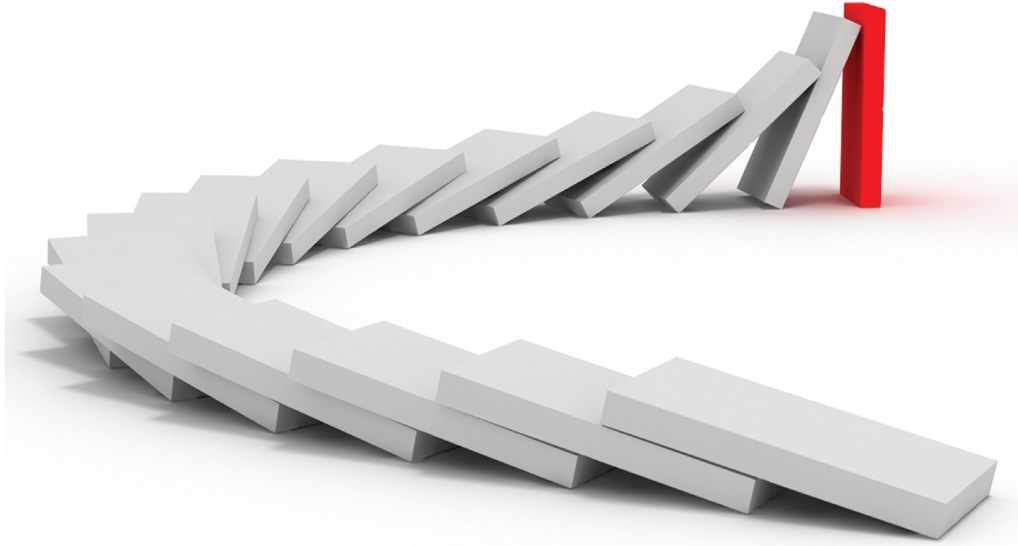




A NEW ROAD FOR PREVENTIVE ACTION

REPORT FROM THE FIRST GLOBAL CONFERENCE
ON PREVENTIVE ACTION



FIRST GLOBAL CONFERENCE ON PREVENTIVE ACTION

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EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT
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Hosted by Ms Franziska Katharina Brantner, MEP



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REPORT FROM THE FIRST GLOBAL CONFERENCE ON
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“The EastWest Institute is challenging each of us to rethink our international security priorities in order to get things moving again. You know, as we do, that we need specific actions, not words. As your slogan so aptly puts it, you are a ‘think and do tank.’”

BAN KI-MOON
SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS

FOREWORD

Conflict prevention and preventive action have been at the core of the EastWest Institute's work since its inception. We are genuinely proud to present this report on the Global Conference on Preventive Action. The report is the result of several years of effort on the part of EWI, as well as the committed support of governments and private partners.

The Global Conference on Preventive Action grew out of a recommendation from EWI's International Task Force on Preventive Diplomacy. It was the first of a series of biennial meetings to facilitate early and effective preventive action, as envisaged by the Task Force's 2008 paper, "New Initiatives on Conflict Prevention and Human Security." Task Force members included Martti Ahtisaari, Sadig Al-Mahdi, Lakhdar Brahimi, Kim Campbell, Jan Eliasson, Gareth Evans, El Hassan bin Talal, and Thorvald Stoltenberg.

The report reflects two days of very intense and in-depth debate marked by the great commitment and dedication of 250 senior decision makers and stakeholders from national governments, regional institutions and civil society. While the debates clearly showed that major progress on preventive action is still lacking, the conference also reflected the hope that we have an opportunity to advance the preventive action agenda in the coming years.


The rich debates of the conference provided a wealth of information with concrete recommendations for action.

We hope that this report will contribute to the debate and help make preventive action a policy priority of national governments across the globe.

Your sincerely,



FRANCIS FINLAY
EWI CO-CHAIRMAN



JOHN EDWIN MROZ
EWI PRESIDENT AND CEO

A soldier cries for his comrade who died in his arms after a frontline offensive as government soldiers fought to take back territory lost to rebel forces; Liberia 2003



"A gap continues to exist between the international community's rhetoric about conflict prevention and its responsibility to protect people from severe human rights violations. The record of human misery caused by violent conflict is testimony to the chronic lack of political will to respond collectively to new and emerging threats to peace. The ineffectiveness of many global efforts at preventive diplomacy is evidence that traditional diplomatic approaches, including the use of force, simply may not work."

This is how the EastWest Institute's International Task Force on Preventive Diplomacy* assessed the state of conflict prevention in 2008. Two years later, against that sober backdrop, 250 participants from governments, military and civil society met at EWI's Global Conference on Preventive Action, held at the European and Belgian Parliaments on December 6-7, 2010. There, participants discussed if progress had been made and asked what governments and institutions can do to improve both preventive action and the broader, more costly long-term conflict prevention agenda.

At the conference, participants distinguished between *conflict prevention*, which includes peacebuilding efforts like capacity building, governance-strengthening and development cooperation, and *preventive action*. Preventive action was defined as the mobilization of state assets to prevent, reduce or eliminate the potential for or sudden outbreaks of inter or intra-state violent conflict. Key measures used in preventive action are political and diplomatic, and include the use of good offices and special envoys, the provision of experts in observation missions or negotiations, the use of facilitators and mediators, and the use of informal consultations around known triggers of violence, like elections and referenda. Preventive action can also include the use of information to highlight peaceful alternatives to violence. State assets include the human and financial capacity for action, political influence and capabilities, and the full spectrum of national, regional and international bodies, from the United Nations (UN) to regional and sub-regional organizations like the African Union (AU) and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), to conflict-specific "contact groups."

Participants noted that no one size fits all when it comes to preventing the outbreak of violent conflict. Therefore, state actors, including international and regional organizations, need to be able to effectively implement the whole spectrum of conflict prevention and preventive action. More and more civil society organizations are playing important supportive roles in preventive action, facilitating local dialogue that can help deescalate tension or using Track II approaches to political processes. On occasion, they even lead mediation efforts.

*To learn more about EWI's International Task Force on Preventive Diplomacy and its proposals, visit: www.ewi.info/new-initiatives

To seize the moment, the United Nations should take a leading role and help put preventive action center stage in international politics.

Ultimately, the discussions resulted in a mixed picture of the state of conflict prevention and preventive action, but it was unanimously agreed that both are not more regularly applied foreign policy options largely due to a lack of political will. To address that lack of political will, leadership is required. Such leadership is possible, as political will is not a supernatural force, but rather the result of conditions and specific contexts. It can be influenced and changed, if stakeholders seize the opportunity to act. The debates during the Global Conference outlined approaches for achieving this objective.

Major and sustained advocacy for conflict prevention and preventive action is needed, according to participants. To get past sensitive issues of respect for sovereignty and non-intervention, preventive efforts should make better use of informal approaches, particularly by emerging powers. To deal with emerging conflicts in a timely manner, the role of semi-official consultations and Track II processes should be expanded, particularly to help prepare the ground for preventive action.

Participants also discussed how to secure resources for preventive action, as military and development initiatives are already competing for slices of national budgets. Preventive action is notoriously tough to fund, as it is difficult to prove the efficacy of an approach that causes a conflict not to happen. But this is also a historic moment of opportunity: The spending restrictions faced by Western donor countries in the aftermath of the financial crisis have fostered a new appreciation of early preventive approaches over late military interventions, which cost far more in money and lives. For politicians seeking public support, “doing more with less” is an appealing foreign policy mantra – one that can be harnessed to build support for preventive efforts.

To seize the moment, the **UNITED NATIONS** should take a leading role and help put preventive action center stage in international politics. The UN has a special role in legitimizing and coordinating multilateral prevention efforts, as well as in strengthening advocacy for prevention among its member states.

Bold action is required. Using the UN’s campaign for the Millennium Development Goals

(MDGs) as a model, the Secretary-General should launch a substantive effort to shift political attention towards early and effective preventive action. The UN must encourage the international community to really “own” prevention, moving it from a topic of niche specialist debates to a focus for a much wider conversation among policy makers, the traditional security establishment and the general public. The upcoming 2011 UN Secretary-General’s report on conflict prevention could be used to highlight such needs. And, to help convince member states’ constituencies and policy makers of conflict prevention’s value, advocates should profile conflict prevention success stories and reveal the approach’s tremendous cost-benefits.

On the institutional side, participants found that the UN can strengthen its preventive work through the Department of Political Affairs (DPA) and the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC). This requires more flexible budget mechanisms, better communication between key stakeholders and closer cooperation, particularly in the field. Progress in these areas will result in faster response times, more flexible actions and better outcomes.

