

REGULATING BUSINESS FOR PEACE

This book addresses gaps in thinking and practice on how the private sector can both help and hinder the process of building peace after armed conflict. It argues that weak governance in fragile and conflict-affected societies creates a special interim duty on international authorities to coordinate regulating the social impact of business activity in these places. Policy making should seek appropriate opportunities to engage with business while harnessing its positive contributions to sustainable peace. However, scholars have not offered frameworks for what is 'appropriate' engagement, nor have they offered properly theorized techniques for how best to influence responsible business conduct.

United Nations peace operations are peak symbols of international regulatory responsibilities in conflict settings. As debate grows on the private sector's role in development generally, this book is the first to study how peace operations have engaged with business to influence its peacebuilding impact.

Dr Jolyon Ford is an associate of the Global Economic Governance Program, University of Oxford. His research focuses on the regulation of investor and business activity in fragile, transitional and conflict-affected states, policy and regulatory options for fostering responsible and conflict-sensitive business practices, and wider public policy on the private sector's role in meeting development goals. He blogs on these issues as 'Private Sector – Public World'.





Regulating Business for Peace

THE UNITED NATIONS, THE PRIVATE SECTOR, AND POST-CONFLICT RECOVERY

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Preface

A short note is required as this book draws on research originally undertaken pursuant to doctoral studies completed in 2011. In all relevant respects (in particular, the mandates and periodic reports of UN peace operations) the work is current to 31 March 2014. That end date is not of particular relevance given the strength of the enduring trend identified in this book: a gap in policy and practice in relation to regulating business for peace. At the time of completing the doctoral work, I recorded a finding that with one (fairly minor) exception, there was no reference in any past peace operation mandate to engaging with the private sector, let alone to influencing its impact on post-conflict peacebuilding; the role of this vital social actor and stakeholder in peace went largely unconsidered in UN reports of peace operations; interviews largely yielded an absence of 'data', because peacebuilders had generally not interpreted their role to include promoting and ensuring conflict-sensitive business practices. After 2011, that situation changed in a material way, as this book now records. An advisor on engaging the private sector was appointed to the UN Peacebuilding Support Office, and in 2012 the UN Secretary-General's annual report on post-conflict peacebuilding for the first time made explicit mention of the need to engage business in the process of building sustainable peace. The book explains this development, which is promising for its proposed approach yet, if anything, highlights the prevailing gap.

As the book also observes, the mere presence or absence of express references to business in formal mandates and official reports is not necessarily synonymous with action or inaction. Research for this book, however, establishes that the noticeable omission of business actors in the mandates and reports of peace operations also reflects a gap in the mindset of those involved in planning and conducting such operations. Although that gap may have begun narrowing, it nevertheless persists. In helping societies to recover from serious



x Preface

conflict, the stakes are so high that all available policy options must be considered. This includes a preparedness to think differently about the private sector's role in securing the ultimate public good: peace. This book is intended to contribute to determining what an appropriate role might entail, and how policy makers should enable this.

"The threats to peace are often greatest during [the] early phase, but so too are opportunities to set virtuous cycles in motion from the start."

(United Nations Secretary-General 'Peacebuilding in the Aftermath of Conflict' A/63/881-S/2009/304, 11 June 2009, para [2])

"[T]he social responsibility of regulators, in the end, must be not simply to impose controls, but to activate and draw upon the conscience and the talents of those they seek to regulate."

(Bardach, E., and Kagan, R., Going by the Book: The Problem of Regulatory Unreasonableness (Temple, Philadelphia, 1982), 321)



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Acronyms

ACC UN Administrative Committee on Coordination

BBC British Broadcasting Corporation

CAVR Commission for Reception, Truth, and Reconciliation in

East Timor

CSR Corporate Social Responsibility

DAC Development Assistance Committee (of the OECD)
DDR Disarmament, Demobilisation, and Reintegration
DFS UN Department of Field Support (Peacekeeping)

DPA UN Department of Political Affairs

DPKO UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations

DRC Democratic Republic of Congo ECOMOG ECOWAS Monitoring Group ECOSOC UN Economic and Social Council

ECOWAS Economic Community of West African States
EITI Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
FCRC Forest Concession Review Committee (Liberia)

FCV Fragility, Conflict, Violence (cross-cutting World Bank

theme)

FDA Forestry Development Authority (Liberia)

GEMAP Governance and Economic Management Assistance

Program (Liberia)

GIHL Global Infrastructure Holdings Limited (Liberia)

HRC UN Human Rights Council HRU Human Rights Unit (UNMIL)

IFC International Finance Corporation of the World

Bank Group

IFI International Financial Institutions

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More information

xiv Acronyms

ILO International Labour Organisation

JAM Joint Assessment Mission

JMAC Joint Mission Analysis Cell (UNMIL)
KPCS Kimberley Process Certification Scheme
LAMCO Liberia American-Swedish Minerals Company

LCC Liberian Chamber of Commerce

LEEP Liberia Emergency Employment Programme (UNMIL)

