, it has conducted a number of studies on the impact of crisis-
ed migration and has provided assistance to some governments in
g with large-scale population movements caused by conflict.

Consider an example of conflict-induced internal displacement
your region involving assistance from more than three international
organizations. Describe the primary role of three such organizations.



GLOSSARY

assistance

The provision on a humanitarian basis of material aid and services necessary to enable people to meet their basic needs for shelter, clothing, water and food. Assistance is available for extended periods, unlike relief supplies and services which are provided, free of charge, in the period immediately following a crisis.

crisis-induced migration

This type of migration occurs when people are forced to abandon their homes and move out of harm's way when unanticipated events occur, often as the result of military operations.

displaced persons

In this document, these are non-combatant people, forced to leave their homes because of the direct or indirect consequences of conflict, but who remain in their country of origin.

economically-induced migration

This type of displacement occurs when people abandon their homes because sustained conflict has caused: substantial increases in the cost of living due to shortages of basic commodities; a collapse of the economy; a lack of available income; or a lack of buyers for goods produced.

garrison towns

These are communities controlled by government forces in the midst of a conflict zone.

human-made disasters

Situations in which the principal, direct causes of disaster are identifiable human actions, deliberate or otherwise. This mainly involves situations in which great populations suffer casualties, losses of property, basic services and means of livelihood as a result of war, civil strife, or other conflict.

precautionary evacuation

This type of migration occurs when people decide to abandon their homes to avoid anticipated violence or some other aspect of civil conflict (such as conscription); or to leave while they can still sell their assets and evacuate in an orderly manner.

relief

The provision on a humanitarian basis of material aid and emergency medical care necessary to save and preserve human lives. Relief supplies and services are provided, free of charge, in the period immediately following a sudden disaster. They may need to be provided for extended periods in the case of population displacements.

sanctuary

This is the first safe place where displaced people stop after leaving a zone of conflict.

vulnerable groups

Categories of displaced persons with special needs, variously defined to include unaccompanied minors, the elderly, the mentally and physically disabled, victims of physical abuse or violence and pregnant, lactating or single women.

state apparatus will parallel the position of the society within the global division of labor. Core areas will spawn strong states, peripheral areas are likely to be characterized by weak states. With respect to global market opportunities, there is constant change in the states' relative positions. Nations will typically seek to protect their position and to improve their status within the international pecking order of surplus extraction. What looks like national development will actually consist of a successful attainment of the domestic and international preconditions for social mobility within the world-system.

The system seems rather tightly knit, or perhaps "over-integrated."¹⁴ For that reason, and because of its implications for social change, Wallerstein's stress on *contradiction* is worth emphasizing. Contradictions will occur in three specific realms, each deriving from one of the world-system's defining features. The first two are familiar from classical Marxist theorizing about national political economies. One results from the imbalance between world supply and world demand. As long as productive decisions are made by individual enterprises, this imbalance will be the unplanned consequence of continuous mechanization and commodification. A continuous increase in productive capacity is not paralleled by those changes in national class structures and income distributions that would generate an effective demand sufficient to monetize the products of growing world capacity.

The longer secular trends are thought to derive from the expansionist economic logic of the system: increasing proletarianization in order to generate the needed demand to maintain profit rates, on the one hand, and, on the other, a more and more visible cash nexus and heightening political problems that result from the worldwide shift to wage employment. A second contradiction occurs between ostensibly "free" labor in the marketplace (at least in certain regions, concentrated within the core) and the authoritarianism of productive relations in the workplace. The costs of coopting workers and damping resistance will increase. But while effective demand may increase in the process, moderating the first contradiction, there is a snag at the political level. Because of the necessary extension of state control, and the problems involved in safeguarding political authority at an acceptable cost, state actors prefer to legitimate authority rather than resort to wholesale coercion. Yet the price of legitimation increases over time: increasing costs of cooptation and increasing difficulties in maintaining class peace put a constraint on world-system development.

The final contradiction is set by that disjuncture between political form and economic content which characterizes the world system at several levels. "One might say: what the states try to unify, the world-economy tears asunder."¹⁵ This is an aspect of any world economy not organized as a

single political empire. The growth of state power, along with increasing politicization, may bring about what Wallerstein calls a "Janissarization" of the ruling classes (increasing control of the economy by managerial elites may create a dispersion of the will to resist or coopt the so-called "world working classes"); core-state competition and conflict between weak and strong states; and conflicts between the interests of the state, as defined by government officials, and the interests of the dominant capitalists within the national setting. In each case, the political stability needed for economic growth and capital accumulation will often be absent. Meanwhile, economic transactions will add their own erratic complexities and cyclical patterns. The system as a whole expands and contracts. National political units jockey for position; state actors seek to retain statuses that are fossils of earlier action. Eventually, these contradictions may transform the system as a whole. The total freeing of factors of production and the approach of the limits of structural expansion will (supposedly) spell the doom of world capitalism.¹⁶ The system will not be able to survive the light of day. "We are said to be living in this transition to a "post-capitalist" world-system.

2. Research extensions and research problems

This is only the barest sketch of the world-system perspective, as set forth by Wallerstein, Terence Hopkins, and others. It has spawned two distinct research programs, the second of which is amply documented in the anthologies under review.

One body of recent work accepts the historiographic stance of the original exponents and attempts a case-study approach. The conceptual pointers of a world-system perspective help them chart specific economic, political, or cultural trends within a regional or national setting.¹⁷ At its most concrete, this work verges on detailed historical description with taxonomic flourishes. For the most part, it seems derivative of existing theory—an application or almost an upholding of it—rather than forcing us to recast the perspective in creative ways. The scattered nature of its presentation prohibits any systematic overview here. Leaving aside the need for imaginative conceptual recasting, however, the perspective as it stands now does seem to lend itself to the narrowly-based studies of the Sage volumes as well as to Wallerstein's sweeping generalizations. The framework is tidy and schematic enough to accommodate both.

Methodologically, the implications of holism are controversial. The modern age, after all, contains only one world political economy (a universe of cases with an *N* of 1). As a result, even macrosocial changes at the

¹⁴ Wallerstein, *The Capitalist World-Economy*, p. 129.

¹⁵ See, especially, studies collected in Kaplan, *Social Change: World-System and Capitalism*; Hopkins and Wallerstein, "Patterns of World-System Development"; and those appearing since 1977 in the *Journal of the European Historical Association*.

¹⁶ The term is Peter Worsley's. See his excellent recent essay, "One World or Three? A Critique of the World-System Theory of Immanuel Wallerstein," *No-Global Review*, ed. by Philip Marland and John Scales, London: Merlin Press, 1970.

¹⁷ Hopkins and Wallerstein, "Patterns of World-System Development," p. 113.

tractive investment climate. This is, of course, backed up by direct intervention on the part of core countries and by the stipulations that accompanying loans and aid and investment. If we can accept the indications that accompany hand tend to support these hypotheses (once oil-exporting countries are excluded from the sample). Export-partner concentration and external public debt, for example, are both significantly associated with government revenue (the crude indicator used to measure state strength). The degree to which state weakness elicits dependency, which in turn lowers state strength (in a mutually interactive pattern), should be addressed.

A significant amount of the quantitative work in the Meyer and Hannan volume highlights the domestic role of education. These studies show the relationship that economic development, state power, national independence, and political participation have with the extension of national educational systems, as well as the degree to which national economic development is associated with educational expansion.¹¹ To sum up the formulations, educational expansion below the university level is said to increase rates of economic growth. But crossnational societal differences play a smaller role than we might have imagined in accounting for the measures of the explosive growth of educational systems since World War Two. The analysis indicates the need to specify a more prominent and more uniform role for states within the dynamic of capitalist development. Educational growth, tightly controlled by national states, joins what these crossnational researchers claim is a tendency toward a homogeneous modernization of domestic social structures. An apparently independent logic of global social organization has become embodied in national institutions.¹²

These studies do highlight some of the world economy's constraints and consequences, but they cannot examine them as long-term features that have, over time, created the conditions of the present. Instead, in order to make inferences from existing data, social phenomena are transformed into quantifiable indicators with a demonstrable "causal efficacy" over the short term (1950-1970, for example). The key problem is clear: longer-term structural phenomena are not open to this kind of demonstration. By analyzing dependence as currently operationalized, we will be limited in what we can conclude about global dynamics. We cannot use active verbs to speak confidently of a nation's world position actively retarding development, reducing state strength, creating growth, etc. For example, hypotheses about the impact of trade or investment dependence may be merely a static description of specific market relations among national societies at a period in time far along the historical trajectory of world capitalist development. Our studying the microdynamics of the present renders that trajectory collapsed or miniaturized. Here is a trap in which some of the attempted

quantifications of the dependency perspective are shared. We can probably expect a similar fate for world-system analysis at the hands of methodologically advanced scholars of a more conventional stripe.