The UN Secretary General’s (UNSG) dialogue with regional organizations should become an annual or at least biennial event aimed to set agendas and prioritize preventive action, monitor progress, evaluate past actions and benchmark future progress.

Alongside a revival of the informal consultations between civil society and UN Security Council (UNSC) members, the so-called “Arria Formula” meetings, both processes would strengthen information-sharing and coordination, and provide clearer situational assessments and early warnings to prompt and define preventive actions.

The current UN financing system through assessed contributions is weighted towards post-conflict approaches, like peacekeeping, rather than preventive efforts. At \$7.83 billion, the Peacekeeping Budget is more than three times the UN’s Regular Budget. The UN allocates little more than \$200 million for the preventive work of the DPA in 2010-2011. This figure excludes funding for the Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), the Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI), and the Integrated Office in Burundi (BINUB), as although

A UN armoured personnel carrier responds to fighting in the bush in Ituri district, DR Congo, 2006



Regional organizations are a crucial link between preventive action on the global and national levels.

these missions have preventive aspects, they mainly cover a much broader set of priorities beyond prevention that contribute to their significant costs. Correcting this imbalance is in the economic interest of member states and essential if the peacekeeping budget is to be reduced over the longer term.

There is also a critical connection between public support and the success of efforts to reform how preventive action is funded in the UN. Without pressure at home, risk-adverse national governments will continue to fund the UN in familiar, often inefficient ways. It is essential to increase public awareness of how much cheaper and more effective preventive actions are than post conflict-efforts; advocates of prevention can encourage much-needed reform through public messaging, sharing information on its cost-benefits, and highlighting that cost saving are in the national interest.

The UN must also look at how it can best use existing resources. One practical approach could be to extend the work of the UN PBC and Peacebuilding Fund (PBF), whose work has an underlying preventive value, beyond the African continent to make progress in other unstable regions. In light of the World Bank's 2011 World Development Report, the Secretary General's recent allocation of peacebuilding funds to Guatemala is a welcome step forward, and a timely and powerful statement in support of global preventive action. The report shows that 90 percent of the civil wars between 2000 and 2010 occurred in countries that had experienced civil war at some point in the 30 years prior. The PBC can help those countries that have signed peace agreements during that time, but continue to struggle to build essential capacity and strengthen governance, to prevent violence.

REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS are a crucial link between preventive action on the global and national levels. They are vital for effective burden sharing, and help provide legitimacy for and ownership of preventive action. Potential conflict-triggers like migration and the consequences of climate change really require regional responses. But in many ways, regional organizations remain a "weak link" of preventive action. To empower regional organizations, member states must better see the value of regional organizations in preventive action. "Bottom up" approach-

One of the 1800 Uganda Peoples Defence Force (UPDF) soldiers being sent to the African Union peace keeping mission in Somalia; December 2010





es and political pressure groups like “groups of friends” can encourage member states to accept more preventive roles for regional organizations. Regional organizations would also benefit from success stories about their own preventive actions to convince members that they can achieve their security interests through a mix of national, bilateral and regional approaches. Regional organizations can become stronger preventive actors by regularly sharing best practices and experiences. Donors can help empower regional organizations by building their functional capacity in areas such as mediation training to support member states.

Again, as most participants pointed out, the UN will need to exercise leadership to promote preventive action by strengthening regular dialogue between the UN and regional organizations. The UN Regional Centre for Preventive Diplomacy in Central Asia (UNRC-CA) or the new UN Office for West Africa (UN-OWA), are models that have lessons for other regions. Using regional centers or even less comprehensive regional liaison offices can ensure regular dialogue with the regional organizations and foster information exchange and coordination. This regional connectivity would improve monitoring and situational assessments and provide the UN Secretary-General and other UN bodies with timely and essential information.

Adding more flexibility to the use of UN tools and instruments can also result in more effective preventive outcomes. The UN’s standby mediation team and other rosters of experts should be made available to regional organizations and member states, so that they can take advantage of their skills and experience without direct UN involvement.

Shifting political attention and resources toward preventive approaches will require leadership from the **UNITED STATES** and **EUROPEAN UNION**, who are the world’s two largest investors in conflict prevention. Their combined efforts should complement the UN’s role. The EU and U.S. share common values, and foreign and security interests that are at the very foundation of conflict prevention and more specifically preventive action. The EU and U.S. have committed substantial financial means and other resources, but even the European Union’s “Instrument for Stability,” which allocated more

Shifting political attention and resources toward preventive approaches will require leadership from the United States and the European Union.

Russian tanks advance during the Russo-Georgian War in 2008



than 2 billion euro to conflict prevention and crisis response over the period from 2007 to 2013, has not resulted in concerted efforts to move the preventive action agenda forward.

While they have made progress on practical cooperation in the field (Sudan is one example) the EU and U.S. rarely cooperate on strategic planning for preventive action or on systematically coordinating human, financial and other resources. Noting this, participants highlighted the priority need to institutionalize communication and coordination between the EU and U.S. on agenda-setting, response planning at the political level, and on operational cooperation in the field.

Participants suggested establishing an EU-U.S. working group on preventive action in the context of EU-U.S. summits aimed at strategic agenda-setting for preventive action. Such a working group, with the backing of political decision makers, could also guide joint strategic reviews and joint assessments of preventive action.

Participants recognized that practical cooperation in the field including communication, training and preventive action capacity building in developing countries, could have the spillover benefit of leading to more policy cooperation at home. But this is no substitute for more formal policy coordination processes – ultimately both are required.

The conference also highlighted the role that **EMERGING POWERS** can play in preventive action, given their new centrality in international affairs. While many potential and existing conflicts fall in these countries' sphere of interest, so far emerging powers -- notably Brazil, Russia, India and China (BRIC) -- have not put preventive action on their political agendas. Brazil and China have become major troop contributors and contributors to the UN peacekeeping budget. The logical next step is for the emerging powers to emphasize and focus on preventive action under Chapter VI of the UN Charter. The policy communities of major emerging powers need to make preventive action a policy priority.

Nigeria's leadership in a 2010 Security Council debate on prevention (see S/2010/371, SC9984, & S/PRST/2010/14) is a good example of how to strengthen the policy commitment to prevention and to define bench-

marks for the future. Their influence has initiated renewed debate within the UN, and the expected report on conflict prevention in July from the UN Secretary-General provides opportunity to shift attention and resources to the implementation of recommendations.

The BRIC countries' strong representation in the current Security Council provides a valuable opportunity to advocate for more preventive action. Informal consultations and Track II processes between emerging powers could help prepare common policy formulations by getting past many of the political sensitivities that surround preventive approaches, which include sensitivities over the respect for sovereignty and the principle of non-intervention. One model to consider is the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP). Since successful action requires clarity of common understanding and purpose, participants strongly suggested that emerging powers create a common framework for preventive action through a review process like the EU's Gothenburg process.

A central insight gleaned from the Global Conference is that preventive action is a serious policy option, but that governments focus on actual rather than potential conflicts due to a lack of strategies, capacity, coordination, and above all, political will.

Participants recognized that some progress has been made in securing political attention for preventive action, highlighted by the acceptance of the principle of Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) and the recent strengthening of the DPA. The natural next step is for decision makers to emphasize the value of early prevention efforts and to allocate the human and financial resources necessary to deliver early and effective action. As one might expect, there are challenges associated with such a move - from the need to revise how we allocate resources and who we train to what actors, tools and instruments to use and in what order. Ultimately, this report puts forward political and strategic ideas on the need to strengthen conflict prevention and focus on preventive action, who can do it, and most importantly how.

The conference also highlighted the role that emerging powers can play in preventive action, given their new centrality in international affairs.

State of Affairs

Momentum exists within the UN, regional organizations and many governments for overcoming existing challenges, and important changes in the political environment present a unique opportunity to make decisive steps forward.

Over the past two decades, there have been some steps forward on preventive action, including the principle of RtoP and the inclusion of the human security concept in the 2005 World Summit Outcome, the addition of the PBC and PBF to the UN structure, and strengthening the DPA and its mediation capacity. But progress on conflict prevention is still inadequate and initially promising reform processes have stalled. Reliance on traditional approaches to security challenges often leads to conflict and the need for post-conflict efforts, which are difficult to accomplish and rarely lead to political solutions. Examples like the breakdown of order in Somalia show the incipient danger of un-governed spaces and create additional challenges including terrorism and piracy. Other examples, such as Cote d'Ivoire, show that failures can result in prolongation of peace-keeping missions, increases in refugees, and the need to repeat political and developmental processes.

