



# FIRST GLOBAL CONFERENCE ON PREVENTIVE ACTION

DECEMBER 6 - 7  
EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT  
BRUSSELS



**EASTWEST INSTITUTE**  
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Brazilian peacekeepers from the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti MINUSTAH provide security at a voting center in Cite Soleil



A class of newly trained police officers trained with the assistance of the United Nations Mission in Sudan UNMIS proudly march through the streets of Torit Sudan



## Three steps towards effective preventive action

By Matthew King

**Before conflict prevention becomes a policy priority for states it needs to become headline news!**

There is no doubt that the level and intensity of information analysis and dissemination from the International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) has delivered on its promise to move climate issues onto the top of the pile when it comes to the desks of Ministers and Prime Ministers around the world. The media has played a big role in this process, and the IPCC has cleverly used their evidence based collective agreements amongst thousands of top experts around the world to profile climate change, and deliver an influential 'policy summary' for governments. An International Panel for Conflict and Security should have a similar goal: to profile prevention in the media and with policy-makers ensuring that it is presented in a way that gets across 'prevention is a core national interest that increases security, saves money and saves lives'. Their work must also provide the evidence on what works, what it costs, how to do it, as well as the detailed assessments on the medium, long-term and new threats and challenges and the necessary structural, human and budgetary changes required to deal with them.

**Governments are more likely to act if there are votes in it!**

A key element of ensuring that prevention is seen as a core national interest is the role of champions. This is the space for parliamentarians to access their constituencies and make prevention an election issue - in doing so they can hold governments accountable for their inaction or underinvestment in a meaningful and politically beneficial or costly way. In these economically troubled times, investing \$100 million now in a sim-

mering conflict situation should be seen as far more preferable than investing a \$100 million later. Even the risk of losing the \$100 million can be reconciled if it is shared between 10 or 20 states - 'what is \$10 million now, over \$10 billion later!' Parliamentarians need to make this case to their colleagues, to their constituents and in the media.

**Individual Political Leadership is essential!**

To secure the high-level buy-in and ownership from governments, regional and international organizations, the development community and the conflict prevention camp collectively, the Panel must work in collaboration with a global agenda setting mechanism to define its work program and agree priorities for each review period. The mechanisms will enable all actors to measure progress towards each series of recommendations in each of the actor groups. Taking lessons from the corporate community who are more rigorous about evaluating progress and change - such a comprehensive process will help strengthen the policy makers understanding of conflict and necessary responses, and help foster an increased level of collaboration in the policy development process, sadly lacking today, and in the response planning process which is more and more about collective efforts between civilian, diplomatic, development and security actors. But ultimately, it will be the individual leadership of political elites that mobilize preventive actions in far flung regions of the world. To secure this leadership, instruments such as the International Panel can help. Through intense advocacy and pressure - tapping into their natural allies - the media and parliamentarians in particular - to remind governments and the individual leaders of their responsibilities, to pressure them to invest and to get them to act. Collectively these processes will make conflict issues recognizable as key issues of national security - when realized, governments, who in many cases already

have capacity and ability to act, will operationalize their capacities and resources more often and with more success. Without this process, there will continue to be many disparate elements working out of sync, without much influence, and with only slow progress.

**For a More Peaceful World!**

On December 6 and 7, the EastWest Institute and its partners will launch the first Global Conferences on Preventive action to help deliver on some of the ideas outlined above. The goal is to see the progress already achieved in legal, technical and financial instruments around the world - such as the African Peace and Security Architecture, Europe's €2 billion Instrument for Stability and the UN's Department of Political Affairs' increased conflict prevention capacity - turned into political facts on the ground in the form of a more peaceful world. The Global Conference process was started in 2007 with the launch of the International Task Force on Preventive Diplomacy which included champions of conflict prevention such as Martti Ahtisaari, Lakhdar Brahimi, Kim Campbell, Gareth Evans, Saddig Al Mahdi and HRH Prince El Hassan Bin Talal. On their recommendation the Parliamentarians Network for Conflict Prevention was launched in October 2008. It now counts some 200 MPs from 50 countries actively committed to pressing their governments, and holding them accountable, for more effective preventive action. During 2009 and 2010, a series of regional preparatory consultations took place in Latin America, Africa, across Asia and Europe, providing substance and building the necessary momentum for the highly anticipated, and hopefully productive, first Global Conference this week in Brussels.