Even these quantifications of world-system analysis, by locating a wide variety of diverse phenomena within this global context, can stir up some interesting trouble in their respective scholarly domains. At least they avoid the presumptions of national autonomy or insulation from international processes that often bedevil conventional crossnational research. The national factors under study are dependent variables in more ways than one. Some can be related, conceptually and sometimes empirically, to the overall trends or patterning of the world division of labor regarded as a collective or organic reality. Customary interpretations built on domestic factors will fail to capture this relationship and may therefore prove unsatisfactory, especially when compared to a "world-system" account. In that sense, the world-system perspective serves at least to sensitize researchers to the crucial role of the global socioeconomic setting in structuring national phenomena. The demonstrations proceed by transforming the "part-whole" perspective into a more mechanical if more manageable form. I single out a few instances from the Bergesen volume.

In Robert Wuthnow's analysis,¹³ religious movements exhibit an interesting correspondence with changes in the world economy. (This makes sense insofar as a population's position within the world division of labor helps define for its members what the central problems of existence appear to be.) Connections can be worked out between periods of international economic expansion, polarization, and reconstitution, on the one hand, and categories of characteristic religious activity, on the other. In order, those categories are revitalization and reformation, militancy and counterreform, and accommodation and sectarianism. Alterations in the world economic structure generate increases in religious activity. Periods of relative structural stasis—the late nineteenth century, for example—correlate with periods of relative calm among religious movements. Domestic changes do not comprise an equally persuasive independent variable.

The development of science within the European setting is also linked to national mercantilist policies, which vary in accordance with global economic dynamics.¹⁴ Levels of scientific activity show a rough correspondence with national positions within the European world economy in the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. Again, this occurs *despite* differences in domestic structure. (If domestic explanations cannot account for these patterns, a noneconomic international explanation—tying mercantilism to considerations of defense and configurations of military power—will eventually have to be compared or integrated.) Heightened national competition has been conducive to scientific competition; the institutional autonomy of science

¹¹John W. Meyer et al., "National Economic Development, 1950-70: Social and Political Factors," in Meyer and Hannan, *National Development*.

¹²John W. Bergesen et al., "The World Educational Revolution, 1950-70," in *ibid.*

¹³Robert Wuthnow, "World Order and Religious Movements," in Bergesen, *Studies*.

¹⁴Robert Wuthnow, "The World-Economy and the Institutionalization of Science in Seventeenth-Century Europe," in *ibid.*

throwback. It resembles a more transcendent utilitarianism, where interaction among national units (or self-conscious class agents) generates a specialization of productive activities through trade. Interaction still takes precedence over social order; it structures the world division of labor, and it is determinative of order and exploitation at the world-system level. This emphasis on worldwide exchange relations (whether as key factors in the original transition from feudalism, in the expansion of the capitalist order, or in charting the future) can be criticized for being individualistic and based on interaction. After all, even these national interactions and exchange are not self-explanatory or free-standing—we can trace their emergence and reproduction back to a shaping social context. Unequal exchange, for example, is only the precipitate of social relations on a world scale. It is those relations that need accounting for.

If interaction can be recontextualized in this part-whole manner, we would then have a final encompassing view: the significance of the individual units would be drastically subordinated to the corporate whole. We could subsume the relations characteristic of a particular division of labor under the overall structure of world capitalism—not as a market or mode or circulation but, in terms closer to those of Marxism, as a world political economy, as a global mode of the production of material life, as a complicated, worldwide social formation. This system, in turn, would be inscribed by class relationships that seem to underlay such things as the self-reproducing quality of the core-periphery division. But however useful such a conceptual achievement might be, we have first to ask if the original world-system perspective can accommodate it.

Robert Brenner¹⁹ has offered the most probing criticism of the world-system perspective by questioning its most fundamental definition (and conception) of capitalism. His attack centers on the perspective's neglect or misreading of the sphere of production. Like dependency theory, world-system analysis seems pre-Marxist in its neo-Smithian emphasis on the determinative importance of exchange relations. Can a division of labor (for example, the export specialization that ties the core and periphery together through coerced primitive accumulation and unequal exchange) actually define the social patterning of production and accumulation as processes of the world-system?

The Marxist answer would be "no." For Marxists, the focus on the sphere of circulation will remain this perspective's most disabling flaw. Capitalism as a mode of production requires more than a commercial class (or stratum of countries) able to appropriate surplus through trade. A class of workers selling labor power on the market is also needed, to create the disciplinary force of capitalist productive relations. For a society to participate in a worldwide network of exchange does not imply the domination of the

capitalist mode of production in that area, nor does it mean that that area is a constituent part of the system of capitalist production. To extend the categories of exploitation and class struggle after the fashion of world-system theorists is therefore troubling.²⁰

Still, in a critique based on the centrality of capitalist production, class gets anchored nationally in the relationship between industrial capital and wage labor in core countries. World-system theorists would still contend that the concept of class, like capitalist development itself, needs to be reconceptualized. A new lexicon might let us rethink social relations on a world scale and get beyond an exclusive focus on compartmentalized relationships within national societies. In this view, "class" relations of exploitation take place between (and connect) the core and the periphery; they are precipitated out of a global division of labor. The structuring role of these relations in shaping unequal exchange and market phenomena, and the national ability to take advantage of or be vulnerable to market possibilities, might need to be given greater weight. Class struggle constructs politics, but classes may be worldwide.

Yet what is the analytical status of these "world classes"? This application of a term taken from the realm of production to combinations of nations preempts the possibility of applying it to social forces located within national boundaries and extending beyond them. It seems that, to be understood, extended capital accumulation on a world scale needs to be situated within specifically capitalist social relations of production (the commodification of labor power). To situate it outside any such system of social relations and locate it exclusively within a trade-based division of labor between the global core and periphery will distort the picture of capitalist development. Like dependency theory, it will also tend to shift the site of appropriate political praxis to the periphery.

A more classically Marxist view is persuasive here. Its critique suggests an alternative view of class structures of production, surplus extraction, and class struggle as elements that shape the development of national societies, politics, and state policies. We cannot comprehend international exchange in terms of functionalist imagery, nor can we comprehend it solely from the point of view of ruling classes that behave teleologically in order to maximize their position in a world market. Dominant classes do not introduce new, advantageous forms of labor control and state structure in a social vacuum; these processes do not occur without national resistance and conflict, nor do they happen without regard for changing relations of pro-

¹⁹ "The Origins of Capitalist Development: A Critique of Neo-Smithian Marxism," *New Left Review* no. 105 (1977): 25-92. This remains an indispensable discussion.

²⁰ Patrick McKelvey, for one instance, homogenizes the definition of exploitation as "the process of creating surplus value from unequal exchange" ("Imperialism in World-System Perspective," in Hollett and Roseman, *World System Debate*), p. 46, fn. 2). Taylor, *From Modernization to Modernity*, chap. 3, attributes this conceptual slippage on the part of dependency theory to the use of an imprecise notion of "surplus" (derived from Baran and Sweezy) that precludes any adequate theorizing of the specificity of capitalist production based on wage-labor. This makes it difficult to grasp the uneven, contested history of world capitalism.

relations of global production and the role of the nation-state still awaits adequate theorizing.

Certainly, the nation-state is increasingly dominant as a social form. As the essays under review note, state activities are more and more organized around a rationalized approach toward economic growth.²¹ Again, success in world economic competition is not only a concern of economic elites. It will appear to governments as a virtual precondition for development. The organization of society becomes a variable resource in a worldwide economic game. This internal social dimension of world competition needs to be stressed, for the effects are reciprocal: from social formation and state to world-system and, continuously, back again.

In several of the studies under review, the growth in educational systems is claimed to be an example of such an articulation of world processes at the domestic level. It corresponds to the general expansion of governmental authority in all types of countries.²² This expanding political reach is instrumentalized in relation to the state's commitment to national economic progress. Government revenue since 1945 shows a positive relationship with gross national product; its positive association shows even greater strength for poorer countries. The state's ability to intervene in domestic social organization is positively related to economic growth. We might include, in other words, broad increases in state power as another form in which global processes are expressed: "Less developed states attempt forced mobilization and/or control in competing in the world system, while more developed ones tend to absorb (or be absorbed in) their societies through nation-building."²³ In order for a nation to advance or hold a place in the pattern of economic stratification presupposed by world-system theorists, aggressive national mobilization becomes a precondition.

