



UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE

PREVENTION

PREVENTION NEWSLETTER

MAY 2011

MISSION

The USIP's Center for Conflict Management (CCM) designs and manages the Institute's efforts to *prevent* the initial outbreak of violent conflict, *resolve* ongoing conflicts, and *stabilize* areas emerging from conflict. The Center also conducts research, identifies best practices, and develops new tools for conflict prevention, management, and resolution.

CALENDAR

The UN Special Tribunal for Lebanon is expected to finalize and issue indictments in the coming weeks.

May 4: USIP Public Event: "Democratic Change and Conflict in the Arab World: Implications, Challenges and Opportunities".

May 5: USIP Public Event: "To Give or Not to Give: What's Driving the Current Deliberations on DPRK Food Aid?"

May 8: First Round Presidential Elections in Chad.

May 12-13: CCM's Korea Working Group convenes the 1st Seoul Nuclear Security Summit Study Group workshop with U.S. and ROK policy and technical experts in Seoul, Korea.

May 20: USIP Public Event: "Launch of the Asia Society's Pakistan 2020 Report".

June 1: USIP Annual Conference on "Preventing Violent Conflict".

June 7-8: Africa Growth and Opportunity Act Forum, Lusaka, Zambia.

United States Institute of Peace • www.usip.org • Tel. 202.457.1700 • Fax. 202.429.6063

Dear Colleagues,

In authorizing the international military intervention in Libya, the United Nations Security Council invoked the "Responsibility to Protect (R2P)" principle in its resolution 1973 adopted on 17 March 2011. On the political level, this is a historic development. It demonstrates that the Security Council can act swiftly and decisively where action is needed, and that governments can muster the political will and military strength to fulfill their responsibilities, including the protection of civilians. You will recall that in 1999 NATO took action to halt "ethnic cleansing" in Kosovo, without seeking Security Council endorsement because it was assumed that any authorizing resolution would be vetoed.

An equally significant breakthrough on the conceptual level five years ago, paved the way for the Security Council's action on Libya. In 2005, a decade after the genocides in Rwanda and Srebrenica, all UN Member States accepted their responsibility to protect their own populations from genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing. They also expressed their readiness to take collective action, in a timely and decisive manner, through the Security Council, when peaceful means are inadequate and national authorities manifestly fail to protect their own populations.

However, we should not delude ourselves into thinking that the Security Council will always act in a consistent manner when confronted with a crisis of this kind. One of the most common criticisms of the Security Council's action on Libya is that R2P is being implemented selectively and with double standards. But the perfect application of a principle has not yet been attained in an imperfect world, and because the international community might not act everywhere, does not mean it should act nowhere. The UN reflects the realities of world politics, with its possibilities and limits, its convergences and differences.

The intervention in Libya has provided new impetus for the Center for Conflict Management's ongoing work on the prevention of violent conflict and mass atrocities. Our work on R2P focuses on clarifying the scope of the principle, assessing how it has worked in practice in relevant cases, and understanding the conceptual, institutional and political challenges facing its implementation. The Genocide Prevention Working Group serves as a regular forum for U.S. government officials and non-governmental experts to focus on specific issues related to genocide prevention and response, and to explore policy options.

Abiodun Williams
Vice President
Center for Conflict Management



SPOTLIGHT

Côte d'Ivoire



President Alassane Ouattara during his inauguration ceremony in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, 4 December 2010.

<http://www.america.gov/st/democracyhr-french/2010/December/20101207145543x0.7079737.html?CP.rss=true>
Source: America.gov

The electoral stalemate in Côte d'Ivoire, in which both the sitting president, Laurent Gbagbo, and the challenger and internationally-recognized winner, Alassane Ouattara, claimed victory, generated a wave of violence as supporters of each candidate clashed violently. Diplomatic efforts at mediation and international imposition of sanctions, though imposing some costs on Gbagbo, did not succeed in dislodging him. Starting on March 28, pro-Ouattara forces swept through the country, drawing in the assistance of French and UN troops, to force Gbagbo to concede. After several days of pitched battle in Abidjan, Gbagbo was arrested in his residence on April 11 by pro-Ouattara forces. The nearly five months of postelection violence claimed approximately 1,500 lives and displaced more than one million people. In Côte d'Ivoire, the task of governing and building peace will require meaningful efforts at social and political reconciliation, credible transitional justice processes, and a comprehensive program of disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR).

