



Conflict Early Warning System for Sudan

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PREFACE

Eltayeb Haj Ateya and Dominique Wisler

Conflicts are preventable. They are not a fatality. A conflict is in fact announced early by a multitude of converging signals. These signals may not be visible to all of us. But the expert knows very well how to recognize them. He has developed the tools to help him; he calls these tools “Early Warning Systems” (EWS). Through the study of the repetition of some specific events, incidents or public declarations, and their sedimentation in specific patterns, he is indeed able to measure – on a conflict Richter scale so to speak –, with the precision of the geologist, these small political quakes that he believes announce the imminence of a major political seism, a violent conflict or, perhaps, a new war.

Since the beginning of the millennium, the African continent multiplies the initiatives to set in place modern Early Warning Systems. These Early Warning Systems allow anticipating the occurrence of natural or man-made catastrophes, be it in the health sector, in the access to natural resources, or in the political realm. Regional mechanisms have recently seen the light. One can name among others the Conflict Early Warning and Response (CEWARN) mechanism for East Africa and the West Africa Network for Peace building (WANEP) initiative in West Africa. At the level of Africa, the African Union is currently working on the establishment of an integrated continental Early Warning System.

It is with the motto “conflict are preventable, peace is sustainable” that a two day international public conference on conflict Early Warning Systems was organized by the University of Khartoum (Peace Research Institute) in the Sudanese national capital, Khartoum. The Conference could take place on the 11th and 12th of April 2006 at the prestigious Friendship Hall thanks to the financial support of Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and UNDP. The ultimate objective of the organisers was to facilitate a Sudanese-led debate on the appropriateness, specifications and institutional arrangements of a future EWS for conflict prevention in Sudan. Sudan is a signatory of the protocol creating the CEWARN mechanism. The

successful conclusion of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement on January 9th 2005 has opened the door to the revival of a national discussion over the institutionalization of a conflict prevention mechanism in Sudan.

The Conference was attended by over 150 invited participants with a broad representation of various ministries of the national government, interested organisations of civil society, experts from the main Khartoum-based universities, as well as representatives of international organisations and embassies.

The lively debates were articulated around 6 successive sessions with a total of 12 international, regional and national speakers, and a final round table. The conference was formally opened by welcoming speeches from high officials, including Minister of State Ahmed Mohammed Harun (Ministry for Humanitarian Affairs), the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Khartoum, and the Country Director a.i. of UNDP, Henri Morand.

Several contributions discussed the current experiences with EWS in the Horn of Africa. The overall CEWARN mechanism was presented by Bethlehem Abebe, from the its Secretariat in Addis Ababa, while case studies of application of the mechanism in Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan were discussed by respectively Bizusew Mersha Ashagrie, Leonard Onyonyi, and Ambassador Mohammed Ahmed Abdelghaffar. Reflecting on the experiences in the Horn of Africa, Ivan Campbell, head of the Saferworld Africa Programme, offered a methodological critic of EWS exclusively based on an event analyses approach and pleaded for the systematic inclusion of more structural causes of conflicts.

Generic forms of EWS were presented by three speakers. The FAST international early warning system was introduced by the director of SwissPeace, Heinz Krummenacher. The non governmental organization based in Berne, Switzerland has developed a *sui generis* and comprehensive early warning methodology, which combines quantitative with qualitative aspects of conflict analysis. FAST is currently operating in twenty countries, eight of which are sub-Saharan countries, namely Angola, Burundi, DRC/Kivu region, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Mozambique, Rwanda, and Somalia. Another key paper was presented by Jakkie Cilliers, cofounder and director of the Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, South Africa. Since 1998, the Institute for Security Studies runs its own conflict early warning programme – the African Security Analysis Programme (ASAP). John N Clarke, who had previously served in the Early Warning and Contingency Planning Unit of the United Nations Office for the

Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, made a number of strategic recommendations on the features that, in his view, an ideal EWS system should include.

Omer Egemy, a Team Leader at the UNDP Sudan country office and well-know academics in Sudan, and Ambassador Mohamed Abdelghaffar, Head of the CEWERU Sudan since 2004, presented their views on the specificities of the context of Sudan, the lessons learnt from the past, and the type of EWS needed by Sudan. The existing EWS for famine and for humanitarian affairs in Sudan were presented in a shorter session by representatives of the respective responsible agencies of the Government of National Unity.

While the conference was mainly centred on the conflict analysis side of an early warning mechanism, there was one exception. Building on a case study in Guinea-Bissau, Benjamin Hoffman introduced the innovative concept of *peace guerrilla* that he believes could be a model for responses to emerging crises. Response mechanisms, or the lack of such mechanisms, were also briefly discussed by the experts from Kenya, Ethiopia, and Sudan.

These presentations were followed by a more programmatic discussion on the next steps for Sudan in view of the adoption of a conflict early Warning System. The conclusion of this book offers an attempt to summarize the main issues debated during the round table. Let us simply mention here that the suggestion to nominate a follow-up committee was warmly welcomed by participants. Subsequently, a small committee of 6 persons composed by representatives of CEWARN, the ministry of foreign affairs, experts of the university and an international expert was nominated and invested with the mission to facilitate further the discussion over the adoption of a future conflict early warning system in Sudan.

Illustrative of the broad interest that the Conference has succeeded to raise beyond the circle of invited participants is the intensive media coverage that it received. On April 13th 2006, the Sudan news agency diffused a large substantive piece on the conference summarizing its main findings, while most newspapers, radio and televisions had covered extensively the two days of conference.

The Peace Research Institute has undertaken the task to publish the acts of the Conference in the present book form and, by making the views of the eminent experts accessible to the broader interested audience, wishes to

further contribute to the quality of the national debate on a future EWS for Sudan.

MAKING PREVENTION RHETORIC WORK: THE NEED FOR EFFECTIVE POLITICAL EARLY WARNING

Heinz Kruppenacher

UN Secretary General Kofi Annan stated in his 2001 report on the “Prevention of Armed Conflict” that it was high time to leave the rhetoric of conflict prevention behind us and to create a culture of prevention. Five years later we have to acknowledge that Mr. Annan’s appeal has not been heard, or may have been heard but not been put into practice. There is still no culture of prevention in international politics, and when violent conflict appears at the horizon, the behaviour patterns of decision makers are most often reactive instead of pro-active. Why? Why were we unable to realize the Secretary General’s vision to address politically motivated violence? On the other hand, why is it so much easier to introduce preventive thinking and acting in cases where emergencies are caused by environmental or man-made natural disasters?

There are basically two sets of explanations, one of a more technical nature while the other has to do with politics. Let me first address the technical aspects.

Prevention of violent conflict requires early warning! Without functioning early-warning systems, there is no such thing as effective conflict prevention. But early warning – if you want to make it work – poses some real challenges. By definition, early warning consists of three steps:

- systematic collection of conflict-relevant data;
- analysis of this data; and
- transfer of analytical insights into practice.

These three steps require answers to distinct questions: First, what data is to be collected? What is relevant, and what is not? To this end, it is paramount

to know what we want to warn of! Are we concerned with issues of stability and instability? Are we looking at ethnically or religiously motivated conflict or violent conflict in general? Or, are we focusing on human-rights violations, environmentally related conflict, crime, etc. Second, which method(s) do we use to analyze the data? Are we using quantitative analysis? Or do we want to rely exclusively on qualitative expert assessments? Third, what is the time frame of our warning (one month, three months, one year, or five years)? Whom do we want to warn? Who would be the appropriate recipient or end-user of our analysis and warning? Finally, and most important, how do we feed the information into decision-making processes?

All these questions can be answered, but implementing an early-warning mechanism is not a trivial task. Above all it presupposes intellectual rigidity in clearly defining the theoretical foundations and methodological steps involved. Let me outline this by giving you some insight into the early-warning system for which I am responsible – the FAST International Early Warning Program. We answered the questions I just raised as follows:

1. Collection of conflict-relevant data

First of all we believe in a multi-method approach by using both structural (qualitative) and event data (quantitative). The quantitative analysis is based on event-data analysis and the respective tools developed by a number of scholars, primarily from the USA. The logic of event-data analysis is fairly simple: all events considered relevant to conflict escalation and de-escalation are assigned a certain numeric value according to a distinct conflict scale (IDEA = Integrated Data for Event-Data Analysis). These values can then be added up for specific time intervals and graphically displayed in a curve over time. It goes without saying that the quality and quantity of the data is crucial for the success of such a method. In a unique manner, information collected by FAST International does not rely on dispatches from news agencies – which is standard practice in event-data analysis – but on *in situ*-recruited and well-trained local information networks (LINs).

2. Analysis of information

The local information networks are composed of indigenous professionals whose access to and understanding of local information far exceeds that of international media commentators. FAST LINs feature two major advantages:

- area-wide coverage, meaning that our network covers regions and provinces that hardly ever find their way into the international media's headlines, and
- continuous reporting, which guarantees that coverage is not subject to boom topics or media hypes of the international news media.

By combing quantitative and qualitative analysis provided by both local and international experts, FAST International produces state-of-the-art risk analyses.

3. Transfer of analytical insights into practice

I mentioned above that transforming early-warning signals into concrete action is a *sine qua non* requirement in any early-warning exercise. At the same time, it is arguably also the most difficult step, because we need to identify adequate entry points for our information within state and non-state bureaucracies. It is quite easy to come up with sound analyses and well thought-out recommendations. However, if we fail to identify and reach those in a position to take effective action, all our efforts are to no avail. While FAST International has managed to tailor-make its products so that decision-makers can easily use them, the ideal entry points for early-warning information have not yet been found in all cases.

While these technical obstacles can be dealt with, it is still utterly difficult to link early-warning signals to early action and to make early warning work. The reasons for this are manifold:

- Sometimes decision makers think that they do not have the appropriate means at their disposition to implement early-warning measures.
- Sometimes another crisis is perceived as even more pressing and therefore absorbs all attention as well as all human and financial resources.
- Sometimes officials simply refuse to listen to outside experts, because they find it hard to implement policies that have been generated outside the power structure.

All these technical challenges and bureaucratic obstacles abound, yet the so-called early-warning – early-response gap (the fact that early warning does not automatically trigger action) has little to do with bureaucratic inertia or incompetence. Resistance towards early warning is deeper rooted. It originates in the fact that nation states still unconditionally cling to the

norms of state sovereignty and territorial integrity. Early warning seems to be incompatible with these concepts. As long as this attitude prevails, the “culture of prevention” will remain a dream.

PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF RISK ANALYSIS AND RISK REDUCTION

John N. Clarke

In this contribution, I will offer a personal view of the value of risk analysis and risk reduction, referred to here as John N. Clarke Principles and Practice of Risk Analysis and Risk Reduction. First, I will briefly discuss existing approaches and trends, in a manner that I hope complements what was already discussed in this morning's session. Second, I will outline a number of principles that should be considered in developing any early warning system and finally, I shall offer a few preliminary thoughts on linking early warning systems to conflict prevention – which, of course, along with humanitarian preparedness represents the main reason for engaging in early warning analysis in the first place.

Existing Approaches

A recent analysis, published out of the Liu Institute at the University of British Columbia, The Human Security Report, has found that the number of armed conflicts around the world has declined by more than 40% since the early 1990s. The report goes on to suggest that the net decline can be explained by an increase in international activity focused on peacebuilding and conflict prevention.¹ This finding is supported by the results of a forthcoming book by Michael Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, (forthcoming, Princeton University Press) in July 2006 of this year in which they describe a 'peacebuilding triangle' in which international assistance can support local capacities in establishing a stable peace.²

The bad news is that of the remaining armed conflicts, the majority now take place in sub-Saharan Africa as do more conflict related deaths than in the rest of the world combined. The Human Security Report also highlights the fact that conflict exacerbates the conditions that gave rise to it in the first place – creating what has been described as a 'conflict trap'.³ There is,

therefore, still a need for early warning analysis at regional, national and, sometimes even at sub-national levels.

There is a vast literature on early warning, including statistical approaches, most notably, the Collier/Hoeffler model, work by Ted Gurr and Monty Marshall on peacebuilding capacities, and more case based approaches to the analysis of conflict.⁴

Others have focused on the dynamics of particular cases and warning signs which either went either unrecognized or unheeded.

Still others have incorporated a comparative dimension to this work, looking, for example, at urban violence. Ashutosh Varshney, for example, compares three conflict prone and three non-conflict prone cities in Gujarat, India, to see what effects different forms of inter-communal association have on conflict. In particular he emphasizes the role of associative interaction – for example via trade or sporting associations in reducing the risk of conflict. This work is of interest both in the context of early warning and has implications for the development of preventive strategies, though the extent to which these findings can be generalized beyond Gujarat, remains open.⁵

In a basic sense, there are two types of indicators with which early warning analysis is concerned:

- first, structural indicators, which very often consist of socio-economic factors such as GDP annual growth rate, infant mortality, dependency on primary exports et cetera;
- second, what are commonly described as ‘proximate’ indicators, or those which are ‘closer’ to the onset of conflict), and;
- finally, triggering events (or the match that lights the structural and proximate ‘fuel’).

By the time the level of a triggering event is reached, a country has likely moved beyond the point where prevention and preparedness are realistic policy options – rather conflict management will be the main (if not only) response possible. For this reason, early warning analysis tools should focus on structural and proximate indicators.⁶ There are a range of different ways in which one might devise an early warning system, and by and large, the format of the analysis depends upon the function for which it is designed. In the following section I therefore want to outline a number of principles that

I think could usefully be kept in mind in your discussions on what sort of early warning system is needed and how best to go about creating it.

Principles for the Development of an Early Warning System

Clarity of Purpose. What is it you are trying to provide an early warning of and what is the target audience for that early warning? The answer to this question depends in large measure on the type of crisis one is trying to predict. Analyses must not only establish where crises are more likely to occur, but also, help shape strategies aimed at preventing and preparing for crises. Academic research certainly must inform this analysis, but our purpose as policy-makers is not academic but pragmatic – that is, to give us a good idea of where and why a crisis is likely and a preliminary idea of what measures could reduce the risk of conflict flaring. Ideally, early warning analysis provides information in a form that is easily digested by senior decision makers, whether governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), or international governmental organizations (IGOs).

A ‘good enough’ model will suffice: Broadly speaking, in analyzing social phenomenon, we rarely if ever achieve the level of predictability that is available in the natural sciences. Even the most robust statistical analyses of causes of conflict often leave a substantial amount of the variability in the dependent variable (conflict) unexplained. As a result, it is useful to think about early warning in probabilistic terms and aim only to establish where a humanitarian crisis is more likely, not inevitable. The standard by which early warning analyses are judged has often been unrealistically high – if a method does not yield the date, time and identify of the key actors in a crisis, it is often dismissed as useless. The point, of course, is that one does not need perfect predictions to formulate both preparedness and preventive strategies. A probabilistic account is sufficient, if the threshold for undertaking humanitarian preparedness and preventive measures is set at a sufficiently low level. We do not need an absolute date, place and time of a future crisis in order to know that the analysis should trigger an immediate policy response. The point here is that we need an early warning system that is ‘good enough’ not infallible.

Subsidiarity: Any centralized analytic and aggregating capacity needs to be balanced with engagement at a grassroots/field level. Analytic focus and responsibility can therefore usefully be ‘pushed down’ or devolved in a

manner that ensures contact with events and analysts who are ‘on the ground’, allowing for both a macro and a micro focus.

Additionality: As indicated above, there is a vast literature on early warning. Given the number of systems, principles and sources already available, anything new must serve a function not already addressed by those that already exist. What will a new system accomplish that is not already achievable within the scope of what already exists? How will the system envisaged link with existing analyses/approaches? Any new system must build on that which exists already and be tailored to the realities of the particular region.

Simplicity: The key to constructing a workable, policy relevant methodology is balancing the level of detail in the analysis with the need for simplicity in its use. In order to ensure balanced analysis, a wide range of analysts at differing levels (local, regional, national and different backgrounds/disciplines) should be engaged. Early warning templates must therefore simplify complex concepts without undermining the integrity of the analysis.

Linking Early Warning to Programming that reduces Risk

The first point to be made about the link between early warning and prevention is that 43.6 percent of countries emerging from conflict, relapse into conflict within five years.⁷ For these countries, conflict is effectively cyclical and therefore early warning or risk analysis is of great value in many post-conflict settings. Risk analysis should therefore take place in both pre and post-conflict settings, otherwise we are not going to deal with those countries that – statistically – we know are most likely to relapse into conflict. This carries with it a second advantage and that is that in the immediate aftermath of conflict, many of the political barriers to preventive programming that exist in a pre-crisis country are often eliminated. This, arguably, can create a window of opportunity to undertake programming that would otherwise be politically impossible.