Some recent studies suggest the need to recast discussion of the state along these lines, but the theoretical yield is still uncertain. From Wallerstein's analysis, we would expect to find a differentiation in state strength occurring along core-periphery lines, with the so-called semiperiphery occupying a middle position. Historically, export-oriented elites in command of primary production in the periphery are prone to resist strong state structures, for the existence of such state structures might catalyze demands for either national independence or indigenous development. State strength would be something like a dependent variable differentiated according to world-market position. The quantitative studies of the postwar period, however, show a consistent growth in state activity, state expansiveness, and centralization of authority across most countries. An explanation that locates

²¹We also need to stress that this approach is sustained by certain domestic political and class configurations, which cannot be deductively derived from the global structure.

²²Meyer et al., "National Economic Development," and Richard Robinson, "Dependency, Government Revenue, and Economic Growth, 1955-1970," in Meyer and Hannan, *National Development*.

²³Meyer et al., "National Economic Development," p. 90.

this trend within the internationalization of capital, or as part of the dominant global mode of production, has not yet been fully worked out.²⁷

Given the somewhat disabling stress on exchange relationships, what alternative account can accommodate these findings? In Meyer and Bolli-Bennett's work,²⁸ the notion of a *world polity* is introduced to stand alongside the sociological division of labor. It fills the analytical gaps that follow from an original unwillingness to characterize the world system in terms of specifically capitalist relations of production. A world political ideology and imperative is said to be at work: state actors are virtually required to expand their activities if they hope to protect the viability of dominant social interests. This world polity is said to contain world political rules, which underprop and legitimate the nation-state system. States are empowered by a world political culture that projects the ideology and organization: a logic of the world economy. Global characteristics, rather than national ones, are, in other words, still determining.

A world polity is said to spawn national political systems as constitutive citizens. World political rules would actually precipitate sovereignties and, along with them, the universal goal of economic progress toward which state power is instrumental. This might help account for certain anomalies that an explanation focused solely on the world-system as an economic network cannot handle: the state system's overall stability as an organizational solution, the social modernization of the periphery, and the global shift toward politically constructed paradigms of value and social organization (i.e., postindustrialism). State constitutional authority, for example, does not simply mirror the reach of state power. It expands even more extensively in the periphery—possibly as a form of ideological overcompensation. An increasingly intense competition for the improvement of national status helps to homogenize the goals of individual governments.

Here we have something like a global political determinism or teleology to set next to economic versions. In this view, the social constitution of exchange (and of the units within which exchange takes place) is a reciprocal process. An institutional system of rationalized and bureaucratic power is not just a dependent variable, reducible to exchange relations. Instead, rationalized collective action serves to organize reality in its own right and on a global basis. "Economic systems, as they become stabilized, generate policies; accountings of value such that the exchanges make sense and are

²⁷This has made the world-system perspective vulnerable to exponents of a more conventional emphasis on the determinative pressures of the interstate political system. See Zolberg's interchange with Chase-Dunn, mentioned earlier. One alternative possibility for social-theory formation, as a way to get beyond the ideographic emphasis of the world-system perspective, is to take a comparative look at social class and state formation in the Third World. For two recent British attempts, see Taylor, *From Modernization to Modes of Production*, and Fox-borough, *Theories of Underdevelopment*.

²⁸See Meyer, "World Polity"; Thomas and Meyer, "Regime Changes"; and John Bolli-Bennett, "The Ideology of Expanding State Authority in National Constitutions, 1870-1970," in Meyer and Hannan, *National Development*, for this line of argument.

tions in a vacuum. Yet societies are not originally "self-constituted" (taking their shape from their own state policies), even if their central governments are now relatively autonomous in relation to specific domestic pressures. Recent findings may do nothing more than illustrate the marginal mechanics of reinforcement and readjustment. True, the recent concerns and practices of central governments are affected by domestic politics. But even the shape of domestic politics has been constrained and defined by what we might call the society's overall organizational principles. Finally, in decisive ways that need further conceptual clarification, the nature and reproduction of those societies have been defined over a very long span of history by a prevailing pattern of capitalist organization at the world level.

It is time to acknowledge that a much more complicated relationship exists between market forces and the role of social class, between economic and political determination, between global and domestic forces in the constitution of states and state policies. A structuralist purism about the operation of the world-system and its national "precipitates" will not work. Although these linkages have not been adequately theorized, a few remarks and extensions are worth making here.

To emphasize the independent role of state action complicates the theoretical picture. If we reject a structuralist homogenization in which states seem to disappear, or else appear only as derivatives of a world market, we must raise another set of questions if we hope to account for the *continuities* of world capitalism. Anything we might call global economic development requires modes of integration and surplus extraction that operate beyond the national level. Core-periphery relations can be considered an apparatus of control. The operation of this apparatus will be inscribed by social conflict, but in this context "social conflict" means conflict between interests and practices that cut across categories of nations. So, how is the periphery originally structured and then maintained in a subordinate position?

Two of the trends mentioned earlier are at cross-purposes. The increasing scope of national state activity does not seem to square with the continuing impact economic dependence is supposed to have on the subordination of peripheral societies. Older patterns of colonialism or neocolonial intervention to contain radical change (whether through direct physical punishment or a chastening deterrent) cannot always maintain global control. Yet capitalism, because it "is not primarily a normatively integrated system"³² (contrary to the claims about a "world polity"), increasingly needs similar control mechanisms to stabilize core-periphery relations. Sometimes discipline is imposed through the direct economic necessities of wage-labor, but at other times through political coercions of a more "mercantilist" variety. "Extra-economic sanctions then were the norm until very

³² Chase-Dunn, "Interstate System," p. 38.

recently in most parts of the globe; the cash-nexus the exception."³³ Yet that exception, as Wallerstein claims, may well characterize the future of the world economy.

Coercion and repression, and even deterrence, are costly ways to regulate independently existing forms of behavior. Ideally, for capitalist development, these methods would give way to a subtler pattern of normalization based on capitalist relations of production. This involves a less contentious form of socialization or constitution (that is, a process of shaping the very definition and internal nature of societies), so that subsequently the more visible methods of outside control become less important. Historically and in the future, this would mean the construction and shaping of societies along lines that are conducive to accumulation on a world scale. If the relevant constraints and organizational principles are internalized, the need for continuing political intervention by core states is partially obviated. If the worldwide organization of accumulation is constitutive in that sense, it will allow the continuing facts of dependence and exchange to seem relatively depoliticized and self-perpetuating. Let me quote two complementary views.

During the early centuries this worldwide social formation was 'held together', or constructed out of, social relations that were more political than economic. The self-perpetuating mechanisms of a world market and unequal exchange could not take hold as well during the earlier centuries because the infrastructures of peripheral regions were still being 'hammered' into the appropriate shape required for their dependent position in the emerging world economy. In this sense colonialism represents a means of primitive accumulation that precedes the more organic functioning of the self-perpetuating and self-reproducing core-periphery division of labor. . . . Sometime in the future [these extra-economic mechanisms] will disappear altogether, leaving us with a pure capitalist world economy capable of accumulation and reproduction of its social relations. . . .³⁴

Today, the dependent economies originally implanted by political force can continue to work according to the logic of the world capitalist market because they have become capitalist in their internal constitution, not merely because they are articulated in a world capitalist market.³⁵

³³ Worsley, "One World or Three?" pp. 312 and 302-3.

³⁴ Bergesen and Scheinberg, "Long Waves," pp. 208-69, and Albert Bergesen, "Cycles of Formal Colonial Rule," in Hopkins and Wallerstein, *Processes of the World-System*, p. 123, comprise the quotation.

³⁵ Worsley, "One World or Three?" p. 303. Worsley continues: "Yet political force is still needed because the dichotomy between the capitalism of the centre and the capitalism of the periphery creates new contradictions. The first of these is that the world was not simply integrated by imperialism. It was divided at the same time, between several major imperialist powers. The second was the resistance and counterattack provoked in the colonised countries. And the third was the decisive breach in a capitalist world-system that had only very recently become established: the Bolshevik seizure of power in 1917."

