

PREVENTING POLITICAL VIOLENCE: Towards a Model for Catalytic Action



2006

Lessons Learned From Guinea-Bissau

PREVENTING POLITICAL VIOLENCE: Towards a Model for Catalytic Action

2006



**PREVENTING POLITICAL VIOLENCE:
Towards a Model for Catalytic Action**

Canadian International Institute of Applied Negotiation
www.ciian.org

© CIIAN

Printed with funding from the Secure World Foundation.

Canadian International Institute of Applied Negotiation
Suite 1105 1 Nicholas Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 7B7 Canada
P: 613-237-9050
F: 613-237-6952
E: ciian@ciian.org

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	v
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. BACKGROUND – HOW TO TACKLE POLITICAL VIOLENCE	3
The Search for New Ways	3
Violence Prevention: The ‘Basic Concept’	5
3. LAUNCHING A VIOLENCE PREVENTION DEMONSTRATION PROJECT	7
Early Warning and Early Response	7
Case Selection	7
Why Guinea-Bissau?	8
Why “Peace and Prosperity” Project?	9
4. TRYING OUT THE ‘BASIC CONCEPT’ – THE GUINEA-BISSAU EXPERIENCE AND ITS ‘LESSONS’	11
Theory Quickly Meets Reality	11
What is the IPPP?	12
Holding on to the Key Elements	13
Innovating in the Face of Reality	14
Lessons Learned	16
Recognizing Shortcomings	18
5. A NEW APPROACH TO VIOLENCE PREVENTION	21
Focus on Violence	21
Act as a Catalyst	21
Combine Advocacy, Action and Academy	22
Integrate Actions Horizontally and Vertically	22
6. TOWARDS A NEW ‘MODEL’ OF VIOLENCE PREVENTION	23
What To Do? - Principles and Practices	23
Conduct Violence Analysis	23
Value, Champion, Support Local Leaders	24
Practice a Holistic, Multi-Sectoral, Integrated Approach	24
Timing is Critical	26
Be Realistic, Don’t Over-Promise	26
Inject Well-timed, Strategically-targeted Financial Help	26
Be Diplomatic	26
Remain Engaged	26

7. A NEW 'DRAFT' MODEL	27
How To Do It? - Nine Elements Of Effective Action	27
Identify a Potential Location through Early Warning Exercise	27
Dispatch a Multi-Disciplinary Team on an Initial Scouting Trip in Order to Confirm Country Selection	28
Obtain Endorsements and Partners	28
Construct a Flexible Operational Plan	29
Build Working Relationships with Local Leaders through Targeted Activities	29
Continue Ongoing Real-Time Conflict and Violence Analysis	29
Facilitate a Joint Diagnostic and Prevention Action Planning Process	30
Support Implementation of the Prevention Action Plan	31
Measure Success, and Agree on Exit Plan	31
 Acronyms	 33
 <u>ANNEXES</u>	 35
ANNEX "A" – Brief Description of Guinea-Bissau	36
ANNEX "B" – IPPP Alert: A Ripe Opportunity to Avert Violent Conflict and Achieve Sustainable Peace in Guinea-Bissau, March 2005	41
ANNEX "C" – IPPP Three-Year Operational Cycle	47
ANNEX "D" – Reconciliation Concept Paper	48
ANNEX "E" – National Action Planning Session Concept Paper	50
ANNEX "F" – Sample Outline of a National Action Planning Session	53

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The experience of the International Peace and Prosperity Project (IPPP) in Guinea-Bissau is the primary basis of the draft 'Model for Violence Prevention' outlined here.

We gratefully recognize several people who were instrumental in launching and running the project.

The IPPP came into being out of the motivation of Mr. Milt Lauenstein, a retired American business executive and avid reader about international affairs. Early in 2001, Mr. Lauenstein became deeply concerned about the amount of continuing political violence and bloodshed in the world. He resolved to launch a specific activity that would test basic concepts, set out lessons learned and demonstrate the value of best practices. Based on this experience, he hoped that the value of 'Prevention' could be demonstrated and new learning could be disseminated broadly and used for adaptations that would make a discernible difference in efforts to reduce violence worldwide. Without Milt's passion and commitment to provide funding for an action-based initiative, the IPPP would not exist.

