

comprehensive efforts to identify and support structures which will tend to consolidate peace and advance a sense of confidence and well-being among people."²⁷ The long term process of peace-building must be premised upon human rights promotion and protection if it is to be sustainable.

Rwanda presently has a classic example of where a real or perceived lack of human rights protection is a barrier to durable solutions. On one hand, Hutu refugees particularly in Zaire, are afraid to return home for fear of Tutsi retaliation. Granted there is a large degree of physical and psychological coercion by exiled Hutu military and political leaders so that their mobile power base, the Hutu refugees, do not leave them. However, they play upon the palpable fear of those refugees who perhaps logically, expect the new Tutsi government to retaliate. Conversely in Rwanda itself, the surviving and returned Tutsi remain fearful of future violation by the still majority Hutu, and tend to react quickly and harshly against perceived threats. This fear-counter-fear permeates the Rwandan situation. The confidence building role of the UN field operation is critical for reaching a stage at which the parties to the genocide can reconcile themselves to the past and reconstruct their society. Rwandan history has shown, as with the Tutsi diaspora culminating with their return over 20 years later, that refugee and other such problems do not simply disappear with time.

More investigation needs to be done into the human rights aspects of what UNRISD calls rebuilding wartorn societies, and hopefully their study²⁸ of the same name will address this aspect. Their planned approach however, contains lessons for how human rights must be applied in the context of UN field operations. They talk about the lack of instant fixes, for such crises have been long in the making and will be long in their resolution. One needs to look at a continuum of human rights activity running from early warning, to preventive action, to monitoring & protection, to reconciliation & reconstruction.²⁹ Their study methodology also relies heavily on local involvement, as a critical component of identifying and implementing solutions.

Cease-fires, corridors of tranquillity, safe areas, etc. are all short term peace solutions that may be skilfully negotiated in the absence of any human rights agenda, but will only endure and spread if the windows of opportunity that they provide are used to advance human rights protection and promotion as the premise for durable peace and reconstruction. Chapter 9 on human rights reconstruction, will examine many of the human rights components of long term or sustainable peace.

²⁷ Agenda for Peace, Report of the UN Secretary-General, 17 June 1992, para 55

²⁸ UN Research Institute for Social Development, *Rebuilding Wartorn Societies*, Geneva. See also UN doc A/50/345 containing the report and recommendations of the International Colloquium on Post-Conflict Reconstruction Strategies chaired by former USG Anstee.

²⁹ The UN Secretary-General is considering appointing an Assistant-Secretary-General as the focal point for post-conflict peace building activities. The individual being considered has been involved in injecting human rights into UN field operations in the past, so this augurs well for human rights in UN peace building activities.