Summary of Mr. Henk-Jan Brinkman, *Chief, Policy, Planning, and Application Branch, UN Peacebuilding Support Office*
At the Seminar on Inclusivity in Rebuilding States: Focusing on Inclusivity in Security Sector Reform, co-hosted by Japan, Tanzania, and Slovakia mission to the UN on April 22, 2014

Initial Presentation

Mr. Brinkman mentioned that inclusivity is one of the main themes of the Secretary-General's report on post-conflict peacebuilding, which was issued in October 2012, and the combination of inclusivity and institution-building is critical for sustainable peace. He thanked the Japanese, Tanzanian, and Slovakian missions for hosting a series of seminars on inclusivity in rebuilding states as reviewing progress on inclusivity is one of the major purposes for the next SG report on post-conflict peacebuilding, which is planned to be published at the end of 2014. He argued that security sector reform with inclusivity often presents the best opportunity to address the root causes of conflict and do successful nation-building.

Inclusivity is an important element of post-conflict peace-building. Not only the SG report, which emphasized the importance of the inclusivity, but also the rich academic literature suggests that one of the major reasons for the failure of peace-building is political exclusion. Mr. Brinkman agreed with the others speakers that security sector reform is a political process and making it inclusive requires time and resources. Inclusive institution building can contribute to confidence among the parties, the legitimacy and ownership of a political settlement, increased ownership, legitimacy and support for the political process and nation-building and the development of a social contract. He then discussed three case studies.

First of all, he spoke about police reform in Northern Ireland. He said that the previous police force in Northern Ireland was highly disliked by the population and it had a very hierarchical structure and low legitimacy. After the Good Friday peace agreement, police reform was started based on the Patten Report by introducing community policing, which was guided by collective responsibility. The implementation plan enabled police reform in Northern Ireland to take an inclusive approach with accountability mechanisms. The result is that all major parties and groups supported the reforms. Police reform in Northern Ireland also resulted in increasing the number of Catholics in the police, which now account for about 30%.

The next case study cited was South Africa. Their security forces were rejected as part of the apartheid regime. When political changes began in South Africa in the early 1990s, there was an opportunity for change in the security sector as well. SSR became an instrument to create national identity through a consultative process on a white paper, which included not only military and police experts but also civil societies, human rights activists, and all kinds of social groups. There were harsh exchanges in the Parliament on SSR in South Africa, but at the end of the process, all political parties endorsed the plan of SSR. This consensus on the new force was very instrumental in improving civil-military relations.

Finally, Mr. Brinkman spoke about Guinea, which he acknowledged was still very much work in progress. Both the UN's Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) and Peacebuilding Fund (PBF) have been very much involved in supporting SSR in Guinea. The statement of mutual commitments

between Guinea and the PBC identified SSR is one of three priorities. PBF has sponsored various security sector reform activities, including the creation of a high-level strategic advisory team and enhancing democratic governance of the SSR through strengthening civil and parliamentary control. In this process, Guinea took an inclusive approach to SSR, including by organizing an inclusive workshop and inviting women into the SSR process.

In conclusion, Mr. Brinkman said that it is clear that security sector reform is a political process and that inclusive institutional building, including in the security sector, is a key for successful peacebuilding.

Key Comments in Discussion Section

In response to the question about how long the UN can wait for creating inclusive process of SSR when the domestic actors are reluctant to do so, Mr. Brinkman said that inclusivity can never be perfect or complete and that there are no absolute standards. It is more a matter of adequacy and it is important that the inclusivity increases over time. He insisted that it is inevitable in many cases that peace agreements tend to have less inclusivity as they need to focus on "people with guns". Post-conflict peacebuilding, however, should have more inclusivity, including "people without guns." This means that while peace agreements could be narrow in the number of partners that participate, peacebuilding should include a much wider segment of society.

In the discussion of the nature of inclusivity, Mr. Brinkman emphasized the social contract aspect of inclusivity and the importance of state-society relations. He mentioned that a key aspect of the definition of a "state" is the monopoly of violence. States coming out of conflicts need to re-establish the social contract with people, including how to monopolize the violence through the security sectors. That is the reason why the SSR need to be inclusive. He noted that it is possible to have an inclusive process of advancing SSR even in a poor country, as seen in Guinea.

He also emphasized that it is crucial to utilize local knowledge and local capacities in SSR in post-conflict states. This is another reason why inclusivity is so crucial in SSR so that people from different groups and regions can be involved, participating in the SSR process with their own knowledge and expertise.

Mr. Brinkman also said that in order to reduce relapse risk of vulnerable countries, the international community need to pay sufficient attention to inclusivity in countries coming out of conflict. It was for this reason that the Peacebuilding Fund and Peacebuilding Commission were created. Still, the UN does not have a perfect record here.

In this context, Mr. Brinkman stressed the importance of seminars like this, particularly for those like him who are writing the SG report on post-conflict peacebuilding, as they are reviewing lessons learned and good practices on the ground on inclusivity. Increasing inclusivity requires time, patience, and leadership.