Two recent (although brief and schematic) attempts are the comparison of the United States and Germany in the late nineteenth century and the treatment of the antebellum United States.³⁰ Chase-Dunn's study of the U.S. elucidates the way it avoided the fate of peripheralization as so-called core producers attained political hegemony in the period between 1815 and 1860. His analysis centers around the conflict between what he calls peripheral capitalists and core capitalists *within* the United States, using the politics of the import tariff as a reference point. He makes the claim that the usual distinction between core and peripheral "areas" is really a distinction between areas in which one or the other type of economic production is dominant; these areas are not coterminous with national economies. Chase-Dunn's argument takes the following form. The upward mobility of the U.S. within the world system resulted from a political victory on the part of core producers. The interests of the peripheral producers, on the other hand, were increasingly frustrated. Their economic activities, directed to European markets, gave them little incentive to restructure state policy or state institutions in order to protect domestic industry against competition from core imports. This gradual dominance of core productive interests (and therefore of related methods of labor control) was not a natural or foreordained event. It was the multifaceted product of class struggle over the control of the state and its policies, capped by the Civil War and Reconstruction. Such a historical account cannot fully elucidate the dynamics of the organization of production at a worldwide level, dynamics that underprop the exchange relations which are often the conscious reference points of one nation's politics. On the other hand, it at least transcends the splitting of the domestic and international aspects of social conflict that bedevils certain analyses of world capitalism.

From this overall perspective and such specific findings, what are we likely to conclude about the opportunities and preconditions for movement within the present system? What are the lessons to be drawn, by peripheral states, for example? First of all, this world-system perspective drastically complicates the project of social change. Its pronounced holism undercuts the complacent optimism of nationally-focused modernization theories on both the Right and the Left. What has been called national development is largely conditioned by (or is in fact synonymous with) national mobility within a world system of stratification. Yet mobility is limited by the number of national positions within the system. Real social change would have to be structural change, change that alters the system of control over the international division of labor and capitalist social relations of production. And yet, as the criticisms have indicated, those relations are decentralized. Further complicating the picture, we know that the site of those productive

³⁰Richard Robinson, "Political Transformation in Germany and the United States," in Kaplan, *Social Change*; and Christopher Chase-Dunn, "The Development of Core Capitalism in the Antebellum United States: Tariff Policies and Class Struggle in an Upwardly Mobile Semiperiphery," in *Deepening Struggle*.

relations—in the actual body politic or national societies with their corresponding state policies—will be inscribed by domestic social conflicts and a variety of conflicting desires and interests. How can this circle be squared?

For most peripheral states, upward mobility into the core is not an available option. A more radical form of self-reliance and societal reconstruction at the hands of state power may seem like an attractive alternative. The resulting policies involve greater economic autonomy, a severing of existing bonds of investment and trade and debt dependence, as well as such things as "a policy of international import substitution, especially as concerns value."³¹ Radical critiques of dependency often highlight this theme. As long as domestic social structures are seen in a reductionist light (as products of "penetration"), the only prescription seems to be that of deliberate abstinence. A troubling question sticks with us, however: does the prescription fit the basic (structural and holistic) explanatory logic of the world-system perspective? What are the preconditions for attaining national self-reliance, and what do they have to do with structural change? Recommendations for state action along the lines of self-reliance seem to reject the basic part-whole framework of the perspective. Even the emendations to this holistic structuralism that have been introduced in this discussion do not ease the problems of self-reliance.³²

From the original perspective, the limits are clear. Mercantilist withdrawal (the relative concentration of commodity chains within national boundaries) is associated with contracting periods at the world level and an absence of political hegemony within the core. One precondition for peripheral states has been the achievement of a relatively strong state apparatus and therefore a conducive configuration of class forces. The ability to control a large internal market and at least a small industrial base may be another precondition, making the experiences of China and the Soviet Union less relevant; recuperation still seems the most likely result.³³

Another possibility, outlined by Meyer and acknowledging a greater autonomous role for individual states, concerns a postindustrial future as a "rational strategy for peripheral societies."³⁴ Capital is scarce, after all; the

³¹Delecroix, "Permeability of Information Boundaries," p. 183.

³²As one reviewer of the first draft of this review essay noted: "This lapse into someone else's utopianism may suggest another flaw in the world systems approach, namely its attachment to the system concept. System has teleological connotations which tend to undermine a sense of historical dialectic. I prefer 'structure,' which can be used to refer to the conditions shaping actions which persist over a certain period of time. These conditions are subject to transformation as components of a structure are challenged. Every structure generates its own contradictions, which lead to change; whereas 'systems' are thought of as restoring their own equilibrium, or else as ending (with a 'big bang')."

³³See Richard (art. cit.), "Withdrawing from the World-System: Self-Reliance and Class Structure in China," in Goldfrank, *World-System of Capitalism*; and Edward Friedman, "Marxist Conceptualizations of the Capitalist World-System," in Hopkins and Wallerstein, *Processes of the World-System*. Wallerstein's general neglect of the split between the First and Second Worlds often creates problems for inferences about appropriate praxis. On this point, see Worley, "One World or Three?"

³⁴Meyer, "World Polity," p. 128.

KELLEY, LEIGH & KELLEY, P.C.

COUNSELORS AT LAW
11 BEACON STREET, SUITE 615
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02108

TELEPHONE (617) 248-6855
TELECOPIER (617) 248-0444

March 16, 1994

The Secretary To The
National Advisory Council
Parliament Building
Tower Hill
Freetown, SIERRA LEONE
West Africa



RE: The Working Document Draft Constitution of Sierra Leone


Dear Sir or Madam:

I am a Sierra Leonean wishing to participate in the public debate of the above-mentioned draft constitution. Accordingly, I have prepared the attached paper for the consideration of your Council.

I would appreciate it, therefore, if you would bring the attached paper to the attention of the members of your Council who are in charge of writing the new constitution for Sierra Leone.

Thank you for your time, attention and cooperation.

Sincerely yours,


John R. Leigh



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The National Advisory Council's Working Document Draft Constitution of Sierra Leone is unsuitable for Sierra Leone because:

- ◊ It is too Complex. Few Sierra Leoneans would understand it, even with the proposed education program.
 - ◊ It concentrates too much power in Freetown, forsaking the Provinces. It is time to establish elected Provincial Governments, each headed by a Premier and a Cabinet. District Councils are too inferior to compete with Freetown's power.
 - ◊ Critical national matters, such as safeguarding the value of the LEONE or addressing the land tenure issue, are conveniently ignored.
 - ◊ It avoids the polygamy issue and permits indefinite sexist discrimination.
 - ◊ Powers of Government are inappropriately distributed within the system.
 - ◊ The qualifications for public office are much too low.
 - ◊ It is too easy to amend. Once adopted, politicians could amend it at will.
 - ◊ It can be easily overthrown. We need a coup-proof, corruption-proof, democratic constitution.
 - ◊ A valid public debate of the NAC'S Draft Constitution is impossible under the present arrangements in Sierra Leone.
-
- ◊ SIERRA LEONE NEEDS A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY TO DRAFT A DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION. THIS TASK IS MUCH TOO IMPORTANT TO BE ASSIGNED EXCLUSIVELY TO GOVERNMENT APPOINTEES.
 - ◊ SAMPLE PROVISIONS OF A SIMPLIFIED DRAFT CONSTITUTION FOR SIERRA LEONE HAVE BEEN INCLUDED AT THE END OF THIS PAPER FOR THE CONVENIENCE OF READERS.

FORWARD

For nearly three decades, public officials of Sierra Leone misused state power, impoverished our people, immobilized our institutions and presided over the degradation of our country's infrastructure. Many people like me, while unhappy with the situation in Sierra Leone were, nevertheless, concerned with the *coup d'état* of April 29, 1992, because of the potential for chaos.

Besides my abhorrence for the violent overthrow of our government, I was concerned because of the youthfulness and uncertain backgrounds of the coup makers self-styled as "the National Provisional Ruling Council" or NPRC. My concerns about the situation in our country increased when I heard rumors that the NPRC was contemplating keeping power for its members indefinitely by force. Junior military officers believed they could "fix" the mess in Sierra Leone on their own. A series of further bad news upset concerned Sierra Leoneans.

Many of us were stunned when we learned the details of NPRC Public Emergency Regulations Decree (Public Notice No. 25 of 1992). This decree appeared to have granted security personnel arbitrary powers to enter private homes and offices to search and seize persons and property without the knowledge of the judiciary. During a visit to Sierra Leone in November-December 1992, I was shocked to read in local newspapers, government advertisements for the recruitment of soldiers off the streets of Freetown to go to war against Mr. Sankoh's group. It appeared to me then that our government was unable to learn from the catastrophes of others. Nor did it appear that people in authority understood the difficulty of the task they had arrogated to themselves.

My concerns turned to revulsion and shame in early 1993 after hearing of the sudden, secret, summary executions of two to three dozens fellow Sierra Leoneans. Some of the executed may have been innocent of any wrongdoing. Or their degree of culpability may not have warranted capital punishment. The victims were killed, allegedly, for attempting but failing to do precisely that which the NPRC successfully accomplished nine or ten months or so earlier, i.e., overthrowing the government. At the time, I feared that our beloved country was becoming another "General" Doe's Liberia, or even the Uganda of "Field Marshall" Idi Amin. I feared that our self-appointed officials and their supporters had once again failed to comprehend the basic lessons of history.

