



PEACE BUILDING IN EAST TIMOR: THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS (1999 – 2012)

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Abstract:

The Conflict in East Timor has had tremendous impact and implication in the state formation and state building process of the country. Looking at the devastating effect and humanitarian challenges the conflict had on the citizens of Timor – Leste, there has been various peace building efforts carried out by various International Non-Governmental Organizations, Non-Governmental Organizations and even states to ensure that sustainable peace returned to the troubled island. This paper, critically examined the role played by the United Nations Organization in the promotion of Peace-building in East Timor from 1999 to 2012. The paper, further studied and evaluated the successes and challenges faced by each of the engagement carried out by the organization before finally, proffering solutions that will further help to strengthen peaceful coexistence and social cohesion amongst the various social groups and citizens in the country.

Key words: Conflict, Conflict Resolution, East Timor, Peace Building, & United Nations.

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INTRODUCTION:

Conflict is said to be one of the basic irreducible minimum that defines human interactions and engagements given the fact that individual members of societies, states, governments and groups strive and compete for resources, opportunities and space which most often than not, tend to be limited. If the competition and strive for such opportunities are not effectively managed, it often lead to violent confrontations and conflict which in a way, has tremendous negative impact and implication in the development of the society as it were. Looking at the negative caveats and impact conflict has on human societal development, scholars, academics and researchers who are interested in conflict resolution and management tend to develop ideas or concepts that will serve as plausible panacea to the prevention and management of conflicts in the society. These ideas could either be preventive or post-conflict assessment strategy which is often referred to as “Peace-building”. Peace building is a very important component and aspect of conflict resolution and management especially in societies that have witnessed series of violent clashes in a bid to reconstruct or rebuild such societies, promote social cohesion and further enhance confidence building among members of such societies.

Shortly after obtaining independence from Portugal in 1974, East Timor (or Timor-Leste) was invaded by Indonesians who occupied the country until 1999. During the 25 years of Indonesian rule, armed and peaceful East Timorese groups struggled to overthrow the occupier. More than one quarter of the population is estimated to have died as a result of the fighting and associated famine. In 2002, after three years under United Nations administration, Timor-Leste became the first new nation of the 21st century.¹ It should, however, be noted that the conflict which had rattled the country, was not only an existential threat to East Timor, it has created grave humanitarian challenges leading to massive displacement of people, deaths and a total decimation of both public and private institutions. After series of high level diplomacy and engagements between the various pro-independence groups and other countries like Australia, under the UN chaired referendum, the country eventually gained her independence in 2002. It is in this light that this research paper will try to look into the role of the United Nations in the promotion of Peace Building using “East Timor” as its frame of reference from 1999-2012.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVE:

This research paper basically has the aim of looking at the important or role of peace building in post-conflict societies within the UN framework as it relates to the Conflict in East Timor.

¹ Modern Conflicts: Conflict Profile: East Timor-Indonesia (1975-1999).
www.peri.umass.edu/fileadmin/Easttimor.pdf

RESEARCH LIMITATIONS:

The focus of the paper, is limited to the Peace Building efforts in East Timor, and is restricted within mainly the United Nations engagements from 1999 to 2012 as period which marked the end of UN's engagement in the country.

RESEARCH QUESTION:

What is the impact of Peace-building in the sustenance of peace in East Timor?

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:

This research work tends to adopt the qualitative method of research techniques which will rely basically on secondary sources such as books, articles, journals and reports in order to examine the role of Peace Building in Conflict Resolution using the case of East Timor.

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF TERMS:

Before delving into the nitty gritties of this paper, it is important for one to be able to define these terms which I believe will help in the discourse and analysis of the paper.

Conflict:

The Foundation Coalition defined the term conflict as “struggle between people, groups and communities with opposing views, opinions, ideas, interests and goals who strive or compete for power, resources, and space which could either be violent or non-violent”.² In another definition by Wallenstein & Sollenber defined conflict “as a contested incompatibility that concerns government or territory or both, where the use of armed force between two parties results in at least 25 battle-related deaths.”³ This definition goes further to clarify and state that at least one of the actors or parties involved in the conflict is the government of a state. Another definition by Rummel using sociological paradigm to conflict sees the term as “the social confrontation of social powers in the society”.⁴

² Foundation Coalition, (2009), “*Understanding Conflict and Conflict Management*”, available at: <http://www.foundationcoalition.org/publications/brochures/conflict.pdf> accessed: 26th November, 2016.