Matthew King is an Associate at EWI in charge of the Preventive Diplomacy Initiatives.

# THE FIRST GLOBAL CONFERENCE ON PREVENTIVE ACTION



By Vadim B. Lukov

The Russian foreign policy concept of 2008 regards preventive diplomacy, alongside peacebuilding and peacekeeping, as a major instrument of achieving international peace and security. Russia considers the UN, to be the centerpiece

## Russia's Participation in Preventive

of international preventive diplomacy. We are prepared to actively contribute to boosting the UN capacity in this field. It should be kept in mind, however, that preventive diplomacy and peacekeeping fall under Chapter VI of the UN Charter and can be activated only with consent of parties to the conflict.

We regard UN sanctions as an important instrument which helps to avoid the use of force. However, sanctions should be used prudently, without excessive and arbitrary interpretation of respective resolutions of the Security Council. We cannot accept introduction of unilateral sanctions by individual states or groups of states. Such measures, undertaken outside the UNSC format, risk undermining multilateral diplomatic efforts and weaken unity of the international community. Moreover, because of their extra-

territorial nature they often violate sovereignty.

Russia regards post-conflict peacebuilding as a potent tool of preventive diplomacy helping to avoid a repetition of conflict; hence the attention which we attach to the activities of the UN Peacebuilding Commission. Russian diplomacy actively participates in developing mechanisms and methods of the work of the Commission with regard to countries which figure on its agenda (Burundi, Guinea-Bissau, Sierra-Leone, Central African Republic). Our country contributes annually \$2 million to the Peacebuilding Fund.

Russia is the biggest supplier of goods and services to UN peacekeeping missions. The total volume of contracts of Russian companies with the UN Secretariat is currently \$382 million, which is

14% of the cost of all UN contracts. Our peacekeepers participate in ten UN operations out of 17 that are underway today, and Russian helicopter units provide indispensable support to UN missions in Sudan, Chad and the Central African Republic.

We appreciate experience gained to date by the Peacebuilding Commission. However, its mechanisms and methods of work need further adaptation and development. In particular, the Commission should engage more actively in processes of peacebuilding and socio-economic. The priority should be promoting national ownership of peacebuilding efforts, strengthening state institutions of countries emerging from conflicts, enhancing coordination, flexibility and speed of international action.

Russia, as a G8 member, shares the



INTERVIEW | DR. KANWAL SIBAL

## India has a common interest in combating extremism

Now that India has greater wealth, does it have a greater responsibility in terms of international commitments and engagement? I don't automatically see the connection between the economic prosperity that India is currently experiencing, which is a product of greater external engagement, and India being more disposed to accept more responsibility. In fact, Indian prosperity is recent but India has been active internationally ever since its independence. On the other hand, Japan and even Germany have been politically reticent while being extremely wealthy. Moreover, China's prosperity has not been accompanied by "greater international commitments."

When I ask my American and other interlocutors what they have in mind in practical terms when advocating that India take on more responsibility, there is no specific answer. Is it that India should uncritically support existing international political, economic and security structures and not seek reform? India supports democracy, human rights, the market economy, but are we expected to crusade for them? We have common interest with the international community in combating terrorism and religious extremism. We are opposed to clandestine nuclear proliferation. We believe in a productive dialogue on the global commons, especially the protection of sea lanes of communication.

The short point is that we do not wish to disrupt the existing international order, but help it evolve in the right direction. If others want us to take on more responsibility, then give us more responsibility by opening the doors to

permanent membership of the Security Council. One can't have it both ways and say "be more responsible" and then say "look, the structures that are in place will remain where they are". It cannot be that we don't have the responsibility of decision-making, but we have the responsibility of implementation.

### Can BRIC work together?

The BRIC, as you know, is a Goldman-Sachs concept. It has no political roots. There are really three formations: India, Brazil and South Africa (IBSA), BRIC: Brazil, Russia, India, China, and RIC: Russia, India, China. The BRIC, I felt, was most useful for the WTO-agenda -- the economic agenda -- but the Russians pushed it onto a more political platform.

On the political side, I don't see large potential for BRIC as a counter to western domination, as all the countries involved have strong ties with the US. Our own relations with the United States have improved immensely, and they shall remain very stable and positive. While China is our biggest trading partner in terms of merchandise, we have some serious outstanding political problems with it. There is much mistrust between the two, and China's recent assertiveness complicates cooperation within BRIC. But on the economic side, yes, BRIC can work together: on WTO and Climate Change issues, etc.