Since that time, however, a series of events have made concerned Sierra Leoneans begin to feel increasingly positive about the prospects of our country. I understand that the political and security situation in our country have been improving. Public Notice No. 25 of 1992 has been repealed. NPRC (Special Military Tribunal) Decree No. 12 of 1992 - for the trial of political prisoners - was substantially modified by increasing the civil rights of defendants. The Sankoh rebellion, though difficult, is being contained.

CHAPTER ONE

THE NAC DRAFT CONSTITUTION IS TOO COMPLEX

"Mutatis Mutandis", *"Ceteris Paribus"*, *"Mandamus"*, *"Prima Facie"*, *"Ombudsman"*, are some of the impressive words and phrases used in the NAC Draft Constitution of Sierra Leone. Any expectation that the electorate, 75% of whom cannot read or write English (let alone understand Latin), would understand the constitution sufficiently to meaningfully evaluate its provisions is unrealistic. Apart from lawyers, there are probably only a handful of Sierra Leoneans who would know what words like *"mutatis"*, *"mutandis"* or *"mandamus"* mean.

The NAC Draft Constitution of Sierra Leone is unsuitable, unteachable, inappropriate and unsatisfactory for our country because it is very complex. The constitution itself is spread across 170 pages of solid text, so complex that the drafters thought it fit to compartmentalize, divide, sub-divide and further sub-divide textual provisions into at least eight layers of separation. These eight layers are as follows:

- (1) A Preamble of eight *"whereases"*, separated from the rest of the "constitution."
- (2) 15 chapters divided into
- (3) 12 "parts", divided into
- (4) 655 sections, subdivided into
- (5) Approximately 569 subsections. Many of these 569 or so subsections come with multiple sub-subsections of their own.
- (6) Three "Schedules" of prior laws, legal precedents and procedures;
- (7) 12 separate Oaths of Office.
- (8) Lastly, each listed public office has its own separate removal arrangement.

When I first saw a copy of the government's draft constitution, I was surprised by its bulk. It occurred to me that not many Sierra Leoneans would have the time and energy to conscientiously study it or participate meaningfully in the public debate proposed for the period December 3, 1993 through March 31, 1994. This public debate is supposed to be a very important part of the democratization process whereby citizens are expected to take an active part in helping to shape the future of our country for years to come. Yet, the purported public debate was not only poorly conceived, it is being poorly implemented. My fear is that because of the bulkiness of the official NAC Draft Constitution of Sierra Leone and the limited time permitted for its debate, the expectation of a nationwide, meaningful public debate would be a mere illusion.

constitutions, such as the United States Constitution, are usually written in plain English, using simple sentences and articulating straightforward concepts and guiding principles to govern progressive societies. On the other hand, complex constitutions concocted by lawyers, bureaucrats and incumbent rulers, such as Sierra Leone's, that seek to set forth numerous narrow specific rules to define or control each and every conceivable course of conduct or misconduct, are usually unworkable.

A democratic constitution should be understood by ordinary citizens and voters alike, not just by senior civil servants and lawyers. The complex draftsmanship, coupled with a large amount of unnecessary minutiae, including the creation of meaningless classes of natural-born citizens, make the Working Document Draft Constitution appear much less like a Draft Constitution to debate, negotiate and approve; but more like a series of parliamentary Bills drafted by lawyers for the controlling group's benefit.

A good democratic constitution should clearly:

- Set forth, quantify and qualify the "big picture", i.e., the guiding governing principles of the democratic form of government desired.
- Allocate grants of power by the people for the good government of the Republic.
- Define the relationship between the various power centers.
- Create and empower a legislature to enact statutes in conformity with the democratic principles set forth in the constitution.
- Establish and empower the judiciary to properly adjudicate cases and controversies arising out of the constitution and statutes validly enacted.
- Identify the Executive's responsibilities, coupled with a commensurate grant of authority.
- Devise a time table for all relevant terms of office.
- State the procedures for its own adoption, implementation and amendment by the people, not just by Parliament.

All of the above elements must be stated in language reasonably understood by voters.

Let me here state that there is absolutely nothing wrong with Freetown continuing as our country's seat of government. After all, Freetown is the one place in the country with the amenities necessary to sustain the proper functioning of our government. In fact, Freetown has always been the traditional seat of government since parts of Sierra Leone first came under British influence more than 200 years ago and should continue as our national capital.

It is obvious from the many provisions of the NAC Draft Constitution of Sierra Leone that the situs of decision-making would remain exclusively in Freetown. So would the lion's share of public participation, facilities, amenities, activities, investment and expenditures associated with the proposed new constitutional arrangements. In fact, the Draft Constitution creates several Freetown-based, high-level public offices. Also to be located in Freetown are the Executive, Legislative, Judicial and Auxiliary branches of government. The latter include several proposed independent constitutional organs, such as the Electoral Commission, the Office of the "Ombudsman", and the Press Council.

No doubt, both proposed Houses of Parliament would be based in Freetown. Freetown would also continue to be the exclusive place where the upper echelons of our judiciary would be based and where they would be expected to conduct most of their dispute-resolution, constitution-interpreting, activities. There is also the additional fact that the Freetown-Western Area is the only part of the country where private, fee simple ownership of land is permitted. There is a strong likelihood, therefore, that any arm of government under the NAC Draft Constitution that gets located outside Freetown, or the near-by Western Area, could suffer from inferiority complex, personnel problems and, ultimately, ineffectiveness.

THE TIME HAS ARRIVED FOR PROVINCIAL HOME RULE

The concentration of substantially all political, economic, and social power in Freetown is not right for our country because it severely disadvantages ordinary, law-abiding Sierra Leoneans who live outside the Western Area. An all-powerful, all-mighty Freetown would continue to perpetuate the unfair situation whereby Freetown bustles with political power, economic gain, social amenities - and in safety, to the great advantage of its residents. On the other hand, the vast majority of Sierra Leoneans are left, as usual, to languish in a political wilderness of economic backwardness, a paucity of social amenities and potential exposure to the consequences of rebellion.

It is now time for this one-sided state of unfairness to come to an end. A democratic constitution should bring modern, participatory government to the home provinces of the majority of people. Instead, the NAC Draft Constitution perpetuates political domination from far-away Freetown. The implication, proper interpretation 130(1) of the NAC Draft Constitution is that the provinces are to be ruled by a

currency within our borders; or to monopolize the exchangeability of currencies should henceforth be constitutionally regulated. Accordingly, provisions to this end are included in ARTICLES TWO and THREE of the Alternate Draft Constitution.

OFFICIALS' POWERS OF DISCRETION SHOULD BE LIMITED

The basic structure of democracy is that of "checks and balances." This means that the power granted by the people is divided between a number of branches of government. The aim is to have one branch of government (say the executive branch), watched over (i.e. "checked") and kept in its proper place (i.e. "balanced") by another branch of government (say the judiciary). In turn, the judiciary is kept in check by another branch of government (say the legislative branch) and so on, so that each branch helps the other branches to conduct the nation's business as envisaged in the constitution. The power of each functionary within each branch of government is likewise contained.

A fundamental rule of constitutional democracy has emerged from the concept of "checks" and "balances". This rule holds that no official or organ of Government should ever possess unlimited power to do as he or she "thinks fit". Government by whim is anathema to the principles of constitutional democracy. Democracy requires accountability. Accountability requires that the power to exercise discretion be reasonably circumscribed so that the exercise of that power could be independently audited. Unlimited discretion renders auditing nugatory. Thus where discretion is unlimited, there can be no auditing. Without auditing, the government need not account. Without accountability, there can be no constitutional democracy.

The tendency of Sierra Leone constitutional drafters to grant wide discretionary powers to public officials is understandable. The practice is a leftover from the days of British colonial administration and, in Sierra Leone, inertia rules. It is now time, however, to accept the truth that the morality of Sierra Leone public officials is decidedly different from that of the British colonial civil servants who faithfully governed Sierra Leone for many years. While British officials soundly used their discretionary powers for the public good and general advancement, Sierra Leone officials have, by and large, used their discretionary powers inappropriately.

The grant of unlimited discretion today is, therefore, an open license to promote oppression, extortion, bribery, nepotism, tribalism, sectarianism and other forms of misconduct. Simply put, a constitutional grant of unlimited discretionary powers to any public official today is a prescription for disaster. The casual grant of unlimited powers of discretion to various public officials in the Working Document Draft Constitution is upsetting. It may indicate either the drafters' disinterestedness in the drafting process itself or may reflect an absence of political astuteness.

district and the people with whom they are friendly and comfortable. For very practical reasons, people of a tribe, or of a district, or of a town, flock together, and not necessarily for tribalistic or sectarian reasons. Similar tribespeople could thus find themselves in the same political party or association.

