

that the peacebuilding process continued.

In five of the six cases studies completed in this study national elections were held. In two of these, namely Guatemala and Sierra Leone, elections were held early on in the peacebuilding continuum due to national desire for them. In the remaining three cases - Angola, Liberia, and Cambodia - the implementation of Tier 1 initiatives was conducted in order to permit the holding of elections. Elections in Angola were preceded by the Bicesse Accords and sixteen months of peace. In Liberia they were preceded by the deployment of the ECOMOG force which provided the necessary physical security conditions to allow the democratic process to proceed. In Cambodia the SNC was established in order to pave the way towards an elected government and the UNTAC mission was deployed in order to canton and disarm the individual factions.

In the case of Angola the rush to elections resulted in only a partial completion of the demobilization and disarmament process, thus making it easy for UNITA to reject the election results and return to the battlefield. In Cambodia, elections occurred without the required demobilization and re-creation of a unbiased, national civil service or the disarmament of the armed factions. This meant that the newly elected government was extremely fragile and had to cope with a continued insurgency by the KR. In Liberia the election results favoured the Taylor faction, arguably the strongest in the country. The demobilization and disarmament process had been reasonably effective, although the secure conditions for the elections were provided by the ECOMOG force. Arguably, had Taylor lost it is conceivable that he could have gathered his troops and returned to battle much like Savimbi did in Angola.

In all cases the election process was rushed through at the expense of other crucial Tier 1 and Tier 2 initiatives. This created significant problems in Angola and Cambodia with the ultimate result being the failure of the peacebuilding process. In Liberia, the fact that Taylor won the election meant that they were successful. If he had lost, it is likely that he also would have rejected the election results and regrouped his remaining military forces.

Considering this pattern it is possible that national elections, as a peacebuilding initiative, fit most appropriately into the third Tier. To hold elections without adequate security guarantees or stabilization of humanitarian needs, and without the previously developed government and NGO capacities to implement the elections results, can create a very destructive force within the overall peacebuilding process.

The perception of elections as a finalizing step in the peacebuilding process means that they have significant repercussions. They finalize political relationships such as power distributions which, for long term adversaries, can be difficult to accept. A particular faction which retains a favourable BATNA following elections is unlikely to respect their result. However, if the peacebuilding process, through the implementation of Tier 1 and 2 initiatives can sufficiently minimize or sour this BATNA, the antagonists will have no other alternative than to accept the election results.

Human Rights:

For the purposes of peacebuilding the term human rights must be separated into two categories. The first category refers to what in international law are known as non-derogable human rights. This term includes rights such as the right to life, liberty, security of person, freedom from torture, and freedom from slavery - the most basic, inalienable human rights.