There is, I think, a danger of over-intellectualizing peace-building/prevention/conflict transformation *et cetera*. One can forever debate the meaning of these terms but from a policy making point of view the question is whether such fine distinctions help us to make better policy and programming at the field level. The measure of the value of such debates is

the extent to which they improve the caliber of the policy developed and programming undertaken.⁸

Preventive or risk reducing responses can be grouped into two categories:

- The first has commonly been described as a ‘do no harm’ approach – or trying to ensure that in our programming and policy we avoid making a bad situation worse.⁹ This leads, for example, to particular food distribution practices, and particular camp structures and management practices.
- The second form of prevention is more aggressive, whereby in addition to ‘doing no harm’ we try proactively to reduce risk. Here there are no shortage of programs and approaches that seek actively to reduce risk – for example, political mediation – as in the Axworthy/Gaviria mission to Peru in 2000 or Norway’s mediation between the parties in Sri Lanka.¹⁰

This second type of prevention requires a holistic approach to ensure that different responses are coordinated in a manner that ensures that at a minimum, different programmes are not working at cross purposes and ideally, that when combined the total impact of all programming is greater than the sum of the individual parts. This was reflected some five years ago in the Secretary General’s June 2001 Report on the Prevention of Armed Conflict, wherein he emphasized that preventive strategies should not only be initiated ‘at the earliest possible stage of a conflict cycle in order to be most effective’¹¹ but also that they should incorporate:

“short-term and long-term political, diplomatic, humanitarian, human rights, developmental, institutional and other measures taken by the international community in cooperation with national and regional actors.”¹²

Central to this process of linking risk analysis and risk reduction programming is its institutionalization: The quality of the analysis produced depends ultimately on both the expertise of the analysts and their ability to work with other experts in developing the analysis, but institutional arrangements also matter. Early warning systems must be anchored within existing institutions with the mandate to not only identify risks but with clear mechanisms to address them. Independent early warning systems can easily become marginalized from the responsive processes of other parts of an organization. Equally, however, if one seeks to integrate early warning analysis and programming into all areas within existing institutions, there is a danger that the analysis is never aggregated and assembled in a manner

that looks at the whole picture. There is of course a middle option that is to try and balance the two approaches – a small dedicated group that seek to mobilize and interact with other parts of any given institution. This middle way can help to strike the balance between ensuring someone is responsible (and that something gets done) and that what gets done, is integrated into the broader structures of an institution or organization. The role of such an analytic unit is therefore as a fulcrum, assembling risk analysis with a view to leveraging institutional action in response to that analysis.

Fifth and finally, programming must – to the greatest extent possible - be entrenched within domestic social and political structures, and sustained by domestic actors both in planning and implementation.

THE CHALLENGES OF APPLIED CONFLICT PREVENTION

Albrecht Schnabel

Through targeted social, economic and political activities, applied conflict prevention can reduce the extraordinarily high human, political, social and economic cost of violent conflict; it can preserve stability and peace where it does exist; it can advance human, regional and international security and thus secure the foundation for prosperous development and trade. These are respectable goals. A number of key challenges, however, make this a difficult task. Although the prevention of violent conflict is less costly than managing and resolving violence once it has erupted, preventive measures nevertheless require resources that could also be spent on more visible emergencies.¹³

It is not easy to convince decision-makers in politics and business of the great value of prevention: In the face of limited resources, creativity is thus called for to utilize and build on already ongoing work, practices, and programs, and to highlight the more self-evident, self-serving and positive results generated by preventive activities. The following pages discuss some of the opportunities and challenges in the process of moving conflict prevention from a political catchword to a political activity.

Conflict Prevention Rhetoric and Action

The Need for Long-term Preventive Agendas

Applied conflict prevention refers to actual efforts taken – individually or in cooperation with other actors – to prevent violent conflicts from arising, intensifying, spreading or recurring. The most effective approach to prevention is to resolve the root causes of violent conflict – a costly, long-term strategy that requires visionary thinking and commitment to providing

the means for building sustainable, positive peace. Ongoing development, political, or humanitarian efforts by local, national or international, governmental and nongovernmental actors undoubtedly contribute to peace, justice and stability. Yet they tend to be tackled based on each actor's assessment of their own comparative advantage, political mandate, geostrategic interest and pragmatic perception as to the success and political benefit of such contributions to peace and stability. Practiced conflict prevention focuses primarily on the de-escalation of crises and disasters in the making, those that have already unraveled, or those that have recently subsided. In the latter case, on the one hand, one can observe that second-generation (post-war) prevention is pursued more systematically and vigorously than at any stage prior to an outbreak of war. On the other hand, once post-war situations appear to stabilize, and once fragile states and societies carry less risk of deteriorating into open war, commitment to preventive action wanes. This is particularly the case when other, more urgent crises call for international actors' attention.

Effectively applied preventive action must address the root causes of violence, and not their symptoms. This truism entails that the frustration of most basic human needs, resulting from prevalent fragile statehood, intersocietal frictions or an unfavorable position within the global marketplace, is at the root of most of today's instability, crises, wars, and human suffering. If the frustration of basic human needs, most often caused by poor, failed or simply inadequate governance, is the root of much of today's crises and wars, preventive measures must tackle these threats before they cause further degeneration of a society's social, political, and economic environment. This is precisely what policy making, if committed to the provision of human security in all its dimensions, can accomplish.

Stabilization and management of sustainable peace – primarily by responsible governments – are crucial components of any long-term preventive approach. Peace and stability cannot be taken for granted. Constant investments are necessary to maintain and improve existing levels of stability, peace, and justice, while lack of such investment will ultimately lead to the breakdown of state and society. If tensions erupt, governments must act to prevent further escalation in partnership with internal authorities, civil society and intergovernmental organizations at regional and international levels, and, if needed, settle and resolve conflicts and prevent their recurrence. While it is not difficult to show policy makers that structural and direct violence in their own countries and elsewhere can in

fact be prevented through long-term investments in human security and through good and fair governance, it is more difficult to convince them that such investments will be in their immediate interest.

The logic of long-term, structural prevention is compelling: Small and targeted investments in fair political, economic, and cultural governance, informed by and directed towards the needs of individual members of society, will ward off the much greater human, economic, and political costs of structural violence and, at worst, war and massive human suffering. It is important that, ultimately, a widely practiced culture of prevention, focused on the basic needs of individuals, will pervade politics to preserve enduring peace in intra- and interstate relations. A range of opportunities as well as obstacles influence the extent to which this culture of prevention will take hold.

Lessons on Opportunities in Preventive Action

During the past decade a number of relatively innovative and prevention-friendly debates entered discussions, documents and political statements at national and international policy circles and institutions. These debates continue to offer windows of opportunity to further entrench prevention as a key policy principle guiding all foreign (as well as domestic) investments in a just, secure and prosperous future. The following are a number of those innovative debates that should serve as the foundations for prevention-focused peace and security policies:

- Human security as a guide for preventive activity: Human security, i.e. the focus on the security needs of individuals and their communities, has been gaining acceptance as a complement and crucial component of national security concerns and strategies. Giving more attention to human security in foreign policy and, for instance, development cooperation programme planning, inevitably touches upon those threats that often are among the most critical root causes of conflict, such as poverty, poor governance or social injustice. If we assume that certain basic human security needs must be met to avert massive human suffering and maintain a minimum standard of stability and order, then we can respond to cases where such needs are neglected. Once such neglect is addressed, and needs are (again) met, chances for disintegration and conflict are significantly reduced. Thus, timely and effective reaction to observed neglect in the provision of basic security needs amounts to the prevention of eventual conflict, violence and,

possibly, war. At the same time the foundation for long-term, positive peace can be laid.¹⁴

- *Early warning as policy support:* Individual states and regional organizations are increasingly appreciating the utility of early warning systems; i.e. the systematic monitoring and analysis of political, economic or social developments and their significance for conflictive and cooperative trends in a given country or region. Continuous monitoring of a country's stability – and of the root causes responsible for instability – aids in defining the timing, nature and scope of involvement by national as well as external actors. Nevertheless, many countries that are the subjects of early warning activities are uncomfortable with the fact that particularly external actors are collecting and analyzing data on their internal stability and, thus, on the performance of the state to provide for the security of its population. The fact that the early warning debate is increasingly expected to consider as well early response options, mechanisms and strategies, makes this issue all the more delicate. While individual countries (particularly in the North) are utilizing open and closed source early warning systems as decision support tools for their own foreign and development policies and programming, the UN has repeatedly attempted to create its own early warning capacity.¹⁵ While so far impossible to implement at an UN-wide level, early warning systems have been put in place by individual UN programmes, as in the case of the various early warning systems established in the mid-1990s by the UN Development Programme (UNDP) in several Southeast European countries. At the regional level, the African Union is attempting to create a Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), while several Regional Economic Communities on the continent have already created their own early warning systems (such as, among others, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development – IGAD, and the Economic Community of East African States – ECOWAS).¹⁶ If such systems produce information that is readily shared with the governments of the covered countries (as is the case with the above mentioned UNDP systems) host country cooperation is a realistic goal. Otherwise, mistrust in external meddling in the internal affairs of already vulnerable states prevails.
- *Prioritizing policy influence:* Within early warning and preventive work, there has been increasing emphasis on strategies for policy influence and

implementation of response mechanisms. Early warning, analysis and recommendations for action are not pursued entirely for their own sake, but in order to inform enlightened decision-makers at all levels to find the most appropriate, effective and efficient responses to evolving crises. The demand for such policy relevance (and the likelihood of positive impact) primarily comes from the donor community and those organizations providing early warning analysis.

- *Monitoring and strengthening capacities for peace and stability:* There also seems to be increasing focus on the observation, analysis and strengthening of the conditions of and provisions for peace and stability; not only on the search for evidence of impending state collapse. While it is of course important to search for indications of instability and crisis escalation, it is at least as important to search for capacities for stability – i.e. entry points for internal and external actors to strengthen developments and actors that run counter to prevailing degenerative trends.
- *Understanding the challenges of and engaging with fragile states:* In academic and policy discussions increasing attention has been given to fragile, failing, precarious or failed states, as well as to the international community's responsibility to protect populations threatened by the inevitable lack of state presence in such contexts.¹⁷
- *Responsibility – and self-serving necessity – to stabilize post-conflict situations:* The post-Cold War experience with post-conflict situations, particularly following high-profile “investment” and involvement in the form of peace support missions, has raised expectations among host societies and the donor community's populations that initial involvement should also lead to sustainable stability. In several cases, heavy-handed protectorates (Kosovo, East Timor) and nation-building projects (Afghanistan, Iraq) have put international actors in charge of reorganizing and rebuilding post-conflict societies. In these cases expectations run high that the resurgence of conflict must be avoided, while, in the absence of legitimate and functioning post-war governments, external involvement is required. The UN's recent World Summit in August 2005 has, if not much else, confirmed the necessity to institutionalize peace-building more prominently within the work and mandate of the United Nations.¹⁸

Overall, the work and commitment of many organizations (including the global community of nongovernmental organizations¹⁹) dedicated to peace support and violence prevention points to a positive development. As Michael Lund so aptly notes, conflict prevention is in fact happening, although we may not be aware of the positive results that mainstreaming a culture of prevention has had so far.²⁰ This trend can be observed across the board of local and international actors, including regional organizations, NGOs, business, states, or the UN. What is still missing, however, is for conflict prevention to become a state of mind, not only a means towards an end. The following section will discuss some of the frustrating obstacles towards more extensive and sustainable commitment to preventive policy and action.

Lessons on Challenges in Applied Early Warning and Early Response

Several dynamics appear to strangle the momentum that had been created during the past decade in strengthening the momentum towards building a worldwide culture of prevention:

- *Purpose and identity of prevention:* Currently, the focus of early warning and prevention tends to be on violent conflict. This could be considered a remnant of Cold War thinking, combined with the initial shock of the outbursts of ethnic and other intergroup conflicts after the end of the Cold War. However, most people do not suffer and perish as a consequence of violent conflicts, but from, among others, hunger or disease. Structural violence should thus be a key focus of early warning, in addition to direct violence.²¹ As well, too much early warning focuses on the escalation to conflict, at the expense of monitoring and highlighting opportunities for cooperation and peace-building.
- *Prevention as “cottage industry”:* As a result of the “cottage industry” that emerged from the prevention frenzy of the early to mid-1990s, too many institutions claim to do early warning, yet many are producing little of note-worthy quality. Too many institutions claim to conduct early warning analysis for policy prescription – yet with weak analysis their policy descriptions are equally poor and ad hoc. There is little willingness for such institutions to cooperate and pool their expertise – funding is rare and competition is high.
- *Unconvincing data collection and analysis:* Related to this latter point, existing mechanisms are based on unreliable and insufficient data collection methods. Too many institutions cover too many countries

poorly, in unsystematic ways, with very little attention to detail and long-term analysis. Nobody covers all or most conflict regions (let alone countries) in the world. The latter would be required to justify an early warning and prevention programme at the UN level. There are too few serious, rigorous, systematic, unbiased attempts to gather, systematically collect and analyze information.²²

- *Persisting warning-response gap:* There is still a large gap between dedicated analysis, warning and response. The results of rigorous conflict analysis and warning are still poorly transferred into the hands, thought processes and actions of political decision-makers and their operational and policy analysis staff.
- *Declining interest in early warning?* Declining interest in implementing, mainstreaming and promoting a culture of prevention at the UN, regional organizations and national governments may be a sign of prevention-fatigue, or a consequence of the appearance of other, more urgent matters that divert resources and attention away from preventive agendas (such as the war on terrorism or international responses to larger-than-usual-scale natural catastrophes, including the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami, the October 2005 earthquake in Kashmir, and the particularly destructive 2005 hurricane season in the Gulf of Mexico). This is happening despite repeated and continuing calls in major international reports and policy statements for strengthening, not weakening, of preventive capacities of state and intergovernmental actors.
- *Legacy of US/UK Iraq rhetoric on preemption:* The US/UK discussion on “preventive military action” surrounding their 2005 intervention in Iraq has damaged and undermined the global preventive agenda. At least partly as a consequence, early warning and prevention did not feature high on the agenda of both the High-level Panel Report *A More Secure World*²³ nor the 2005 World Summit at the UN General Assembly. Particularly given the Summit’s failure of reforming the UN Security Council, the UN runs the risk of losing its image as an objective, representative and legitimate “conscience of humankind.”

Conclusions and recommendations

Frustrating problems in preventive action

A steadily growing number of international actors appear to be aware of the necessity to practice early monitoring and analysis of peace, stability and conflict dynamics; and to respond quickly to destabilizing forces and situations. While some work has been done in this direction (see discussion above), little is done systematically – neither in the collection and analysis of data, nor in the transfer of recommendations to relevant actors, nor in the implementation of relevant recommendations.

The dynamics of the American war on terrorism has not strengthened the case for more preventive involvement in fragile states by the international community. Moreover, the lack of progress towards a more representative UN shows little effort on behalf of the powerful to advance the legitimacy and democratic nature of the UN and regional institutions. Without such legitimacy, those institutions cannot be trusted to represent the best interests of all member states and their populations.

Few actors are willing to go beyond symbolic commitments and contributions to pay the cost of preventive monitoring, analysis and action in a systematic way with region- or worldwide coverage. The question remains open as to who should “do” or provide early warning and response. Is that the task of NGOs, of states and/or of international organizations? If the task should be shared, how should such a division of labor look like?

A key problem is the possibility that we might be facing considerable conflict prevention fatigue. This would be a disastrous development. If the recently published Human Security Report is correct, then “reactive prevention” (primarily in the context of resurgence of war) has been successful.²⁴ However, now is the time to engage in real first and second-generation prevention to stabilize and address structural violence and those much talked-about root causes.

Recommendations

Based on the above discussion of the experience with applied conflict prevention, a number of issues should be addressed by organizations that are directly involved in preventive activities:

- Mainstreaming successes and best and worst lessons must be collected, discussed and analyzed.
- The momentum of mainstreaming conflict prevention at international, regional and national levels of governance has to be maintained.
- The focus of the prevention of violent conflict should be shifted to include the prevention of both direct and structural violence.
- Conflict prevention and early warning activities must not stop when a war or open conflict are over. Moving beyond the stabilization of negative peace to consolidate and develop positive peace is a difficult task; yet it is the only approach in securing sustainable solutions to violence, injustice and instability.
- Cases of fragile statehood need to be monitored. To be politically acceptable, regional early warning systems must strive to monitor as many, if not all, countries included in the regional scope of their coverage.
- There should be more cooperation between existing early warning mechanisms, and more emphasis on early warning strategies and their implementation. Applied prevention requires that monitoring should be expanded to cover the implementation of response mechanisms and efforts undertaken to address root causes of instability.

New preventive activities should aim to develop comprehensive approaches that combine monitoring, analysis, early warning and early response: Applied prevention should cover both structural and direct violence and monitor both conflict/cooperative trends and the implementation of selected response measures. Applied prevention should take the form of integrated, systematic and long-term commitments. Existing efforts should be evaluated and revised along these lines.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND PROSPERITY PROJECT: THE NEED FOR PEACE GUERRILLAS IN VIOLENCE PREVENTION

Benjamin C. Hoffman

Recently, Martin Griffiths has written an excellent paper on UN mediation, stressing the importance of the maverick qualities that are inherent, in his estimation, in effective mediators.²⁵ While Martin welcomes the UN High-level Panel's emphasis on revitalizing UN mediation efforts, he insists that "people will be the key to the UN success. The 'right person' in mediation", he writes "combines a certain personality with intuitive political insight, excellent character judgment, a touch of entrepreneurial flare, some judicious risk-taking and sound knowledge of the various mechanisms of peace processes and peace-building." He goes on to say that if the UN is going to "attract and cultivate the best it may have to tolerate a bit of counter-culture recruitment." The bottom line is that effective mediators do not easily conform with conventional notions of UN corporate behaviour and that the UN must recognize and respond to this if UN mediation is to be the best it can be.

As someone who has mediated at the Track I level, working to reach and implement peace accords, I agree with Griffiths. Low-powered, neutral mediation and a lack of creativity and drive will not get the job done. People who lead or are closely involved in peace-making must push for peace and rally a multitude of resources across a broad range of issues and sectors. This notion has now become part of the vernacular in the peacebuilding field, as we hear the concept of "waging peace" used more and more often. And I have now come to recognize the importance of these maverick qualities as they apply to the prevention of violence in the first place. Indeed, there is a need for the "peace guerilla" in violence prevention.

What is a "peace guerilla"? And why are they needed? Let me explain, based on the past two years of violence prevention work, the International Peace and Prosperity Project (IPPP), in Guinea-Bissau.

The IPPP came into being out of the motivation of Milt Lauenstein, a retired American business executive and avid reader about international affairs. In 2002, Milt became concerned about the amount of continuing political violence and bloodshed in the world and resolved to launch a specific activity that could make a discernible difference in reducing it. He convened a small, ad hoc, multi-national group of specialists to seek their advice about what such an activity might do.