Dr. Michael Lund conceptualized the IPPP. He proposed the initiative and set out the foundations of a 'Violence Prevention Demonstration Case'. Likewise, the IPPP has benefited from a wealth of talent provided by knowledgeable, good-willed consultants: Mr. Bill Stuebner, Mr. Jeffrey Mapendere, Ms. Flaurie Storie, Brigadier Vere Hayes, Ret'd., Ms. Silja Paasilina, Mr. Peter Lauenstein-Denjongpa, and Mr. Philippe Patry, IPPP Intern.

We have also been most honored to work with many concerned people in Guinea-Bissau, without whose partnership nothing would have been achieved. We especially thank Ms. Macaria Barai and Mr. Josue Almeida who care so deeply for their country that they selflessly put in countless hours working behind the scenes to make changes, so that the people of Guinea-Bissau can have a future filled with peace and prosperity.

Additionally, we thank Mr. Etchen Sambu, WANEP, for conducting an interim evaluation of the IPPP and Dr. Paz Buttedahl and Ms. Rosemarie Cairns, Royal Roads University, for conducting a meta-level evaluation.

We also thank Jeff Mapendere, Milt Lauenstein, Rich Corman, Roger Hill and others for commenting on earlier versions of this report.

Benjamin C. Hoffman, Ph.D.
Project Director
hoffmanben@hotmail.com

Evan Hoffman, M.A.
Research & Technical Support Coordinator
evanhoffman72@hotmail.com

August 2006



1. INTRODUCTION

The problem of fragile, failing and failed states is a critical issue on today's international scene, and the question of preventing violence is especially acute for many countries. New ways need to be found to tackle this violence, if such countries are to have true hopes of stability and then also of coherence and well-being.

This was the primary concern of the 'Reducing Political Violence Action Group (RPVAG)' established in 2001. Since then it carried out reviews of the general situation and initiated an on-site case study in Guinea-Bissau, known as the 'International Peace and Prosperity Project'. The aim was to set out a 'Basic Concept' for Violence Prevention, to try it out in a specific country, develop 'Lessons Learned' from that experience, and then to work towards a 'New Approach to Violence Prevention' and if possible a new 'Model' for similar work elsewhere. This was intended as a multi-year, practical and learning effort, that would be led by key actors within the test country as well as other experts from outside. The IPPP continues to operate under the direction of the Canadian International Institute of Applied Negotiation, with funding and support provided through the Alliance for Peacebuilding, Washington, D.C.

The IPPP features the mobilization of local leaders and the provision of professional assistance and modest financial support to carry out early, holistic, horizontally and vertically integrated violence prevention actions.

More specifically, the IPPP in Guinea-Bissau aims to prevent political violence by:

- working towards peace and prosperity using rigorous ongoing conflict and violence analyses;
- playing a value-added, catalytic role in assisting Guinea-Bissau citizens, the government, and international actors to implement concrete, synergistic actions through dialogue and focused projects;
- providing a small grants program to stimulate security and development initiatives;
- undertaking global advocacy to mobilize international resources for violence prevention and peacebuilding in Guinea-Bissau.

The catalytic model presented here should be viewed as a work in progress. However, given the current need for sharing lessons in violence prevention and programming in fragile states we felt it important to report on the experiences of the IPPP in Guinea-Bissau now. As such, there will be certain elements that may be relevant for application in other contexts and some that are not.

The topic of preventing violence in fragile, failing and failed states is immense and it will take years of research and reflective practice until consensus is reached about what works.

Nevertheless, all of the efforts of those involved are cumulative and progress is continually being made so that effective early response can be taken more often to prevent the outbreak of violence. Creating this document is the first step in a larger research and action agenda for those involved in this project that involves the following related activities:

- Initiating a second violence prevention project based on the IPPP experience in Guinea-Bissau that will inform the creation of a revised catalytic model.
- Creating a short manual based on the IPPP model to help guide similar work on other comparable countries.
- The creation of a new Early Response Unit to be housed at the Canadian International Institute of Applied Negotiation, Ottawa, which will deliver violence prevention services domestically and internationally, develop and deliver new training courses for other early response actors, provide consultation on violence prevention, and continue to conduct research on this topic.

We believe that this report is a significant contribution to the effort to understand the present world scene and find new ways of addressing one its most grievous problems. The results of our demonstration project are set out below, leading up towards a possible 'New Approach' and 'New Model' for Violence Prevention.



2 BACKGROUND— HOW TO TACKLE POLITICAL VIOLENCE

The Search for New Ways

In recent years the international community has repeatedly been confronted by the problem of fragile, failing and failed states, and how to tackle their needs effectively. Many face serious challenges in such areas as security, human rights and economic development; and often they present pictures of anarchy, a slide into state collapse or full-scale open violence that pose dangers to other countries as well as themselves. New efforts and new initiatives are needed if this issue is to be tackled responsibly in the next few years.