³ Willenstein & Sollenberg, (2005:635), “Armed Conflict 1989 – 2000”, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 38 No. 5, pp. 629 – 644.

⁴ Rummel, R.J. (2003), “Conflict in the Sociological Field”, *Understanding Conflict and War*, Vol. 2, available at: <http://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/TCH.CHAP27.HTM> accessed: 22nd November, 2016.

Conflict Resolution: Conflict Resolution as defined by Avruch entails series of instruments, mechanisms and methods and approaches which seek to discover, identify and resolve the root causes of conflict.⁵

Peace Building:

The United Nations Peacebuilding Fund (2005), defined the term of Peacebuilding as series of activities and engagements geared towards strengthening, solidifying and enhancing peace in conflict prone societies in order to avoid its re-occurrence.⁶ Whereas the Brahimi Report of 2000 sees Peace Building as “activities undertaken on the far side of conflict to reassemble the foundations of peace and provide tools for building on those foundations something that is more than just the absence of War.”⁷ From these two definitions, one can say that Peace building involves series of concerted efforts by governments, Non-Governmental Organizations, Civil Societies and other groups advocating for peace in the society, using various mechanisms and measures with the aim of preventing the outbreak of conflict or its re-occurrence.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:

A theory as defined by Kellstedt, & Whitten, entails a tentative conjecture that tries to explain the logic behind a particular phenomenon.⁸ It is a very important tool in analyzing social facts and events in the society. Therefore, this study will try and explain the conflict in East Timor or Timor leste via the following two theoretical lenses.

i. The Social Conflict Theory.

The social conflict theory basically uses Marxist analogy to explain the nature and dynamics of conflict that usually exists amongst individual members of the society or social group with divergent groups and interests and often at constant conflict among them but unite to fight a common enemy that normally exploits and dominate them.⁹ Secondly, as a result of the scarcity of power, resources, and interest in the society, individual members of the society often clash given the fact that all of them try to wrestle for the resources which are usually scarce. Thirdly, social conflict theory also analyses conflict in the society whenever there is a clash of ideology and beliefs

⁵ Avruch, K. (2006), Culture and Conflict Resolution, *United States Institute for Peace*.

⁶ <http://www.unpbf.org/application-guidelines/what-is-peacebuilding/>

⁷ 2000 Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations headed by Lakhdar Brahimi “Brahimi Report”, available at: <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/docs/55/a55305.pdf> accessed: 21st November, 2016.

⁸ Kellstedt, P.M, & Whitten, G.D., (2009), *The Fundamentals of Political Science Research*, Cambridge University Press, New York.

⁹ Holborn, H. (1995), “*Sociology: Themes and Perspectives*”, Harper-Collins Publishers, Hammersmith.

among the various interests groups in the society in which they are unable to bury their differences and unite for the attainment of a particular goal.¹⁰

Looking at the conflict in East Timor, it is as a result of the clash of interest and ideological differences between the various pro-independence movements in the country who failed to bury their differences and build a nation when they initially declared their independence in 1976. This led to her invasion by Indonesia.

The Realist Perspective to the conflict.

The Realist paradigm happens to be a theory of International Relations or global politics which has as its core values and beliefs that states or nations compete for power, enhance their security and pursue their national interest in an international system which seemed to be anarchic in nature; given the fact that there is no overarching authority or government guiding and regulating the actions and behaviours of states in the international system.¹¹

Scholars like Chaobong, (2013) Use' this perspective to explain the conflict in East Timor by Indonesia based on the fact that the Suharto's regime in Jakarta wants to further strengthen her dominance in the South East Asia region. Secondly, looking at the ideological propaganda waged on East Timor been led by socialist and communist principles, was a threat to the security and interest of Indonesia.¹² Another narrative by Pietsch (1999) and Ross (2008), Using this position, to explain the complacency and complicity of silence by powerful states like the United States of America, Britain and Australia to an extent was as a result of the strategic economic interests these countries enjoy with Indonesia through huge military contracts and deals as well as the conflict over resources (Oil) between Australia and East Timor.¹³ Therefore, this perspective, believes that the invasion of East Timor by the regime in Jakarta, was basically for her to further strengthened her power and consolidate her hegemonic dominance in the region as well as contain the spread of communism in the region as well.