The group held several discussions to review the international community's current preparedness for dealing with the social and political instabilities that are impeding the development of many impoverished countries. It decided to formulate an initiative that might help prevent such threats from seriously destabilizing such countries in the first place. The group thought that one of the most value-added things a modest project could achieve is to identify a particular country that faces the possibility of social deterioration and political instability, but has strong potential for development. The project would assist groups and organizations in the country to manage disruptive tensions and disputes over social and political issues so they do not escalate into destructive violence, as well as to strengthen the governing and other institutions and policies that are needed to advance to further development.

The approach of the IPPP, as initially conceptualized, was to work closely with individuals and organizations in such a country to assess its current vulnerabilities and opportunities through a focused, research-based and collaborative process. This joint process would seek to identify the key impediments to stability and development. It would then define and promote the application of the most effective mix of domestic and international measures that can be taken in the short and longer term to strengthen that country's ability to manage public issues in a peaceful manner and to galvanize its energies more squarely behind national development. By engaging both domestic and international actors in this process, the project might help remove key obstacles to development, thus placing the country more assuredly on a positive track.

Although many international agencies and domestic actors are already active in such countries, they often lack a shared, coherent and collaborative approach, as well as sufficient resources, for addressing leading sources of insecurity and potential instability. Through organizing an in-country process for joint analysis of problems and a review of the existing policies and programs, the project would seek to engender a coherent approach to

reversing a country's destabilizing tendencies and building on its strengths. By involving partners in the host country as well as international agencies in the project so as to foster synergies and achieve multiplier effects, the group envisioned that the project could act as a catalyst that focuses domestic and international energies on the most effective ways to move beyond a country's unproductive tensions. A well-designed, indigenously formulated strategy for achieving prosperity through peaceful processes might thereby attract additional aid and investment.

As a first step, the group commissioned Dr. David Carment at Carleton University, Ottawa, to conduct a survey of the many existing international early warning systems in order to list a number of countries that face possible threats to stability and development in the coming years but that are not likely to receive sufficient international attention. Among the candidate countries for the project, the group chose Guinea-Bissau as a possible pilot. A five-person delegation of international experts in various disciplines traveled there in October, 2004 to discuss with possible partners the nature and feasibility of the project.

As with so many best intentions and theoretically sound designs, reality on the ground dictated modification. And these modifications would be needed immediately.

The head of the armed forces had been assassinated in October, 2004, just prior to our first "scouting mission" to the country to confirm Dr. Carment's selection of Guinea-Bissau. And with that assassination and the upcoming presidential election, we had to move to a crisis management mode rather than have the audacity to try to impose our joint diagnostic multi-stakeholder process on the country. People who knew Guinea-Bissau, external actors from UN agencies and donor embassies, scholars inside and outside the country, and the people in the country had been quick to tell us exactly what was needed. There was an urgent need for security sector reform, for dealing with an economic crisis and long-term development, for improving governance, and supporting the growth of an active civil society. But most importantly, there was a need to stabilize the country. Politicians were mobilizing discontent and inter-ethnic hostilities. Mass violence was possible.

Indeed, the army had a practice of being deeply immersed in politics, with a history of coup d'Etats, assassinations, and a full-scale war in 1998. We were told that doing things to keep the army out of politics and building

what someone called a “contre-pouvoir” (a mobilized, influential civil society) to those with guns - were immediate priorities.

Guinea-Bissau was on the verge of erupting or imploding and our lessons-learned, inspired approach to violence prevention would not apply. If we were unable to respond to these needs, if we had insisted that our original model was the only way to proceed, if we have been constrained by the nature of our mandate and the funding we had, we would have had to go home.

We decided otherwise. It was apparent that we needed to be responsive, dexterous, and deliver concrete actions or services in the now clearly defined immediate areas of need: the role of the armed forces in Guinea-Bissau and the role of civil society.

This “emergency room” diagnostic, which also recognized how critical to peace the machinations of political elites were, plunged us into a set of actions that were strategically-informed, but carried out in a way that surely must have confused some of the other members of the peacebuilding community, including the INGOs and UN actors already on the ground. And while we had named our project the International Peace and Prosperity Project to demonstrate that we had indeed listened and knew that both economic development and conventional peacebuilding were required, we focused mostly in this critical period on the peace agenda. And we resisted being stereotyped as a provider of a singular program or service.

We also had the good fortune to meet Ms. Macaria Barai and her colleagues in the nascent nongovernmental sector in Guinea-Bissau. We had found local leadership that managed to be sufficiently nonpartisan in a very politicized country and we chose to work with and through them.

What did we do? How was it different? And how did the term “Peace Guerilla” come to describe us?

First, we forged a relationship with the newly installed head of the armed forces, General Tagme, especially because he was talking publicly about the need for reconciliation of factions within the armed forces. This was powerful language in a country wracked by a pattern of attack and revenge. While we were not inclined to be a granting body in the usual sense, and because we did not have large sums of money to issue as grants in any case, we were able to direct small amounts of money to the military in very short order to do simple things that might persuade otherwise discontented soldiers that remaining loyal to Tagme and acting professionally, staying

out of politics this time, was worth it. A small donation went towards roofing some military facilities; and we provided senior security consultants to support General Tagme. And when we convened a meeting of some fourteen representatives of civil society around the issue of “reconciliation” and they were moved to form a Task Force that would mobilize the citizenry around a fair and free presidential election, we could offer a small grant that would give them the resources to get started immediately. We were not encumbered with a bureaucratic process of reviewing grant applications, and we were able to direct small amounts of money to strategically identified areas on a “just in time” basis. We hoped, of course, and we lobbied that the UN and country donors would eventually come through on long-term funding that would make structural change possible.

We also mobilized at the regional and international level, writing letters on behalf of Guinea-Bissau, trying to get it on the radar screen of agencies and institutions whose engagement was necessary. We wrote and disseminated professional papers that quickly introduced Guinea-Bissau, clarified the issues and needs, and invited action. We wrote letters to the editors of newspapers to mobilize resources for the election. We commissioned a body of international legal scholars to write a neutral opinion about a controversial matter bearing on the election and before the Supreme Court in Guinea-Bissau. And we invited local leaders to travel abroad to tell others about their country and to request assistance.

In June, 2005, nine months into this dynamic, new violence prevention intervention, a team of five of us visited Guinea-Bissau on the eve of its highly contested, potentially violent presidential election. Mr. Lauenstein came along to see what we were doing with his investment in prevention, and the professionals involved on this mission were Dr. Michael Lund (USA), retired Brigadier Vere Hayes (UK), Mr. Jeff Mapendere (USA), and myself. We were accompanied by a two-person documentary film crew that had begun a film with a focus on reconciliation.

Just prior to lift-off from Canada to France, where all seven of us would meet en route to Dakar and then Bissau, I was struggling with how we could describe to the film crew what we were actually doing in Guinea-Bissau. What made it different or even unique as a violence prevention initiative? What was our goal? What was our modus operandi?”

Now, the original model we had adopted, based on a solid review of lessons learned and guided by Michael Lund, was to engage all the key stakeholders in a facilitated joint diagnostic of the conflicts in the country and to jointly

design a plan to prevent violence and build sustainable peace. This approach in itself was not new, perhaps, as there is a strong history of efforts at multi-stakeholder, multi-issue consensus building; and a good number of peacebuilding efforts have been trying to improve the coordination of action.

But our approach would try to overcome the shortcomings of other efforts, along these lines:

- we would not offer a particular service and get caught in the “mandate trap” that so many other NGOs and UN agencies do;
- we would not prescribe but elicit solutions;
- we would not establish a country office but support local actors to take leadership;
- we would not focus on one sector, or even on those sectors commonly associated with peace and development, while ignoring others, especially the security sector and elite actors whose machinations were whip lashing the country from violent pillar to violent post;
- and we would advocate for peace, lobbying at the regional and international levels in New York, Washington and wherever needed.

The idea was to be active across all sectors, facilitating horizontal integration; and to likewise be active from the community level through local NGOs to the executive offices of the World Bank and other relevant institutions, seeking vertical integration.

So, as the film crew began to prepare itself to document these actions and human stories in Guinea-Bissau, I was pressed to explain who we were and what we were doing. I thought about how our efforts were always informed by moment-to-moment conflict analysis, by a deep probing of violence and the role of power in Guinea-Bissau, about the immediacy and dexterity of our actions, about our moving across sectors horizontally and within sectors, vertically, to encourage integration of effort. It struck me that we were “peace guerillas”.

Like guerilla warriors we tried to “hit” strategically identified “targets”. We were mobile, we were light on our feet, administratively and physically, we were active through collaborators, and we were focused on one objective: that we would prevent mass violence.

So I told the film crew we were “peace guerillas”. The label seemed to fit. The film crew has adopted it as the working title of their film. And like Martin Griffiths, I have come to recognize that we must embrace the qualities and modus operandi of both the “maverick mediator” and the “peace guerilla” if we are to be effective in achieving our ultimate goal: peace.

The presidential election proved to be dynamic, controversial and potentially violent. The modest actions initiated by the IPPP, focusing primarily on empowering the Citizens Goodwill Task Force, which the Project had mobilized to work for a free, fair and nonviolent election and our work with the armed forces, are recognized as having contributed to stability. Of course, other actors, the UN, ECOWAS, the European Union (EU) and the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries all worked together to ensure that the election was peaceful and that, eventually, a new president was installed. But this took months during which the IPPP monitored developments closely, shoring up stability with peace advocacy efforts in the country and internationally. During this time the IPPP also re-committed itself to its original methodology, with some modifications. Rather than trying to anticipate particular needs and be drawn into providing particular services, the IPPP began planning for a multi-stakeholder dialogue that would produce a National Action Plan for Peace and Prosperity in Guinea-Bissau. And the Plan was intended to identify practical actions that might begin immediately and others that would be phased in over time and in concert with the ongoing or planned activities of other actors. And there would be mechanism to implement the Plan, agreed at the end of the process by all of the stakeholders who had created the Plan.

The planning was led by a “process design committee” composed of local civilian leadership drawn by the IPPP from among those who had participated in the earlier work on the election and complimented by new actors who had become mobilized. The IPPP provided technical support and modest financial assistance to the process design committee. Some of that included the introduction to conflict analysis and action planning tools that would be used in the Action Planning Session.

In February, 2006, with explicit endorsement from the national government and tacit endorsement from UN actors in the peacebuilding community, and the assistance of the Dutch INGO, SNV, the IPPP facilitated a multi-stakeholder Action Planning Process which produced a National Action Plan for Peace and Prosperity in Guinea-Bissau.

The IPPP is now working with a local Implementation Committee to set priorities, determine the sequence of actions, and to look for resources to help implement the Plan. The IPPP believes the Plan has authority, as it was developed by some 20 representatives of key sectors in Guinea-Bissau, including the armed forces, through a process of joint conflict analysis and detailed action planning.

Thus, the IPPP has acted as a “peace guerrilla” in both its efforts to help stabilize Guinea-Bissau leading up to and during the presidential election and to mobilize all key stakeholders around a peace and prosperity agenda developed by Guinea-Bissuans for Guinea-Bissau.

So far, being light on its feet, avoiding the “mandate trap”, working through local leaders, demonstrating immediacy of response and dexterity, and introducing only modest amounts of resources in a strategically-informed way have proved effective in violence prevention.

But there are downsides to performing this kind of maverick role.

The downside to acting as a “peace guerilla” is running the risk of being misperceived by others, foreshortening the full response that is needed to prevent violence. The “peace guerilla” may be seen as impulsive, reactive, and his or her commitment to long-term violence prevention and peacebuilding “processes” could be misunderstood. A “peace guerilla” is obviously working outside the normal cycle of donor funding and peacebuilding programming. This can make other needed partners in violence prevention uneasy as the “guerilla” is seen moving quickly, appearing here and there, possibly even messing up the tidy world of larger organizations and systems.

The “peace guerilla” may not be seen as acting in a disciplined way. The analysis of need and the identification of required accomplishments needed now to stabilize a violent situation, to build the basis for further, deeper prevention work, may not be as obvious or as urgent to others as it is the “peace guerilla”. This can give others pause, and even a reason to dismiss this type of “maverick” activity.

While working hard to forge and mobilize partnerships, and wanting to achieve short –to- intermediate goals so that long-term sustainable peace may be built, the “peace guerilla” may be reluctantly accepted by other actors in the peacebuilding community but only on a short-term basis.

The “guerrilla’s” refusal to stake out territory, to be seen to offer a singular service or to have a conventional “model” of operating, can make others uncertain of the professionalism and predictability of the “guerilla”, thereby reducing the ease with which others might engage with the “guerrilla”.

There is also the simple fact that an effective “peace guerilla” may cause jealousy and resentment in others who, because of who they are and what they do, cannot achieve what the guerrilla does.

Being aware of these “downsides”, however, should not discourage appropriate people at appropriate times from taking on the role of a “peace guerilla”. Strategically-informed, quickly executed actions that mobilize needed resources to achieve stability and to build the basis for locally owned long-term violence prevention programming is absolutely necessary in potentially volatile situations.

Antidotes to being misperceived, misused or mistreated are necessary. Ultimately, both local actors, whether government officials, the military or civil society as well as other providers of peacebuilding services, must trust the “peace guerilla”.

Some ways in which the “peace guerilla” can neutralize potential downsides, build trust, and achieve maximum value include:

- Having funding and administrative arrangements that allow maximum executive decision-making and flexible operating procedures;
- Demonstrating Professional competence in conflict analysis and violence prevention;
- Having no stake in self- or corporate promotion;
- Being an active listener and adjusting priorities and responses to what those who know are saying is needed;
- Being sufficiently transparent to all key stakeholders, especially national government officials and leaders within civil society;
- Putting resources in and providing tangible support to local leadership disposed to nonviolent, practical actions;
- Being comfortable and competent in working in all relevant sectors, including security;

- Being seen to act across sectors, facilitating integration of effort, and vertically within sectors, supporting practical immediate activities at the community and international levels;
- Demonstrating a broad repertoire of competencies and actions, from facilitation to mediation, to violence prevention advocacy, to having the technical know-how of lobbying for action;
- Building project monitoring and participatory evaluation in from the beginning, and;
- Remaining engaged with the country.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND CHALLENGES OF THE CEWARN MECHANISM IN ETHIOPIA

Bizusew Mersha

CEWARN was established as a specialized unit of IGAD in 2003. The rationale for establishing the mechanism was the growing awareness among member states that in order to achieve development in the region existing and potential conflicts in the region needed to be prevented or mitigated. The objective of CEWARN is to enable member states to prevent conflicts, particularly pastoral conflicts, from escalating into violent armed conflicts on greater scale and enable local communities to play an important part in the prevention. It aims at achieving this objective through collection of data, analysis and verification, and formulation of scenarios and response options, to support decision-makers' ability to identify critical developments at an early stage and develop response strategies. CEWARN, thus, aims at closely linking early warning with early response. Currently, the mechanism focuses on cross border pastoral conflicts and is operational in two entry points, namely the Karamoja and Somali clusters.

The CEWARN Mechanism in Ethiopia

Closely following the establishment of the CEWARN unit at the regional level, the CEWARN mechanism in Ethiopia was established in 2003. The mechanism, in line with the protocol to establish CEWARN, has two main components, and all key elements of these components have been set up in some form, except for the local committees. These components are the early warning system and the early response unit, known as Conflict Early Warning and Response Unit (CEWERU).

Early warning Component

Institutionally, the early warning system is a network consisting of a National Research Institute (NRI), Country Coordinators (CC) and field monitors (FM). The main task of this network is to systematically collect data, monitor and submit report about events likely to lead to violence in areas of operation, using an empirically based standard format that is coded into the so-called CEWARN Reporter.

As stipulated on the CEWARN protocol, the CEWARN unit identified and commissioned the National Research Institute for Ethiopia (Inter Africa Group²⁶) to operate the early warning component of the mechanism. The NRI, together with the CEWARN unit, selected the country coordinators and field monitors that carry out the actual task of information collection, analysis and production of early warning reports.

A total of six field monitors and two country coordinators were selected in this process. The field monitors, which are “the beginning and end of CEWARN’s data collection”, are selected based on the criteria of their local understanding and insights in the clusters’ ethnic/political structures and developments. Most of them were born and raised in the area and have basic analytical skills. They are currently working in the area either as teachers or as staff of NGOs. Their main task is to collect relevant open source information from the specific area of the cluster he/she is stationed. They are paid a modest remuneration for their work and all their communication costs are covered by the NRI.

Similarly, the country coordinator and assistant country coordinator (ACC) are selected based on the requirements of good analytical skills and insight in local, regional and national socio-economic political structures, policies and developments. They have a higher education of master equivalent in social sciences. They are attached to the NRI. The country coordinators are responsible for overall functioning of Information Collection Network (ICN), evaluating and verifying the quality of FM data, coding the data with CEWARN Reporter as well as analyzing and producing early warning reports.

Methodology and process of ICN and production of early warning reports

The CEWARN mechanism employs both quantitative and qualitative methods to collect data, analyze and produce early warning reports. They

are assisted by a special early warning software known as CEWARN Reporter.²⁷

As indicated above, the collection of early warning data is entrusted to field monitors. In line with the CEWARN protocol, the field monitors collect information about the area from open sources using overt means. These include informants, personal observation and local media. The field reports come into two formats, namely incident and situation reports. The incident report captures incidents displaying physical violence or being of violent nature that have relevance to the escalation of sub-national, national or cross border pastoral conflict in the reporting area the FM is stationed. Each incident must have an initiator, a certain action/happening, a recipient, and must be located in time and space. The situation report, on the other hand, has 52 indicators that capture events/ action that contribute, on the one hand, to an easing of tension and de-escalation of conflict, or, on the other hand, that lead to an escalation or destabilization of the area of reporting. These indicators, together with content of the incident reports, were developed after CEWARN organized a stakeholder's workshop to identify indicators pertinent to the clusters in 2002.