This has all led to a greater interest in ‘Violence’ – its nature and Prevention. This is now seen as a key element in many conflict situations. It is also now widely recognized that ‘Prevention’ is normally far more cost-effective than peacekeeping or rebuilding states in the aftermath of war.¹

And yet, despite this heightened interest, the international community still struggles with some of the violence prevention field’s key concepts, including the definition of a fragile state and the design and delivery of appropriate, effective interventions in various environments². For example, some of the key questions currently being explored include:

- What factors distinguish a fragile state from a failed state?
- Is there enough empirical evidence to support the claim that failed states are security threats?³ More specifically, are there different types of failed states that each represent different types of specific threats?
- What roles can outsiders have and how effective can an outside-driven approach be? What tools can be used by outside interveners?
- How does one generate enough leverage and authority to intervene – especially for interventions that aren’t backed by a prominent organization?
- How do you implement a program in a failed state when there is little or no infrastructural support?
- How can collaborative and multilateral approaches be strengthened? What weaknesses do they have and how can those be overcome?

¹ See *Bridge the Knowledge-Action Gap: The Authoritative Statement on How to Reduce Political Violence*, 2004, Ben Hoffman, www.newmathforhumanity.com

² For example, only recently has the UN Security Council affirmed the Responsibility to Protect doctrine and prevention is not “mainstreamed” in any operational sense.

³ Stewart Patrick in his report entitled *Weak States and Global Threats: Assessing Evidence of “Spillovers”*, 2006, notes that there is actually very little empirical evidence to support the claim that failed states are security threats.

- How can you measure and ultimately prove success in preventing violence?

Related to this uncertainty are questions regarding Early Warning (EW) and Early Response (ER):

- How early must early warning be?
- What is the most promising form of response to a warning?
- Who should be responsible for warning and for response?

With the financial support and strong commitment of Mr. Milt Lauenstein, a retired American business executive greatly interested in international peace and security, the international group of experts known as the 'Reducing Political Violence Action Group' was formed to identify practical actions to prevent violence. It quickly proceeded with the task of exploring the most promising ways of reducing and preventing the political violence so evident in today's world.

At the outset, Dr. Michael Lund summarized the international context of violence prevention in the following terms:

1. Recent deadly, intra-state conflicts create human, development, and security consequences.
2. Prospects of further failed states and intra-state conflicts continue.
3. Learning has occurred in understanding conflicts and addressing them in regard to:
 - causes of conflicts—plentiful research studies of civil conflicts, failed states.
 - various outside influences and domestic conditions proven effective in heading off likely escalation to violence or return to violence.
4. Government donors, multilaterals, and NGOs are not only doing early warning and conflict assessments but also taking preventive actions in specific cases.
5. These multiple efforts, however, are not focused sufficiently in threatened places at their most vulnerable but opportune times. Thus the efforts fail to concentrate an adequate range of incentives and disincentives for reversing the critical forces that escalate conflicts and for aiding the existing capacities for peaceful management of emerging disputes.
6. There is increasing recognition of the wider international impacts of failed states and civil conflicts, the ways preventive action serves national interests, and there is growing advocacy for an international strategic approach.
7. Nevertheless, an alert-action gap (or findings-follow through gap) as well as a knowledge-action gap still exist. Actions are driven by sectoral and organizational mandates and thus different timetables, not by specific country analyses and detailed attention to conflict dynamics. And no one organization is acting as a significant catalytic force to stimulate and galvanize timely and coherent preventive action.

Dr. Lund also listed a number of criteria for selecting a country for a prevention project. There should be:

- Potential for extensive, state-destabilizing violence or political disintegration that invites eventual violence.
- Growing perception of potential crises, with possibly some signs of violence, but not yet significant levels of violence, or political polarization and confrontation ('unstable peace').
- Existence of fledgling civil society organizations and forums to work with. (These typically cross-cut major cleavages. They are open to or seeking assistance, even though they cannot undertake violence prevention on their own).

Based on Dr. Lund's analysis as well as other Members' concerns about such issues as the failure of the international community to mobilize effectively to tackle conflict problems, the Reducing Political Violence Action Group initiated a 'Prevention Project' that aimed to link Early Response to Early Warning. A key goal was to draw out 'Lessons Learned' that could be used for a 'New Approach' and a new 'Draft Model' that might be used in a range of threatened countries.