### How is conflict prevention viewed in India?

"Conflict prevention" is perceived in many parts of the world, including India, as essentially a western-driven agenda. But that does

not necessarily mean that it is not a valid agenda. The whole idea of the United Nations was to protect future generations from the scourge of war through preventive diplomacy.

But the UN has not been particularly effective in discharging its central role. The Security Council is central to conflict prevention and resolution, but for the last 60-odd years we have not seen any significant reforms of this body. We are using a 65 year old structure, the product of a different world, to deal with today's problems rooted in a vastly altered international landscape. The composition of the Security Council needs to change so that it takes into account many more perspectives and forges a wider consensus among the international community. Unless that is done, there will always be a bit of a question mark on UN functioning and the efforts of powerful countries to promote conflict prevention within the UN and outside it.

We see that when major powers like the P5 are involved, they tend to act outside of the system, on their own, or seek UN endorsement for decisions they take for themselves. The Iraq conflict inflicted a serious blow on the whole concept of preventive diplomacy because it became associated with preemptive action. A general feeling in the international community arose that ultimately it is power that decides things and not values, or even an objective assessment of the situation.

Dr. Kanwal Sibal is an EastWest Institute Board member and former Foreign Secretary of India



International Peace Day Ceremony



CRUZ with Ban Ki Moon

# THE FIRST GLOBAL CONFERENCE ON PREVENTIVE ACTION

## Diplomacy: Principles, Mechanisms, Practice

commitments of the Muskoka Summit on the necessity to work out a systemic and coordinated approach to peacebuilding. Such an approach should provide for better coordination, division of labor between participants of the peacebuilding process, and for creation of more flexible mechanisms of financing peacebuilding efforts. We believe that all practical commitments reflected in documents of G8 Summits must be implemented in close coordination with the UN, and first of all with its Peacebuilding Commission.

Our practical contribution to implementation of G8 decisions in the sphere of peacekeeping and peacebuilding is centered on Africa. We train up to 80 African peacekeepers annually at the All-Russian Institute for Skills Upgrading at the Ministry of Interior. The Ministry organizes also jointly with the UN De-

partment of peacebuilding operations short-term courses for formed police units.

We consider Russia's participation in the Middle East "quartet" and in the multilateral negotiation mechanisms on Iranian and North Korean nuclear programs to be important elements of our preventive diplomacy. Our country seeks to boost capacity for preventive action of the system of regional organizations to which it belongs.

This applies first of all to the Commonwealth of Independent States. The Russian side encourages its partners in the CIS to use this mechanism. We also actively participate in conflict prevention and peacekeeping in Transnistria, our military bases in Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and by participating in

multilateral negotiations on settlement of conflicts in the Caucasus (Minsk Group and Geneva process).

We cooperate with our partners in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) for preventing conflicts in a vast region covering two thirds of Eurasia. It should be noted, however, that major risks and challenges to security of member states protrude not from interstate conflicts but from narcotics trafficking, extremism and terrorism. So preventive actions of SCO members are aimed first and foremost at countering these threats.

The Russian foreign policy supports development of preventive diplomacy mechanisms in Asia. We focus our attention first of all on ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). Our country encourages its ARF partners to progress from confidence-building measures to preventive

diplomacy. In this context, Russia proposes to concentrate efforts on strengthening legal framework of regional security.

To sum up, the role of preventive action as a means of strengthening international peace will grow together with the growth of the role of multilateralism in world politics. The international community should strengthen mechanisms of preventive diplomacy both at the UN level and (especially) at regional levels. This will correspond both to the trend towards growing "regionalization" of conflicts and to the trend of the increasing role of regional structures in managing them.

Vadim B. Lukov is Ambassador-at-Large, Russian Sous-Sherpa in G8 and Foreign Ministry Coordinator for G20 and BRIC Affairs

## A new actor can develop a new model for prevention

By Major General Carlos Alberto Dos Santos Cruz

On foreign policy, Brazil doesn't follow any traditional political "points of reference" or alignment. It is a pragmatic foreign policy with a clear perception of Brazil's importance in the world. Political ideology and considerations about left, center or right are not important, as they were in the recent past of the Cold War. What really matters is the reduction of the country's social inequality, the improvement of public services provided to the population and to implement practices of good governance and economic development.