DECONSTRUCTING THE CONFLICT IN EAST TIMOR (1975 – 1999).

¹⁰ Rummel, R.J. (2003), Conflict in the Sociological Field, *Understanding Conflict and war....*p.1

¹¹ Slaughter, A.M. (2012), International Relations, Principal Theories, available at: https://www.princeton.edu/~slaughtr/Articles/722_IntlRelPrincipalTheories_Slaughter_20110509zG.pdf accessed:19th November, 2016.

¹² Chaobong, (2013), "How Well has the Causality of the Conflict in East Timor been reflected in its UN Peace Building Experience?", *United Nations Peace and Progress Journal*, Vol. 1 No. 1 pp. 33 – 46.

¹³ Pietsch, S. (1999), Australian Imperialism and East Timor, available at: <http://www.anu.edu.au/polsci/mi/2/mi2pietsch.pdf> accessed: 21st November, 2016 & Ross, M.L. (2008), Barrels: Why Oil Wealth Fuels Conflict, *Foreign Affairs*.

East Timor or the Democratic Republic of Timor Leste is a country that is located in South East Asia with Dili as its Capital. The country borders Indonesia to the West and Australia to the South. It is a semi-arid region, highly mountainous and has about 15,000 square kilometers with a population of 1,167,242 and Portuguese is the official language of the country.¹⁴ East Timor was initially colonized by Portugal from 1520 to 1975 when she finally pulled out after over 400 years of colonial domination. The country briefly declared her independence in 1976 championed by the “*Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (FRETILIN)*”. Nine days after declaring her independence, the country was later on invaded by Indonesia. The annexation of the country by Indonesia lasted more than two decades until the United Nations led Referendum of 1999 which later on served as the precursor to the country gaining her full-fledged independence in 2002.¹⁵

Historicizing or deconstructing the conflict in East Timor dates back to her early formative years which traced its roots to the Portuguese colonial domination that lasted for over 400 years and the subsequent invasion of the country by Indonesia from 1975 to 2002. These two major events have in a way played a vital role in the history of the country depicting a country that struggled first of all for her independence and secondly, a nation which was used as a pawn in the geopolitics and vested interests of foreign powers. During that period, the world was silent to the grave atrocities been perpetuated by the Indonesian government under the leadership of General Suharto which many accused the international community of “*Conspiracy of Silence*”.¹⁶ It has been observed by Chaobong, (2013), that countries like the United States of America, Britain and Australia to an extent supported the invasion of East Timor directly or indirectly based on the strategic ties and relations these countries have with Indonesia. The United States of America did not only give the ‘go ahead’ for Indonesia to invade the country, it was able to pocket billions of dollars through the military industrial complex in the various arms deals. Britain also profited from the arms trade with the regime in Jakarta. The public recognition and extension of diplomatic ties between Australia and Indonesia by the five successive regimes further gave credence to the complacency of the international community to act in East Timor.¹⁷ Furthermore, the failure of the United Nation to fully act on its resolution which mandated Indonesia to withdraw its forces in East Timor allowing it

¹⁴ United Nations Human Development Report (2015), http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdr_2015_statistical_annex.pdf

¹⁵ Saul, B. (2003), Was the Conflict in East Timor “Genocide” and Why does it matter, available at: http://law.unimelb.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0003/1680222/Saul.pdf accessed: 12th December, 2016.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Chaobong, (2013), “How Well has the Causality of the Conflict in East Timor been reflected in its UN Peace Building Experience?”, *United Nations Peace and Progress Journal*, Vol. 1 No. 1 pp. 33 – 46.

to become a “non-self-governing territory under Portugal”¹⁸, further showed that the UN system is in itself weak in carrying out its mandate, pronouncements and resolutions. For over two decades, the country witnessed series of humanitarian and refugee crises, high rise in the number of Internally Displaced Persons, high intensity of sexual violence, deaths notably was the infamous Santa Cruz Massacre in 1992 where over 200 students were killed, at the end of the conflict it was recorded that over 203,000 people lost their lives.¹⁹

CAUSES OF THE CONFLICT:

From (1975 – 1999):

There have been various narratives and interpretations as regards to the causes of the conflict in East Timor by scholars within the spectrum of the academia.