The FMs fill and send the incident reports to the NRI whenever incidents occur in the area. The FMs fill the situation reports weekly and are expected to send them every week. However, owing to poor infrastructure in the area, the reports usually reached the NRI with a delay of 10 to 15 days. When these two reports reached to the NRI, the CCs and ACCs code and register the reports into the CEWARN Reporter. The CEWARN Reporter assists the event date analysis methodology used by CEWARN to generate its early warning reports. Expressed in very simple way, the logic of event data analysis could be described as follows: all events considered relevant to conflict/peace (the 52 indicators) are assigned a certain numeric value on a conflict/peace scale. These values can then be aggregated for specific timeframes and displayed graphically in a curve on a timeline. The CC and ACC interpret these values using context-specific analysis and generate reports accordingly. The CCs also control the quality of the data through cross-checking and communicating back to FMs to verify and rectify the data when necessary. In this regard, the CEWARN units also control the quality and timely encoding of data into the database. The CCs then produce three types of reports. These are baseline reports, quarterly updates and early warning alerts.

Baseline reports are initial reports of the clusters that aim at giving an overview of the conflict profile of the area. They contain the cause, actors, history and dynamics of the conflict as well as the socio-economic and political situation of the area. The quarterly updates are standardized reports that are produced on a quarterly basis. They present both positive and negative precursors to the pastoral conflict situation for the past four months as a means to illuminate trends and patterns that can help signaling imminent escalation or mitigate ongoing conflicts in the cluster. They contain the total number and type of incidents, the number of human deaths and livestock loss, and a description of situations that gave rise to conflicts and peace. In addition they analyze structural and proximate conflict aggravating and mitigating factors for the period of review. They also include short and long term recommendations.

The alerts are special reports that are produced whenever a situation of impending crisis of a large scale arises that require a quick response.

Recently, additional reports are being produced by the NRI. These are called monthly reports and they describe the conflict and peace situation of the previous month and are intended to feed into the quarterly updates and keep track of developments in the area.

The CEWARN in operation

The CEWARN Mechanism in Ethiopia is currently operational in two regional clusters: the so-called Karamoja and Somali clusters. The former is fully operational while the later is more recent. Data collection and process of reports production for the Karamoja cluster are operational since August 2003. The three field monitors in the cluster are regularly sending information collected in the area. A baseline study of the area was produced in April 2004. Quarterly updates have been produced on time. These reports were submitted to CEWERU, were discussed and adopted formally by the CEWERU steering committee. They are now posted on the CEWARN website for public use. In addition two alerts about impending crises were produced in July and September 2005 and generated early response from CEWERU, with, as a result, the prevention of a further escalation. Monthly reports have started to be produced since May 2005.

Various trainings were given to the field monitors by both CEWARN and NRI to improve their reporting skills. As a result, the quality of the reports received from the field improved. The CCs also were offered training by

CEWARN unit on the CEWARN methodology. Many discussions were held between CEWARN, CCs, and CEWERU to assess the activities of the mechanism, find solutions to the existing gaps in the data collection, improve the quality of the data itself, as well as establish a better linkage between the NRI, CEWERU and the CEWARN unit.

The early response unit (CEWERU)

The early response unit, as per the protocol, consists of three organs; a steering committee, a focal point and local committees. The focal point, as per the protocol, is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Ministry serves as a focal point for all communication between CEWERU and CEWARN. The Africa Desk of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is entrusted with this task since 2003 in Ethiopia. The steering committee of CEWERU in Ethiopia was established in 2004. Members of the steering committee are drawn from federal government institutions, MPs, CSOs and research institutes. The NRI is also part of the CEWERU steering committee. In the Ethiopian case, the local committees have yet to be established. There are now efforts to establish this organ.

The functions of CEWERU include collecting information relevant to early warning and response, undertaking and reviewing preliminary analysis of the collected information, formulating and initiating response strategies, liaising and cooperating with CSOs and other structures outside CEWARN, and communicating with the CEWARN unit.

According to the rules and procedures governing its meeting, the steering committee will hold four ordinary meetings per year; emergency meetings of steering committee may be convened as deemed necessary upon the request by any member of the committee. The meetings of the steering committee so far coincide with the production of early warning reports by the NRI so as to discuss the reports together with other items of the agenda.

The CEWARN protocol calls for the establishment of CEWERU in the most suitable administrative location leaving the decision to the member states. Currently, the CEWERU in Ethiopia is housed in the ministry of Foreign Affairs. However, it has neither dedicated staff nor a proper budget to run its operation. Rules and procedures that govern its relation with existing government structures and the soon to be established local committees are not yet clear.

CEWERU past activities

By the time of the writing (April 2006), the CEWERU steering committee had held around four meetings since its formal establishment. During these meetings, the steering committee had reviewed, debated, and adopted four quarterly updates and one baseline study and had referred them to Committee of Permanent Secretaries (CPS). Two of these reports were discussed and adopted at the CPS regional meetings held in Addis Ababa and Kenya. The remaining reports referred to the CPS were still pending at the time of the writing, the CPS meetings having yet to be convened.

In addition, the head of the steering committee have reviewed the two early warning alerts that required quick responses and referred them to the pertinent member institutions to take action. Based on these alerts, the institutions have reacted using their own structure to avert the crises.

Understanding the need to establish a local committee, the steering committee is now taking the necessary measures to create the local committees using fund obtained from German Technical Cooperation (GTZ).

The Linkage between the Early Warning Component and the Response Unit

Many argue the uniqueness and strength of CEWARN mechanism lies in its ability to create an appropriate linkage between the early warning system and early response units. This structure and linkage are also emulated at the national level.

As discussed earlier, both the early warning and the response units have been established and are operational in Ethiopia. The two units are also linked institutionally and operationally. The NRI, represented by CC and ACC, is a member of the steering committee of the CEWERU. As part of the steering committee, the NRI attend CEWERU meetings and, together with other members, participate in the formulation and adoption of response strategies as well as in other matters directly related to CEWERU activities.

Conversely, the CEWERU has a role in the early warning activity. It has the mandate to collect and provide information for early warning reports/alerts; it has the right to review, comment and amend early warning reports submitted to them. The CEWERU has also access to the raw field reports so

it can keep track of developments as well as check the accuracies and analysis of early warning reports.

However, the later linkage is not fully operational in the Ethiopian case. This, again, is mainly due to absence of a network of local committees and the gaps in the institutionalization of CEWERU.

Case study: CEWARN alerts and early responses

In order to show how the early warning and early response units actually interoperate, the example of the two alerts generated by the early warning system can be useful. These two alerts were followed by a number of measures undertaken by CEWERU that allowed the conflicts to quickly de-escalate and the situation to return to normal. The two alerts were produced on July 27 and September, 2005 respectively.

CEWARN Alert I, July 27,2005

The first CEWARN alert was related to a conflict that occurred between two cross-border pastoral communities, namely the Dassench of Ethiopia and the Turkana of Kenya. The conflict emerged from the increasing fishing activities on Lake Turkana (Rudolph) by the Dassench fishermen who worked for a government owned enterprise, the Ethiopia Fishing and Marketing enterprise. The Turkana fishermen felt that the increase would deplete the fishing resources of the lake and thus threaten their income/livelihood. Moreover, some of their long time clients, the Kenya Somali traders, began to turn to the Dassench fishermen attracted by the lower prices the later were offering them.

The Turkana launched 10 separate attacks between June 13 and July 23 on the Dassench fishermen to disrupt their fishing activities on the lake. In these attacks, they managed to steal 47 fishing nets. On July 27, the situation escalated to a more alarming level. On that day, the Dassench encircled and ambushed the Turkana who came on motorboats to steal fishing nets. They killed nine of them and seized their motorboats. On the following day, around 20 Kenyan security forces came to the Dassench area and killed three Dassench fishermen.

After these incidents, the NRI produced its first early warning alert. The main reasons that led to the decision to produce the alerts were:

a) A new conflict dimension

The NRI had never encountered incidents over fishing activities between these two communities since it began collecting early warning data. There had been and there still are conflicts between these two communities over other issues, mainly over grazing lands and watering points, but not over fishing grounds. This new dimension indicated that the conflict between these two cross-border communities was expanding to other areas/issues.

b) The involvement of security forces

The NRI had not encountered in the past early warning information that alleged the involvement of government security forces in communal conflicts siding with one of the warring parties. So, the intervention of Kenya security forces on the side of Turkana was a new development and was a concern in that it might invite a reciprocal intervention from Ethiopian security forces, which could eventually transform the conflict into a cross border conflict between government forces.

The conflict indicators (the 52 indicators on the Situation reports) during the time showed a marked increase.

The alert, then, was communicated to the CEWERU head through e-mail on July 27, 2005. The head then passed the information to the relevant member institutions of the steering committee – the Ministry of Federal Affairs and Security, Immigration and Refugees Affairs Authority (SIIRA). The two bodies passed the same information with attached request for necessary measures to the regional and district level officials. In the next two weeks, the following activities were witnessed on the ground:

- Security beefed up on the Ethiopian side of Lake Turkana that restrained the movement of communities in the area. The immediate outcome of this action was a marked decline in fishing net thefts and assaults;
- Representatives of the local administration, elders and women went to a nearby Kenyan town to discuss about the conflict with their Kenyan counterparts. Both sides agreed in principle to return the stolen fishing nets and find ways the two communities can resume fishing on the lake.

At the federal level, the CEWERU head referred the case to the Ethio-Kenyan joint border commission that is set up to deal with cross borders issues between the two countries. The issue is now one of the cases

reviewed by the border commission. The conflict has now more or less de-escalated. Although there were few incidents later in October, they were largely isolated incidents.

CEWARN Alert II, September 9, 2005

The second alert was about the conflict that occurred between two pastoral communities who live on the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja cluster: the Nyangatom and Dassench. The conflict began on June 4, 2005. Up to the time the alert was produced a total of 10 violent incidents of reprisal and counter-reprisal nature occurred between these two communities. As a result of these incidents, 10 people were killed and 220 cattle were stolen. The NRI decided to produce the alerts based on the following reasons:

a) Involvement of elders

The past patterns of pastoral conflicts in the area indicated the elders in these communities normally play a crucial peace-making role. They engage themselves in reconciliation activities and promote the values of prevention. But in this particularly conflict, the elders of both communities were actively encouraging the youth to attack the other by giving pre-raid blessings and post-raid recognitions.

b) Area coverage of the conflict

Most of the conflicts that occurred between the two communities in the past concentrated on few areas. They had not involved the whole communities. In this particular case, the conflict that initially seemed to concentrate on few areas was spreading to other areas. Youth from far away areas (kebeles) were observed coming to the actual incident areas to aid their communities. In addition, elders from far away kebeles were blessing and sending youths to go and fight.

c) Involvements of communities that live across the border

Nyangatom and Topossa communities who live in the neighboring Sudan and who have strong ties with the Nyangatom of Ethiopia began to cross the border to assist the later. This was a concern as it had the potential of transforming what was a local conflict into cross border one, thus complicating further the issue.

d) Limited capacity of the district administration

Following the much contested May election in Ethiopia, there was a reshuffle of officials at the zonal and Wereda level. This reshuffle had created gap and limited the local administration capacity to act and contain the escalating situation.

After we produced the alert based on the above-mentioned reasons, the CCs together with the CEWARN unit staff made an appointment with the CEWERU head for a briefing. After the briefing, the head concurred with us on the need to initiate early actions. He faxed the alert on the same day to selected members of the steering committee – the Ministry of Federal Affairs, SIIRA, the Federal police and Ministry of National Defense. The later replied to the CEWERU head by stating that the ministry had no mandate to intervene in the situation unless it was specifically requested by the regional government as per the constitution. The other member institutions wrote letter to the regional and local government and security institutions to closely monitor the situation and take proper actions. After the message was passed down to the regional and local authorities, the following activities and results were observed:

- Deployment of local security forces and militia which deterred the two communities from engaging in violent activities;
- Increased activity by local officials to bring the two communities together and reconcile their differences.

Owing to this increased peace activity by local officials (also assisted by a local NGO), elders of the two communities finally met in October and agreed to resolve the differences. Subsequently, many negotiations and peace conferences were held in November and December, whereby the two communities reached an agreement on many issues, among which were joint utilization of resources and bringing to justice those who committed crimes and disturbed the peace. As a consequence, we observed a marked decline in violent incidents between these two communities. Without taking much of the credit from the efforts of local officials (and some NGOs), it can be fairly argued that the alert and the actions taken by the CEWARN mechanism in Ethiopia has contributed to the emergence of this peaceful relationship between these two communities.

Achievements and challenges of the CEWARN mechanism in Ethiopia

Assessment of the CEWARN mechanism in Ethiopia is discerned from the structure, linkage and activities of its two components. The assessment is not exhaustive and only highlights the main accomplishments and challenges based on the personal observation of the writer in his capacity as the assistant country coordinator for Ethiopia.

Incorporation of CSOs in the mechanism and development of trust and close working relationship between CSOs and government agencies

One of the strengths of CEWARN, many argue, is the involvement of CSOs in its operations. As indicated earlier, the early warning component is handled by CSO or the National Research Institute. This has enabled the collection of data and production of independent, unbiased and objective reports. This arrangement has alleviated the fear that the objectivity of early warning reports could be compromised if they were handled by government agencies due to their vested interests. This does not mean, however, that all CSOs are non-partisan and free from vested interests. With this in mind, this fear is counter-checked by the arrangement that requires the reports to be reviewed by the CEWERU before being adopted.

The trust that has developed over time between NRI and CEWERU is also commendable in the Ethiopian context. Members of CEWERU institutions show great esteem in the information and the recommendation put forward in the reports. Some are using the reports for their internal consumption. Suspicion and mistrust towards the reports and the work of NRI are not evident. This trust and collaboration between CSOs and government agencies will be further enhanced by the creation of the local committees. It is already agreed in principle that CSOs and government agencies at the local level will be members of the local committee. Thus, the role of CSOs and collaboration between CSOs and government agencies at the response side would be greatly increased. This collaboration is in line with the growing awareness that the threats to human security are becoming complex and require a concerted effort of various actors at various levels.

Political will

There is a strong positive political will and enthusiasm from the CEWERU side to make the mechanism relevant and effective. This is manifested by

the full attendance of member institutions, by the seriousness of reviewing the reports, and by the depth of the discussions during the steering committee meetings.

This political will has also been translated into action. The responses taken following the two consecutive alerts can be mentioned as an example of this development. Similarly, the activities that are now being undertaken to form local committees further underline the fact that the rhetoric has now become reality.

The incremental approach adopted by CEWARN has bore its fruits. It started with relatively less sensitive security issue and contributed therefore to the development of the political good will.

The strength of the early warning unit

Perhaps the most developed unit of the CEWARN mechanism is the early warning unit. The information collection and production of early warning reports is now active and operational. The quality of data collection and the reports generated are constantly improving. This is made possible by a constant reviewing and assessment of the activities of the unit, the technical support provided by the CEWARN unit at the head office, and the various training and re-trainings provided based on regular needs assessment. By stating this, however, it shall not be implied that there are no obstacles to the operation of the early warning unit. There are indeed obstacles and they are treated in a subsequent section.

Creation of a body of knowledge

Aside from its use for early response, the early warning system has generated a body of knowledge on the nature of pastoral conflict and its implication for the lives and livelihoods of pastoral communities in the cluster. This body of knowledge would be relevant to interested academic, and government policy-makers. It would also be relevant to NGOs and other development agents to elaborate conflict sensitive development and peace-building programs.

Weak institutional capacity of the CEWERU

The CEWARN protocol calls for the institutionalization of the CEWERU and also to be housed in the more suitable location as member states decide. Currently, the CEWARN in Ethiopia is housed in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Whether this is the appropriate institution to house the CEWERU or not is a question. Even leaving this question aside, the CEWERU as it stands now lacks a strong institutional capacity. The response unit does not have a budget, a dedicated staff and nor does it have regulation governing its relationship with member institutions. This has created a problem for its performance despite the obvious existence of an underlying political will. The actions undertaken by CEWERU in response to the two alerts were *ad-hoc* in nature. In the near future, CEWERU is likely to have its staff increased and rules and regulation are currently drafted that will help structure its functions.

Absence of Local Committee

One component of the CEWERU, the local committees, has not been yet established . The creation of these committees is crucial for the effectiveness of CEWERU. Their establishment will increase the response options, improve the formulation of response strategies and enhance the effectiveness as well as sustainability of early actions. These committees will also be crucial in providing early warning information to the NRI and CEWERU, in addition and parallel to the FMs's observations. Clear rules and procedures should be drafted outlining the functions of the committees, guide their relation with the steering committee and CEWERU office located at the federal level.

Absence of collaboration mechanisms with structures outside CEWERU

There are various actors relevant for the work of CEWERU that have no formal relation with the unit. These agencies include CSOs and government bodies at various levels of government. It would be difficult to incorporate all these actors in the CEWERU structure. However, to establish a formal collaboration mechanism or network with these institutions would certainly enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of CEWERU activities. For instance, as the case study showed, there already exists a bilateral

mechanism, a joint-border commission, that has been created to handle cross-border issues. And the CEWERU has referred one of the issues to this commission. This kind of collaboration should be emulated with other agencies.

Poor communication Infrastructure

One of the cardinal elements of early warning system is the timeliness of the early warning information. If early warning reports are not based on real time information, they will lose their essence. In this regard, due to the poor communication infrastructure in the areas of reporting, the FMs are facing difficulties in sending their reports on time. In addition, due to lack of awareness about the CEWARN mechanism in the area, the FMs are facing difficulties in collecting information relevant to early warning.

There are now steps undertaken by the NRI to resolve these issues through contacting the officials at the district level and encouraging their assistance to the FMs. As a result, some improvements are being observed. The creation of local committee and establishment of working mechanism with other actors, in this regard, are also very important to resolve the issue once and for all.