Opportunities currently exist to advance the preventive action agenda. Momentum exists within the UN, regional organizations and many governments for overcoming existing challenges, and important changes in the political environment present a unique opportunity to make decisive steps forward:

- The financial crisis has led to a general need to cut budgets in order to reduce exploding deficits. This points to the need for reform of security policy and the need to embed the concept of “doing more with less” through preventive approaches.
- Better understanding of “networked” threats. The 2008 food and energy price crisis has raised significant concerns about access to basic resources and energy in major consuming countries, and about the potential for broader global instability because of resource scarcity and climate change. This has raised awareness for better global cooperation on managing international mechanisms for food security and water management to prevent such instability. At the same time, it has increased activities to secure resources bilaterally through “sweet-heart” deals on land and rare minerals, which tend to empower corrupt elites and increase conflict tensions.
- The membership of the current UNSC is more representative of the emerging powers that are becoming more open to the preventive action agenda.

For the first time in history, in 2011, the UN Security Council will include all BRIC and IBSA countries, giving a high representation to emerging powers that are becoming more open to the preventive action agenda: **Brazil** (2011), **Russia, India** (2012), **China**, and **South Africa** (2012), as well as **Nigeria** (2011). UN SC membership in 2011 also encompasses: **France, the United Kingdom, the United States, Bosnia and Herzegovina** (2011), **Germany** (2012), **Portugal** (2012), **Colombia** (2012), **Lebanon** (2011), **Gabon** (2011).



Major Challenges

Political Will

The lack of political will is often seen as the main cause of inaction, since tools and instruments, experience, and, in many cases, the human and financial resources are available for effective action. Political will is not a supernatural force, but the result of particular people and institutions reacting to specific conditions in a particular context. Political will can be analyzed, influenced, and created. Two excellent examples are the Advocacy Campaign for the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the UN Climate Change processes. Each process was instrumental in securing public awareness and political support to shift attention and resources in a targeted way to reduce human suffering and tackle difficult but important challenges.

Preventive action approaches, however, have so far failed to pass some basic tests with politicians and civil service decision makers to follow those examples. For political decision makers, there are three questions which must be answered if a proposed course of action is to be taken: Is the action feasible? Is it useful and do the costs and benefits—financial, diplomatic, strategic—add up? Is it popular and/or politically advantageous for me personally?

To secure a more regularized and effective political commitment and mobilization of resources for preventive action, these tests need to be met:

- **Feasibility:** Decision makers claim to have few examples of success showing where and how conflict was averted. Not knowing what the options are and how they will impact a particular situa-

tion often results in inaction. There is, however, an extensive body of practical knowledge on prevention; the challenge is that the knowledge about it remains in the very specialized circles that deal with preventive action. The prevention community is still shy of profiling success for a wider public in a proactive way, which limits information sharing and options for decision makers. By analyzing and publicizing success stories where a specific intervention worked in a more high-profile way, advocates can help policy-makers see that preventive action is feasible and does work.

- **Cost/Benefits:** Policy makers in most countries don't know how preventive action can help. They tend to invest in traditional security approaches to manage conflicts. Military approaches are costly and politically challenging to sustain; they often do not result in constructive political outcomes. A more rigorous analytical approach to the cost-benefits of preventive strategies would highlight options and benefits for decision makers in a credible way. Such an approach would also balance the debate for governments familiar with similar evidence backing up military approaches. This step is critical to making prevention a more regularly applied policy option.
- **Popularity:** Public debate is a more effective way to grab the attention of political leaders than yet another research paper or local initiative. Enlisting civil society to help build public pressure and political attention can be effective as was shown through the MDGs campaign.

The MDGs gained much popularity from the Global UN Millennium Campaign and national programs of similar function. The 2005-08 campaign in Belgium, which cost only **\$1 million**, resulted in a 46% jump in public awareness of MDGs and led to them becoming a 2007 election priority of many politicians.

Resources

Effective preventive action requires the availability of sufficient flexible resources. Resources are not limited to money; they also include human capacity, experience and political influence. It is commonly stated that there are not enough resources for preventive action, but calls to establish global trust funds or regional rapid response funds do not appeal to donor governments because of the problems associated with past experiences.

Of course, in times of crisis more money is always needed to provide real deployable capability. The overall objective should be to see a rebalancing of military spending towards diplomatic and political mechanisms. The most recent OECD conflict prevention spending evaluation, declassified in 2007, showed member states spending \$593 million on civilian peacebuilding and conflict prevention and resolution in 2005, compared to a global assessment of \$1.2 trillion on military spending.

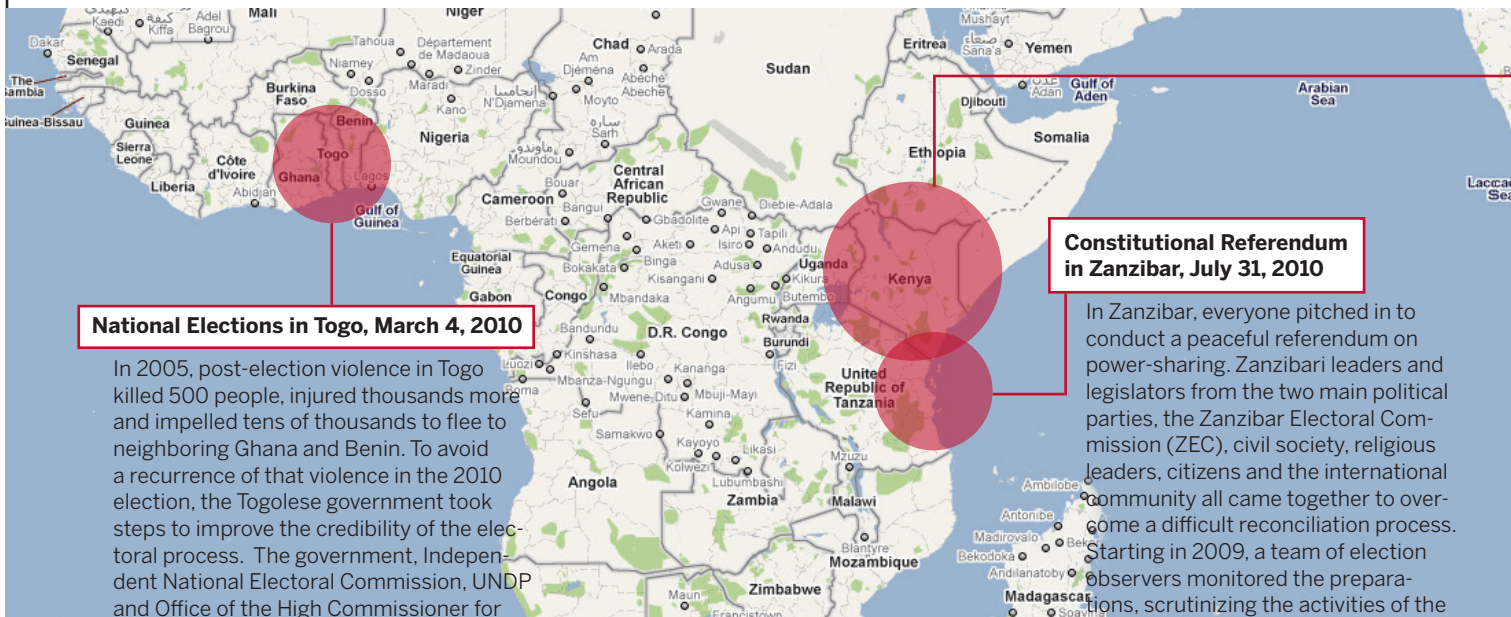
In the short-term, existing resources must be applied in more effective ways. Again, the “doing more with less” principle should be used when developing and framing new proposals. Making existing resources more flexible and more available for preventive actions that have a proven worth will help deliver more return on investment. Whether it is at the UN level or the level of regional organizations, more flexible funding will lead to faster response times and more flexible approaches—two essential elements of good preventive action.

Directing resources to regional organizations can help catalyze action elsewhere. Often, the lack of funds restricts potential initiatives in regions where there is interest in conflict prevention, but not the requisite human or financial resources. Major donors like the U.S. and the EU can concentrate investments in specific capacity building-initiatives that have proven effective (around mediation training or election processes, for example).

Total global military expenditure in 2009 is estimated to have been **\$1.531 trillion**. This represents an increase of **6%** in real terms compared to 2008, and of **49%** since 2000.

