

Assessment of the Impact and Influence of the 1996 Joint Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda

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Our Assessment

■ Purpose

- Review developments in the different fields/sectors covered by the recommendations of the Joint Evaluation recommendations
- Ascertain the degree to which developments are consistent or inconsistent with the recommendations
- Where possible identify changes in policies or practices of the international community in response to the JEEAR.

■ Approach

- Advisory Group, Literature Review, Key Informants, Reviewers

■ Timetable

- Final Report by end June

Timeline of Key Reports

RWANDA-FOCUSSED

1996

- Joint Evaluation

1997

- Belgian Senate Inquiry

1998

- French Nat. Assembly Inquiry

1999

- UN Rwanda Inquiry

2000

- OAU Inquiry

2001

2002

2003

2004

GENERAL

- Carnegie Commission

- DAC Task Force Report

- UN Srebrenica Report

- 'Brahimi' Report

- 'Responsibility to Protect'

Preliminary Results: Knowledge of the Joint Evaluation

- **Assessed through:**
 - citations in the literature
 - comments by key informants
- Joint Evaluation had fairly wide reach but with some significant gaps eg. 'Brahimi' Report
- Non-commercial publication reduced subsequent accessibility
- Multiple products and authors - confused citation and diluted 'branding'
- Publication in only some of the relevant widely read journals resulted in limited awareness of Joint Evaluation in several important sectors

Preliminary Results: Genocide Prevention and Suppression

- **Early Warning, Intelligence and Information Flows**
 - Increased capacities in: DPKO and other parts of UN; NGO sector. But no integrated capacity in Secretary General's office
- **Prevention Measures**
 - Diplomacy; Sanctions; Development Assistance; Human Rights; Media; Arms Embargoes/Arms Trade control; Peace Agreements
 - Some improvements but toolkit not systematically used

Preliminary Results: Genocide Prevention and Suppression

■ Suppression Actions

- Different types of intervention: Under UN command; UN Authorised; Not UN authorised
- Peacekeeping deployments generally now more robust;
- Greater willingness by some states to undertake forceful interventions
- But, little consistency in approach and response to conflict and mass killings in Africa is invariably tardy
- Positive developments in African conflict resolution and peacekeeping but progress fragile

Preliminary Results: Humanitarian Response

- **Preparedness and Contingency Measures**
 - International Humanitarian Partnership/UNDAC
 - UNHCR (following Kosovo)
- **The Search for ‘Coherence’**
 - Integrationist interpretation by some donors.
 - Brahimi Report strongly integrationist
 - Voice of humanitarian sector remains weak in determining political and military objectives – Humanitarian Sub-Committee recommendation
 - ODI and HDC research studies conclude negatively on the search for coherence

Preliminary Results: Humanitarian Response

■ Coordination

- Strong Report 1998
- Since then improvements in UN structures and processes
- But 'too many NGO's' problem remains and coordination frequently cited as problematic by evaluations

■ Quality and Accountability

- Sphere, HAP, ALNAP, increased use of evaluation, etc.
- Evidence of trends in performance limited but many key informants believed that improvements had been significant

■ Funding Mechanisms

- Disproportionate assistance undermines credibility and effectiveness of sector

Preliminary Results: Rehabilitation and Recovery

■ Security

- Greater recognition of importance - Security Sector Reform component in most peace agreements and post-conflict programmes

■ Justice and Law Enforcement

- Staff and recurrent funding represent roadblocks
- ICTY and ICTR – expensive but symbolic value and establishing case law
- 2002 ICC statute entry into force – significant step forward

■ Economic Assistance

- Fast disbursing and flexible funding recognised to be vital but donor track record is mixed
- Greater recognition and use of political conditionality

The DRC Case

- Failures by the international community in 1994 and 1995 led directly to AFDL/RPA invasion of 1996 and 1998 RPA support to *Banyamulenge* uprising
- Most destructive and widespread conflict in modern Africa - over 3 million excess deaths since 1998
- Military and political response by international community extremely weak
- Ratio of violent to non-violent deaths (0.45m:2.5m) indicates massive failure by humanitarian sector
- DRC case deserves Joint Evaluation-style system-wide assessment

The Darfur Case

- Conflict and GoS/Janjaweed suppression began in February 2003 yet Security Council did not discuss until March 2004
- Early warnings were there but attention of international community focussed on achieving peace in south
- Access to outside observers/actors severely restricted
- Several of criteria for Genocide Convention have been met and term has been used in used in US 'Op Eds.' since March but international intervention remains a long way off

Preliminary Conclusions: The Impact and Influence of the Joint Evaluation

- **Positive points**
- Early appearance pushed others to undertake serious self-examination
- Credibility resulting from
 - Its commissioning by inclusive grouping of key stakeholders within international community
 - Breadth of coverage and quality of analysis
- Gave impetus to development of analytical and evaluation approaches in humanitarian sector including formation of ALNAP
- Had a direct influence on some key reports and indirect influence on others
- **Limitations**

To what extent have policy prescriptions attributed to Joint Evaluation been translated into practice?

- Achievements in humanitarian sector
- But progress on the central issue of the prevention and suppression of genocide and massive human rights abuses has not been strong and prospects are pessimistic
 - Diversion of US attention to the War on Terror reduces chances of effective international response in Africa
 - But some hope derives from African initiatives in a few recent instances in Africa and developing AU capacity for peacekeeping

A Final Thought

- General Dallaire – the international community valued the lives of human beings in central Africa differently from other parts of world.
- **This does not appear to have changed over last ten years and judging by Darfur and other cases can be extended to include other areas of Africa**

Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment for the Crime of Genocide

“Genocide means any of the following acts **committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group**, as such:

- Killing members of the group;
- Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group”

Some Observations on the Rwanda Genocide

- A profound crisis of political origin that aimed to eliminate an ethnic group
- The ramifications continue to have a deep impact upon the whole Great Lakes region
- The failure to intervene stained the credibility and moral authority of the international community
- The spectre of the genocide continues to haunt the international community as for example in Darfur

The Joint Evaluation: Key Points

- Timing
- Governance
- Output
- Follow-up