Violence Prevention: The 'Basic Concept'

The Reducing Political Violence Action Group now set out a 'Basic Concept' for Violence Prevention. Projects aimed at tackling this issue, it agreed, should focus on reducing major inter-group violence in a selected country by:

- Reviewing the best available research on conflict and its sources and stages, with particular emphasis on interventions and what is need to make them effective.
- Establishing a core group of internal and external actors to work together closely on the project.
- Carrying out – in this core group – a joint analysis of the situation, to determine the greatest threats to security.
- Agreeing on measures to be undertaken, such as conciliation efforts at various political and other levels.
- Considering how such measures might help to address immediate violence and conflict issues as well as the underlying sources of discord that might be addressed over time.
- Galvanizing a coalition of actors and supporting groups who could be encouraged to direct parts of their own activities in the country towards addressing the identified threats.

- Using mainly non-official channels for this work, but with selective involvement of Governmental as well as Non-governmental actors; and encouraging all these actors to develop policies, incentives and disincentives that will be supportive of stability and peace.
- Stimulating appropriate and complementary actions aimed at addressing the kind of escalating tensions that can very often lead towards serious violence.

Additional features of the 'Basic Concept' were the use of a small grant fund, monitoring and evaluation, reflective practice, and a commitment to learning lessons for broad dissemination.

From the outset, the Reducing Political Violence Action Group recognized that attempting a specific violence prevention project would entail several inherent risks. For example, what if the intervention backfired and made things worse? What if intervention triggered renewed violence by opening old wounds? What if nothing happened?

Accordingly, the original 'Basic Concept' of the IPPP also took account of a number of concerns and cautions, referring mainly to:

- Generating enough pressure on the project collaborators, from the bottom and the top, to induce them to participate meaningfully in the processes outlined, as against nominal, occasional participation constrained by their standard operating procedures.
- Getting invited in: finding sufficiently capable and influential local sponsors of the project and dealing with resistance.
- Marshalling sufficient clout by engaging key players such as Foreign and Defense ministers who are often essential for providing the robust incentives and disincentives needed to influence significant national actors.



LAUNCHING A VIOLENCE PREVENTION DEMONSTRATION PROJECT

Early Warning and Early Response

The demonstration project was conceived as an Early Response to Early Warning. There were several existing EW watch lists, but few organizations make any attempt to bridge the gap between EW and ER. Those who sound alarms seldom undertake prevention initiatives and when they do so they typically limit themselves to 'quiet diplomacy'. Those working on the ground as Peacebuilders are very guarded in their public statements so as not to alienate the Authorities in the country where they are working. Bridging between Advocacy and Action, however, would be a key feature of the demonstration case. The Project would need to identify an appropriate country from the EW watch lists for a 'Violence Prevention Action Demonstration Case'.

Case Selection

Guinea-Bissau was selected from a short list of candidate countries. After reviewing earlier work in this area, project leaders commissioned Dr. David Carment and a team of colleagues from the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs (NPSIA), Carleton University, Ottawa, to undertake a comparative and analytical study. The aim was to identify three countries at risk of new or renewed violent armed conflict in the next one to three years, in order to then examine the question of an appropriate intervention response.

Dr. Carment and his team began by assembling a list of 30 countries. Then, from this list of thirty, the team and project leaders selected 10 which appeared to be of particular interest. None were yet at the stage of significant violent conflict, but all exhibited many of the indicators of potential serious violent conflict in the next one to three years. Criteria established by team and project leaders by consensus in advance also focused attention on a number of particular cases. Thus a country might be short-listed because it was not already receiving significant outside help but might likely do so in the future if its situation 'unravelling' for various geo-political or economic reasons. For example, Pakistan was NOT short-listed because the United States already shows a great deal of interest in this country and the region. Turkey was excluded because of its membership in NATO and relations with the European Union. Georgia had recently held democratic elections, and a reform-minded President had been elected. Those countries which were already in the midst of violence were also set aside (e.g. Sudan, Uganda). Only those countries having a potential but strong prospect of civil violence remained on the list.

After that, team and project leaders made a further selection that identified three countries which – according again to agreed criteria – seemed especially appropriate for a third-party conflict prevention response exercise. The countries then remaining on Carleton University's 'Watch List' were: Guinea-Bissau, Guyana and Papua New Guinea.⁴

⁴ Source: *Following Through on the Promise and Performance of Conflict Prevention: Toward an Action Plan A CIPF Proposal for the Country Preventive Action Project (CPAP): Creating a "Watch List"* by David Carment and Corey Levine February 18, 2004.