Source: SIPRI

Examples of Successful Preventive Action in 2010



National Elections in Togo, March 4, 2010

In 2005, post-election violence in Togo killed 500 people, injured thousands more and impelled tens of thousands to flee to neighboring Ghana and Benin. To avoid a recurrence of that violence in the 2010 election, the Togolese government took steps to improve the credibility of the electoral process. The government, Independent National Electoral Commission, UNDP and Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights partnered in a range of initiatives, including a public campaign called “Let us give peace a chance” and PAPE, a project to support the electoral cycles in Togo. With a large contribution from the EU, the project saw 36,250 technicians, census takers and trainers deployed to review centers and new electoral rolls across the country. The result was a free and fair election without violence.

Constitutional Referendum in Zanzibar, July 31, 2010

In Zanzibar, everyone pitched in to conduct a peaceful referendum on power-sharing. Zanzibari leaders and legislators from the two main political parties, the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC), civil society, religious leaders, citizens and the international community all came together to overcome a difficult reconciliation process. Starting in 2009, a team of election observers monitored the preparations, scrutinizing the activities of the House of Representatives’ Committee of Six and the ZEC’s role in voter education, campaign management, voting, vote-counting and the declaration of the results to prevent the outbreak of violent conflict. There were also a number of sessions to educate people on the referendum’s rationale and the political benefits of the Government of National Unity.

For every **\$1** spent on conflict prevention globally,

the world spends

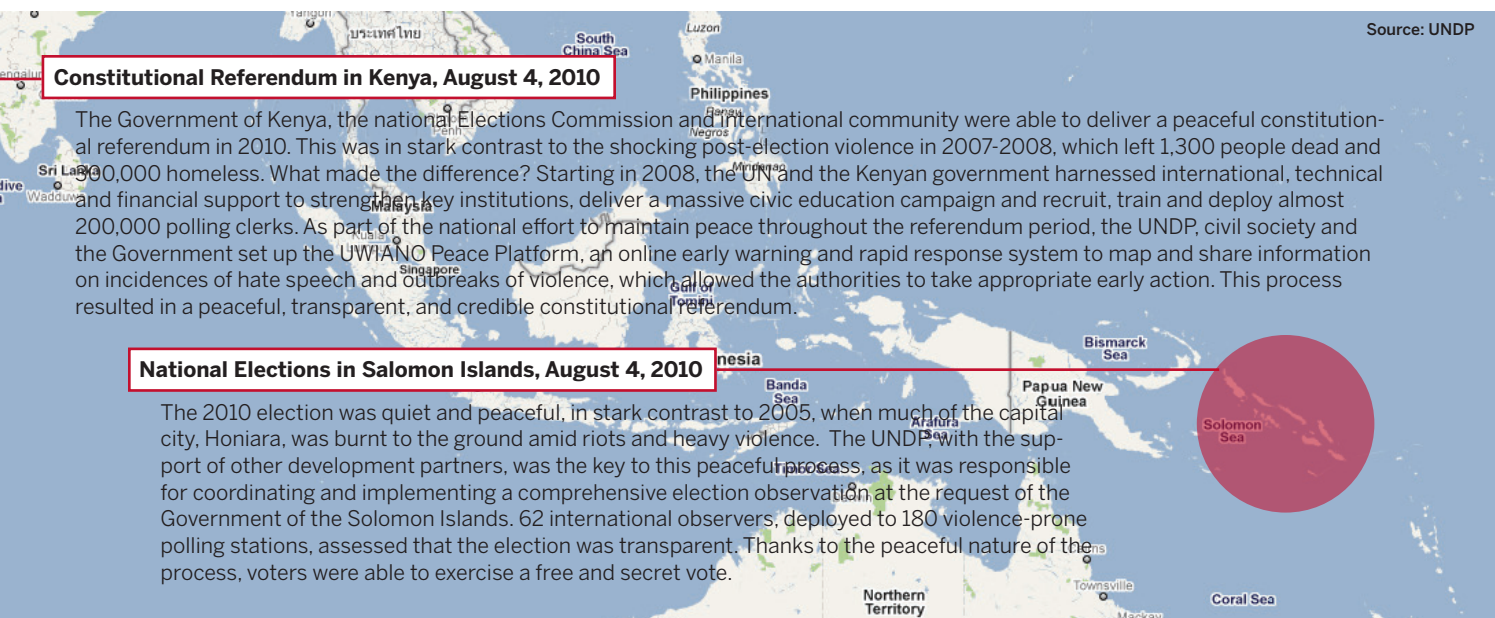
\$1,885

on weapons and military budgets.

Source: OECD

The post election violence that erupted in Kenya in 2007-2008 cost the Kenyan economy an estimated **\$3.6 BILLION**

Four successful examples of preventive actions in 2010 cost approximately **\$5 MILLION COMBINED**



Source: UNDP

Constitutional Referendum in Kenya, August 4, 2010

The Government of Kenya, the national Elections Commission and International community were able to deliver a peaceful constitutional referendum in 2010. This was in stark contrast to the shocking post-election violence in 2007-2008, which left 1,300 people dead and 900,000 homeless. What made the difference? Starting in 2008, the UN and the Kenyan government harnessed international, technical and financial support to strengthen key institutions, deliver a massive civic education campaign and recruit, train and deploy almost 200,000 polling clerks. As part of the national effort to maintain peace throughout the referendum period, the UNDP, civil society and the Government set up the UWIANO Peace Platform, an online early warning and rapid response system to map and share information on incidences of hate speech and outbreaks of violence, which allowed the authorities to take appropriate early action. This process resulted in a peaceful, transparent, and credible constitutional referendum.

National Elections in Salomon Islands, August 4, 2010

The 2010 election was quiet and peaceful, in stark contrast to 2005, when much of the capital city, Honiara, was burnt to the ground amid riots and heavy violence. The UNDP, with the support of other development partners, was the key to this peaceful process, as it was responsible for coordinating and implementing a comprehensive election observation, at the request of the Government of the Solomon Islands. 62 international observers, deployed to 180 violence-prone polling stations, assessed that the election was transparent. Thanks to the peaceful nature of the process, voters were able to exercise a free and secret vote.

Three levels of action in each of the above cases helped bring about success:

Insider (internal) mediation: Key individuals and institutions in each country discreetly supported, and took the lead in developing, inclusive agreements among different stakeholders to peacefully implement these crucial transitional events.

Infrastructures for peace: Specific mechanisms were developed and applied to deal with recurring conflict at the local and national level for mediating conflicts, preventing violence, and carrying out conflict resolution.

Popular mobilization: In order for prevention to take root and expand within these societies, a concerted advocacy campaign took place. This campaign did not just take place at the top national level but also engaged a broader range of actors, including local leaders within communities. This allowed for widespread mobilization of key players from all sectors.

Actors & Recommendations

The United Nations

The UN has a special role in making preventive action a policy priority of member states. Preventive action touches on issues like sovereignty and non-intervention. It has to pass a higher political threshold than for example development efforts and is more difficult to advance. In addition to making prevention work better internally, the UN has three key roles to play in prevention:

- Providing the space to build legitimacy for preventive action;
- Strengthening coordination by hosting agenda-setting for preventive action; and
- Championing prevention with states and the public.

The UN has made progress in pursuing these tasks. Member states recognize the challenge of prevention and the requirement for the UN to be at the forefront of future conceptual and operational developments. In the past decade, conflict prevention has strengthened within the UN. With the 2004 High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change and the 2005 World Summit Outcome document, the UN signaled a shift from classical security policy towards more preventive action. Conceptual advances like RtoP and the notion of human security are major developments. Impressive institutional changes also demonstrate a growing recognition of member states' shift to a "prevention first" policy that favors less expensive, and often more effective, non-military approaches to peace and security. This is reflected by the increase in funding for fifty new positions within the DPA in 2009, which can be seen as part of a longer term trend: The Bureau of Conflict Prevention and Recovery (BCPR) was created within United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 2001 and has undertaken conflict

prevention initiatives in a hundred countries. In 2005, the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) and the Peacebuilding Fund were established, followed by the Mediation Support Unit (MSU) and the Mediation Support Standby Team within the DPA in 2008.

Such progress while welcome and necessary is unlikely to result in a more substantive shift in resources or attention, political or public. The UN needs to champion prevention among member states and the public, and detail benchmarks for success over a definable period. The UN has done this effectively before. With the campaign around the Millennium Development Goals and the Women Agenda, the UN profiled initiatives and achieved political and public acceptance for shifting attention and resources in a politically substantive manner.