The following points have been outlined as the plausible causes of the conflict in East Timor:

1. Rivalry among the various Pro-Independence Group in the Country:

When the country declared ‘self-independence’ in 1976 from Portuguese colonial domination, as noted by Tansey (2009), the three dominant parties or pro-independence groups namely the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT), Apodeti and the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (FRETILIN), could not formulate agenda or ideas that will further enhance state building and social cohesion among the citizens²⁰. For example, the UDT was more sympathetic towards pro-Indonesian engagement while FRETILIN was more inclined towards socialists and communists values.²¹ With all these lack of clear cut ideas on state reconstruction, the society was further balkanized and divided along sectional lines. This lack of unity or the fronting of ideals that will further enhance unity created the window for possible invasion of the state by Indonesia.

2. The consolidation of the “Pancasila” Doctrine:

This doctrine basically served as the idea behind the creation of the state of Indonesia anchored on the following principles: having a just and civilized society; promoting

¹⁸ United Nations Trust and Non-Self Governing Territories 1945 – 1999 Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/decolonization/nonselvgov.shtml> accessed: 20th November, 2016.

¹⁹ The CAVR Report 1974 -1999 , A Commission of Inquiry investigating the Conflict Related Deaths in East Timor, available at: <http://www.cavr-timorleste.org/updateFiles/english/CONFLICT-RELATED%20DEATHS.pdf> accessed: 20th November, 2016.

²⁰ Tansey, O.I. (2009), “*Regime Building: Democratization and International Administration*”, Oxford University Press, London.

²¹ Ibid.

national unity and social cohesion, promotion of social justice; inculcating democratic values based on community engagements and finally the belief in one God.²² The Sukarno regime in Jakarta in furtherance of these ideals pursued the policy of “Aggressive Nationalism” and totally repudiates any form of dissent or protest from any segment of the society. In a bid to curtail the excesses of the pro-independence movements in the region and foster unity in the region, the Indonesian government justified their invasion of East Timor citing lack of unity in the self-declared nation.²³

3. Ideological Propaganda:

When East Timor declared her independence in 1976, among the three pro-independence factions or groups FRETILIN was the one that emerged successful. Based on her inclination towards socialist values, it was believed that invading the country will further prevent and contain the widespread of communism in the region. This narrative and propaganda was used by Indonesia to further justify her claim as well as gain the support of countries like the United States of America, Britain and Australia whom were totally averse towards socialism which herald the Cold War era.²⁴

Other factors that further led to the crises in the country basically has to do with the strive among the various groups for the control of the resources, weak institutional framework for state building, high level of illiteracy amongst the people.

From 2002 – Date:

When the country gained her independence in 2002, there was relative stability witnessed in the land but in 2006, the sovereignty of the newly independent country was tested in a conflict that erupted between 2006 – 2012 which crystalized the end of the United Nations Peacebuilding efforts in the country.

Brady, et al (2006), has been able to capture and summarize the following as the causes of the post-independence crises in East Timor:

1. The dismissal of about 594 soldiers of the Forcas de Defesa de Timor-Leste (FALINTIL). This group of soldiers had earlier gone on strike to challenge the high level of maladministration and discrimination meted on them by the senior officers.

²² Jakarta Globe (2013), “Pancasila Plan to affect Foreigners”, available at: <http://jakartaglobe.id/news/pancasila-plan-to-affect-foreigners/> accessed: 18th November, 2016.

²³ Chaobong, (2013), “How Well has the Causality of the Conflict in East Timor”.....

²⁴ Oftstat, (2012) Reconciliation and Conflict Resolution in East Timor: Lessons for Further Peace Operations, Oxford Institute for Ethics, Law and Armed Conflict, Oxford University.