Why Guinea-Bissau?

Guinea-Bissau (GB) is a small country of about 1.5 million people on the West Coast of Africa. GB is a former Portuguese colony that achieved independence in 1974 and has since been plagued by coups, political instability, war and underdevelopment. It remains one of the poorest countries in the world.⁵ (For a brief description of Guinea-Bissau, see Annex "A")

Guinea-Bissau was chosen from the final list of three countries for a number of important reasons:

- First, early information from contacts familiar with the country indicated that there was a small group of civil society actors in Guinea-Bissau who would likely be receptive to a new 'Violence Prevention' project.⁶
- Second, there was a significant absence of many other external actors in Guinea-Bissau. Even though Guinea-Bissau did have some local NGOs and a few in-country international NGOs (INGOs), the relative lack of interest by other actors made it appear to be a 'forgotten' country.
- Third, Guinea-Bissau was attractive because of its close physical proximity to Europe and North America. This meant less time and money spent on travel, so that available funds could be directed to prevention work in the country.
- Fourth, Guinea-Bissau was in a stage of 'potential crisis', with some signs of minor violence, but as yet no major violence. It was, in other words, in a state of 'unstable peace'.



Map of
Guinea-Bissau.

Source: (The World Factbook by the Central Intelligence Agency, 2006, available online at: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/index.html>).

⁵ Guinea-Bissau ranks 187 in the UN human development index out of 192.

⁶ These contacts were both ex pats in Guinea-Bissau and other people from the IPPP's network who knew the country intimately.

Why “Peace and Prosperity” Project?

After a great deal of discussion, the initiative in Guinea-Bissau was named the International Peace and Prosperity Project. From the earliest contacts with people in Guinea-Bissau and external experts, economic development was identified as a key to peace; and it was also determined that without security there would be no development. ‘Peace’ and ‘Prosperity’ responded to this conventional wisdom, and it elevated the project to one of hope while retaining a practical perspective. Furthermore, ‘International’ signaled that the project was large in vision and scope.





4 TRYING OUT THE 'BASIC CONCEPT'—THE GUINEA-BISSAU EXPERIENCE AND ITS 'LESSONS'

Theory Quickly Meets Reality

The IPPP now began its work on the ground in Guinea-Bissau, aiming to explore the 'Basic Concept for Violence Prevention' and to adhere to organizational plans as closely as possible. The first step was to dispatch an in-country scouting mission which would aim to answer a key question on the following lines: "is there a sufficient demand for significant Violence Prevention activities in Guinea-Bissau to enable the International Peace and Prosperity Project to do serious work there e.g. such as would help this country to find stability and the means of making real progress towards prosperity?"⁷

Two weeks before the scouting mission's departure for GB, however, General Seabra, head of the armed forces, was assassinated. This new situation left the team wondering whether the country was an appropriate case for an 'early preventive response' and to what extent 'Violence Prevention' concepts might be applicable. Perhaps the situation was too lethal. How could an intervention featuring a process of multi-stakeholder joint diagnostics apply in such circumstances?

Nevertheless, Dr. Hoffman, now Project Director, and his multi-disciplinary team, including a security expert, decided to proceed with the scouting mission. They were guided by the use of a conflict analysis framework that was constructed from a variety of pre-existing tools, which in this case also paid specific attention to security issues and an assessment of power and its role in the country. They found that people who knew Guinea-Bissau—external actors from international organizations and donor embassies, scholars inside and outside the country, and the people interviewed in the country—were quick to specify what was needed in Guinea-Bissau to prevent violence and to build peace and prosperity. There was an urgent need for security sector reform, for dealing with an economic crisis and long-term development, for improving governance, and for supporting the growth of an active civil society. But most importantly, there was a need to stabilize the country. Certain politicians were exploiting discontent and mobilizing inter-ethnic hostilities. Mass violence was possible. A number of people within the country asked the IPPP to sound an immediate alert to the international community.

In Guinea-Bissau, the team learned, the army had a practice of being deeply immersed in politics, with a history of coup d'états, assassinations, full-scale internal war in 1998 and outside military involvement. People told the scouting mission that discouraging the army's involvement in politics and building a 'contre pouvoir' (a mobilized, influential civil society) to those with guns were immediate priorities.

