

The next category of rights includes those which international humanitarian law regards as secondary. These "secondary rights" can be temporarily suspended by the state and include such rights as freedom of expression and freedom of association.

For the purposes of this study and the placement of human rights initiatives in the continuum of peacebuilding it is essential to recognize that through the implementation of Tier 1 initiatives, the non-derogable, that is inalienable rights of the individual, will be preserved. The imposition of a cease-fire, the demobilization and disarming of combatants, and the implementation of humanitarian relief will remove the primary causes of human rights abuse - the conflict and the combatants.

Specific initiatives designed to relieve abuse of other secondary human rights are best implemented following the prior implementation of Tier 1 and 2 initiatives - that is they should occur in conjunction with the economic and social reconstruction efforts of Tier 3. To attempt to address the abuse of secondary human rights at an earlier stage is not only likely to be ineffective since the appropriate mechanisms such as government or NGO agencies will not be adequately developed, but will also threaten to undermine overall confidence in the peace process. Mechanisms such as truth commissions or the investigation and punishment of human rights abusers often end up focusing on combatants. Any political leader, general, or soldier is unlikely to submit to judgement or investigation while they still hold a rifle or the power to derail such initiatives. To address secondary human rights issues too early in the continuum may undermine the entire process, and should be delayed until a robust peacebuilding process is underway and seemingly irreversible.

There are of course exceptions. The development of an effective and neutral police force, which is a Tier 2 initiative, will require a complementary human rights initiative to educate and train the police officers to respect human rights themselves. In some types of disputes such as those that are considered Independent by the typology suggested above, human rights are a key issue which must be addressed within the first tier in order to ensure that the peace process is viewed by the parties as being credible. However, the results of this study suggest that the majority of peacebuilding initiatives concerned with human rights should occur in Tier 3 of the peacebuilding continuum.

The Relationship Between Peacebuilding and Peacekeeping Operations:

In all six of the cases studied a peacekeeping operation was deployed to supervise or help implement various elements in the peacebuilding process. These deployments ranged from UN military observer missions such as UNMOT and MINUGA to more robust deployments of traditional blue beret peacekeeping forces in Cambodia under UNTAC and in Angola under UNAVEM II and III. Other peacekeeping initiatives involved regional organizations such as ECOWAS which deployed an ECOMOG peacekeeping force into both Liberia and Sierra Leone, and the CIS which deployed a peacekeeping force in Tajikistan.

While it is not within the scope of this study to analyze the interface between peacekeeping and peacebuilding the six case-studies do reflect an interesting relationship between the two. For peacebuilding purposes the deployment of peacekeeping forces focuses largely on the implementation of Tier 1 initiatives. The provision of physical security, from