LIBA Liberian Business Association LTA Liberian Timber Association

LURD Liberians United for the Restoration of Democracy

MODEL Movement for Democracy in Liberia

NCP National Contact Point

NGO Non-governmental Organisation NPFL National Patriotic Front of Liberia

NTGL National Transitional Government of Liberia

OECD Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development OHCHR UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

OSCE Organisation for Security Cooperation in Europe

OSIWA Open Society Institute West Africa

P5 The 'Permanent Five' Members of the UN Security

Council

PBC UN Peacebuilding Commission

PBSO UN Peacebuilding Support Office (to the PBC)
PPCC Public Procurement and Concessions Commission

(Liberia)

PPD Plantation Protection Department (Liberia)

PRI UN-Sponsored Principles for Responsible Investment

PSC Private Security Company (or Contractor)

RRT Responsive Regulation Theory

SOE State-Owned Enterprise
SRSG Special Representative of the UNSG

TFC Task Force Coordinator (UNMIL)
TPA Transitional Provisional Authority (Iraq)
TRC Truth and Reconciliation Commission

ULIMO United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy

UN United Nations
UNCT UN Country Team
UNDG UN Development Group
UNDP UN Development Programme



More information

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Acronyms xv

UNEP UN Environment Programme

UNIDO UN Industrial Development Organisation

UNODC UN Office on Drugs and Crime

UNSC UN Security Council UNSG UN Secretary-General

USAID United States Agency for International Development

USIP United States Institute for Peace

WFP World Food Programme

FULL TITLES FOR ACRONYMS OF UN PEACE OPERATIONS AND SPECIAL POLITICAL MISSIONS

Only those referred to in the body of the book are listed.

Current Operations

MINURSO	UN Observer Mission in Western Sahara
MINUSCA	UN Mission in Central African Republic

MINUSMA UN Mission in Mali

MINUSTAH UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti

MONUSCO UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the DRC UNAMID African Union–UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur

UNFICYP UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus UNISFA UN Interim Force in Abyei (Sudans)

UNMIK UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo

UNMIL UN Mission in Liberia
UNMIS UN Mission in Sudan
UNMISS UN Mission in South Sudan
UNOCI UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire

Past Operations

MINURCA	United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic
MINURCAT	United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic

and Chad

MONUC United Nations Organization Mission in the DRC

ONUC United Nations Operation in the Congo UNAMET United Nations Mission in East Timor UNAMSIL United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone



xvi Acronyms

UNMIBH United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina UNMISET United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor

UNMIT UN Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste
UNOMIL United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia
UNOSOM United Nations Operation in Somalia I
UNOSOM United Nations Operation in Somalia II

UNTAC United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia

UNTAES UN Transitional Administration Eastern Slavonia, Baranja,

and West Sirmium

UNTAET United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor

Special Political Missions

BINUCA United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in the

Central African Republic

BNUB United Nations Office in Burundi UNAMA UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan

UNIOGBIS United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in

Guinea-Bissau

UNIPSIL United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in

Sierra Leone

UNOCA United Nations Regional Office for Central Africa

UNOWA United Nations Office for West Africa

UNRCCA United Nations Regional Centre for Preventive Diplomacy

for Central Asia



Personal Note

I have dedicated this book to my wife Alexandra. It is also jointly dedicated to my parents David and Susan. This is a study of one way to help build more peaceful, inclusive, and prosperous societies. It is therefore fitting that the dedication record my parents' lifelong work in agricultural extension for peasant farmers and secondary education, respectively, first in Rhodesia and then in Zimbabwe. My interest in the subject matter of this book had its genesis in various personal and professional experiences and interests. My own earliest memories come from a transitional post-conflict setting, as Rhodesia became the independent Zimbabwe in 1979-80. My academic perspectives on peacebuilding are thus no doubt shaped by the strange but very palpable mix of optimism and uncertainty experienced growing up in Zimbabwe in the 1980s and later attending university in South Africa in the 1990s during its transition out of apartheid. From the outset my focus has been as much on stimulating and harnessing positive business contributions as on controlling for harmful negative impacts. I sought to reconcile two long-held sentiments. One is fidelity to an intuitive sense of injustice first sparked during a childhood class exercise about the Union Carbide Company's role in evading remedial measures for the 1984 Bhopal industrial disaster. The other is, by contrast, to reject the many advocates that would blindly condemn commercial actors as inherently socially indifferent or irresponsible. Thus the book may partly reflect long-held personal dilemmas: I grew up hearing my mother rightly praise the remarkable daring and industry of our pioneer forebears in Africa, mining gold and cultivating tobacco; yet I also came to be aware that these business adventures benefitted from a colonial system involving forced displacement and racial discrimination, and so were activities that were inextricably tied to the unnecessary civil war into which I was born, and whose legacy still affects Zimbabwe. This same dilemma is one theme of this book's study of how business activity in 'new' settings can be deeply problematic yet can also be empowering, protective, and constructive.

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