⁷ Source: INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND PROSPERITY PROJECT Scouting Trip to Guinea-Bissau: Summary of Observations and Proposed Next Steps, November 15, 2004, available online at <http://www.ciian.org/oct2004.doc>

Guinea-Bissau appeared to be on the verge of erupting, and the IPPP's planned approach to violence prevention clearly could not be applied at this point in any rigid kind of way. If the IPPP had been unable to respond to this situation 'in country', if it had insisted that its original approach was the only way to proceed, if it had been overly constrained by the nature of its mandate, then the project would have been blocked or at least seriously delayed.

The project leaders decided to adjust to reality on the ground. It was apparent that the project needed to be responsive and dexterous. It would need to deliver concrete initiatives in the now clearly-defined area of most-urgent need: to contribute to 'Stabilization' of the country. The IPPP Project sounded a clear 'alert' and followed up with an 'Advocacy Document'. (See Annex "B" for IPPP "Alert".)

At this time the IPPP also set its 'Test of Success' on roughly the following lines: "we are looking towards a situation where Guinea-Bissau can reach a stage such that political conflict can be raised and resolved nonviolently."

What is the IPPP?

The IPPP's 'emergency room' diagnostic, which recognized how critical to peace the machinations of political elites were, plunged the project into a set of actions that were strategically-informed and focused mostly in this critical period on the peace agenda. However, the actions were carried out in a way that did confuse some of the other members of the peacebuilding community, including the INGOs and UN actors already on the ground. Although the project had been named the International Peace and Prosperity Project to demonstrate its responsiveness to stated requirements for economic development and conventional peacebuilding, many people in GB and abroad, unable to pigeon-hole the IPPP, asked directly: What *is* the IPPP? What is its mandate? What service will it deliver? Is it a funding organization? Would it be establishing an office in the country?

Incorporating lessons learned the IPPP described itself as:

- a catalyst dedicated to prevention with a multi-service, multi-sectoral approach;
- an elicitor of solutions;
- a supporter of local leadership;
- a facilitator of collaboration;
- a champion to attract resources.

Holding on to the Key Elements

While reality demanded that the IPPP's 'Violence Prevention' approach should be adjusted in various significant ways, nonetheless the 'Basic Concept' – as described above – was preserved throughout all stages of the project including the early one focused on 'Stabilization'. For example, no matter which new activity the IPPP decided to initiate (e.g. supporting the development of a code of conduct for presidential candidates), it was always approached from a holistic, collaborative, and locally-driven perspective. At times, this required quick and creative thinking. Likewise, the IPPP continued throughout to advocate for prevention, 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 while also seeking vertical integration within a given sector by being active from the community level through local NGOs to the national, regional, and international levels as necessary.

After the IPPP and other initiatives in the country had contributed to a period of stability, including a peaceful presidential election in the summer of 2005, the IPPP was able to return to its plan to facilitate a multi-stakeholder joint analysis and planning exercise in early-2006. A five-day meeting produced a 'National Action Plan for Peace and Prosperity'.⁸

Following that, the IPPP provided funding to hire a local coordinator to support implementation of key actions in the Plan.

The local coordinator, with additional IPPP support, was successful in stimulating several activities. For example, a consultant from Intermediate Technology Consultants Ltd. (UK) was hired to assess the feasibility of Small Business Incubators and funds were given for a youth workshop on the issue of HIV/AIDS.

Furthermore, during the initial phase of its engagement, the IPPP had been successful in stimulating and supporting other local initiatives. Some of these key initiatives were:

- Contributing to the reconciliation movement in Guinea-Bissau by facilitating reconciliation dialogues with political elites, supporting a women's dialogue with the armed forces, and collaborating on the ECOWAS/CPLP/UNOGBIS-sponsored Reconciliation process.
- Supporting various Security Sector Reform activities including development of a Defense Strategy Paper and providing security consultants.
- Mobilizing Search for Common Ground to develop a media project directed at cultivating a culture of peace in Guinea-Bissau.

Meanwhile, the IPPP continued to undertake a series of activities to raise international awareness about Guinea-Bissau with the hope of attracting more resources. The IPPP issued several alerts about potential violence-triggering crises, it twice sponsored representatives from Guinea-Bissau to international conferences, it continued to undertake extensive international lobbying by liaising with different government representatives (e.g. US State Department, Canadian Foreign Affairs, etc.) and the World Bank, and it continued to build an informal network, *Friends of Guinea-Bissau*.