Heavy reliance on field reports from FMs

The FMs are the beginning and end of CEWARN's data collection. The early warning reports produced by the NRI heavily depend on the incident and situation reports sent by the FMs. Notwithstanding the importance of this information from the FMs, there is, however, a downside risk from relying exclusively on these field reports. There is a possibility that FMs could report biased information or withhold important information to the benefit of their own group as most of them come from the same communities he/she is stationed. There is also possibility that the FMs can miss incident or other important events due to the distance of the area he/she covers. These risks are well noted by the NRI and are frequently raised by CEWARN. There are now measures undertaken by the NRI to decrease this reliance. The CCs are now collecting secondary data about the area as well as are establishing linkage with other sources, such as MPs, NGOs staff who are active and have knowledge about the area. The creation of local committee will also help in this area.

Lack of minimum criteria or threshold to initiate alerts

There is lack of minimum criteria/threshold to initiate alerts. The two alerts produced so far were solely based on the judgments of CCs and FMs in view of past patterns of pastoral conflicts in the area. Although analytical judgments are important, more formal minimum criteria/threshold should also be developed to avoid the potential of false alarms and squandering of resources that would be mobilized to respond to these false alerts. There is also the need to develop a common understanding with the response units on when to initiate early action.

Conclusion

The CEWARN mechanism in Ethiopia has been operational since 2003. All key components of the system have been established in some form, except for the local committees. Since its inception the mechanism has produced a number of early warning reports and alerts. Most of these reports were reviewed and adopted, and the alerts in particular generated useful early actions. The mechanism in its short period of existence has already scored a number of achievements, but has also faced many challenges. The challenges have been identified. The mechanism has begun undertaking a number of measures to overcome them. Creating local committees drawn from government and CSOs, diversifying the sources of early warning information, and building their institutional capacity are some of these measures. If these measures are fully implemented, and accompanied by periodic performance assessment, then the CEWARN mechanism can become an effective tool to prevent and mitigate internal and cross-border conflicts.

SUDAN'S EXPERIENCE WITH IGAD'S EARLY WARNING MECHANISM

Mohammed Ahmed Abdelghaffar

IGAD's early warning mechanism made its debut in the Sudan. The Khartoum Declaration of November 23, 2000, that concluded the 8th IGAD summit called for the preparation of a draft protocol on the establishment of the Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) on issues pertaining to peace and security. The IGAD's 9th summit held for the second consecutive time in Khartoum in January 2002 was the occasion of the signature of the protocol that established formally the CEWARN mechanism.

Before discussing the IGAD's early warning mechanism and its application in Sudan, a few historical considerations to situate the process leading to the CEWARN mechanism could prove useful. IGAD is in fact the successor of the former Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD), which was created in 1986 by six states - Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, Somalia, Ethiopia, and Djibouti²⁸-, and inherited from its approach to the problems of the region.

In the past decades, the Horn of Africa region has suffered from an extreme wave of drought and desertification leading to great human tragedies. This region and its neighbors experienced severe famine, displacement and death during an extended period between the end of the 1970s and the early 1980s. Drought and desertification were not the only reasons for displacement; political crises and wars were also raging. The Ogaden war in the second half of the 1970s, the tensions in Somalia at the end of the 1980s, and the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea were major causes of chaos and instability.

The immense tragedy resulting from this combination of natural disasters and man-made crises attracted the world attention. Western states with a colonial past in the region were willing to assist. They were willing to

address the humanitarian situation, but wanted also to deal with the underlying causes of the conflicts.

Western states, and in particular some European states, had vested interests in the region and the European Community was keen to initiate development projects. One of these projects was the ambitious plan to connect the states of the continent by a road crossing the continent from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic, and crisscrossing the axis that linked the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean and the South African Cape Town. Discussion about the project had started about half a century ago without materializing.

This led eight Western states to call on the states of the horn of Africa to establish a regional organization with the triple aim of co-coordinating humanitarian assistance in famine affected areas, setting up means of combating drought and desertification, and resettling the refugees and the displaced. These states were Sweden, Norway, Holland, Italy, France, Britain, U.S.A., and Canada.

In January 1986 the then six states of the region welcomed the principle of the association and an inaugural meeting was convened in Djibouti which founded officially the IGADD. That was the beginning of the first intergovernmental association to combat drought and desertification. The Western states called themselves “friends of the association”.

When the situation improved in the early 1990s, IGAD friends decided that the time was ripe for adding to the humanitarian assistance a new basket of infrastructural development projects. This necessitated a revision of the statutes of the association. While the acronym of the association remained quasi unchanged – the Inter Governmental Association for Development (IGAD) -, the status of IGAD “friends” was upgraded. They appeared this time as “partners” of the association in order to reflect the new role they intended to assume in the region. The current IGAD association was established in this new form in 1994.

IGAD and Conflict Resolution

The principle that stability paves the way to development - and *vice versa* – is well established. The new philosophy on which IGAD rested assumed that an exclusive focus on humanitarian assistance is detrimental to development as it leads inevitably to dependence; hence IGAD favored to proceed in parallel, at a similar pace, with development and humanitarian

assistance. From its inception, the consensus was that the progressive removal of reasons for regional conflicts was the main precondition of future infrastructural projects connecting the states in the region.

Conflicts can emerge from a variety of reasons. International conflicts are often related to ideology or borders, or both; international conflicts can also originate from non-governmental factors such as cross border tribal conflicts. Usually, tribal disputes are related with the degradation of the environment and the scarcity of resources. A violent culture and armed robberies affecting transnational tribes may also trigger larger-scale conflicts between governments.

IGAD has promoted actively stability and development by attempts at resolving conflicts between governments. Since its inception in 1994, IGAD sought also to mediate in the southern Sudan conflict through its Declaration of Principle initiative in 1995. Both the government and the SPLM have responded to this Declaration in 1997 and negotiations started under a quadripartite committee chaired by Kenya; these negotiations took a serious turn in 2002, with the signing of a first protocol of agreement, and led gradually to the January 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement. IGAD has also been actively involved in searching for solutions in the internal conflict in Somalia.

It may be by accident - or for more profound reasons – that IGAD has assumed a mediating role in internal conflict in the region. Indeed this role that surfaced in 1994 coincided with the project of the Agenda for Peace or, in other words, the “preventive diplomacy” advocated by UN Secretary General Butros Ghali. The Agenda for Peace doctrine was first formulated in a 1992 UN Summit; the heated debates that followed that Summit led to a new formulation in 1995. Serious troubles affected the region during the years 1993 and 1994. Somalia became the theater of the first international intervention on humanitarian basis and triggered a methodological controversy between UN Secretary General (Butros Ghali) and the USA (Madeleine Albright, USA permanent representative at the UN General Assembly).

Early Warning Mechanism of IGAD

The idea of establishing the early warning mechanism of IGAD seems to have emerged in 1998. IGAD was seriously lacking an instrument through which it could initiate consultations, negotiations, and follow-up to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts. There was no mechanism to coordinate a

regional response when facing humanitarian situations which, inevitably, affect neighboring states.

The initial project was to create a standardized mechanism enabling to reach all administrative levels of the member states of the region, dilute the over-centralized principle of decision-making, and strengthen the capacity of individuals and institutions with correlative accompanying programs of human resources development.

Focusing on violent conflicts, three features became central in the mechanism conceived:

- Setting-up an early warning system;
- Developing a decision-making process on the basis of know-how;
- Formulating effective response to face violent conflicts.

Nomads are a main actor in cross border conflicts. The very nature of the nomadic life-style requires constant movement following the seasonal availability of water and grazing pastures, regardless of administrative and international borders. This mobility presupposes good and harmonious relations with resident populations and other nomad communities. It should be added that pastoralism is an important factor of the wealth of the region and a key to the economy of rural communities.

Nomadic life conditions have been dramatically negatively affected in the last three decades. Among the most critical factors for the steady deterioration that we have witnessed in the past decades are wars, drought and desertification, modern development projects, new understanding of administrative borders, and social change. Correlated closely with this pattern, three types of conflicts involving pastoralist communities have constantly increased: conflicts between nomads and farmers communities, conflicts between nomads across borders, and conflict with state authorities.

The phenomenon of violent pastoralist conflict in the region is not new. It started when colonial authorities allowed the private acquisition of large plots of land using a private property scheme. This had led in Uganda, for instance, to major conflicts between nomads and the state when the latter sought to control these lands. As the state increasingly adopted a repressive policy, the pastoralist communities were driven to marginal areas or resorted to criminality as a mean to survive. Nomads acquired firearms that they use in cattle raids or to protect themselves against the state security services.

In northern Kenya colonial decisions over the administrative division of the territory and international borders did not take into account the local social systems and the specific needs of pastoralist communities. This had serious consequences. In addition to arbitrary borders which cut across tribes and were insensitive to the land use customs, the living conditions of the nomadic tribes deteriorated rapidly as a result of ecological and developmental changes.

Robbery became increasingly organized and structured around so-called “warlords”. The phenomenon flourished in the border triangle between Kenya, Sudan and Uganda. Robbery spread into the area of Torkana and Karamong in Uganda, and Tabasa on Sudan's border.

At the Kenyan-Ethiopian border, frequent rebel activity could be observed and this led to the speculation that the Oromo liberation front was using Kenya as sanctuary. Consequently, the Ethiopian military crossed the Kenyan border many times searching for rebels. These incursions strained the relations with Kenya.

The Ethiopian-Somali border became also the theater of conflicts between nomadic Somali fractions over water resources and grazing pasture in the Ogaden region. The conflict was exacerbated by the involvement of outside political forces using the situation to propagate the idea of a Greater Somalia. The result was the Ogaden war of 1977-1978; conflicts between nomads have persisted ever since.

A common feature of these conflict areas is the lack of road infrastructure. Communication is poor. The capacity of the state authorities to assert themselves in these regions is often deficient and the provision of law and order services is quasi absent. Furthermore, social services such as education, health, and veterinary services have consistently deteriorated over time, leading local communities to resent the absence of the state and their social and economical marginalization.

To tackle these issues is clearly a challenge for the states of the region. They run the risk to be responsive only in time of violent conflict, while they prove unable to address in the long run the underlying issues which triggered in the first place the conflicts.

The overall approach of the IGAD early warning mechanism is to seek the help of civil society organizations, tribal elders, religious leader, the youth and the women in the establishment of more formal conflict settlement arrangements in international borders areas. This philosophy built on the

experience that local information and understanding of conflict dynamic exist; the information is available at the local level. The cardinal issue was therefore to create a mechanism that allows this information to reach the authorities and to develop an instrument of co-ordination between these groups and the formal authorities for problem-solving.

Of course, the challenge is not just to create a co-ordination mechanism. An EWS would serve its function only if it is able to help addressing the more structural factors of pastoralist conflicts, such as the revision of administrative frameworks, the establishment of development schemes or the formulation of encompassing policies in pastoralist areas.

While there is a considerable wealth of experience with natural disasters early warning systems, this is not the case with conflict early warning systems. This lack of previous experience is considered as the most critical single challenge faced by the early warning mechanism established by the 2002 Khartoum protocol.

Specialists have tried to develop early warning systems based on models of civil conflicts and the identification of factors leading to armed conflicts. Their predictions were verified in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1993 and in Rwanda in 1994. They were based on highly complicated intelligence networks and NGOs working in the areas vulnerable to human catastrophe.

What is needed in a EWS is not just information on the cause and process of conflict escalation. A preventive EWS required an understanding on what kind of measure can lead to rapid de-escalation and long-term problem-solving.

It seems also quite critical that the early warning mechanism operate with some level of independence from the state intelligence services as states might have vested interests in the crisis itself. This leads to the intricate question: Can states, regardless of their own interest, recruit resources and formal organs to provide the information that EWS need?

Experience tells that small events, isolated incidents, have the potential to trigger larger ones. With this in mind, experts in early warning have created systems using a large number of indicators that allow them to decipher hidden information in events and identify patterns leading to major conflicts.

Among these indicators, we can name “securing food”, “guaranteeing jobs and income”, “human rights violations”, “ethnic and religious troubles”,

“inequality” and “military activity”. These indicators are regrouped into larger categories of variable. For instance, there are indicators related to structural troubles and social inequality. Others relate to demography, such as the size, composition and distribution of the population. Others are indicators of economic development. Others belong to the category of food availability and the environment. Still others are related to the issue of the legitimacy of the regime. Some indicators allow measuring the level of coercion and of media freedoms. Others measure the degree of external threats. The system incorporates also historical indicators that are believed to be relevant in predicting the future.

It should be stressed that not all indicators are “government related”. There are indicators that allow to measure civil strife with no direct involvement of the state. These conflicts, of course, have repercussions on the state as they may lead eventually to a state collapse. If the government is an actor in the conflict, the early warning system treats the government response in a dichotomous way, either as negotiating or suppressing the rebel movement. If the government is not involved directly, the EWS systems analyze its role as mediator in the conflict.

The challenge facing IGAD's specific early warning system mechanism is that is that its main focus – pastoralist conflicts – is a typical case where the state is not involved directly, but only indirectly. At one point of time, the conflict will escalate to the point where the state will have no choice but to be involved. Another interesting issue of the conflict early warning system of IGAD is that information from other natural and environmental disasters early warning mechanisms are relevant only at a very early stage of a model for conflict. The information from these natural catastrophe systems has often little relevance to the analysis of the immediate conflict dynamic.

Pastoralist conflicts are therefore a very specific issue with unusual features that required IGAD experts to develop more or less a *sui generi* analytic framework. That was the most critical challenge that IGAD faced when it needed to develop its analytic instrument.

Currently, IGAD's early warning mechanism faces new, down-to-earth challenges: it needs to set-up clear, specific and long-term strategies that will allow achieving the objectives for which the mechanism was established in the first place. In this respect the protocol needs to be revised to allow the extension of the application of the mechanism to other areas than the first pilot project so as to include the Sudanese-Kenyan-Ugandan border triangle and the Ethiopian-Eritrean border area.

The extension of the mandate of CEWARN is a political issue and will require transparent discussions. It should become a key component of the strategy for the next five years.

Sudan's Experience with IGAD's Early Warning Mechanism

The IGAD early warning mechanism – the CEWARN – is formally called a programme. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government, which is the IGAD supreme body and the Council of Ministers, which is composed of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and one other Focal Minister designated by each member state, supervise the mechanism. The Committee of Ambassadors, which is comprised of IGAD member states' Ambassadors or Plenipotentiaries accredited to the country of IGAD Headquarters, advises and guides the Executive Secretary of IGAD.

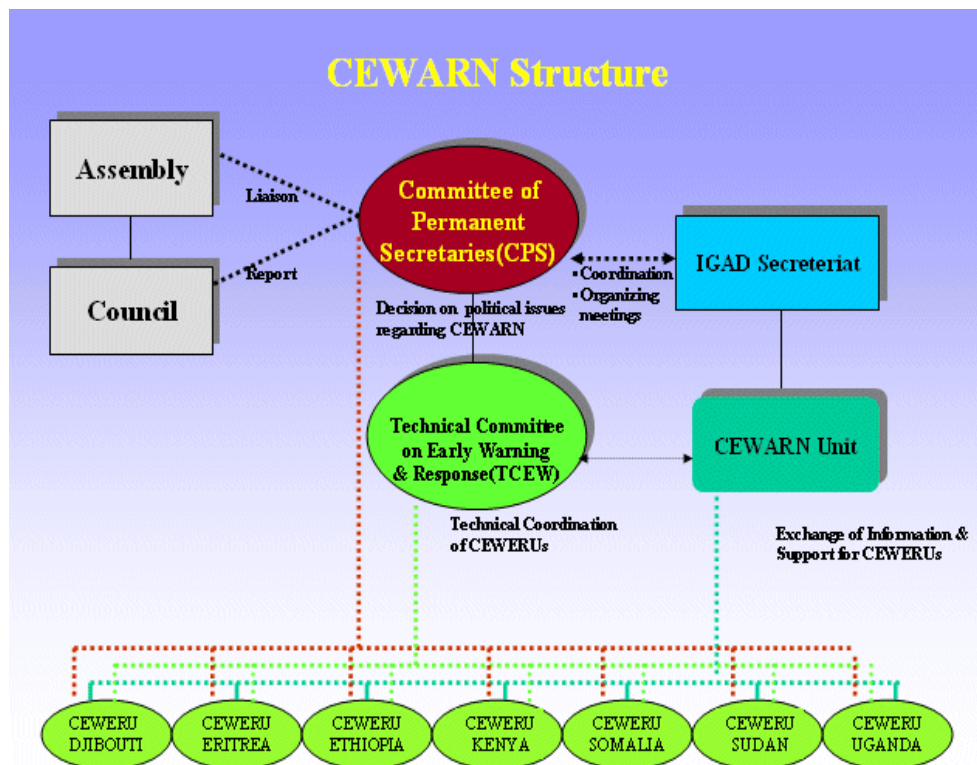
At the CEWARN operational level, the Committee of Permanent Secretaries (CPS), composed by undersecretaries of the member states, is formally responsible for political decisions on CEWARN and works closely with the IGAD Secretariat (see diagramme below)²⁹. At operational level, a CEWARN unit has been instituted and tasked with the co-ordination and supervision of the national units or CEWERUs. In the CEWARN unit, all seven member states are represented. This Unit facilitates the exchanges of information and builds capacity of the national CEWERUs.

The third level of the mechanism is composed by the seven national CEWERUs.

The CPS meets twice a year and submit its reports directly to the Council of Ministers. The Technical Committee– constituted by the respective Heads of national units of the member states in addition to a representative of civil society institutions and a representative of a research center – meets twice a year and report directly to the CPS.

The function of the Council of Ministers is to exchange information on conflicts and early warning and to insure that the Heads of States and Governments are informed appropriately.