Although many improvements were achieved in the last few years, some internal problems should be resolved. Thus, Brazil is implementing certain policies to reduce its social inequalities and poverty in general; to fight organized crime and violence in its urban centers; to face corruption and optimize its public administration. It is a difficult work in progress that takes time and will require a lot of resources to be successful. All of the actions are taken at a steady pace, based on a consistent democratic process. Undoubtedly, Brazil is one of the new active participants in international issues. The country does not have a long-held traditional style, based on standards established after the Second World War and/or during the Cold War. It is not one more country fighting for a chair around the table, but a country to bring new experiences, new examples, new options and a new way to discuss solutions and resolve conflicts based on multilateralism, persuasion, non-interventionism, understanding and cultural consideration.

It is very well-known that Brazil advocates the need for modifications in the structure of some international organizations, in order to make them more effective in preventing conflicts in the world. In Latin America, the countries are collaborating to reach a clear regional identity and to reinforce certain structures to create a more effective regional forum. Although Brazil has confident friendly relationships with its neighbors, it is not easy to integrate countries in South America, Central America and the Caribbean. The fact that there are several regional organizations demands hard diplomatic work to integrate regional efforts. Regional organizations act closer to the problems

and can be a very effective mechanism for the prevention of conflict. International actors recognize the importance of regional organizations. Brazil and its partners are moving to an effective forum for discussions and coordination. The improvement of dialogue creates better conditions for resolving disputes in a diplomatic way. Hence, it may help to prevent conflicts and keep the region stable. The deep involvement in Haiti, under the UN mandate, is an example of Brazilian policy in the region. Brazil is not a military power, but the troops in Haiti draw attention to the way the country has led robust operations without collateral damages (mainly in 2007 and 2008, when there were situations of intense confrontation with heavily armed street gangs), respect and friendly relationships with the population. The way Brazilian troops have been acting in Haiti generates acceptance by the local population. Some procedures developed by Brazilian troops in Haiti may be adapted for use in other UN missions.

There are many reasons at the base of conflicts -- ethnic, religious, political and economic motivations. But undoubtedly, poverty, misery, human suffering, bad governance, mismanagement of financial resources and corruption are the roots of most of the conflicts. As one of countries with emergent economies, Brazil may contribute with technical cooperation in agriculture, public administration and electoral assistance, for instance. A new model should be developed to prevent conflicts and violence. The international organizations' warning system should be more effective and the mechanism of prevention should be attentive, in direct contact with the potential problems and troublemakers.

Collective efforts made by academics, diplomats, entrepreneurs, development actors, and security forces will not produce sustainable results unless they are followed by good governance, by the politicians. Leadership, political commitment and accountability are fundamental to prevent and resolve conflicts. More studies should be conducted to find ways to achieve political commitment and legal political accountability. To prevent the recurrence of conflict, changes are necessary in the way that international financial aid is assessed, distributed, managed and supervised. For instance, governance should be reinforced. It is



Peacekeepers protect women in rural areas of Darfur



Newly displaced Sudanese settle in Tawila North Darfur

not possible to demand political commitment and good governance without financial support. Governments in post-conflict countries should receive most of the financial support and not only 10 or 20 percent in some cases, and 80 or 90 percent diluted in thousands of organizations, without any possibility of coordinating and resolving problems in the large scale. Also, a balance should be achieved between increased support for governments and the reinforcement of mechanisms to obtain political commitment and accountability.

When new actors show up on the international scene, it is natural that some standards should be modified, and that new challenges and tensions might appear. Brazil, like other emerging countries, deserves a great deal of attention as a new economic power as an important actor in regional and global events -- and the country is able to join international efforts to prevent conflicts promoting dialogue as an important toll.

Major Santos Cruz is Former Force Commander of the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti

## THE FIRST GLOBAL CONFERENCE ON PREVENTIVE ACTION

INTERVIEW | AMBASSADOR JAN ELIASSON

# A Culture of Prevention

**How can we build the political will necessary for preventive action?**

We need to develop a culture of prevention – to make reacting early in a crisis normal, accepted behavior. Right now, prevention is not rewarded. On a more concrete level, we should try to put a price tag on prevention, perhaps by doing a cost-benefit analysis. For instance, by comparing the cost of a UN mediation effort with a peacekeeping operation, we could see what you save not only in terms of lives, but also money and the organization's reputation.