The UN should act more boldly in preventing future conflicts and improving the global conflict prevention system. If the UN takes measures that build on recent conceptual and institutional changes (RtoP, or through the DPA, as noted above), it can increase the efficiency of existing resources, increase coordination between actors and actions, and give preventive action a higher profile in and outside the UN. The UN is well-suited to take the lead in these three areas and the Secretary-General's July 2011 report on conflict prevention provides a timely opportunity to highlight these efforts. The July report can also serve as a launch pad for more global preventive action agenda and give guidance for the actions of governments and civil society alike.

Participants recommend:

IMPROVING ADVOCACY: In order to achieve a significant shift in political attention and resources towards conflict prevention and, in particular, preventive action, the UN Secretary General could

A child collects bullets from the ground in Rounyn, a village located about 15 km north of Shangil Tobaya, North Darfur.



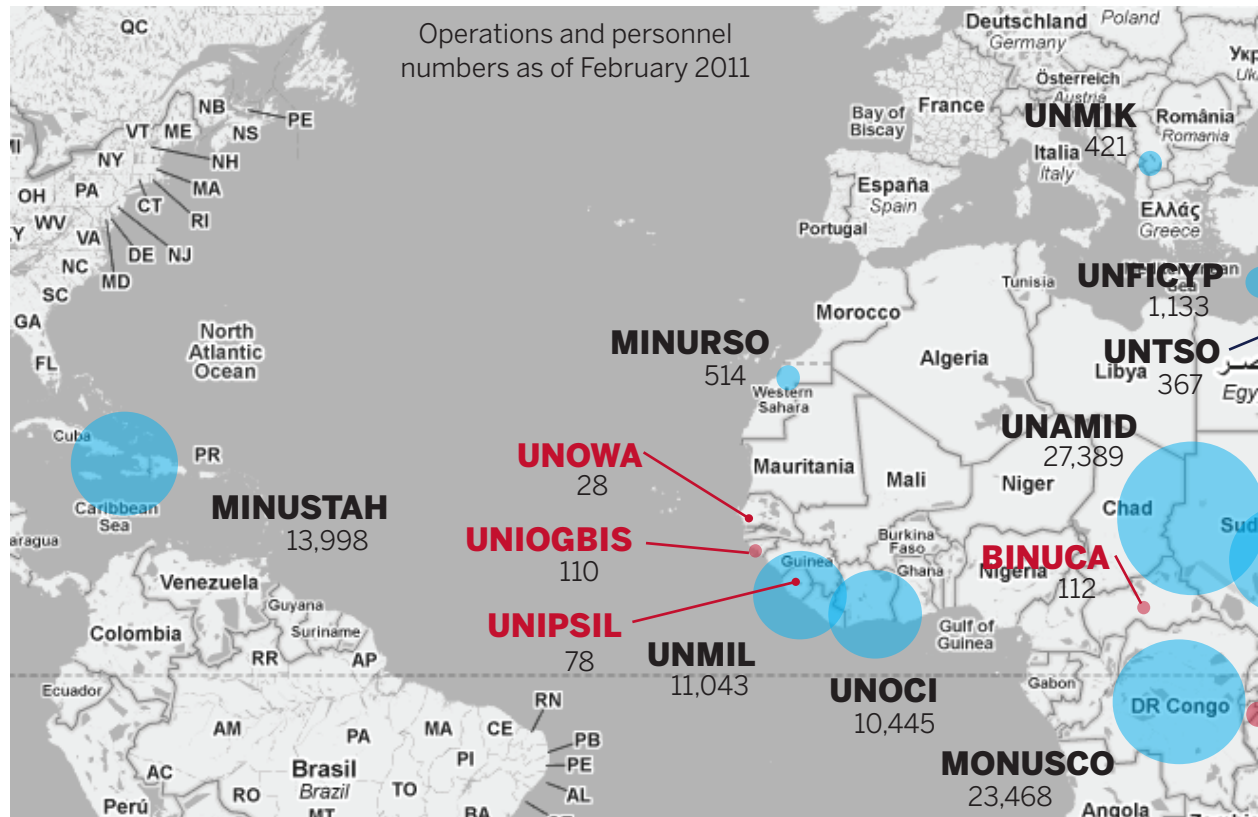
64

United Nations Peacekeeping operations since 1948

\$69 BILLION

Estimated total cost of operations from 1948 to 2010

United Nations Peacekeeping Operations



UN Political and Peacebuilding Missions

work towards a high-profile advocacy campaign modeled on the UN campaign for the MDGs, Climate Change or Women. This campaign should aim to strengthen member states' commitment to supporting actions under Chapter VI, "Peaceful Settlements of Disputes" in order to build on the recent progress already achieved in advancing actions under Chapter VII. The UN can demonstrate the benefits of prevention and convincingly show that preventive engagement works, using hard data and independent evaluation. Working in closer collaboration with member states, the UN can also explain specific preventive actions to alleviate sovereignty concerns. It should enlist a broad spectrum of civil society actors, prominent public and political figures for such efforts.

EFFECTIVE USE OF RESOURCES: Reform of budgeting mechanisms within the UN system can substantially increase the effectiveness of preventive diplomacy efforts by the UN DPA and increase the return on investment for Member States. By agreeing to more flexibility in its funding UN Member States could ensure sufficient and timely funding to the Department of Political Affairs for its preventive action initiatives. Providing increased flexibility in the budget planning phase for the DPA's regular annual budget will ensure faster response times and increased deployment capabilities. In preventive action efforts where the potential for violence exists, rapid response is critical for success. The flexible funding will also provide more value for mon-

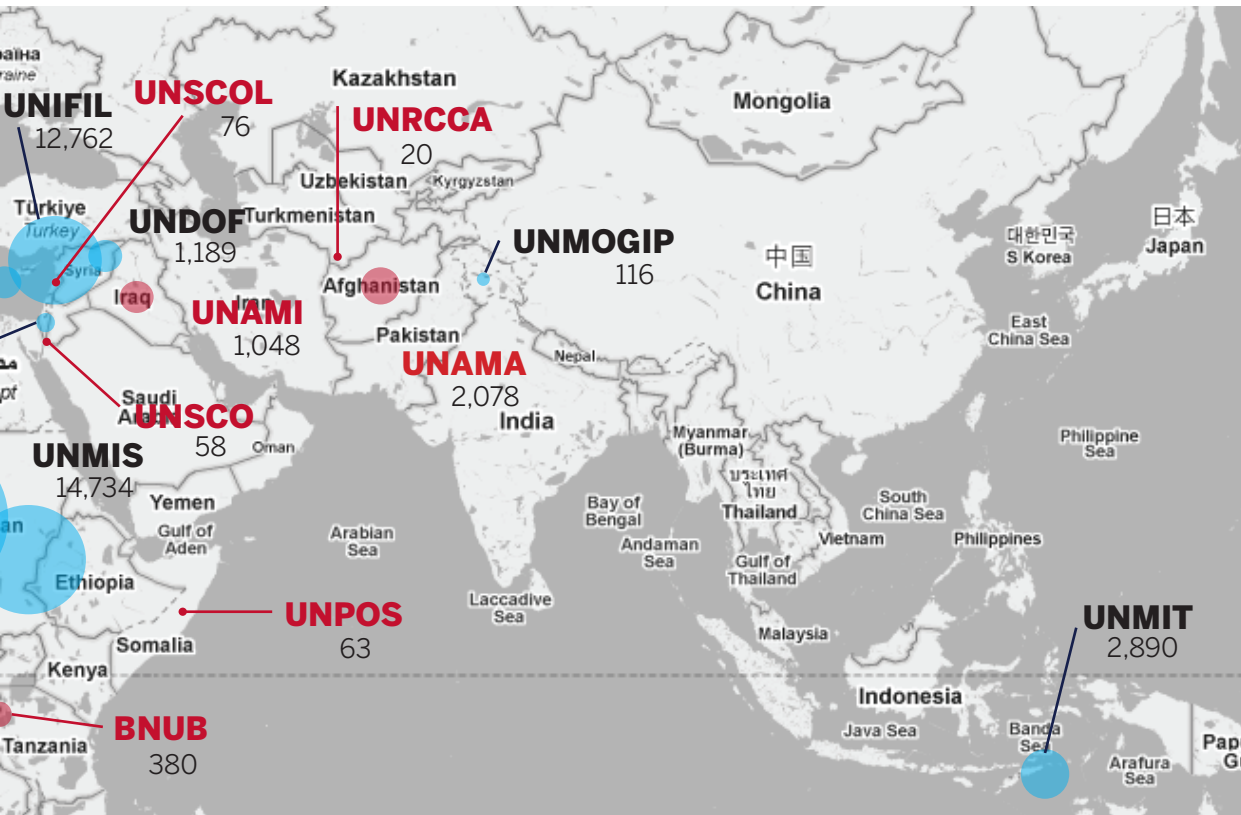
Number of Operations

14

Total Number of Personnel

120,459

Source: UN



2,865

Total number of fatalities in UN peace operations since 1948

Number of Missions

11

Total Number of Personnel

4,046

ey by limiting the outbreak of conflict and by leveraging saved resources from supportive member states that can increase funding for preventive actions in other areas.