The function of the Technical Committee is to promote co-operation between national mechanisms and insure communication with the IGAD secretariat. It also validates the information and the reports of the advisory bodies. The Committee of Ambassadors to IGAD in Djibouti also fulfills follow-up and co-ordination functions between their government and IGAD.



The CEWARN has no supranational authority. It operates within strict terms of reference, which can be summarized as follows:

- It does not deal with conflicts between member states, especially conflicts of governmental nature. Such conflicts are referred to IGAD directly;
- It does not deal with civil conflict between government and rebel groups supported by governments across the borders;
- It is only concerned with the provision of early warning and information that enable governments to prevent pastoralist conflicts where governments are not party to the conflict from escalating.
- It does not intervene to prevent and solve conflicts; it only provides precise verified information to the states concerned in order to enable them to take measures for preventing the conflict.

Currently, Sudan has established national unit (CEWERU) of early warning and response and a focal point at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Two workshop organized by the Khartoum mechanism were held in the Sudan. The first in August 2003 with the aim of providing information of the interested Sudanese circles about the initiation of the mechanism and the role required by them; the second in August 2004 to launch the national mechanism of early warning through a meeting with the steering committee and be acquainted with to its logistics needs for the purpose of providing them. Since the inception of the regional mechanism of early warning, the CPS and the early warning Technical Committee held four regional meetings, the latest in date being a meeting in June 2005 in Nairobi.

A series of meetings were held at the level of the Steering Committee of the CEWERU to elaborate the precise terms of reference requested by the mechanism for the local level of the mechanism. The Steering Committee in Sudan was formed in August 2004. Representatives of the Sudanese national government were nominated for the Technical Committee and the CPS and have therefore been able to participate to the work of these bodies.

Sudan has experienced a number of practical and logistical difficulties in the implementation of CEWARN at national level:

- The pilot area of Karamoja includes a large portion of the Sudan territory. The CEWARN mechanism is operational in the Ethiopian-Kenyan and the Kenyan-Ugandan borders. It is not operational however on the side of the Sudanese-Ethiopian, Sudanese-Kenyan, and Sudanese-Ugandan border in the Karamoja zone due to the war in Southern Sudan.³⁰. While the Comprehensive Peace Agreement signed in January 2005 has stabilized the situation on the Sudanese side of Karamoja cluster, the implementation of the mechanism still faces two challenges on the Sudanese side:

The *first* challenge is to design successful linkages between the committee for demobilization, disarmament and reintegration of ex-combatants (DDR) and the CEWERU local committees as well as the national steering committees working with in the national early warning units. Linkages need also to be made between research institutions and civil society organizations. Concretely, this means that the national committee of DDR - in which the National Congress, SPLM and UN are represented - should provide the information required on the Sudanese side of the Karamoja cluster; they have the resources to do this job and should pass the information to the early warning local committees and

eventually to the research institutions and the civil society organizations which deal with the regional mechanism of IGAD through the focal point of the CPS.

The *second* challenge relates to the rebel activities of the Ugandan Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in southern Sudan. The Government of National Unity and the Government of Southern Sudan work in close co-ordination with the Ugandan government to drive these forces outside the Sudanese territory. This is considered a delicate situation. In principle, the Technical Committee of early warning is not allowed to pass any information on the LRA as the CEWARN mechanism applies currently only to pastoralist conflicts; at the same time, the LRA operates without support of any state of the region and, in this sense, the protocol of CEWARN would perfectly apply to this movement if the regional mechanism were to be extended to cover other conflicts as well.

- Currently, the national CEWERU in Sudan lacks the appropriate financial means to run its operations. When the CEWERU was established in August 2004 in Sudan, it was decided that the University of Juba Peace and Development Studies Center would function as the research center tasked with the reception of information, its analysis and the submission of reports to the national CEWERU. The national Steering Committee needed to have an official headquarter and be able to coordinate with the other institutions of the mechanism. Representative of civil society organizations had been appointed in the Steering Committee together with the head of the research center and the head of technical committee for early warning. However, it is quite obvious that without a budget the CEWERU institutions cannot function properly. They need human resources, premises and financial means to operate at both national and local level. IGAD's regional mechanism for early warning is currently dependent on donations from Western states, either directly or through NGOs, to cover the expenses of meetings, workshops accommodation and travel expense of participants. These donations are also used in financing researches and study projects implemented by consultancies. Using available resources, the regional mechanism has provided some equipment to the Sudanese CEWERU. However, the delay in obtaining premises for its headquarters has affected negatively the implementation of the mechanism in Sudan. Except for what is obtained through the regional coordination unit of CEWARN (logistic, travel and accommodation for participants in

meetings), there are no substantial financial resources made available to the national committee and the local committees in Sudan. There is a need to obtain resources for the premises as well as the running cost of the mechanism.

- Another point is the issue of information and its flow (see text box) and the issue of transparency. The information circulate vertically at the levels of the organs and units from sub-national to the national and eventually the regional level to activate the early warning process and trigger an appropriate response. This requires transparency in dealing with information. The issue of transparency is in fact quite delicate. There is a widespread belief that a hidden agenda is at work. Many of the actors who detain information refrain from passing it due to their concerns over the circles that may utilize them for what is viewed as an hostile action.

The basic tenets of the *information flow* are the following:

- The focal point of the member state deals with IGAD secretariat through the CEWERU.
- CEWERU deals directly with the co-ordination unit of CEWARN.
- As for the Steering Committee of CEWERU – composed of the co-ordination unit and the respective representatives of the army and police, research units, civil societies, and central government – it deals directly with the representatives of the state and civil society on various local levels of conflict areas.
- Researches and analysis reports in addition to interviews conducted by visitors from the regional mechanism for early warning are compiled in so-called unified country report and passed to the IGAD's General Secretariat early warning unit. This unit verifies these reports and deal with them at the local level in co-operation with the national co-ordination unit and with the General Secretariat of IGAD, which in turn passes these reports to the focal point of representative in the CPS.

This is true for instance in the case of Sudan, in its eastern and western region. In a context of feverish activity of some organizations and international double standards, institutions with information in Sudan are particularly careful with passing information that nobody knows where it ends.

The issue of transparency is particularly salient when it comes to passing information to the regional level of

the mechanism in local conflicts as other states may then access to that information. This is one of the main obstacles that impacted negatively

until now on the implementation of the mechanism in Sudan, from its the research aspects to the financial questions.

Considering the prospect of an extension of the application of the mechanism beyond the current pilot areas (Karamoja, Turkana and Somalia), so for instance to the Sudanese-Ethiopian and Sudanese-Eritrean borders, it should be stressed here that there are no pastoralist conflicts in these areas. As far as other conflicts are concerned, Sudan may prefer to deal with the issues on a bilateral basis. Similarly, given that the governments are the main players in the tensions between Somalia and Eritrea, this conflict lies outside the realm of application of CEWARN. The main precondition for an exchange of information, coordination and cooperation is the existence of good relationship between two neighboring states; in the absence of such relationship it is difficult to see how transparent and reliable information can be exchanged.

Following this reasoning, the responsibility of establishing and developing better relations between member states lies in the IGAD itself at the highest level, not in the CEWARN.

Consolidating, enabling and activating civil society organizations and community-based organizations strengthen the capacity of Sudan to deal with its own conflicts. In other words, there is a need for a national mechanism of EWS with linkages to smaller early warning units to deal with local authorities and provide timely and appropriate responses.

- Finally, the issue of response is a major challenge faced by the early warning process, not just at the regional level but also the national and local sub-national levels. This is a missing link. Until today, no decision has been taken with regard to the process of coordination of the response to a crisis at all level of the mechanism. Similarly, the reaction process to an alarm between CEWARN and the Head of States and Governments of IGAD has never been defined.

Conclusion

IGAD's regional mechanism for early warning has not just been born in Sudan; a number of the best Sudanese professionals officiate in its leading organs. Sudan has a responsibility to support the mechanism, take initiatives to strengthen and activate the organization, and suggest an enlargement of its application in the border areas. Sudan special circumstances, with a

diversity of cultural and ethnic backgrounds, are a comparative advantage. The majority of its population is made out of rural communities living with pastoral tribes. Sudan has an important geopolitical position recognized by a number of neighboring countries.

Sudan has benefited from the good offices of the African Union to help solving conflicts with some neighboring countries. It has benefited from the mediation of IGAD to solve an internal conflict. Now, it is the turn of Sudan to facilitate the issue of conflict resolution between pastoralist and farmers communities at the level of the regional mechanism for early warning.

The various methods adopted in conflict resolution have provided Sudan with an experience that qualifies it for that role.

A CONFLICT EARLY WARNING SYSTEM AS SUPPORT OF THE COMPREHENSIVE PEACE AGREEMENT

Jakkie Cilliers

In the context of the fragility of the peace and the absence of a fully functioning, legitimate state system across much of Sudan after several decades of war, the establishment of a neutral conflict prevention and early warning capacity dedicated to support the political transition could fill an urgent void, that of the provision of independent information and analysis.

When it comes to the application of early warning theory to conflict prevention practice, we need to ‘mind the gap’ – reflected in a 1996 report on early warning:

“There appears to be two forms of early warning: one in theory and one in practice. ...While international organizations frequently articulate an interest in conflict prevention, in practice they are almost solely concerned with the settlement or management of existing disputes.”³¹

Different to intelligence systems that serve a national security purpose with a focus is on high quality and often secret sources of information, early warning systems typically serve intergovernmental purposes and are based on networks and open sources for their information. Early warning systems originated with the requirement (within humanitarian relief agencies) for a single, reliable source of analysis to serve a coalition of clients rather than a single government. Domestically conflict early warning systems are complex and fraught with all kinds of problems since they are easily be perceived to be agents of or hostile to state security interests within the context of an undemocratic or non-responsive state – or, as is the case in Sudan – where state power is contested.

Some General Pointers

Generically the aim of conflict early warning is to identify critical developments in a timely manner, so that coherent response strategies can be formulated to either prevent violent conflict or limit its destructive effects. Effective early warning involves the collection and analysis of data in a uniform and systematized way and according to a commonly shared methodology. It requires the formulation and communication of analysis and policy options to relevant end-users – information towards action.

In a basic form, conflict early warning needs to tackle:

- Which issues (manifestations, precipitating, proximate and root causes) underpin and drive the conflict?
- Which factors put a brake on conflict and serve as the basis for peace?
- Who are the main stakeholders in the conflict?
- What are the practical options available to policy-makers who wish to affect the emerging conflict, avoid human suffering in the short term and move toward a sustainable settlement in the longer term?

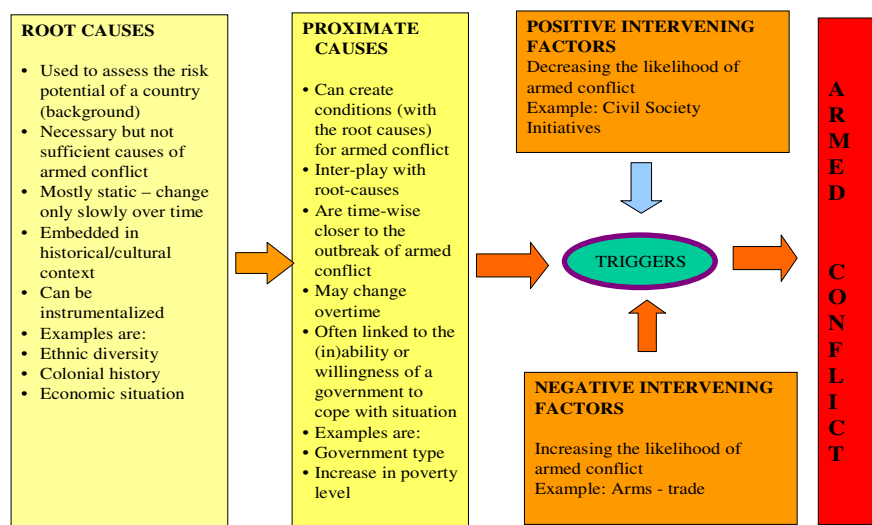


Figure 1: Schematic display of a conflict EWS³²

The timely communication and engagement with policy-makers - to close the loop from analysis to action. These are all highly political and partisan questions within Sudan and within the region and considerable thought would have to go into designing a system and in the choice of partners in such a system.

CEWARN in the Horn of Africa

The African Union's Continental Early Warning System (CEWS) at continental level and regional systems including that of CEWARN system under the umbrella of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in the Horn of Africa were established to avoid inter-state conflict and secondly to stop national problems from becoming regional headaches. CEWARN is, however, more specific and focused than that found elsewhere in Africa.

Article 5 on the functions of CEWARN reads, in part, as follows:

“1) The functions of CEWARN cover both early warning and response and shall include the following:

- a) Promote the exchange of information and collaboration among member states on early warning and response on the basis of the following principles:
 - i) timeliness
 - ii) transparency
 - iii) cooperation
 - iv) free flow of information
- b) Gather, verify, process and analyse information about conflicts in the region according to the guidelines provided in the Annex.
- c) Communicate all such information and analysis to decision makers of IGAD policy organs and the national governments of Member States.”

The annex to the CEWARN protocol that sets out the ‘Operating Guidelines for CEWARN’, reads, in part, as follows:

“Part I: Mandate

- 1) CEWARN is mandated to:

- a. receive and share information concerning potentially violent conflicts as well as their outbreak and escalation in the IGAD region;
- b. undertake and share analyses of that information;
- c. develop case scenarios and formulate options for response;
- d. share and communicate information, analyses and response options;
- e. carry out studies on specific types and areas of conflict in the IGAD region.

Currently CEWARN is primarily aimed at providing early warning to national response mechanisms located within an appropriate government ministry such as the Department of Foreign Affairs (in the case of Ethiopia) and the Office of the President, Provincial Administration and Internal Security (in the case of Kenya). It does so in respect of the following matters in the Annex to the CEWARN protocol:

“Part II: Information

1) CEWARN shall rely for its operations on information that is collected from the public domain, particularly in the following areas:

- a. livestock rustling;
- b. conflicts over grazing and water points;
- c. smuggling and illegal trade;
- d. nomadic movements;
- e. refugees;
- f. landmines;
- g. banditry.”

At the moment CEWARN focuses on the increasingly violent pastoral conflict along border areas that is fuelled by the availability and presence of small arms. This followed a detailed analysis of the enduring nature of the various cross-border problems and the debilitating impact that armed cattle theft has in the region. The signature of the CEWARN protocol on January 9 2002 was followed by a series of expert workshops and consultancies that eventually provided the substantive theoretical basis for the subsequent system.

CEWARN is in many ways unique. On the one hand it exists as part of IGAD. On the other it draws heavily on civil society participation. This hybrid is arguably possible since national agencies and civil society organizations from one country naturally coalesce and mobilize in support of common national interests. This has allowed for the uncontested integration of the national components of CEWARN, the so-called CEWERU's (Conflict Early Warning and Early Response Unit) into state structures in countries such as Ethiopia and Kenya where they are seen to complement existing state security and delivery structures.

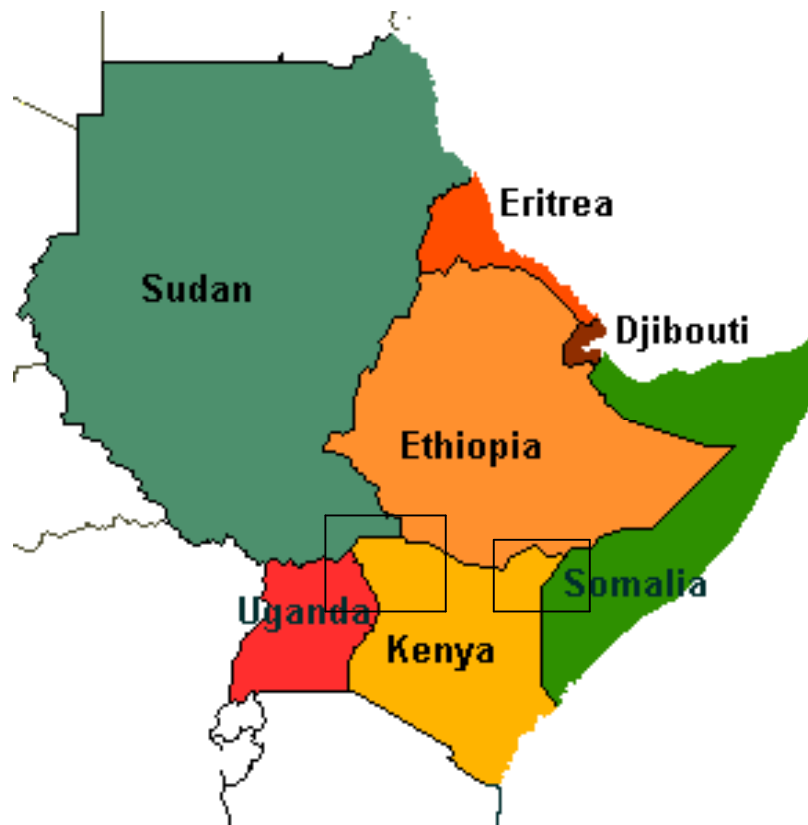


Figure 2: Current CEWARN areas of engagement

In simple terms CEWARN appointed field monitors provide incident and weekly reports through a dedicated National Research Institute to the CEWERU within the country concerned. The CEWERU reports to the CEWARN unit in Addis Ababa where the data is codified and where quality

control is performed. Based on a sophisticated analysis and reporting tool, CEWARN puts out monthly and alert reports.

Currently CEWARN is active in two clusters (as pilot projects), namely the Karamoja (Uganda, Kenya, Sudan, Ethiopia border) and Somali (Ethiopia, Kenya, Somali) clusters. Apparently a welcome expansion into the Sudan/Uganda border area is being considered.