We also need to strike the correct balance between solidarity with human beings in need and sovereignty, or territorial integrity. When I was the president of the UN General Assembly in 2005 and 2006, there was an attempt to reach human beings in need made with the Responsibility to Protect.

**But what is the next step? For example, we know that something is likely to happen in Sudan, but we are failing to make coordinated efforts as an international community.**

The Security Council should agree to

deal with brewing conflicts and act early on with the Secretary General, who can raise any issue he finds critical. And then act openly or even discretely, if that is the case, to stop conflicts from erupting. That is what I meant with believing and acting on creating a culture of prevention.

Regarding Sudan, I ask myself whether enough is being done to prevent a crisis that could even turn into a military conflict, a civil war. Of course, the main responsibility lies with the government in Khartoum, and the leadership of the SPLA, SELM, and the president in Juba. The outside world has an influence, but the major actors are on the ground. That said, I still think that others have to contribute positively -- neighboring countries, the African Union, and the United Nations, not least the Security Council.

We also need to analyse what will happen after the referendum, considering different scenarios. Because whatever the outcome, the two sides - north and south - will have to live together. Like the European Union, they should make interdependence a peace factor rather than a conflict factor. To see that inter-

dependence and realise that if you hurt your neighbor, you hurt yourself. That is the civilised conclusion, I think, of the whole prevention issue.

**Is the African Union up for the challenge of monitoring the situation after the Sudan elections?**

I think they are, and they should be. On the other hand, the United Nations also has a mission, not only in terms of preventive diplomacy and involvement of the Security Council, but also in terms of a troop presence in Sudan. And I hope they will remain there. I belong to those who regretted very much that the United Nations left Egypt in the late '50s and then Rwanda in 1994.

**Are there enough troops and diplomats on the ground?**

No, but there is a symbolic and political value of having the international communities present which cannot be counted in numbers.

Ambassador Jan Eliasson is a former UN General Assembly President and UN Special Envoy for Darfur.



South Sudan Police recruits at Training Academy



UN and Haitian Police Conduct Security Op in Croix-des-Bouquets



INTERVIEW | NICK MABEY, CEO OF THIRD GENERATION ENVIRONMENTALISM

## Conflict is not an inevitable outcome

leaders that preventive action is possible and hence worthwhile, we need a pragmatic frame.

**How can we make preventive action a public issue and state priority?**

Everyone knows that the world is interconnected. By explaining the cost of conflict and the link to threats like organized crime, terrorism, resource scarcity and climate change in places like the Middle East, we can build a very strong public case that, unless we invest in helping countries manage their conflicts peacefully, troops will have to go abroad.

It is very interesting that climate change has a public conversation, but that conflict prevention does not.

In part, that's because unlike climate change, global conflict is not treated as something people or governments can actually prevent. To reframe that, we must tell the success stories about places where conflicts are being managed and peace-building has worked. We must show that conflict is not an inevitable outcome of rising stress.



Fighters of the Justice and Equality Movement

**How can we begin to tell those stories?**

Well, the International Panel was proposed for exactly this purpose. To pull together a lot of individuals to provide an overall picture of what's happening, what's been successful, and where we need to take action.

**The media is not very interested in telling a story that hasn't happened. What can we do about this?**

Actually, the world has many measures to predict crises in advance. On the basis of data

collected by organizations like Swisspeace, you can actually create news stories, because they give you a trend over time. For example, this year five African countries are moving towards peace, or alternatively to increased risk. The media could report that just like GDP figures. If you were to have quantitative trend data for all 45-at risk countries, you could run stories off of them, because it is meaningful information for investors and the military. These are stories we can tell, and that we should tell.

**How can we deliver the necessary political support for preventive action?**

First, we must understand how instability and conflict underlie our overall national security goals. At the moment, we don't pay enough attention to so-called "small wars far away" until they reach unavoidable levels, like the piracy ransoms in Somalia. This is a fundamental system failure in how major countries understand their interests in maintaining world stability. Second, we must improve our ability to respond. Currently, we have envoys and diplomats, but we must invest in our deployable peace-building capabilities, particularly in at-risk countries.

Next, we need to redefine our notion of success: Just as we don't give up on fighting crime because we cannot stop all crime everywhere, there shouldn't be this expectation that we can stop all conflict. To convince