Extending the work of the Peacebuilding Commission and Peacebuilding Fund beyond the African Continent can leverage the PBC's extensive capacity and experience to secure developmental progress in other regions of instability. The Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) currently supports peacebuilding efforts in countries emerging from conflict, or at risk of lapsing into conflict. Countries are added to the PBC's agenda based on the convention that countries that have emerged from conflicts in the past five years are at higher risk (about 50%) of falling back into

conflict. This rationale has resulted in a very limited scope for PBC engagement; it has specifically engaged with African countries that have experienced conflict within the past five years: Burundi, Guinea-Bissau, Sierra Leone, and the Central African Republic.

New findings from the World Bank outlined in the World Development Report 2011 highlight the need to revise the commonly accepted definition of a country as "emerging from conflict" or "post-conflict" only during the five years following a particular conflict. The report shows that 90 percent of civil wars in the past decade have occurred in countries which had experienced civil war in the previous 30 years and that "57 percent of all countries that suffered from one civil war during

On March 17, 2011, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon announced a **\$10 million contribution from the PBF** to support efforts to entrench the respect of human rights and strengthen the security and justice systems in Guatemala. “Durable peace, in Guatemala and elsewhere, depends not only on a formal end to military hostilities. It often requires fundamental structural transformations that address the tensions that give rise to conflict in the first place,” Mr. Ban said at the launch of the UN Peacebuilding Fund’s engagement in Guatemala City.

Source: UN

this time period experienced at least one conflict thereafter.” Application of a 30 year timeframe for active involvement of the PBC and PBF to post-conflict countries would mean that countries in regions of instability like Central America and Southeast Asia that are struggling to build capacity and governance long after civil conflict has ended will be able to benefit in a targeted way from the preventive elements of the UN’s peacebuilding work.

A **GENDA SETTING & NETWORKING:** Strengthening the position and influence of regional organizations can contribute significantly to the development and efficiency of regional solutions. The UN SG dialogue with regional organizations must be strengthened by becoming an annual or at least biennial process in the preventive action calendar. At the same time, a parallel process that includes key civil society actors from various regions should also be considered. This will result in a broader ownership of challenges that need to be addressed and deliver the support network to help drive forward the outcomes of the process. Establishing liaison offices between the UN and all regional organizations would help sustain dialogue and increase coordination around the implementation of outcomes. The United Nations Regional Centre for Preventive Diplomacy for Central Asia (UNRCCA) and the United Nations Office for West Africa (UNOWA) are useful models to explore. The liaison offices would also provide the concrete link between the UN, regional organizations and local civil society for improved communications, in-

formation sharing, and coordination of rapid response actions. The UN Security Council should revive the use of “Arria Formula” meetings on specific conflict situations between UN SC Ambassadors and relevant civil society organizations. Since 2001, the SC has held 55 such meetings, but only one meeting was held in 2010. This process will strengthen contacts between civil society and governments and improve information sharing on preventive action.

The establishment of a regularized global conflict prevention calendar with an annual or biennial global conference on preventive action would ensure conceptual and operational progress. The UN can ensure a more robust agenda-setting process by establishing a regularized conflict prevention calendar that includes all the major international, regional and thematic convenings and working groups acting as a review process for conflict prevention. This will result in a more targeted approach to: advancing conceptual and operational elements; helping reduce duplication of events; and improving information sharing and interconnectivity between difference processes.

Regional Organizations

Regional organizations give member states a platform for overcoming traditional and new security threats. Threats such as organized crime, migration flows, climate change, and trafficking are trans-boundary in nature and although they affect member states individually, they can only be tackled effectively in a regional context. A regional approach to challenges has other benefits. Regional cooperation can reduce the cost burden on member states, freeing up resources for other priority areas. Dealing with the destabilizing nature of conflict and insecurity will help bolster progress already made in development, governance and economic cooperation. The investment of political will and resources in regional organizations can also help leverage the influence of the regions, and thereby member states, on the international stage.

Regional cooperation is already a recognized driver of peace and stability. For example, peace and stability has been achieved in Europe through economic integration. In South-east Asia, increased cooperation has miti-

The **UNRCCA** is a vital link between the UN and regional organizations working in Central Asia. It convenes regular meetings and consultations with regional bodies such as the Organization for Security Cooperation in Europe, the Commonwealth of Independent States, and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization to encourage their peacemaking efforts and initiatives, facilitates coordination and information exchange with the UN, and provides the UN Secretary General with up-to-date information related to preventive diplomacy efforts. In 2010, the UNRCCA hosted a successful seminar on “Security and Stability in Central Asia - Interaction with International and Regional Organizations,” as well as facilitated the visit of UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon to Turkmenistan.

The **UNOWA** facilitates systematic and regular linkages between the peace and security work of the UN in West Africa and that of the African Union, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the Mano River Union (MRU). A joint program of work has been established by UNOWA and the ECOWAS Commission to better deal with selected areas related to conflict prevention. It includes support to the ECOWAS Commission in implementing its comprehensive Strategic Conflict Prevention Framework as well as the ECOWAS Protocol related to the mechanisms for conflict prevention. Moreover, UNOWA and MRU have started developing a joint framework for cooperation in areas such as the promotion of violence-free elections, security sector reform, drug trafficking and organized crime, as well as implementation of Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) related to women peace and security. The UN Secretary General reports every six months to the Security Council on the fulfillment of the mandate of UNOWA.

gated the potential for interstate conflict by highlighting interdependence as a necessary driver of development and stability. Recognition of the benefits of cooperation in other areas is highlighted by the increasing number, breadth and complexity of regional treaties and agreements on security cooperation, including conflict prevention approaches. The Inter-American Observatory on Security (established by the OAS in 2006), the AU-founded African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), and the ASEAN Regional

Forum (ARF) draft action plan for preventive diplomacy clearly show that member states recognize the importance of broadening cooperation to the security area. However, while they recognize the importance of embedding these preventive elements in treaties and regional frameworks, member states lack the political will to follow through and ratify and implement many of the agreements.

The Framework Treaty on Democratic Security in Central America is a case in point. Rati-

Sources:
UNRCCA
UNOWA



Regional Organizations: Recognition of Preventive Action



Organization of American States

Preventive Action is well acknowledged in Chapter VI, "the Pacific Settlement of Disputes" in the OAS Charter. Specific peaceful procedures are listed to prevent the outbreak of violent conflict, such as direct negotiation, good offices, mediation, investigation and conciliation, judicial settlement, and arbitration. Moreover, the Inter-American Observatory on Security was established to be the primary source on trends in crime, violence, and judicial systems in countries of the Americas, and draws on official information provided by member state governments and international agencies to establish a conflict free environment.



Association of Southeast Asian Nations

The Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC), the ASEAN Charter, and the ASEAN Regional Forum are the foremost mechanisms for preventive action in Southeast Asia. The TAC and the ASEAN Charter make specific reference to the pacific settlement of disputes, while the ARF is in a transitional phase from confidence building measures to concrete preventive diplomacy mechanisms. Currently, the ARF is drafting an action plan for preventive diplomacy under the auspices of the Singapore Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Moreover, the effectiveness of Track 2 process such as the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP) should not be overlooked, as it provides an informal dialogue mechanism for political and security issues in the region.

Sources:
OAS; ASEAN

fied in 1996, it has yet to be fully implemented. This is a common feature in many regions. The "High Council," mechanism embedded within the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation of ASEAN to peacefully settle disputes in Southeast Asia, has yet to be activated by member states. Accountability mechanisms can help ensure implementation and member state accountability - the European Court of Justice (ECJ) is a good example of this. It is clear that although many states recognize that cooperation on regional security is vital for progress, they do not yet fully grasp either the operational meaning of past agreements or the costs of inaction. Importantly, given the politically sensitive subject area, the lack of recognition often indicates a trust deficit between states. Respect for sovereignty and fear of intervention often inhibit greater cooperation in security and conflict areas. This is a major reason for piecemeal advances in many regions.