Beyond the technical and conceptual challenges associated with early warning and response, the single biggest challenge faced by all early warning and response systems is linking good analysis with timely action. The linkage to timely action means clarity, proximity and engagement with those institutions responsible for action. In the case of CEWARN there is a complicated and somewhat distant relationship between the system and its response mechanism (national governments, the IGAD secretariat and its political masters) that still has to prove itself in practice. Without the mechanisms to harness and focus political will to action by IGAD Member States, the danger is that CEWARN may not be able to operationalise its conflict prevention ambitions at the regional level” Admittedly this comment does not give credit to the second and potentially fruitful focus of CEWARN, namely to initiate and support local conflict prevention working with and through local structures.

“Technically, the CEWARN system is complex and authoritative but has not yet closed the gap between analysis, options and actions. It is difficult to see how this will be possible in the longer term without the co-location of CEWARN (in Addis Ababa) and IGAD (in Djibouti) and the development of an integrated conflict prevention, management and response system similar to that working in West Africa and under development in Southern Africa. Without the mechanisms to harness and focus political will to action by IGAD Member States, the danger is that CEWARN may not be able to operationalise its conflict prevention ambitions at the regional level.”³³

Admittedly this conclusion does not give credit to the second and potentially fruitful focus of CEWARN, namely to initiate and support local conflict prevention working with and through local structures.

Early warning systems are necessarily tailored to their particular function and client(s). Each end-user (such as the Peace and Security Council of the AU) necessarily needs a system to meet its particular needs, resources, organizational culture and response mechanisms. CEWARN in the Horn is a particularly distinct and carefully designed system to meet particular and

specific requirements. But equally the early warning system for the ECOWAS Mediation and Security Council in West Africa differs from that being developed for Southern African Development Community (SADC) and its Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation.

This view leads to two obvious conclusions. On the one hand a degree of practical skepticism appears to be warranted on the idea that Africa would be able to develop an integrated CEWS system. It is more likely that the AU and each regional economic community (REC) would develop an own system tailored to the specific requirements and usage of each organization within a loose cooperative relationship between systems. More relevant to this paper, it probably rules out the option of expanding the CEWARN (dedicated to pastoral conflict across common borders) system for use in the Sudan (i.e. at national level) without considerable adaptation.

An Early Warning System for the Sudan

The fact that CEWARN may not be appropriate for use in support of the transition process in Sudan should not detract from the requirement for a system of conflict early warning to:

- Provide independent information on the state of (in)security/the implementation of the peace process in an objective and non-partisan manner to the Government of National Unity (GoNU) in Khartoum, the Government of Southern Sudan in Juba, participating State governments, the UN system, donors/partners and critically, ordinary Sudanese.
- Initiate local conflict prevention action (for example through links with tribal leaders) or inform prevention action at the State or national level.

Given the limited information flows in Sudan, any system would have to rely upon field monitors in each participating State for the provision of event data. Each participatory State could probably be 'covered' by an average of five field monitors - costing less than \$1'000 per month per State. These monitors would have to be trained and have access to appropriate communication means with one of the two coordination unit, one in Khartoum (for the GoNU) and the other in Juba (for the Government of Southern Sudan) and it would have to build in appropriate accountability and consultative mechanisms through which all key stakeholders are brought to the table. Each of the two coordination units would require an office, computers, a minimum of three staff with guaranteed power supply

and internet access. Additional provision would have to be made for dissemination, liaison functions, a briefing room replete with maps and graphs, as well as additional experts to feed and add in the analysis that is generated by various other components within the UN and other systems. In contrast to the cautious approach adopted by CEWARN, a public dissemination strategy in the interests of its primary beneficiaries - ordinary Sudanese – is a key success factor for such a system. Once quality assurance and information dissemination/outreach systems have been put in place the only outstanding item would be the development of geographical information presentation tools.

The practical phases in the establishment of this system are relatively straightforward and consist of: the choice and customization of an established system, baseline research, implementation (deployment and training) and maintenance.

Choice of software: Time and cost considerations would favour the choice of an established and mature system such as the Integrated Data for Event Analysis (IDEA) that has, amongst others, been adopted by FAST International and customized for pastoral conflict by CEWARN. Fully-fledged IDEA systems have a wide focus and include more than two hundred different event types that would require limited additional input for application in the Sudan. System costs are difficult to estimate but could range from say \$30'000 (including customization) to several hundred thousand dollars if developed commercially.

Base-line study: All conflict response systems start off with a base-line assessment on the level of insecurity and threats to human security – and such an assessment is absolutely critical in the Sudan to build sustainable peace. Sudan does not have sufficient or appropriate data upon which to plan much of the post conflict reconstruction and development projects that are unfolding at the moment and that will do so in the years that lie ahead. Perhaps the most pressing of these examples relate to the information requirements upon which to plan the various security sector reform projects that are needed. Various mechanisms exist that could assist in this regard, including crime victimisation studies and the like. A number of applied research survey techniques and related efforts could help fill the information gap that will inevitably constrain and limit response strategies.³⁴

Implementation: The most important aspect of implementation would be the choice of the hosting institution, oversight and political/domestic ownership considerations. The associated processes would imply a series of

participatory workshops with political and civil society actors, various training activities and the identification of the parameters of the system (for example the decision on which States would be covered), definition of the types of events, etc.

Maintenance: Refresher training, ongoing quality assurance, IT and other ongoing support, including support from the software system supplier. Given the intensity that will be required from a Sudan human security early warning system output would be high - probably requiring weekly rather than monthly reports.

It would be crucial for a Sudan conflict early warning system to be able to feed off the extensive applied research that is being done for the multitude of agencies engaged with the transition process. To this end the establishment of the system discussed in these pages should be complemented by a research and analysis capacity that can access and digest these results.

Conclusion

In an ideal world there would be little impediment for the various negotiating parties in Sudan to agree on the establishment of a neutral and separate system that tracks conflict or security concerns in the country.³⁵ In the real world, control of information flows is deeply political and security is not a neutral, value-free concept. The political independence and integrity of a conflict early warning system for the Sudan and the choices regarding the organizations/institutions with which it is formally affiliated and of its key staff are critical matters if such a system is to survive and traverse the turbulent domestic politics of Sudan – in many ways more important than the challenges presented by the diverse ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity and limited infrastructure that will inevitably complicate implementation.

While this paper did not discuss the re-engagement of Sudan within the current operations of CEWARN, this is an obvious requirement if the region is to move towards a regional conflict response mechanism. Having Sudan commit fully and unequivocally to the commitments reflected in the CEWARN protocol would be good for Sudan, the region and for IGAD. The Horn of Africa faces many challenges of which armed resource competition across borders is a key ingredient. With peace in the Sudan the opportunities and demands that will be placed on CEWARN to extend its operations along the complex and divisive boundaries in the south (in

particular) present numerous challenges, as would Darfur and the situation in the East. Once CEWARN has expanded to cover these additional border areas the major challenge for IGAD remains the development of a comprehensive response system at the national and regional level similar to that under development in other regions such as ECOWAS.

Nothing written in this paper can detract from the ultimate responsibility for domestic security that must lie with the government of Sudan and its various agencies. Any measures in support of the transition in Sudan should therefore have, as its ultimate purpose the building of state systems and act in support of legitimate post-transition national institutions. A conflict early warning system for Sudan can, therefore, only be of a transitory nature. The challenge for Sudan is the absence of legitimate national systems in the interim and the vagrancies of the transitional period that lie ahead that will severely degrade the capacity of national security agencies and institutions. The development of a dedicated system to track conflict trends related to (in)security in support of the Sudan peace process should therefore be seen for what it is – a temporary arrangement that should, in time, become part of the state system or fade away. Yet at the current stage of the peace process a conflict early warning system could go a long way to removing the provision of key conflict information from contested political control. Ideally such a system should be developed with the full cooperation and support of the parties to the CPA, the parties to the talks on Darfur and elsewhere. This ‘best’ solution may, however, not be practically achievable within reasonable time. While it is theoretically possible for the UN to establish an independent mechanism to monitor and track violence in Sudan, or for donors to fund various Sudanese partners to perform such a function, the option to appoint an independent neutral agent to implement (but not staff) an early warning system or to create an entirely new unit for this purpose in the Sudan may be less desirable but inevitable.

TOWARDS AN EARLY WARNING SYSTEM FOR CONFLICT PREVENTION IN SUDAN

Omer Egemi

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), signed between the National Congress Party (NCP) and SPLM/A on 9 January 2005, has been globally recognized and commended for bringing to an end one of Africa's longest and bloodiest civil wars. The CPA also represents a remarkable opportunity for restoring peace and the social contract between the state and society in Sudan. A quick glance to Sudan, however, tells that the peace process remains extremely fragile and is systematically threatened by the proliferation of local level conflicts over most parts of the country and the numerous latent conflict situations under conditions of widespread presence of armed militias, apparent social frustration and the conspicuously unstable partnership between the two parties to the peace process. This calls for concerted efforts to deal with the issue of conflict prevention and the creation of an enabling social and political environment in which conflict could be dealt with effectively. A prerequisite for constituting such an environment is the setting of an effective early warning system that helps to deal with conflict prevention, crisis management and post conflict rehabilitation. This will be the focus of this paper.

Some theoretical considerations

Societal conflict is a universal phenomenon, intrinsic to the process of social change. It is inevitable so long as material and social resources are unequally distributed within society. Such equity is usually reflected in political, social and cultural relationship between groups. One researcher³⁶ remarked “Struggle over symbolic processes are conflict over material relations of production, the distribution of resources, and ultimately power”. One of the salient features of conflict is its susceptibility to prevention and transformation.

Conflict is an intense experience in communication and interaction with transformative potential. For marginal groups seeking to redress injustices or extreme inequities in resource distribution, conflict is an inherent feature of their struggle for change, Buckles and Rusnak (1999³⁷).

Following the above prevention, as a theoretical concept is concerned with predictability and detection. In practice prevention is continuously confronted with the problem of the building of a society and the practical challenges to do so (Doom 1995³⁸). This makes the issue of prevention essentially governance issue and, therefore, should take seriously into account the restoration of the relationship between the state and society and, by definition, the way power and interests are contested and defended and of the ultimate question: the desirability of intervention within the existing structures and the perceived required reforms.

Mapping conflict in Sudan: the complexity of issues

Currently conflict is recognized as major cause of poverty and risk in Sudan. The magnitude of the problem and its socioeconomic, political, ecological and security costs indicate that the problem is pervasive in nature, transcending issues of the local to affect the very basis of survival of the State and people alike. Objective scrutiny of the problem reveals that it is a structural process caused by interconnectedness among political, social, economic and ecological factors of underdevelopment that have historically institutionalized poverty, social inequalities and marginalization³⁹ under a situation characterized by crushing poverty, extreme frustration with the peace process, deep feelings of insecurity, injustices and powerlessness, spread of small arms and light weapons, prevalent culture of belligerence and an apparent social despair and distrust in the state as the legitimate and ultimate organizer of human affairs in the country.

Major conflict situations in present-day Sudan could be summarized as follows:

- Crisis in Darfur, conflict in the East and the escalation of conflict around the Hamadab Dam in North Sudan
- Local level conflicts that are currently straddling the rainlands of Sudan, and are essentially of resource-based nature between pastoralists and farmers
- Social polarization and mobilization of identities built around the reconstitution of tribe and tribalism. Typical examples include jallaba

vs. others; Dinka vs. Mysserriya; pastoralists vs. agriculturalists; urban vs. rural; Bedaweit vs. Belaweit; Gharraba vs. riverine, etc)

- Conflict over administrative boundaries
- The issues of IDPs and returnees
- The rights of communities dislocated by investment capital, namely oil, mechanized agriculture and Hamadab Dam.
- The unperceived and usually miscalculated/ignored power of the poor and marginalized (the creativity of public activity)
- Cross boarder movements and conflicts (Chad, Eritrea, DRC, Uganda, Egypt)
- The confrontational aspects of power over authority and state control including issues of ideologies
- Conflicts over cattle raiding and resulting, especially in Upper Nile State

Existing institutional environment for conflict prevention: need for change

The existing institutional environment for conflict prevention and transformation could be generally described as a constraining environment with the following manifestations:

- The CPA: in spite of its relevance and potential powers as a process, it suffers inherent weaknesses, principally because of its exclusive nature
- The unstable and somewhat belligerent partnership between the NCP and SPLM/A and the associated delays in the implementation process; this has constantly remained a cause of frustration and a source of widespread social pessimism that even doubts the completion of the Interim Period
- Lack of public ownership of knowledge about not only conflicts, but essentially the real causes of conflict. Absence of basic research in Sudan during the last 15 years, poor and manipulated media coverage and the perceived fears, real and imagined, from state repression are important aspects of the problem
- Lack of credible and appropriate institutional structures fully mandated and legitimated to deal with conflict;

- The weak functioning of the decentralization process; the centralized authoritarian mentality is still prevalent.
- Local traditional structures that had historically served as a major institution for conflict prevention and transformation⁴⁰ has been radically weakened; besides being repeatedly and explicitly accused of being highly politicized and manipulated.
- Weak frameworks and capacities for development planning and implementation
- Ineffective participation and under representation of Sudanese communities in the decision making process.
- The conflict insensitive education curriculum, including university education
- Poor capacities of the state to provide security and protection

An institutional structure for early warning

Appreciating the realities of contemporary and the challenges ahead, the need for an early warning system for conflict prevention is undisputable. The prerequisite for such a system seems to be the existence of a legitimated, capable, independent and socially owned institutional structure (centre?), branched down to States and with possible links to research institutions, to serve as the main think-tank for conflict prevention while providing guidance and policy directives based on collective and participatory decision-making processes resulting from research, in depth analysis and wide participation from all levels of the society. The institutionalization and success of Famine Regulations System introduced and applied by the British colonial administration provides available experience to learn from⁴¹. The proposed structure is envisaged to fill the currently apparent institutional vacuum and is anticipated to serve the following specific objectives:

- Conflict Research and Analysis, whereby policy research and analysis will be undertaken to enhance the preventative potential of development programming in conflict and post-conflict environments. Substantive policy analysis tools of Early Warning Systems (EWS), Early Warning Reports (EWR), and conflict analysis tools, to be used to monitor socio-economic and political indicators and to assess institutional capabilities and identify trends

which may precipitate the onset of crisis in high-risk situations. This will also serve the objectives of information availability, consistency, and dissemination. Attaching meanings to indicators will be an important aspect of the process.

- Promotion of policy dialogue, by providing a platform for government officials, civil society organizations, academics, traditional leaders and the international community to engage in constructive policy dialogue on peace-building and conflict prevention and the implementation mechanisms. Particular focus needs to be given to the need for inter-relating modern governance structures and traditional structures of conflict prevention and resolution mechanisms. Through such participatory mechanisms, the Centre is expected to generate viable policy options for concrete actions for conflict prevention and security
- Capacity building, Building the skills and aptitude, of key institutions and individuals, for progressive leadership, constructive negotiation, consensus building and mediation to help national and local participants in building social peace. Particular focus should be given to capacity building needs at state and local levels.
- Advocacy for conflict prevention, whereby the Centre will be committed to advocate for and mainstream conflict prevention in development policies and frameworks and throughout the Sudanese society, with a focus on conflict and conflict-prone areas. This involves also the use of media programmes, particularly radio, as well as through other non-conventional mechanisms.

Some pressing challenges

- Early warning information vs. intelligence systems where there is always the legitimated fear of mixing between the two. The experience of Sudan during the devastating famine of the mid 1980s vividly illustrates that⁴². This also involves quality control over information.
- The confused objective of early warning between alarm and commitment to action taking. This is a very grey and tricky area that needs to be seriously considered. Who is to take the action and what measures are there/required to ensure the appropriate actions and implementation of decisions?

- The confusion associated with the present political framework of national, sub national, state level and probably later on Darfur and the East, it becomes legitimate to question who is planning for whom and how the decision making process will be harmonized.
- Links and relationship to regional dynamics and related structures and readiness to learn and draw lessons from relevant experiences, in and outside Sudan.
- With the current weaknesses of the decentralization process a big dichotomy seems to exist between the local and the macro, at least in the sense of localized problems and centralized resources.
- Apparent challenges to the proposed structure include: Issues of independence, social ownership, representation, inclusiveness and resourcing.

CONCLUSION: THE STEPS AHEAD

Eltayeb Haj Ateya and Dominique Wisler

These concluding remarks attempt to summarize the vivid discussion that took place during the main sessions of the Conference. We also take the opportunity of this concluding chapter to highlight key issues that we believe will aliment the coming discussion around the next steps for the constitution of an early warning system in Sudan.

Key component of success: lessons learnt from CEWARN

The CEWARN is the mechanism of conflict analysis and alert set up by IGAD members that have signed the 2002 protocol leading to its creation. Pragmatically, member states have decided to limit the application of the mechanism to 1) two cross-border regions and 2) pastoralist conflicts. In addition to the alert that can be produced by the national units of CEWARN (the so-called CEWERUs), mechanisms of rapid response are established at the national level. Kenya has created the most sophisticated response system at the moment, an institutional machinery that mobilises three levels of government: the national, the district and the local. In Ethiopia, measures are currently underway to establish a local level (the Local Committee) of the system as well. In Sudan, while the mechanism has been formally instituted, it has lack of the necessary financial support to become operational.

The CEWARN experts, Bizusew Mersha and Leonard Onyony concurred to consider the local committees as one of the key of the success of the alert and response mechanism. Another feature of the success of these committee in Kenya, so the experts, is the very nature of the social composition of these committees. According to the head of the CEWERU in Kenya, these local committees must include civil/traditional society as they can call upon traditional conflict mechanisms to solve problems identified by the EWS. While it was recognised by participants that security is a fundamental task of the state, it was also acknowledged that without calling upon local

traditional resources the state – often weak in service delivery in Africa - is likely to fail to solve problems and conflicts. We need to add, however, that this finding might be related to the fact that CEWARN is applied only in rural areas in both Kenya and Ethiopia. In these areas, the social system still rests of the strength of communities and their traditional leaders. Interestingly, community policing initiatives that promote partnerships between the police and civil society to solve security issues was mentioned as one of the response mechanisms that local committees have been promoting in Kenya.