⁸ To download a copy of the National Action Plan for Guinea-Bissau see: www.ciian.org

Innovating in the Face of Reality

Among the early lessons learned by the IPPP were the need to adjust to reality on the ground and the importance of flexibility and dexterity. For example, immediately after the first scouting mission an operational plan was outlined that assumed at least a three-year cycle of activity, moving from Stabilization to Exit and Follow-up. The plan included a small grant fund enabling the IPPP, while not a funding body, to provide modest financial assistance on a just-in-time basis to stimulate or carry out strategically-identified activities that would be preventive.

Prevention, however, requires a broad strategic orientation, complemented by more detailed plans which call for violence analysis, ongoing 'real time' and 'realistic' assessments of the motivations of the key parties involved, attention to security issues and war dynamics, and a politically pragmatic understanding of the policy environment in which the violence may be or is taking place. That which supports and sustains violence (within a conflict zone, in the neighboring region, and in the international community) must be identified and neutralized or converted into a force for peace.

The bigger picture must be taken into account. Every initiative must be mindful of its context, and the need to integrate various efforts to prevent violence and build peace should guide practice. The limitations of best intended activities must be recognized and their value assessed and modified as the dynamics of the violence change, including the influence of factors outside the conflict zone.

So, while the IPPP operational plan was helpful for planning and budgeting purposes, it was not taken as a rigid plan that predetermined what would be done exactly at what time, including when the project would be over. (For a description of the three-year cycle, see Annex "C".)

The project reacted to the reality on the ground at the time of the scouting mission and moved to a crisis management phase. During the crisis management phase, other situations arose that also demanded innovation. Two such examples are the support given to the military and the formation and support provided to the Citizens Good Will Task Force (CGWTF).

During and after the initial scouting mission, the IPPP team determined that the GB military represented both a potential threat to stability and a potential reconciliatory force. The armed forces had many young, unpaid, angry soldiers who were living in barely tolerable conditions. This population within the military represented a threat to stability should they become so discontented with their situation that they would turn to arms on the occasion of the upcoming presidential election. Paradoxically, General Tagme Na Wai, the new head of the armed forces, was urging that a path of reconciliation be followed among various factions in the Forces. Noting this, the IPPP once again moved away from the initial project plans and developed a concept paper on reconciliation that was circulated to key civil society actors in Guinea-Bissau. The fundamental question raised in the paper was whether reconciliation might serve as an organizing principle for stabilizing the country and building peace and prosperity. (See Annex "D" for Reconciliation Concept Paper.)

The IPPP then convened a group of civil society actors, a representative of the armed forces, and UN agency personnel to explore the concept of reconciliation. At the meeting, which affirmed the centrality of reconciliation to sustainable peace in Guinea-Bissau, the IPPP supported the

formation of a 'Citizens Good Will Task Force' by immediately providing a small financial grant to the organizers. This excerpt from an IPPP trip report details preventive actions of the CGWTF:

Taking on the name 'Citizens Good Will Task Force' (CGWTF) it has expanded and gained considerable momentum, due to active organizational assistance from SNV; the local NGOs, Peace Soldiers (a women's group); and essential individuals who exerted energetic leadership roles. The Task Force first solicited, through the IPPP, the judgment of some international lawyers about the legality of a Transitional Charter. Its legal status was corroborated. Preparing for the possibility that the High Court would approve most of the presidential candidates, the CGWTF drafted an Electoral Code of Conduct to encourage an issues-based and peaceful campaign, and they obtained the signatures to the Code of all the candidates except Kumba Yala. The Code was then broadly distributed and explained in the countryside, through the channels of the country's main religious organizations and other civil society organizations.

Simultaneously, the CGWTF organized a national campaign to promote peaceful elections, through sponsoring media events and distributing T-shirts and banners that promoted the idea that all GB voters should vote according to issues and not ethnicity or promised favors. They also broadcast 'ads' for peaceful elections, funded by IPPP. On election day, the CGWTF mobilized a large number of people around the country to help distribute ballots and work as 'Peace Brigades'.

Everyone we talked to in Guinea-Bissau in June including experts from international and regional agencies saw the Task Force as having done a good job. The CGWTF effort was recognized as unprecedented in GB, and commended by General Tagme Na Wai as well as EU observers. Their report includes the following:

Civil Society. The Election Law only provides for international observers and those accredited by political parties and independent candidates to observe the election process. However, civil society groups positively contributed to reducing political tension during the election process, by joining together in the so-called 'citizens of good will' campaign and disseminating a message of peace, unity, reconstruction and social and economic development. Despite not being permitted to 'observe' the election, they were present around polling stations to intervene in case of disturbances. Civil society groups succeeded in organizing themselves as 'Peace Brigades', and also played an important role in the voter education campaign, working in close co-operation with the CNE (Election Commission) and thus showing their commitment to the election process.