Governing would have been difficult regardless of who won the run-off presidential election on November 28. With nearly 46 percent of the votes going to Gbagbo and 54.1 percent going to Ouattara, the electorate was clearly split, reflecting longstanding regional and ethnic divisions. Before the election, Ouattara had proposed a unity government—this may be even more essential now given the violence of the last several months and the likely exacerbation of social, political, and cultural divisions. Moreover, social reconciliation is imperative if the internally displaced are to feel safe enough to return to their homes and if Ivoirians of different backgrounds are to feel secure that they will not be harmed in violent reprisals. In fostering social reconciliation, civil society organizations, in partnership with international and regional institutions, have a critical role to play.

Those responsible for the deaths of nearly 1,500 people must face justice. This includes both pro-Ouattara and pro-Gbagbo supporters. Without such an even-handed approach, transitional justice processes will not be credible and may sow the seeds for violent reprisals if people do not feel that their grievances have been redressed.

A comprehensive DDR program is also needed. Côte d'Ivoire's DDR program was never sufficiently implemented. At the time of the elections, the Forces Nouvelles rebels that launched the civil war in 2002, remained intact and in control of northern Côte d'Ivoire. Gbagbo's Young Patriot militia and other militia in Côte d'Ivoire were also not disarmed. This made the resort to violence easier and maintained a level of insecurity throughout the country. Successfully building peace will require not just disarmament and demobilization, but a meaningful reintegration program to dissuade former militia from re-arming.

The Ivoirian electoral crisis also has implications for Africa and the international community as a whole. For Africa and its institutions, the events in Côte d'Ivoire underline the need to devise incentives to prevent the use of violence in the settlement of electoral disputes and encourage the losers of elections to step aside. More broadly, the use of force by France and the U.N. to speed Gbagbo's concession—even if under the premise of protecting civilian lives—should be carefully examined. Under what conditions should outside militaries intervene to resolve domestic electoral disputes? These issues are all the more important because of critical elections in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Tunisia, Egypt, Kenya, and Zimbabwe, which are scheduled to take place over the next two years.



OVER THE HORIZON— HIGHLIGHTS

Pakistan

The episode involving Raymond Davis, a U.S. contractor who shot and killed two Pakistanis, has predictably taken its toll on U.S.-Pakistan relations. Davis was released after a long drawn out saga, but the episode has left the Pakistani establishment frustrated and resentful. The feeling is much the same in Washington. While efforts are underway to mend relations, fresh developments such as a U.S. administration report to Congress which was pessimistic about Pakistan's ability to tame the Taliban-led militancy elicited a strong reaction from Pakistan. Looking ahead, one can be sure that bilateral ties will remain rocky; neither side wants a rupture, but persistent divergence of strategic interests on Afghanistan and India will continue to present periodic challenges. High-level bilateral talks and dialogues, which were suspended due to the Davis affair, must be reinitiated at the soonest to allow the relationship to get back on track. Efforts are already underway to achieve this.

Perhaps most critical for both sides in the medium term will be how their positions match up on the 'end-game' in Afghanistan. Visible differences exist at present, and despite efforts, the two sides often misperceive each other's concerns and strategies. USIP's Pakistan program is seeking to improve the policy understanding on the Afghanistan question in both countries. To better comprehend Pakistani perceptions, the program has initiated a joint project with the Jinnah Institute, a Pakistani think tank. The project aims to assess the views of relevant Pakistani opinion makers on the evolving situation in Afghanistan and Pakistan's potential position and role within it. A series of roundtable sessions, involving over 50 Pakistani experts was conducted in Islamabad, Peshawar, Lahore, and Karachi during March. A report capturing the essence of these discussions—a reflection of the outlook of a broad spectrum of Pakistani opinion makers—will be published.

Korean Peninsula

Amid reports of growing food shortages in North Korea, Pyongyang appealed to foreign governments and NGOs this spring in an effort to secure food aid. The South Korean government's assessment is that the DPRK regime is hoarding food supplies in order to distribute them to the people in celebration of unveiling the country as a "strong and prosperous nation" in 2012. The U.S. government has received a UN World Food Programme report and is expected to announce its decision on food aid after its internal review. In previous periods, despite many governments' firm statements that food aid was a humanitarian issue and would not be linked to political considerations, food aid shipments usually led to a breakthrough in stalled negotiations with the North Koreans.