It would, therefore, be necessary to provide some form of mediation facilities prior to attempting to proscribe any political organization. It is important to insure that if a political party is to be disciplined, it should be disciplined only after due notice and a fair hearing before an impartial, qualified adjudicator. Banning of a political party should be considered a very extreme form of state action and should be used very sparingly and only after scrupulous fidelity to established democratic principles.

Under our system of justice, an accused does not have to first prove that he or she is innocent. Rather, an accused is presumed innocent until proven guilty. And it is the prosecution that must first prove the defendant's guilt before the accused is obligated to defend against the charges filed. Under a democratic system, a political party or an association should not be peremptorily banned, then forced to go to the Supreme Court to prove its legitimacy. It is the Electoral Commission that must first be compelled to prove in the Supreme Court that an association or political party has committed breaches of the constitution of such magnitude as to warrant dissolution and banning. Section 85[6] of the NAC Draft Constitution thus turns on its head the highly cherished constitutional principle of Due Process. It ought, therefore, to be put right.

SIERRA LEONE NEEDS A SYSTEM TO GUARANTY LAND PRODUCTIVITY.

One of our country's greatest assets today is our nearly 18 million acres of mostly raw land. Yet this asset has consistently been under-utilized. Today, the bulk of our land does not appear to be in productive use. Many people are poor and jobless; food is expensive, exports declining and meaningful investment lacking. All this is because very little production is currently going on in Sierra Leone. Unless the land is put into proper use there will be very little economic and social progress in Sierra Leone. Much land will remain under-utilized, and many people will remain jobless, until and unless we devise a way to attract capital and management to make our land productive.

The drafters of the NAC Working Document Draft Constitution recognized in Section 24, page 12, the importance of economic prosperity to the future success of our approaching constitutional democracy. More importantly, the drafters appear to conclude, correctly, that agricultural productivity is a necessary precondition for sustained national advancement and national peace and tranquillity. Accordingly, the NAC drafters should have devised a constitutional scheme that would increase the probability of our achieving a substantial reduction in economic hardship.

A democratic constitution that aspires to achieve peace, liberty, economic and social advancement for the people, must surely provide for the resolution of the land productivity issue without further delay or equivocation. It must, therefore, provide for

polygamy is inherently unfair to females, produces too many poor children, drains men of energy, time and attention and it is an unnecessary burden on the country.

Polygamy violates the fundamental democratic principle of Equal Rights for all; and flies in the face of each and every provision in the NAC Draft Constitution which purports to grant justice, fairness, freedom and equal protection of the laws to all persons regardless of sex. Finally, polygamy is a crude social practice that is not in conformity with the social norms of civilized societies. Polygamy is simply not a desirable social arrangement and must go. A truly democratic constitution ought not, therefore, be silent on this very large issue.

Polygamy is no doubt a major social institution in Sierra Leone and appears to present a seemingly intractable problem. If, however, the NPRC is truly a revolutionary movement as it claims, then the twin issue of polygamy and female circumcision ought to be addressed, if not for immediate solution, but for future study and resolution. Sierra Leone can never be considered a progressive society by the rest of the world until we abolish the twin irrationalities of polygamy and female circumcision. Accordingly, the Alternate Draft Constitution provides for the phased abolition of polygamy.

THE CONSTITUTION PERMITS OTHER GENDER DISCRIMINATION

A number of provisions in the Working Document Draft Constitution appear to constitutionalize sexism under certain circumstances. Because of time limitation, I will address only a few such instances. Sections 10(3), (5) and (6), together with Sections 185(5) and 203(2) and (3), appear to discriminate against certain persons solely on the basis of gender.

Section 10(3) confirms the right to Sierra Leone citizenship by registration of a foreign-born female whose previous marriage to a Sierra Leone male citizen had been annulled. No such right is conferred upon a foreign-born male whose previous marriage to a Sierra Leonean female has been annulled. Thus it is easier for a male Sierra Leonean to confer citizenship rights to his foreign-born spouse than it is for a female Sierra Leonean to confer the same rights to her foreign-born spouse. This provision is clearly sexist because it grants males larger rights than it does females.

Further, Section 10(5) marriages between Sierra Leone females and foreign males appear to be automatically suspect by the disrespectful presumption that any such marriage may be deemed bogus by the Registrar of Marriages in his discretion. This clause thus unfairly discriminates against Sierra Leone women because a marriage entered into by a Sierra Leone male with a foreign female carries no constitutional presumption of fraud.

Moreover, Section 10(6) requires a foreign male spouse, who is not a citizen, to be ordinarily resident in Sierra Leone for the purpose of registration.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE CONSTITUTION IS DEFICIENT IN CRITICAL AREAS

After a review of Sections 51 through 215 and beyond of the NAC Draft Constitution, it appears that the NAC provisions in respect of the structure, powers and organization of the Executive, Legislative, Judicial and the Auxiliary branches of Government, are not sufficiently appropriate for Sierra Leone conditions. Moreover, it appears that the critical issue of the qualifications for high public office is designed more to keep out NPRC-banned former officeholders, than it is to ensure the most suitably qualified people get elected to govern.

SIERRA LEONE NEEDS A MERITOCRACY

Given the large amount of discretionary powers granted officials and organs of government and their pivotal roles in the scheme of things, it would seem appropriate to design constitutional rules that would guaranty the election of quality people. This time around, Sierra Leone must elect as public officials, such as the President and Vice President, persons who are thoroughly trustworthy, properly educated, internationally competitive, hardworking and capable of functioning intelligently and without tribal, religious or gender biases. Unless the constitution insures that the right people get elected, the outlook for Sierra Leone is going to be bleak, indeed.

No constitution of Sierra Leone is going to be superior to the personalities who are to be charged with implementing its various provisions. Once elected, public officials are going to have a lot of instant local power and prestige. Given the widespread ignorance and poverty of our people, and the power of ruthlessness in an environment lacking in opportunities the elects, as a practical matter, are going to be superior to the dictates of the constitution, at least, in the short-term.

Looking at the matter from this perspective, one would think that drafters of the Sierra Leone constitution would put a great deal of thought and come up with ingenious qualifications for office holders. The more powerful the position, the more meaningful would be the qualifications for office so that the likely elect, once in office, would selflessly promote the public good, utilizing his/her considerable abilities. Simply put, Sierra Leone needs a constitution that creates and maintains a meritocracy. The meritocracy should extend to elected offices and organs, not just limited to the bureaucracy. Otherwise, the wrong people will end up controlling our country.

Instead of pushing our twenty-one olds to jump into politics unqualified and unprepared, we should first help them get a proper education; gain solid professional expertise, acquire a family and property, learn to assume responsibility in stages and mature properly. This way, we would help our young people lay a solid foundation for future public service.

I propose that the minimum qualifying age for a member of the House of Representatives be put at thirty and someone aspiring to House membership should have completed a degree program at an accredited university or its equivalent. Further, I propose that the powers and membership of the legislature be restructured differently from that proposed in the NAC Draft Constitution. For example:

Parliament should have no power to:

- BACK DATE LAWS, OR
- AMEND THE CONSTITUTION.

Parliament should have power to review:

- EXECUTIONS BY THE NPRC
- NPRC FINES AND BANNING ORDERS
- ANY VIOLATION OF CIVIL RIGHTS AFTER APRIL 28, 1992.

THE PROPOSED SENATE DOES NOTHING FOR DEMOCRACY

The NAC Working Document Draft Constitution, in Sections 91, provides for a thirty-member Senate comprising:

- Twelve paramount chiefs, each elected by the other paramount chiefs in each of twelve districts;
- The Mayor of Freetown, as an ex-officio member.
- Eight professionals, each elected by one of eight "recognized professional" associations;

age? Why are the people of Western Area rural areas without Senate representation? Is this fair, given the fact that every provincial district is represented in the Senate?

Why is the power granted to the Senate of so little consequence, given the expected cost? Why waste so much scarce capital on a powerless, unrepresentative, special interest chamber? In my opinion, spending the money on elected provincial governments is a far better investment for the future of Sierra Leone than spending the same amount of money on a Senate whose powerlessness is exceeded only by its undemocratic membership selection process.

Because of the inherent defects in the structure and powers of the Draft Constitution's proposed legislature, I have proposed a different legislative arrangement in the attached Alternate Draft Constitution.