2. Continued rancor and disharmony among the various political elites in the country particularly the public hostility between the three powerful leaders: Xanana Gusmao a former rebel leader, also the first President of post-Independent Timor and former Prime Minister, Jose Ramos Horta a former Rebel leader, Nobel laureate and President of East Timor, and finally former Prime Minister Mari Alkatiri. Their continued hatred and rift has further divided the country along these lines.
3. Weakness in institutions and agencies of government.
4. Weak judicial system.
5. The inability of the government to effectively manage the growing number of disadvantaged, disillusioned and disenchanting citizens also served as trigger to the conflict.²⁵

PEACE BUILDING IN EAST TIMOR: THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

It has been observed by scholars and conflict resolution experts that the 1992 United Nations Agenda for peace has further strengthened the organization's engagement in mediating in conflicts²⁶ because it has been able to state in clear terms the following guidelines and platform which it should engage. The following are the stated guidelines defining Peacebuilding within the UN Framework:

- i. Addressing the drivers, triggers and root causes of conflict;
- ii. Building capacities and institutions that will be able to manage conflict;
- iii. Promote and enhance social cohesion among various groups and actors in the conflict.
- iv. Create the political processes that will be able to manage diversities and interests of conflict groups.
- v. Engage in economic reconstruction and revitalization of societies affected by conflict.²⁷

There is no doubt that the conflict in East Timor has not only threatened the peace, security and stability of the country, it has created grave humanitarian crises with consequential implication for other neighboring countries as it were. Therefore, the importance of United Nations engagement in the country cannot be over-emphasized.

²⁵ Brady, et al (2006), *"The Crisis in Timor Leste: Causes, Consequences and Options for Conflict Management and Mitigation"*, United States Agency for International Development (USAID) Report.

²⁶ Ovlav, (2012), Reconciliation and Conflict Resolution.....

²⁷ United Nations (2003), Understanding Peace Building, available at: <http://www.unpbf.org/application-guidelines/what-is-peacebuilding/> accessed: 22nd November, 2016.

Benzing, (2005), was of the view that the ouster of the regime of Suharto in 1998, created the avenue for the pro-independence movement in the country to mount pressure on the newly installed regime of B.J. Habibie to reconsider her hardline stance on East Timor. After much pressure from the UN and other International Non-Government Organizations, the regime in Jakarta, approved for the UN –led referendum for independence in East Timor in 1999. Through the ‘United Nations Resolution 1246’ by the Security Council, the *United Nation Mission in East Timor (UNTAMET)* was created with the mandate of *conducting a referendum for the independence of Timor-Leste*. At the end of the exercise, over 80% of the people voted for independence from Indonesia. The outcome of the referendum exercise, led to another breakdown of violence leading to the dead of over 2000 people, properties destroyed thereby increasing the number of humanitarian crises already witnessed in the country.²⁸

In a swift response, the Security Council passed on ‘*Resolution 1264*’ which created the *International Force for East Timor (INTERFET)* in September, 1999. This multinational peacekeeping force, was mandated solely to “*Restore Peace and Security*” in the country. The impact of this force was felt immediately as dissidents fueling the violence were not only decimated, they were unable to further carryout their dastard act. Their role, paved the beginning for ‘State-reconstruction’ in East Timor.

The United Nation’s peace building engagement in East Timor continued even after the country gained its independence in 2002. Benzing, (2005), further observed that effective peacebuilding process by the UN continued with the establishment of the “*United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET)*, which was specifically mandated to *not only maintain peace and security; create the platform for political, social, and economic revival of the war tone state, engage with the various social and political groups that will further enhance nation and confidence building and to an extent, assist the newly independent country in some of her multilateral diplomacy especially on issues revolving around the signing of treaties, pacts and conventions that will be to the strategic interest and advantage of the country.*²⁹ “*The United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET)* was however replaced by the *United Nations Mission Support in East Timor (UNMISSET)* later on the United Nations office in *Timor – Leste (UNOTIL)*.³⁰

²⁸ Benzing, M. (2005), “*Midwifing a New State: The United Nations in East Timor*”, Max Plank Yearbook of UN Law, Vol. 9, pp. 295 – 372, Koninklijk Brill N.V., Netherlands.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Chaobong, (2013), “How Well has the Causality of the Conflict in East Timor been reflected in its UN Peace Building Experience?”.....