What is different this time is the higher bar set by Seoul, in close coordination with Washington, in the aftermath of DPRK provocations against South Korea in 2010. At present, a key condition for the resumption of the deadlocked Six-Party Talks is an improvement in inter-Korean relations, which, in turn, is dependent on Pyongyang apologizing to Seoul for the March 2010 sinking of a ROK warship. With the DPRK adamant that it was not responsible for the sinking, the overall deadlock is likely to continue.

“The episode involving Raymond Davis has predictably taken its toll on U.S.–Pakistan relations.”



“Despite supporting popular protests in neighboring countries, the Iranian government continues to clamp down on dissidents at home.”

Iran

Turmoil in the Middle East and North Africa has heightened a perceived Iranian threat among the Gulf States. Officials from Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Kuwait, Jordan, and most recently Lebanon, have criticized Iran for meddling in their internal affairs. Tehran has publicly expressed support for popular movements in the region, attributing them to an “Islamic Awakening” stemming from the 1979 Iranian Revolution. But Iranian officials have denied allegations that Tehran is fueling sectarian divides. President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad accused the United States and Israel for trying to create conflict between Iran and its Arab neighbors. Libya posed a particular dilemma for Tehran as it tried to balance support for the Libyan rebels while criticizing a NATO-led intervention meant to help the rebels. Iran maintains a generally principled opposition to foreign intervention in the region, even if beneficial to Iranian interests.

Despite supporting popular protests in neighboring countries, the Iranian government continues to clamp down on political dissidents at home. The opposition Green Movement is facing a challenge as its most vocal leaders, Mir Hossein Mousavi and Mehdi Karroubi, along with their wives Zahra Rahnava and Fatemeh Karroubi, have been kept under house arrest since February.

Lebanon

More than two months after his appointment by President Michel Suleiman, Prime Minister-designate Najib Miqati has yet to form a new government. The opposition March 14th bloc, led by caretaker Prime Minister Saad Hariri, has decided against participation in a consensus government, opting to stake its position as the primary opposition bloc. As a result, the new government is expected to be a “majoritarian” government, comprised of both technocrats and politicians from the Hezbollah-allied March 8th alliance. At this time, cabinet formation remains obstructed by wrangling for key portfolios by key members of the March 8th bloc, in particular General Michel Aoun, leader of the Free Patriotic Movement, who is insisting on his party holding the Interior ministry portfolio.

Meanwhile, the impact of Arab world uprisings has reverberated inside Lebanon in a variety of ways. In particular, an anti-sectarian movement seeking to dismantle Lebanon’s confessional system has started to take root, holding weekly rallies that have attracted thousands of demonstrators. Unrest in neighboring Syria has also had an impact inside Lebanon, as various actors take positions either in support of the Syrian protests or seeking to downplay any threat to the Assad regime.

World Development Report 2011

On April 11, the World Bank released its long-anticipated *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development*. The report focuses on the unique development challenges faced by countries experiencing repeated cycles of violence and fragility—home to some 1.5 billion people. The first of the report’s four-tracks of recommendations for adapting international assistance is, “Providing specialized assistance for prevention through citizen security, justice and jobs.” The Bank’s emphasis on violence prevention adds deep analysis and the voice of an international financial institution to the growing list of governments and multilateral organizations that have explicitly stated that preventing violent conflict is an important objective. This year’s report involved unprecedented amounts of outreach and consultation with individuals and organizations across the globe; it is likely to be the basis





for many conversations and debates about conflict and development issues in the months to come.

Kenya

On April 7-8, the six people accused of organizing the post-electoral violence in Kenya in 2007 appeared before the International Criminal Court (ICC). The suspects were: (suspended) Cabinet minister William Ruto, former Industrialization minister Henry Kosgey, Radio KASS FM broadcaster Joshua arap Sang, deputy Prime Minister Uhuru Kenyatta, Civil Service Head Francis Muthaura, and Postmaster General Hussein Ali. The trials are expected to begin on September 1 for Ruto, Kosgey, and Sang; the cases for the remaining three will be heard on September 21.

The appearance at The Hague of the men who have come to be referred to as the “Ocampo six” helps to remove the impunity that has encouraged the use of violence in all of Kenya’s elections. Equally important, the trial of the “Ocampo six” also sends a message to the continent at large, where 20–25 percent of all elections will experience intense violence, that deciding political issues through the use of force will not be tolerated.