AUTONOMOUS ORGANS NEED INDEPENDENT FUNDING

The NAC Working Document Draft Constitution purports to have constructed independent constitutional organs such as the Judiciary, the Electoral Commission, the Ombudsman, etc., that will be free from abusive executive interference. There is, however, one glaring weakness with the system of independent constitutional organs as proposed by National Advisory Council.

The Working Document Draft Constitution fails to guarantee permanent, independent and adequate funding arrangements for these bodies. Without such funding, these so-called independent organs of state may eventually lose their independence and become, like many Sierra Leoneans, mere sycophants to an Almighty Executive, no matter how irresponsible or unreasonable.

As previously explained, the executive branch still has the power to continue to: [1] degrade the national currency; [2] mismanage public funds; [3] incur debts it cannot repay. Any of these undesirable activities by the executive branch could surely pauperize the whole nation. Constitutional organs, therefore, that are intended to retain their independence to insure their effectiveness, must be constitutionally provided with adequate external funding beyond the reach of the executive or legislative branch.

[1] Allocation of Functions.

The first example concerns the duties allocated to the office of the proposed Ombudsman. The NAC is clearly wrong in including in the Ombudsman's portfolio the huge responsibility for perfecting the management of the nation's environment. As set forth in Section 196(a)(iii), at page 144 of the Working Document Draft Constitution, the proposed Ombudsman, in addition to protecting peoples' civil rights against the authorities, would also be responsible for:

Complaints concerning the over-utilization of living natural resources, the irrational exploitation of non-renewable resources, the degradation and destruction of ecosystems and failure to protect the beauty and character of Sierra Leone.

Our Ombudsman would better serve the people of Sierra Leone if his portfolio is narrowly tailored to protecting the civil rights of persons and associations. As a senior lawyer with a minimum of fifteen years of legal experience, the Ombudsman is unqualified to address complex environmental and economic issues on a continuing basis. Large, non-legal matters such as the "irrational" depletion of national resources; damage to our country's ecosystems; and allegations of the "uglyfication" of Sierra Leone are better left to the appropriate scientists and engineers.

A lawyer may have spent many years in Freetown courthouses, but never any time in the rain forests, open savannas or bolilands of Sierra Leone. He may thus lack the time, resources and sufficient knowledge of these matters to properly address them. The civil rights responsibilities of this office are onerous enough and need not be complicated by matters of science beyond a lawyer's competence.

[2] Chairmanship Qualifications

One thing that struck me as I studied the NAC Draft Constitution, is the ubiquitous and powerful roles reserved for lawyers with approximately ten to fifteen years of experience. While it may be necessary to have an experienced lawyer to serve in certain positions, such as the Ombudsman, I do not believe that ten to fifteen years experience is a necessary pre-requisite for effective performance in the several positions reserved for lawyers as set forth in the NAC Draft Constitution. Further, I take exception to the suggestion that only lawyers - and only lawyers with ten to fifteen years experience - are worthy of holding certain public offices.

Take, for example, the office of Chairman of the Press Council.

The objective of the Press Council is, ultimately, to lawfully create a powerful and responsible free press that would serve as a bulwark against dictatorship and irresponsible government. Our free press would thus promote and perpetuate the rule of law and

CHAPTER SIX

ADOPTING, IMPLEMENTING, AMENDING AND PRESERVING THE CONSTITUTION

Adopting, Implementing And Amending Our Constitution

In reading the NAC Draft Constitution, I was unable to locate any proposed procedure and/or time table for the coming into effect of Sierra Leone's new constitution. Presumably, these details have been, or will be, provided separately by the NERC. At any rate, it is my belief that the Constitution itself should contain the procedure for its own adoption, as well as set a time table for its implementation.

Further, what use is a carefully crafted constitution if it could be amended by politicians in parliament, as seemed to be provided for in Section 137 of the NAC Draft Constitution? It is the people who should have the last say in amending a democratic constitution. Moreover, amending the constitution is such a serious matter, it should be an entirely separate voting matter, never co-mingled and confused with general election issues. Finally, what use is there in relying on a constitution intended to re-order the country's government when the constitution itself could be unceremoniously overthrown or suspended whenever it is convenient or feasible?

COUP-PROOFING THE CONSTITUTION

The NAC drafters appear to rely on [1] oath-taking by office holders and [2] for the public to oppose extra-constitutional conduct by pursuing a policy of non-cooperation with illicit governments and the threat of punishment later. These measures are not enough. There is too much hardship within the country and a dearth of economic opportunities. Added to this dismal picture is the plain truth that an illicit government would control the country's purse strings and would be willing to kill perceived opponents in order to enjoy power. Relying on suffering people not to cooperate with power usurpers who are their only viable livelihood source, in the circumstances of Sierra Leone, is entirely unreasonable.

Moreover, jailing violators of the constitution may be purely academic where it counts most. Small time violators may be a relatively easy matter. Arresting and jailing successful coup makers is an altogether different matter as we have seen in Liberia, Uganda, Zaire and elsewhere in Africa because incumbents coup makers are capable causing great destruction.

Is this state of affairs the NPRC's idea of democracy in the making? The NPRC certainly means well but its officers should be told the plain truth that their idea of what constitutes democratic procedures, as set forth above, is misguided. Constitution making without active participation by the peoples' legitimate representatives is not democracy.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LET A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DRAFT OUR CONSTITUTION

Ever since a modern system of public administration was first brought forth unto the shores of Sierra Leone by the British, our constitutions have been written by bureaucratic experts and forced-fed from the top down upon the people, in a manner not unlike the way we force-feed our babies. The only difference is that while our babies scream, the majority of our people suffer in silence. No more. Times are changing!

Some Sierra Leoneans have now abandoned their country and taken permanent citizenship elsewhere. Others are waging war as evidenced by the persistent rebellion in eastern and southern districts. This rebellion is not going to go away until and unless the aspirations of the people are adequately addressed. The aspirations of the people include equal justice, freedom to participate equally in national decision-making; and evenhandedness in economic development and in the distribution of social amenities.

Many Sierra Leoneans from the northern parts of the country have been treated heavy handedly and ridiculed ever since the April 29, 1992 coup, even though many northerners had nothing whatsoever to do with the APC or with government corruption. Moreover, two to three dozens Sierra Leoneans have been summarily executed without Due Process of law and by a government not chosen by the people. Some overthrown officials have been subjected to excessive fines and forfeiture of civil rights, *ex post facto*, and without the benefit of a common law trial.

Rebellion, therefore, could spread further in Sierra Leone. It is quite possible that the upheaval that rent Liberia asunder could happen in Sierra Leone. We must strive to prevent such a catastrophe while there is yet time. Giving democracy a legitimate opportunity to succeed is the way to go. Thus the practice whereby the bureaucracy imposes its constitution upon the people after a bogus national debate is a practice we should discontinue. The ban on political activities should be lifted without further delay.

The NPRC should let legitimate representatives of the people freely assemble, debate, negotiate, compromise and freely produce a constitution of their own making. Legitimate public debate is necessary in order to construct a constitution that

CHAPTER EIGHT

SAMPLE PROVISIONS FROM AN ALTERNATE DRAFT CONSTITUTION FOR SIERRA LEONE

PREAMBLE

WE THE CITIZENS OF SIERRA LEONE:

1. **CONVINCED** that a freely elected, representative system of responsible government best promotes individual liberty, internal tranquillity and economic and social advancement;
2. **AWARE** that for many years, certain persons corrupted public offices, repressed the people, monopolized state power, impoverished our country and exploited tribal and sectarian differences, causing us great shame and suffering;
3. **DESIROUS** to forthwith establish a freely elected, representative system of responsible government that will hereinafter promote peace, secure prosperity, advance national integration, guaranty equal justice for all, insure religious freedom, safeguard individual liberty, uphold the human rights of all persons, respect human dignity, provide for the general welfare and national defense, encourage tribal and religious tolerance, and establish and maintain advantageous relations with other nations; **AND**
4. **ACKNOWLEDGING** the need to clearly set forth the legal framework for the establishment of such a freely elected system of responsible government that will forever prevent the monopolization of state power and the abuse of public office so that we the people may henceforth secure the blessings of our inherent sovereignty

DO HEREBY APPROVE, ADOPT AND ESTABLISH THIS CONSTITUTION AS
THE SUPREME LAW OF OUR LAND, THE REPUBLIC OF SIERRA LEONE
EFFECTIVE THIS _____ DAY OF _____, 1994.

ARTICLE ONE: STRUCTURE OF THE GOVERNMENT

INTRODUCTION. The Republic of Sierra Leone is that territory in West Africa as set forth in our Instruments of Independence with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, dated April 27, 1961.

[i] In cases of offenses against the Bill of Rights only a victim or his estate may grant Pardons and Reprieves.