Wassel (2014), noted that the country witnessed relative peace from 2002 – late 2005. In 2006, renewed violence resurfaced when a group of soldiers protested and embarked on strike over issues bordering on injustice, nepotism and mismanagement of resources by officers of the Senior Cadre, they were summarily dismissed from the Armed Forces, and that became the trigger causing the conflict in 2006. That conflict led to the establishment of the “*United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor Leste (UNMIT)*” which was mandated to *maintain public order, security and stability, embark on massive capacity building, educate and inculcate democratic values to the citizens and further develop approaches and mechanisms that will further strengthened community ties amongst citizens and finally advocate for unity and social cohesion*. It has been noted also by academics that the role of the United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor Leste (UNMIT) heralded as the last UN led mission in East Timor bringing an end to over thirteen (13) years engagement in the country in 2012.³¹

Successes Recorded:

Even though many Timorese had certain misgivings about the engagement of the United Nations in the country as observed by Chaobong (2013), and Wassel (2014), the organization to an extent has been able to achieve some degree of success throughout her thirteen year period in the country. The following are some of the successes recorded by the UN in Timor Leste.

1. The ability of the United Nations to successfully lead the country to her first referendum which ultimately, paved the way for her independence has been regarded by many as a major success by the UN.
2. The United Nations also played a key role in the establishment of the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in East Timor (CAVR), to deal with issues bordering on human rights violations of citizens from 1976– 1999, to tackle the challenges associated with Internally Displaced Person’s (IDPS) and finally to reconcile all citizens to first of all, see themselves as Timorese, a policy tagged as “Timorization”.³²
3. Steele (2002), noted that the United Nations has been able to lead the country to independence despite the stiff resistance from Indonesia, overtly and

³¹ Wassel, T. (2014), “*Timor-Leste: Links between Peacebuilding, Conflict Prevention and Durable Solutions to Displacement*”, Brookings Institute, Project on Internal Displacement.

³² CAVR Report (2005), *CHEGA*, available at: <http://www.cavr-timorleste.org/updateFiles/english/CONFLICT-RELATED%20DEATHS.pdf> accessed: 23rd November, 2016.

covertly through her allies, the United States of America, Britain and Australia due to their geo-strategic interests in the region.³³

4. The United Nations also played a vital role in assisting the country conduct her elections through effective engagements with the relevant political actors, political groups, civil societies as well as citizens. (Ibid).
5. Mehmeti & Nagel (2012), observed that through her aid and supply of relief materials, it has been able to manage the grave humanitarian challenge that came with the three decade old conflict in the country.³⁴
6. The organization also created the platform to ensure effective policing, promoting peace campaigns and to an extent stabilizes the country from further conflicts.

Challenges of Peace Building in East Timor:

Despite the role played by the UN and her Peace building efforts, the organization has not been able to effectively deal with the following issues effectively:

1. Ingram, (2012), was of the view that the organization's failure to effectively reconcile the three key political actors (Xanana Gusmao, Jose Ramos Horta and Mari Alkitari) who led the pro-independence movement on the need to bury down their interests and sentiments to unite and rebuild the country.³⁵
2. Ishizuka, (2010), was of the view also that in the area of security management, the United Nations has not fully created effective mechanism that will further strengthened the country's security institutions (Armed Forces and Police) to be professional in carrying out their roles and responsibilities to all citizens thereby creating crises of credibility and trust between the security forces and citizens.³⁶
3. In terms of governance, the UN has been accused of indirectly self-imposing to the people to accept only democracy as the best model for them without really allowing them accept a system of government that will be suitable and has the capacity to handle the different diversities and interest of the citizens.

³³ Steele, (2002), Nation Building in East Timor, *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 1 Iss. 1 pp. 76 – 87.