Nigeria

The 2011 elections were critical for Nigeria, as its institutions had to overcome a history of fraud, incompetence, violence, and general voter disenfranchisement. USIP has been working with the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding–Nigeria (WANEP-Nigeria), a network of 450 civil society organizations, to contribute toward peaceful elections in Nigeria. In a follow-up to a USIP-supported training workshop last November, from March 14-15, USIP and WANEP-Nigeria organized a consultation of civil society organizations from Jos (Plateau State), national-level Nigerian civil society organizations, and representatives from the Economic Community of West African States to discuss final preparations for reducing electoral violence. Jos, the site of intense sectarian violence, recorded more than 400 deaths from last December until last March. At the workshop, the civil society organizations formed a “Coalition for Non-Violent Elections in Jos,” aiming to reach out to 16 youth organizations, given the dominance of youth in perpetrating violence. In contrast to other areas in Nigeria, the voting in Jos was orderly, with adequate security in place.

The 2011 elections were better managed than those of 2007, but far from perfect. Muhammadu Buhari refused to accept his loss to incumbent president, Goodluck Jonathan, resulting in violent clashes between their supporters. A Nigerian civil society organization claims that 500 people have died in postelection violence – mainly in northern Nigeria. The violence in Nigeria points to the challenges of instituting credible sanctions against using violence to settle electoral disputes and ensuring that losing candidates accept the results.



The International Criminal Court (ICC) logo

WORKING GROUPS

- On March 10, the **Korea Working Group** convened the 4th USIP-KINU Washington Workshop, which assessed different approaches to dealing with the current state of North Korea. KINU, the Korea Institute for National Unification, is the ROK Ministry of Unification’s think tank. Dr. Suh Jae-Jean, KINU president, led the ROK government delegation. Ambassador Sung Kim, U.S. Special Envoy for the Six-Party Talks, delivered the keynote address. The KWG has moved forward with its “Seoul Nuclear

PUBLICATIONS

- "Shimon Peres Visits Washington" *USIP On the Issues* by Lucy Kurtzer-Ellenbogen and Scott Lasensky, April 2011.
- "The Need to Pursue Mutual Interests in U.S.-PRC Relations" *USIP Special Report* by Thomas Christensen, 8 April 2011.
- "Long-term Peace in Côte D'Ivoire after Gbagbo?" *USIP News Feature* by Raymond Gilpin and Dorina Bekoe, April 2011.
- "China's North Korea Policy: Assessing Interests and Influences" *USIP Peace Brief* by Bates Gill, April 2011.
- "The United Nations in Libya" *USIP On the Issues* by Abiodun Williams, April 2011.
- "Impact of Arab Uprisings" *USIP On the Issues* by Mona Yacoubian, April 2011.
- "US-Pakistan Relations" *USIP On the Issues* by Moeed Yusuf, April 2011.
- "Concerns Grow over Côte D'Ivoire" *USIP On the Issues* by Dorina Bekoe, March 2011.
- "Libya, Genocide Prevention, and the Responsibility to Protect" *USIP On the Issues* by Lawrence Woocher, March 2011.
- o "Upheaval in Syria" *USIP On the Issues* by Scott Lasensky, March 2011.
- "Libya: Preventing Violence Against Citizens" *USIP On the Issues* by Lawrence Woocher, March 2011.
- "Libya and the Responsibility to Protect" *USIP On the Issues* by Jonas Claes, March 2011.

UNITED STATES
INSTITUTE OF PEACE

2301 Constitution Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20037
202.457.1700

www.usip.org

USIP provides the analysis, training and tools that prevent and end conflicts, promotes stability and professionalizes the field of peacebuilding.

For media inquiries, contact the office of Public Affairs and Communications, 202.429.4725

Security Summit Study Group" (SNS3G) activities, which is an initiative co-led by USIP, CSIS and Harvard. The ROK counterpart is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade's think tank. The 1st SNS3G workshop will take place in Seoul, May 12-13.

- **The Lebanon Working Group (LWG)** continues to monitor developments inside Lebanon closely. In particular, the Working Group will likely sponsor a public panel discussion following the issuance of indictments to explore their implications. The Working Group also continues its outreach to the Hill, particularly as new staff grapple with questions regarding U.S. assistance to Lebanon in light of its new government. In conjunction with a conference sponsored by the House Democracy Partnership, the Lebanon Working Group hosted two distinguished Lebanese parliamentarians, Robert Ghanem and Ghassan Moukheiber, on April 1st.
- USIP's **Kenya Working Group's** next meeting will take place on May 4; it will discuss the ICC process and other aspects of transitional justice that are underway in Kenya.