The result are capacity and resource constraints that place a ceiling on how much practical benefit regional organizations can provide to members, which is often expressed by member states as a "legitimacy" or "credibility deficit." Member states, however, are incorrect when they argue that there is no practical/operational advantage to an organization with limited capacity to benefit its members. By supporting their respective regional organizations, member states can make them function in more productive ways for all members. For example, targeting ASEAN as a vehicle for regional investments in peace and security can result in increased capacity to support member states' objectives, and in return, help member states recognize the valuable operational role that regional organizations can play. Currently, outside mediators facilitate dialogue in a host of conflicts within Southeast Asia. Mediation is obviously required, and has the support of governments in the region. By launching a mediation training unit within ASEAN, member states can benefit from operational capacity to deal with concrete challenges without ASEAN or other member states becoming directly involved in the internal affairs of sovereign states in the region. This can also provide a framework through which international funds can support the objectives of the region's states.

This process will not require the physical engagement of external donor countries. The United States and Europe can advance their

interest in regional peace and stability by making this type of investment in regional organizations. The EU's investment into the African Union can serve as a model for other regions of instability, such as Central America and Southeast Asia. Although not perfect, the African Peace and Security Architecture was born from this process and is, to date, the most comprehensive and complete regional security framework.

Emerging powers like Brazil, India, Turkey and Indonesia should seize the opportunity to invest political will and resources in their regional organizations. Building political support for regional cooperation on peace and stability will give them a launching pad and higher profile on the international stage, which could lead to earn them much-coveted decision making authority.

Participants recommend:

Member states should recognize the value in regional organizations as an effective way to deal with traditional and non-traditional security threats. Given the interconnected nature of challenges, member states should focus on increasing cooperation in a regional context to increase their capacity to deal with challenges, reduce individual cost burdens and, in the longer term, help ensure development gains. Integration also gives a stronger weight and a more cohesive voice to a regions' profile in the international community.

The United States and European Union can better achieve their security goals, and ensure regional peace and stability by investing security-related resources in capacity building in regional organizations. This will

The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD Centre) has played a significant role in mediation efforts in Southeast Asia since its first projects in Myanmar and Aceh. In 1999, it facilitated the first set of negotiations between Aceh and Indonesia between 2000 – 2003 and played a “good offices” role in Myanmar. Since then, the HD Centre’s mediation work in Southeast Asia has expanded through the establishment of a regional office in Singapore in 2006 and has included projects in Timor Leste, the Philippines, and with ASEAN. The regional office’s purpose is to “develop useful networks and to implement the HD Centre’s strategy to address conflict, strengthen the broader mediation community and reduce the humanitarian consequences of violent conflict through (confidential and public) projects.”

help these bodies overcome significant financial and operational challenges, and will enable them to provide practical benefits to member states in functional areas such as mediation training, for example. The EU-AU Joint partnership and the creation of the African Peace Facility is a model worth examining for application in other regions.

The United Nations must strengthen its work with regional organizations to improve coordination and information-sharing, as well to establish political interest and capacity in using a preventive approach to tackle existing and potential challenges. The UN Regional Centre for Preventive Diplomacy for Central Asia (UNRCCA) and the new UN Office for West Africa (UNOWA) have both proved valuable for building on-the-ground networks and sustaining dialogue. The UN Secretary-

Sources:
HD Centre;
Elsina Wainwright,
*Conflict Prevention
in Southeast Asia
and the South
Pacific*, NYU Center
on International
Cooperation, April
2010



The EU has invested €1 billion in the **African Peace and Security Architecture** (APSA), which has supported the development and implementation of the trilateral AU-Regional Economic Communities (RECs)-EU roadmap on the full operationalization of APSA; progress towards the operationalization of the African Standby Force; EU support to coherent AU-RECs agenda on African training centers; operationalization of the Continental Early Warning System; additional financial support to African-led Peace Support Operations; establishment of an AU strategy on Small Arms and Light Weapons; EU support for the first Pan-African initiative on the control of illicit arms trafficking.

Source: Africa-EU Strategic Partnership

If the EU and U.S. collaborated, or at least cooperated more substantively on preventive action, both regions could gain political benefits and cost savings.

General and Regional Organization Secretary Generals should continue to strengthen their dialogue by establishing an annual or biennial process. Regular meetings between regional organizations and the UN DPA, PBF, and the UNDP-BCPR should be established and maintained. Lessons should be taken from the ASEAN-DPA conference on conflict prevention which ceased in 2007 because of a lack of concrete results. The ASEAN-DPA annual seminar should be restarted with a clearly articulated purpose to go beyond dialogue towards trust-building and the collection and dissemination of lessons learned and best practices.

Regional organizations must strengthen relations among themselves to share lessons learnt and best practices, particularly those applicable to other regions. An annual meeting between the prevention departments of key regional and sub-regional organizations, which includes civil society, should be institutionalized to promote information sharing and the transfer of lessons learned and best practices. This process could be taken up by a different regional organization each year, which alternate in chairing the process and providing the meeting facilities.

Europe and the United States

There is a notable gap in the transatlantic relationship: Given the EU and U.S.'s common security interests and values, cooperation on preventive action should be an inherent part of the transatlantic strategic partnership, but currently this is not the case. While there have been pragmatic steps towards cooperation in the field, more strategic cooperation on conflict prevention is lacking, which leads to duplication of efforts, wasted time and resources. The EU and the U.S. should incorporate prevention into their regular political discussions, and establish a priority list of fields for joint/coordinated action.

Each region has made progress on conflict prevention independently. The EU and U.S. have undertaken initiatives in separate silos, as policies are developed in the context of national politics – a process that is rarely a shared or cooperative affair.

The U.S. and the EU, including its member states, are the two largest investors in preventive action. According to a 2007 OECD declassified report on prevention spending, the U.S. spent \$317.3 million and the European Commission and EU member states spent a total of \$208.3 million on civilian peacebuilding, conflict prevention and resolution – these figures do not include UK spending in these areas. They have the necessary experience and capacity to effect change in political processes and catalyze real change on the ground around the world. Both regions have highly developed peace and security architectures that continue to be developed and strengthened. To a large extent, both regions have institutionalized prevention as a policy priority, as highlighted by ongoing major reform processes:

- In the U.S., the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR) has elevated conflict prevention to a “core mission” of U.S. foreign policy. It also upgraded the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS) into a bureau within the State Department with a more robust mandate than its predecessor.
- In Europe, conflict prevention was placed at the heart of the newly-established European External Action Service (EEAS), building on ten years of progress toward the Gothenburg Program. The EEAS streamlines political authority under the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, and has an operating budget of €460 million. The EU's Instrument for Stability allocates more than €2 billion (from 2007-2013) to conflict prevention, which funds crisis response and preparedness, as well as the EU's extensive rapid response capacity, including 13 ongoing and 11 completed Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) missions.

If the EU and U.S. collaborated, or at least cooperated more substantively on preventive action both regions could gain political benefits and cost savings. To do this, decision makers in both regions must overcome bureaucratic inertia and a palpable trust deficit, in order to bridge the fundamental gap between Brussels and Washington D.C. when it comes to political agenda-setting around preventive action.

USA Total Defense
Expenditure 2009
\$739 BILLION

“This year’s total International Affairs budget request of \$58.5 billion is a fraction of a fraction, just 1.4 per cent of the overall budget of our country. We are discussing just one-sixteenth of our National Security budget, and compare that with the 2011 Defense budget of \$708 billion. It is clear, at least to this senator, that our foreign policy is somewhat out of balance.”

JOHN KERRY
CHAIRMAN OF THE U.S. SENATE
FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

2005: \$602 BILLION

EU Total Defense
Expenditure 2009
\$288 BILLION

* Australia, Canada, Iceland, Japan, South Korea, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway and Turkey in addition to USA and EU (excluding Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania and Bulgaria)

OECD members*
combined budget
dedicated to
civilian peacebuilding,
conflict prevention and
resolution in 2005
\$593 MILLION

2005: \$286 BILLION

Sources: European Defence Agency; OECD

Note: Figures for 2009 are not available, as the OECD did not publish an assessment of preventive spending that year. This is precisely the kind of data that would help support the case for preventive action and increase transparency.

According to a 2007 OECD declassified report on prevention spending, the U.S. spent \$317.3 million and the European Commission and EU member states spent a total of \$208.3 million on civilian peacebuilding, conflict prevention and resolution.

In light of strained resources, the EU and U.S. must think creatively and proactively about how to best use existing resources in the prevention of violent conflict. But progress need not be difficult if they focus on functional areas of cooperation on preventive action, including strengthening and advancing global institutions that benefit conflict prevention, such as the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP), the International Criminal Court (ICC), and the Kimberley Process. Increasing collaboration on preventive action between the EU and U.S. could have a significant impact and serve as a catalyst for positive changes in other areas of their relationship.