SECTION VI. The President shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of two-thirds of House of Representatives to:

[i] make treaties with foreign nations not involving the sovereignty of Sierra Leone;

[ii] enter into any obligation requiring payment or repayment by the Government of Sierra Leone in currency not normally issued by the government of the Republic of Sierra Leone; and only upon first approval by the Economic Development Council.

[iii] print, mint or import Sierra Leone currency but only upon advice by the Economic Development Council. The image or likeness of any person shall not appear on the national currency until at least five years after the death of such person.

[iv] issue any Rule, Regulation, or Order which would limit the circulation of the currency of Sierra Leone within Sierra Leone but only upon advice by the Economic Development Council.

[v] appoint Judges of the Supreme and other courts, Head of the Armed Police, Security and Intelligence Forces of Sierra Leone but only upon the advice of the Public Service Commission.

[vi] participate or enter into any commercial or investment venture first approved by the Economic Development Council.

[vii] assign members of the Defense Forces outside Sierra Leone for more than three months;

[viii] cause Sierra Leone to join any international or regional organization.

[ix] draw and spend public moneys belonging to Sierra Leone but only as appropriated by the House of Representatives.

[x] hold, deposit or retain public funds in any account or place other than in the Consolidated Fund of Sierra Leone.

SECTION VII. The President shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the affirmative vote of one-half plus one of the members of the House of Representatives to:

[i] appoint a cabinet with a maximum of twelve ministers or their equivalent to head the various departments of the Executive Branch.

[ii] appoint a maximum of twelve deputy ministers or their equivalent to assist cabinet ministers.

[iii] appoint High Commissioners, Ambassadors, Consuls and their deputies.

[iv] to travel outside Sierra Leone at government expense. Neither the House of Representatives nor the President or any other person shall have the power to take transportation facilities from public use for government or Presidential use.

SECTION VIII. The President together with the Vice President selected by him, shall be elected simultaneously in one ballot by the registered voters. The President shall have power to fill any vacancy in the Office of Vice President; but once in office the Vice President cannot be dismissed except upon a resolution by the House of Representatives approved by two-thirds of the members present and voting.

SECTION IX. The President shall have power to recognize foreign governments, receive ambassadors, heads of states and other visiting dignitaries.

SECTION X. The President shall insure that all funds and other assets of Sierra Leone are properly accounted for and that no public funds or other assets shall be used, expended, held, kept or otherwise put into service except by Act or resolution of the House of Representatives.

SECTION XI. No person except a natural born citizen shall be eligible to be elected to or hold the Office of President or Vice President of the Republic of Sierra Leone. Neither shall any person be eligible to hold any of the said Offices who:

[i] shall not have attained the age of forty-five years;

[ii] shall not be of good moral character;

[iii] is financially indebted to the Government of Sierra Leone;

[iv] has not graduated from an institution of higher learning after at least the equivalent of four years of baccalaureate studies at the University of Sierra Leone.

SECTION XII. Both the President and the Vice President shall hold office simultaneously for one term of five years.

[i] No person shall be eligible for election to the office of President or Vice President for more than one term of five years but a Vice President who succeeds to the

SECTION XIV. The President shall not less than once a year, convene the House of Representatives and shall personally present to the House of Representatives a full report of his/her stewardship of the Executive Authority of Sierra Leone; and of the general state of the Republic.

[i] The President shall recommend for the consideration of the House such policies, programs and actions as the President shall have carefully judged necessary to promote internal tranquillity, prosperity, national integration, equal justice for all, religious freedom, individual liberty, uphold the human rights of all person, the general welfare and national defense, and establish and maintain relations with other nations and other matters that may be deemed just.

[ii] The President and his/her ministers shall be available as may be necessary for the good government of Sierra Leone, but not less than once a year, to submit to public questioning by, and to provide true complete and prompt answers to, members of the House of Representatives on matters relevant to their respective executive authority and responsibilities under this constitution.

SECTION XV. The President or Vice President may be removed only for cause from office for nonfeasance, malfeasance or misfeasance by a Resolution of Dismissal supported by at least three-quarters of the members of the House of Representatives present and voting for removal.

[i] The President or the Vice President may be removed only for cause by a majority of voters taking part in a referendum or recall election for that purpose.

[ii] No referendum or recall election shall be held unless supported by a petition signed by 20% of registered voters in at least three regions or provinces of the country.

SECTION XVI. Any person who performs the office of, or holds himself out as, President or Head of State or Head of Government or Commander -in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Sierra Leone, Marshall Law Administrator or their equivalent, or any other public office in Sierra Leone, other than in accordance with the terms of this constitution shall be guilty of Treason.

SECTION XVII. Any person who assists, aides, abets or give comfort to another who performs the office of, or holds himself out as, President or Head of State or Head of Government or Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Sierra Leone, Marshall Law Administrator or their equivalent, or any other public office in Sierra Leone, other than in accordance with the terms of this constitution shall be guilty of Treason.

SECTION XVIII. Any person who receives any benefit from another who performs the office of, or holds himself out as, President or Head of State or Head of Government or Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Sierra Leone shall be guilty of Treason.

[v] has served in the armed, police, security, or Intelligence Services of Sierra Leone for at least five years or has engaged in active combat on behalf of Sierra Leone and have been properly discharged from service according to established regulations; and who has completed secondary school; OR

[vi] has completed a course of study approved by the House of Representatives, on advice from the Electoral Commission, for citizens who wish to hold elected office.

[vii] has failed to pay duly imposed fines or reimburse the Republic of Sierra Leone for any debt owed as established by a duly appointed Commission of Inquiry.

SECTION V. [i] At the commencement of each annual session of the House of Representatives, the members shall divide into twelve committees to oversee the twelve Executive Departments, elect the Speaker and other officers and provide for its own administration.

[ii] The Speaker shall preside at all plenary sessions of the House of Representatives.

[iii] The officers of the House shall include the heads of the twelve committees set up to oversee the activities of the twelve Executive Departments.

SECTION VI. The House of Representatives shall conduct its business in public and shall meet in Freetown at least once a year, and such meeting shall commence on January ____ of every year. In the event of a serious emergency, the House of Representatives may meet at any place at any time and need not conduct its business in public.

SECTION VII. The House of Representatives shall determine its rules of procedure; punish members for disorderly conduct and may expel a member for the duration of that session on the affirmative vote of three-quarters of members voting, but its procedure for enacting legislation into law shall be the same as heretofore.

SECTION VIII. Voting on all matters before the House of Representative shall be by roll call and all its proceedings shall be seasonably published and made available for public inspection except for such matters as may require secrecy. All such secret matters shall be released to the public not later than 10 years or sooner.

SECTION IX. Representatives shall receive a compensation, to be ascertained by law, at regular intervals for their services from the public treasury. No increase in such compensation shall come into effect until the session following the next general elections subsequent to the session in which the increase in compensation was enacted.

SECTION X. Representatives shall be privileged from arrest while travelling to and from or during attendance at any session of the House of Representatives.

[ii] designate constituencies or electoral districts that will always provide as nearly as practicable for the equal representation of the people provided that there shall be no more than sixty-one seats in the House of Representatives.

[iii] prohibit electoral victories other than by actual voting contests.

[iv] provide for the education and training of citizens who wish to hold elected office or understand the constitutional arrangements of Sierra Leone.

SECTION XV. The House shall have power, with the advice of the Public Service Commission to:

[i] provide for the proper staffing, functioning, and equipping of the public service, including the civil service, the judiciary, the armed police, security and intelligence forces and foreign offices of Sierra Leone.

[ii] determine the terms and conditions of public service including, but not limited to, the qualifications, duties, emoluments, benefits, perquisites of office, pensions, discipline, and separation from the public service.

SECTION XVI. The House shall have power, with the advice of the Judiciary, to establish courts and tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court.

SECTION XVII. The House of Representatives shall have power to make rules for:

[i] the raising, maintaining and deploying of the military, navy, air, police, militia, security and intelligence forces.

[ii] the naturalization of persons to become Sierra Leone citizens.

[iii] the impeachment and removal from office of any elected public official but only upon the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the membership present and voting.

SECTION XVIII. The House of Representatives shall receive and consider petitions for the redress of any grievance arising from any act by any official or government of Sierra Leone prior to the adoption and implementation of this constitution, but no redress or relief shall be granted except upon the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the vote casts.

SECTION XIX. No Law, Resolution, Rule or Regulation authorized by the House of Representatives shall have any effect prior to the date of its first reading.

SECTION XX. The House of Representatives shall have the power to grant Pardons and Reprieves for offenses against the Republic of Sierra Leone but not for offenses against the Bill of Rights or in cases of removal of the President and Vice President.