³⁴ Mehmeti, L.I & Nagel, R. (2013), Achieving Success? The Role of UN in Post- Conflict Management: Cases of Kosovo and Timor Leste, available at: http://www.auspsa.org.au/sites/default/files/achieving_success_rebekah_nagel.pdf accessed: 24th November, 2016.

³⁵ Ingram, S. (2012), Building the Wrong Peace: Reviewing the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor through Political Lenses, *Political Science*, Vol. 64(1) pp. 3 – 20.

³⁶ Ishizuka, K. (2010), *The History of Peacebuilding in East Timor: The Issues of Intervention*, Cambridge University Press, Delhi-India.

4. In the area of justice, the United Nations peacebuilding effort was seen to have failed in strengthening the country's judicial system which is still considered weak.³⁷
5. The inability of the United Nations to also prevail on the government to implement the CAVR Report also makes the peacebuilding efforts of the organization pointless as expressed by certain observers.³⁸
6. Also, the inability of the organization to tackle gender based related violence, and also establishing mechanisms that will serve as punitive measures dealing with potential conflict instigators.³⁹
7. In terms of true healing and reconciliation which will further strengthen social cohesion and confidence building amongst citizens especially those affected by the conflict, the organization has not been able to effectively create the avenue for such issues to be raised.⁴⁰
8. The UN has also been accused of not developing a clear cut and coherent strategy of not only peace building, but framework that will strengthen the state's institutions of government.
9. Scholars also view the unit to be reductionist in their approach in their peacebuilding effort by only focusing on the socio-political dynamics of state reconstruction thereby neglecting the economic factor which is also key to peace and nation building.⁴¹

Suggestions:

Having looked at the role of the United Nations in peacebuilding in East Timor, the following are recommendations for effective peace building in the country:

1. In terms of governance, the United Nations should assist the country in developing a model that will be able to effectively manage the diversities and interest of the citizens. An example could either be a Consociational Democratic model or a Confessional Democratic Model which are power

³⁷ Ingram, S. (2012), *Building the Wrong Peace: Reviewing the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor*.....

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ De Shaw, R.J. (2010), *"Peacebuilding and Transitional Justice in East Timor"*, First Forum Press, Boulder.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ingram, S. (2012), *"Building the Wrong Peace: Reviewing the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor"*.....

sharing models of governance that could effectively tackle the various interests and groups that make up the demography.

2. It has been observed that the level of adult illiteracy in East Timor is on the increase which is a contributor to conflict. There should be a massive improvement in the educational sector which will further create the space and platform for adults to be fully and well educated.
3. Political actors in the state should be able to learn how to manage their differences non-violently, without creating instability in the political environment.
4. Looking at the cause of the 2006 conflict which basically was as a result of the injustice within the security sector. Any form of discrimination and injustice should be totally discouraged. Both the Armed forces and the police should not be politicized but rather merit and competence should be the driven force for excellence within the security sector.
5. The justice system should be strengthened to effectively compete and carryout her mandate like other advanced societies without unnecessarily interference.
6. There should also be an effective political institution that will be able to effectively deal with and manage political problems.
7. Massive enlightenment on the need to promote peace, harmony and social coexistence amongst various groups of people in the country should be done by not only the United Nations, but the media and civil societies have a role to play as well.
8. The CAVR Report should also be revisited and act upon by the government as it will further settled truth and genuine reconciliation of all citizens.
9. Peacebuilding is a work in progress, therefore, as societies evolve, new ideas and inventions should also be introduced that will also reflect present realities and tides which will effectively, continually and consistently fill in the gap in any post-conflict peacebuilding and conflict resolution effort.

Conclusion.

In conclusion, this article has set out to examine the paradigm of peacebuilding as a post-conflict assessment and strategy which tries to critically and objectively deal with the causes of conflicts in societies and providing solutions that will further enhance peace and prevent the outbreak of another war. Using the case study of East Timor, the study was able to look at the role played by the United Nations in the management of conflict in the country. The study observed that throughout her

thirteen years (13) engagement in the country, the organization has been able to an extent achieve some degree of success as well as faced other challenges as it were. Finally, the study concluded by proffering certain measures or solutions that will also help contribute to the enhancement of peacebuilding in the country.

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