Participants recommend:

The EU and the U.S. should establish a joint working group on conflict issues within EU-U.S. Summit. The group's primary goal should be to give preventive action backing of the political leadership and set strategic priorities for common action and investment in prevention in regional and operational contexts. The Crisis Prevention Pillar of the EU-U.S. Summit already provides for the establishment of cooperation on preventive action. In order to strengthen the the operational cooperation needed to deliver the political objectives of non-military, preventive approaches, a number of specific actions and agenda items should form the basis of the joint working group. The working group should be run by officials and experts in both regions with similar rank and authority (multiple levels from Directors down). The working group should include military and development representatives as full partners in the process, and should, if possible, include an equivalent observer team from NATO. To be effective, the working group's recommendations must be backed up with the requisite funding from each region. The working group should be structured along the following lines:

- **Pillar 1 – Policy Coordination, Benchmarking and Evaluation:** This pillar should work to advance common policies on a range of areas such as dealing with weak and fragile states, early warning, conflict analysis frameworks, and genocide prevention. It should advance functional areas of cooperation on preventive action, such as strengthening global institutions that have benefit for conflict

prevention, including the Responsibility to Protect, the International Criminal Court, the Kimberley Process, or on the small arms trade. As a starting point, this pillar should commission a joint strategic review on state fragility and conflict, and complete a full joint organizational assessment highlighting the capacity and resources available for preventive action.

- **Pillar 2 – Response Planning & Field Cooperation:** One main inhibitor of implementing preventive actions on the ground is the lack of cooperation between the EU and U.S. in operation planning stages. Clarity on who has what capacity and resources is essential as noted above. But building on that, it is critical to define the triggers and sequencing of events and actions – whether it is deployment of diplomats, civilian personnel or mediators. The EU and U.S. fall short on communication and coordination from the outset. Given the broad political agreement between the EU and U.S. on overall strategic interests and need for peace and stability, that alone should be sufficient incentive for overcoming the bureaucratic inertia on cooperation. This pillar should focus on identifying areas for collaboration, dividing responsibilities, and distinguishing what actions can be taken by whom, how and in what sequence. It should also determine how other resources, like civil society and the corporate sector, can be mobilized and brought into the process. This pillar can help form agreements on matters such as deployment or in some cases coordination of Special Envoys or at least institutionalizing communications between them. By enhancing field level cooperation through joint actions on the ground the practical benefits will highlight advantages to political decision makers – ultimately strengthening the case for deeper cooperation.

领导人第二次会晤 Leaders Meeting

中国 三亚 14 April 2011 Sanya China



Emerging Powers

Collectively the BRIC countries – Brazil, Russia, India and China – top a list of emerging powers that are gaining political influence and responsibility in global decision making. They, along with countries like Indonesia, Turkey, Argentina, South Africa, Egypt, Nigeria, and Mexico, bring untapped political will, resources, and real regional influence to the conflict prevention agenda.

With their growing presence, these countries are needed to advance conflict prevention and, more specifically, preventive action to increase regional peace and stability, and bring new approaches to what has traditionally been considered a “Western-driven agenda.” With their fresh perspective and deep knowledge of specific regions, they can help dispel the idea that preventive action necessarily undermines sovereignty and or principles of non-intervention.

Notably, many potential and existing conflicts mainly fall within the regional sphere of influence of the emerging powers. While many policy makers recognize this, there are

not enough efforts being made to advance preventive approaches in a regional context. A few examples from emerging powers highlight the potential of a preventive approach, and should be used to demonstrate the cost-benefits of prevention. Indonesia has bolstered ASEAN's and its own international profile with China and the U.S. through its role in the Thailand-Cambodia border crisis over the Preah Vihear Temple. It has also helped to advance intra-regional mediation as an effective tool to help resolve crisis situations, using existing mechanisms within the ASEAN Charter and the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation to draw member states into the mediation process. Brazil and Turkey's recent diplomatic endeavors on the nuclear fuel swap with Iran show a growing capacity and political interest in influencing regional stability.

Yet prevention is not a political priority for the emerging powers. This is hardly surprising, since the tendency for the entire international community is to focus attention and resources on the urgency of actual or post-conflict situations while ignoring opportunities to prevent conflict. China, which once criticized UN peacekeeping operations for interfering with national sovereignty, is now a

The BRICS
leaders at the
2011 BRICS
summit in
Sanya, China,
April 14, 2011

Russian helicopters participate in UNMIS operations

If emerging powers become champions of preventive action, they will influence conceptual and operational advances more in line with their own perspectives.



major troop contributor to the UN; in 2011, its financial contribution to the UN peacekeeping budget will reach \$300 million. Brazil has received many plaudits for its leading role in the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti. Russia participates in ten UN peacekeeping operations and is the biggest supplier of goods and services to peacekeeping missions. Its helicopter units support UN missions in Sudan, Chad, and the Central African Republic, and it is a donor to the Peacebuilding Fund.

If emerging powers become champions of preventive action, they will influence conceptual and operational advances more in line with their own perspectives. This process has already begun. In 2010, two debates on conflict prevention in the UN Security Council were instigated and led by developing nations, and in 2011 the Council includes four growing powers, Brazil, India, Nigeria and South Africa. The UN SG will deliver a report on conflict prevention in July 2011, and the UN SC debate offers an opportunity to prioritize preventive action at the UN.

Participants recommend:

Emerging powers should make prevention a policy priority. To enhance the UN's capacity for preventive diplomacy and reduce the cost of their engagement, emerging powers

should help shift political will and resources for conflict prevention away from costly peacekeeping operations (UN Chapter VII of the UN Charter) towards more cost effective preventive diplomacy action (Chapter VI of the UN Charter). By dedicating more diplomats and experts to UN political missions emerging powers will help strengthen the UN's preventive work. In 2010, China, for example had only one diplomat and Brazil four on political missions – this is compared to the U.S. with 78, UK 48, France 32 and Russia with 17.

Emerging powers must clearly articulate their framework for and understanding of conflict prevention through a review process similar to the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review(QDDR) in the U.S. and the Gothenburg process in the EU. This assessment should highlight their capacities, resources, and interests in preventive action and show opportunities for collaboration with Europe and the United States to improve resource use. To get the ball rolling, emerging powers should encourage their think tanks and university departments to target preventive action as a policy research and advocacy field, and allow these institutions to work closely with other regional centers on information sharing and conceptual development of prevention.

Emerging powers must take advantage of their increased presence on the UN Security Council in 2011 to advocate for stronger preventive action mechanisms and their implementation. This will also enhance their role in international decision making. Four key emerging powers – Brazil, India, South Africa, and Nigeria – will have seats at the UN SC in 2011, which gives the developing world a chance to have a stronger collective voice at the UN and shape developments in the preventive action agenda. Nigeria's preparation and leadership of the Security Council debate on prevention in 2010 is a good example of how to strengthen the policy commitment to prevention and to define benchmarks for the future.

Emerging powers should strengthen the existing international and regional preventive action and peace-building architecture, advocate for the advancement of existing mechanisms and develop new strategies to advance the conflict prevention agenda. Bolstering regional organizations can provide a powerful platform for realizing collective security priorities and ensuring regional peace and stability. It will also help emerging powers to increase their international profile and legitimacy as credible security actors. Indonesia, for example, has much more influence as a member of ASEAN in Southeast Asia than it does as a member of the UN.

Emerging powers should become the champions of preventive action by funding and establishing an international panel on conflict prevention and security. By being proactive and at the forefront of preventive action policy discourse, emerging powers could attain much coveted international decision making authority. Ultimately working on a higher structural level, such a panel could facilitate the development of new approaches and capacity to deal with medium, long-term and new threats and challenges while making recommendations on the organizational and budgetary requirements to implement the recommendations and improve the situation at the national, regional and international levels.

Emerging powers should make more use of informal processes including Track II initiatives to get beyond politically sensitive issues commonly associated with conflict prevention. Engaging in informal processes will help build trust and lay the groundwork for emerging powers to influence and shape conceptual and operational development in the conflict prevention agenda in a more targeted and influential way. One model that could be looked at is the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP). Such a process could be used to produce regular joint assessment reports on the emerging powers' collective view of international security challenges and decision-making. Their actions should be written as a means of advocating for change. Furthermore, this forum could invite representatives from the United States, Europe, to have a complete range of perspectives to advance the effectiveness of international institutions.

“...to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest...”

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