The consensus among participants to the conference was that the CEWARN mechanism is important and that the mechanism should be strengthened with Kenya being a role model in this regard. The activation of the participation of Sudan, as one of the signatory of the 2002 protocol creating CEWARN, was recommended. The security situation in Southern Sudan has dramatically improved following the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and conditions are reunited to allow the mechanism to be established and field monitors to be deployed safely. In addition, since the protocol leading to CEWARN has been signed in Khartoum and that Sudanese officials, as pointed out by ambassador Mohammed Abdelghaffar, play a key role in the leading organs of the mechanism, Sudan has a special responsibility to activate its commitments and facilitate the discussion about the evolution of the mechanism.

A new EWS for Sudan or an extension of CEWARN?

Participants seemed also to agree with the statement that CEWARN in its current form is too limited to adequately reflect both the geographical scope and the nature of conflicts in Sudan. The limitation is not necessarily intrinsic to CEWARN as, in the 2002 protocol, other issues than pastoralist conflicts are namely mentioned. The limitation is not technical either as the basis for the CEWARN event analysis methodology and technical platform is a much more encompassing EWS created by the Bern-based NGO SwissPeace. In other words, CEWARN has a legal and technical potential for expansion.

The most important limitation of CEWARN however is of political nature. CEWARN is anchored institutionally in IGAG, an intergovernmental body focusing on cross-national and cross-border issues. As such, IGAD is not the most appropriate body for leading a discussion on a national EWS. While legally other conflicts than pastoralist conflicts could be included in

the future system, empirically the chance to see the system evolve quickly are meagre. Finally a national EWS should not become prisoner of intergovernmental decisions that are not necessarily be in the best interest of a national system. Sudan needs an encompassing conflict EWS capable to deal with a wide range of issues. Therefore the consensus among the participants was that while Sudan should fulfil its obligations under the CEWARN protocol, it should also have its own conflict EWS adapted to the nature and scope of conflicts in Sudan.

Independence of a conflict EWS.

There was a large consensus also over the critical importance of having an independent EWS. This independence was viewed by many speakers as a precondition for both the credibility and the capacity of the mechanism to mobilize trust in the society at large. This discussion led to a fundamental, philosophical debate over the ultimate function of an EWS. Unlike intelligence data, so the contribution of the director of the South African Institute for Security Studies, Jakkie Cilliers, EWS do not serve strictly speaking or, rather, do not serve only the state. EWS have a larger audience or public. Normatively, they serve the government, civil society, political parties, donors, and other groups with a vested interest in peace. The dilemma might not be whether they serve more civil society than the state. However, the civil-society orientation becomes more fundamental in country in transition. When the regime may not, or not yet, have a full legitimacy, the independence of an EWS from the public administration and the authorities becomes an essential condition to serve this extended public. The more legitimacy the regime has, the less critical is the issue of independence of the EWS. One expert mentioned that in country in transition, the EWS might also have a transitional nature until democracy matures.

In this discussion, a close but weaker concept mentioned by Ambassador Mohammed Abdelghassar is the notion of the “transparency” of the mechanism. A transparent, and we may add “accountable”, mechanism might be a second-best scenario so to speak. In his article, John N. Clarke argued that a fully independent EWS runs the risk to be disconnected from, and not heard by, the agencies with a mandate to act upon alarms.

Institutionalize independence: a university or a foundation, or both?

Intimately linked to the discussion regarding the nature of a conflict EWS and its public is the question of its optimal institutional anchorage. The majority of the speakers seemed to agree that the conflict analysis component of an EWS should be located institutionally in a university. Drawing on experiences in Ethiopia or Kenya, a peace research institute would be a good choice or an academic centre to be created that would specialise in conflict analyses and conflict prevention. The EWS would benefit from the inherent credibility of universities as centres of production of independent and objective knowledge, based on scientific iterative protocols (Popper). An alternative to this strictly academic option was evoked by an expert. The expert called for the creation of a “foundation” or a governmental NGO (a so-called “gong”). A gong has the advantage, according to the expert, to be financed by the government but, through its legal status and its Foundation Council, enjoy the necessary independence from the government. Typically, members of a Foundation Council are experts, representatives of civil and political society, as well as representatives of the public administration. A further argument in favour of a foundation is that the Council of the Foundation could be national as representative of selected states, the Government of Southern Sudan and the Government of National Unity for instance could be represented in this body. This would not be the case if a national EWS would be anchored in a university as universities, under the new Interim National Constitution, are controlled at sub-national level. On the other hand, the location of a EWS centre in a university would benefit from the existing professional services (logistic, finance, etc.) from the university and make it possibly effective rapidly. Still another option to be considered would be a combination between a Foundation and academic institutions, the latter being constituted to oversee the activities of the latter. To reflect the federal nature of the new Interim National Constitution, a consortium of research centres or universities could also be relevant. In conclusion, further thoughts need to be dedicated to the issue of the appropriate institutional architecture of the future national EWS.

EWS coordination

There at least two EWS operating in Sudan in natural catastrophes and humanitarian issues, while, as mentioned above, there is no conflict EWS. One of the issues raised during the conference was that of the coordination of existing EWS and future EWS. Since problems of famine, desertification,

humanitarian issues are intimately related to conflicts, the linkages should be made at institutional level in order for the knowledge gained to be adequately analysed. Coordination rather than integration was the master word. Experts underlined rightly that EWS have a different shape (structure, method, activities) depending on their purpose and field of analysis. It would be illusionary to attempt to formulate a single integrated model covering all the issues ranging from natural catastrophes to political crises. The way ahead is rather to link the respective EWS that have been carefully designed to serve their specific purpose. Such a linkage should occur at the national level. Information gained from the various systems must be allowed to flow towards other systems in order to elaborate more complex analyses and address adequately the systematic linkages between social systems. The issue of coordination need to be further developed as at the end of the conference it remained unclear what was meant exactly under coordination. The Presidency was mentioned as a potential adequate location of a coordinating national body. In follow-up discussions, it will be useful to distinguish between the coordination of the early warning data collection and *analysis*, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, as the discussion of the Ethiopian and the Sudanese cases shows, on the coordination and formalization of the linkage with the early *response* mechanism.

EWS and the peace process

Another element of the institutional (and functional) discussion was the question of the linkage with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. It was mentioned by some participants that an EWS could perform an important function in the monitoring of the peace process. The CPA and the implementation of the plan agreed in the Joint Assessment Mission (JAM), are already monitored at an institutional level via the CPA monitoring commission. However, these monitoring activities are essentially “output-oriented” and say little on the “impact” of the peace agreement on the ground.

An EWS could fill the gap as it offers a reliable tool for measuring the likelihood of the resurgence of conflicts. Such a conflict EWS could serve eventually to redirect priorities and donor aid as appropriate to strengthen the impact of the peace process. As the Joint National Transition Team (JNTT) has received the mandate to monitor the peace process, a conflict EWS could become a major JNTT tool serving its function. An important weakness of this suggestion is related to the intrinsic limits of the

jurisdiction of the JNTT. The JNTT applies only to the north-south peace deal; not to the new peace agreement signed by the government of National Unity with the Eastern Front or the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA). An exclusive linkage with an organ created by one of these separate peace agreements runs against the ambition of a single EWS covering the Sudan as a whole. For this reason, it seems preferable to establish an institutionally distinct national EWS that, when required, could provide specific analyses for the benefit of the JNTT or, for instance in the Darfur case, the Transitional Darfur Authority.

ACRONYMS

ACC	Assistant Country Coordinator
AU	African Union
CC	Country Coordinator
CEWARN	Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism
CEWERU	(national) Conflict Early Warning and Early Response Unit
CEWS	Continental Early Warning System
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CPS	Committee of Permanent Secretary
CSO	Community-Based Social Organization
DPA	Darfur Peace Agreement
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
FM	Field Monitor
GoNU	Government of National Unity
GoSS	Government of Southern Sudan
GTZ	German Technical Cooperation
ICN	Information Collection Network
IDEA	Integrated Data for Event Analysis
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
IGADD	Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development
IGO	International Governmental Organization
INGO	International Non Governmental Organization
IPPP	International Peace and Prosperity Project
JNTT	Joint National Transition Team
LIN	Local Information Networks
NCP	National Congress Party
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NRI	National Research Unit

REC	Regional Economic Community
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SIIRA	Security, Immigration and Refugees Affairs Authority
SPLM/A	Sudan Peoples's Liberation Movement/Army
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
VRA	Virtual Research Associate
WANEP	West Africa Network for Peacebuilding

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Mohamed Abdelghaffar received his MA (1990) and PhD (1996) in International Law from the University of Alhassan in Casablanca. He started his career as professional diplomat in 1971 in the Foreign Office of Sudan. He served in seven countries, five of which as diplomat and two as Ambassador, in Romania, Uganda, Belgium, Nigeria, Morocco, Democratic Republic of Congo (former Zaire) and Algeria. In the headquarters, he was Director of the African Department, then Director of Planning and Information and recently Director General of Global Issues. From 2004, he serves as Head of CEWERU, the Conflict early warning and early response unit of Sudan.

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NOTES

¹ The Human Security Report is available on-line at: <http://www.humansecurityreport.info/>

² Michael W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.

³ The period 1946-1991 saw a twelve-fold rise in the number of civil wars, though this statistic does not include the number of indirect deaths resulting from conflict. On the issue of the conflict trap, see: World Bank, "Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy", *Policy Report*. Washington, D.C., 2003, pp. 79-91.

⁴ Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler, "Greed and Grievance in Civil War", Oxford Economic Papers, Oxford University Press, 2004. See also: Monty G. Marshall and Ted Robert Gurr, "Peace and Conflict 2005", Department of Government and Politics, College Park, University of Maryland, 2005, available at: <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/PC05print.pdf>

⁵ Ashutosh Varshney, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

⁶ For a full discussion of this point, see: John N. Clarke "Early Warning Analysis for Humanitarian Preparedness and Conflict Prevention", *Civil Wars*, Routledge, Vol. 7, No. 1, Spring 2005, pp. 71 - 97.

⁷ World Bank, World Bank, "Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy", *Policy Report*. Washington, D.C., 2003, p. 83, figure 3.10.

⁸ On the link between early recovery and prevention, see: Fen Hampson and David Malone (eds.), *From Reaction to Conflict Prevention: Opportunities for the UN System*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002. Chandra Lekha Sriram and Karin Wermester (eds.), *From Promise to Practice: Strengthening UN Capacities for the Prevention of Violent Conflict*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003.

⁹ Mary Anderson, *Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace – Or War*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999.

¹⁰ On the Peruvian example, see: Cooper, Andrew F. and Thomas Legler "The OAS in Peru: A Model for the Future?", *Journal of Democracy*, October 12(4), 2001. pp. 123-136.

For a first-hand account of Canada's involvement, see: Axworthy, Lloyd, *Navigating a New World: Canada's Global Future*, Toronto: Knopf, 2003, pp. 217-223). See also: John N. Clarke, "Bridging the Political and Global Governance Gap: A Two-Step Approach to Canadian Foreign Policy" *Canadian Foreign Policy*. Volume 12, Number 2, Fall 2005. For the Norwegian case, see: Bullion, Alan, "Norway and the Peace Process in Sri Lanka." *Civil Wars*, 4 (3), Autumn 2001.

¹¹ Kofi A. Annan, "Report on the Prevention of Armed Conflict", New York: United Nations, 2002, p. ix.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Regional Conference on Conflict Prevention throughout Integration, "Macedonia and the Region towards EU and NATO – Needs, Experiences and Lessons Learned", Skopje, 3-5 November 2005.

¹⁴ See Commission on Human Security, *Human Security Now*. New York, 2003. Available at: <http://www.humansecurity-chs.org/finalreport/index.html>; Albrecht Schnabel, 'Operationalizing Human Security: Paradigm – Policy – Local Implementation'. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Swiss Political Science Association in Balsthal, Switzerland, 18-19 November, 2004.

¹⁵ SEE: United Nations 2001; Boothby and D'Angelo 2004; and the work of FAST, Swisspeace's early warning programme (<http://www.swisspeace.org/fast/>).

¹⁶ See Jakkie Cilliers, "Towards a Continental Early Warning System for Africa", ISS Occasional Paper 102, Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2005.

¹⁷ See United Nations (2005) *In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All – Report of the Secretary-General, A/59/2005*, New York: United Nations, 21 March; and the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty/ICISS (2001) *The Responsibility to Protect: Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty*. Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, December.

¹⁸ On the UN's plans for establishing a Peacebuilding Commission, see *In Larger Freedom*, Art. 97-115.

¹⁹ See the work of the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC); <http://www.gppac.net/index.html>.

²⁰ Michael Lund, "Conflict Prevention is Happening: Learning from "Successes" as Well as

“Failures””. In: Albrecht Schnabel and David Carment. Eds. *Conflict Prevention from Rhetoric to Reality: Organizations and Institutions*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2004, pp. 289-304.

²¹ This approach guides the author’s current research project on *Operationalizing Human Security* (Schnabel 2004).

²² Swisspeace’s early warning programme FAST attempts to fill this need – yet only with limited country coverage.

²³ United Nations “A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility – Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change”. New York: United Nations, 2004

²⁴ Human Security Centre, *Human Security Report 2005*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. Also available at: <http://www.humansecurityreport.info/>.

²⁵ Martin Griffiths, *Talking Peace in a Time of Terror: United Nations Mediation and Collective Security*, Opinion, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, 2005

²⁶ A regional NGO based in Addis

²⁷ An early warning software developed by Virtual Research Associates (VRA), a Boston based company

²⁸ Eritrea became a member in 1993 after independence

²⁹ See <http://www.cewarn.org/structure.html>

³⁰ It should be noted that that war itself contributed to the rise of pastoralist conflict in the region via the wide-spread diffusion of firearms that nomads have used to settle their disputes.

³¹ “Conflict Prevention and Early Warning in the Political Practice of International Organizations”, Netherlands Institute of International Relations, January 1996, p 71

³² This is taken from CEWARN, but is generic to a number of systems.

³³ Other conclusions related to costs, the utility of the CEWARN methodology at the regional as apposed to the local level and the requirements for relatively transparency open sources and civil society involvement. Jakkie Cilliers, "Towards a Continental Early Warning System for Africa", Occasional Paper 102, April 2005, p. 14

³⁴ Admittedly, some efforts are already underway to map Sudan's insecurity. For example a Human Security Baseline Assessment in Sudan is one week into its first household surveys of small arms demand and effects. The largest (500-1000) of the undertaking concerns Rumbek and its immediate environs. A second, smaller initiative concerns the Juba area (250-500 households). The deteriorating security situation in and around Yei made an effort to conduct a survey there too chancy to proceed but discussions on conducting surveys in Wau, Malakal, and Kapoeta have occurred. The project plans to conduct similar surveys in the East and in the West over the next 12 months. Elsewhere a system to track and monitor returnees to Southern Sudan already works towards a Joint Operations Centre.

³⁵ For legal and practical considerations it would not be possible to simply extend CEWARN to cover Sudan. CEWARN is established within the framework of IGAD and at the behest of member states and such a decision would require changes to the legal protocol that governs CEWARN as well as the legal agreement of the negotiating parties to the Government of National Unity of Sudan. Second, the CEWARN system would have to be reconfigured to allow for a wider system of event data than its current format optimized for pastoral conflict.

³⁶ Moore (1996)

³⁷ Buckles, D and Rushnak, G., "Conflict and collaboration in natural resource management", in Daniel Buckles (ed), *Cultivating peace: conflict and collaboration in natural resource management*, IDRC/ World Bank, 1999.

³⁸ Ruddy, Doom, *Early warning and conflict prevention*, Minerva's Wisdom, 1995

³⁹ Surveying the appalling socioeconomic conditions under which the Beja are living and the disastrous effects of the commercialization of the Gash and Tokar Deltas on the Beja, M.D. Ismail, a Beja activist wrote in Kifah al Beja, 1953: "In Eastern Sudan there are tribes, which are no less primitive than those of the South. The Beja have not asked, and will not ask, for separation, but they may well ask for something, that looks like separation". In Egemi (1994) *The political Ecology of Subsistence Crisis in the Red Sea Hills*, Ph.D Thesis, University of Bergen, Norway.

⁴⁰ Tribal conferences, functional till the Native Administration was dissolved in 1970, were particularly constituted and successfully managed to function as an important institutional structure for conflict prevention and transformation

⁴¹ As early as 1920s and in response to the repeated famine outbreaks in the country, the British administration established a set of famine regulations to deal with famine and famine prevention. The essential components of these regulations were:

- Provisions for discovering and dealing with the famine; these included most of what is known today as disaster management and early warning system. The main indicators and signals employed were rainfall amount and distribution, records of the Nile, conditions of animals and crops, prices of foodstuffs and animals, death rates and prevalence of diseases among human and animal population.
- An articulated progressive system of reporting and decision making, from the Native Administration, as a legitimate institutional structure of governance at the low level, to Governor General of Sudan up to London
- Provision of employment for the able bodied through the opening of relief work programmes and assistance of people to reach work places
- Food distribution in villages
- Tax remission during periods of difficulty and stress
- An articulated system of reporting
- Famine regulations were put into effect from 1920 in the Red Sea Hills until faded in 1970 when the attention was shifted towards the resettlement of the Hadendwa outside the Red Sea Province.

⁴² By September 1983 people in N Darfur and N. Kordofan started to see the ghost of famine marching around their areas as a result of the severe drought and failure of crops and pastures. Exhausting all of their coping mechanisms and hungry as they were, they started moving in groups to Khartoum seeking refuge and sustenance. Upon arrival all intelligence reports reported them as conspirers and part of a big political move similar to that of 1976 intended to overthrow Nemeiri's regime. The immediate result was that they were all put on trucks backs and returned back home to die of hunger.