Individuals we encountered were excited by the vision and actions of the Task Force in promoting the cause of a civil politics. One young man whom the IPPP contracted as an interpreter became visibly inspired upon learning of this effort and he is seeking opportunities to get involved as a volunteer. With some already calling it a 'movement', it is possible that the CGWTF has given an initial boost to the formation of an active, self-conscious, and independent 'civil society', for the first time in GB.



The IPPP meeting in June with members of the Citizens Good Will Task Force

Likewise, the IPPP found new ways to address destabilizing factors in the armed forces. Funds were provided to improve the living conditions of soldiers.

Lessons Learned

Because the IPPP was intended as a pilot project, it was decided that three evaluations should be built into the project design and budget. That way important lessons could be learned, and the project's effectiveness in preventing violence could be assessed.

An internal evaluation was undertaken to, "assess and document whether or not the initial presumptions about a robust early intervention and subsequent operationalizing of the IPPP intervention are actually making the kinds of discernible difference in Guinea-Bissau that were intended when we undertook the effort; and to help answer the question of whether the IPPP activities and approach in Guinea-Bissau is relevant across all cases of violence prevention or only in this case; and to provide historical documentation of this unique Project."⁹

An external evaluation was also commissioned from the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP). Additionally, researchers at Royal Roads University in Victoria, Canada, have completed a meta-level evaluation that synthesizes the findings of the other two studies. (See www.ciian.org.)

A number of 'Lessons Learned' emerged. The main ones are these:

⁹ Source: Internal Evaluation of the International Peace and Prosperity Project (IPPP) in Guinea-Bissau: Senior Staff Perspective & Consultants by Evan Hoffman, January, 2006.

1. Scouting trip. Early in the project a multi-disciplinary team was dispatched to the country to conduct a holistic analysis of Violence Prevention needs and opportunities. This was a key to confirming whether an intervention should be undertaken and how it should proceed.
2. A solid/flexible approach. We found it helpful to have an approach which is solidly-based but flexible. Helpful and harmful things can happen spontaneously. It is vital to leave room for this in the 'Approach', so as to adjust to changing conditions quickly and flexibly. We need to be able to capitalize on helpful events and to slow down or neutralize harmful events.
3. Focus on violence. Our focus was on 'Violence', not 'Conflict'. Violence Prevention planning, action and success-measurement is strongly facilitated by focusing on overt and structural violence, not conflict resolution per se.
4. Security. It was critical to address the security challenge directly. The goal of preventing violence required that all those factors that destabilize a country – including dissatisfied armed forces, the actions of politicians, and other specific threats to peace and security - must be addressed within the violence prevention effort. National military forces in particular can be a source of support for prevention, and should not necessarily be regarded as a 'spoiler'. Encouraging the military to stay out of politics and support civil government can be vital.
5. Building trust. Building trusting relationships with local people is vitally important to understanding the history, sources and dynamics of violence of the country, and also to gaining access to key actors. Real needs must be met if the potential for violence is to be reduced. The project must remain responsive to local needs throughout.
6. Local project leadership. Engaging local leaders in project direction was essential to our Violence Prevention effort. The performance of local leaders in Guinea-Bissau is consistent with the belief that reliable, capable people can be found in virtually any country.
7. Involvement. To prevent violence, the efforts of many actors and institutions is needed. It is helpful when all receive credit for whatever success is achieved.
8. Integrated efforts. Bringing interested parties together in integrated efforts helps ensure good Violence Prevention results. These parties should be drawn from key sectors, and supported to work together collaboratively.
9. The catalyst. The project team served as a 'Catalyst', working across key sectors - and also vertically within sectors – to mobilize resources and initiate actions for Violence Prevention. This helped encourage complementarity of effort among those with particular service mandates.
10. Project leadership. A talented, experienced and dedicated project leader does not need much organizational support to be effective. A multi-disciplinary team can share the project direction to ensure effective decision-making, communications and coordination. A local office may or may not be needed – sometimes it may even be counterproductive.
11. Small grants. Relatively small amounts of money disbursed quickly as a strategically-identified need arises can accomplish a great deal.
12. Timing. We found that the timing of all activities – and at all levels – is crucial for success.

Recognizing shortcomings

The IPPP experience is not without shortcomings and drawbacks. At least five major ones have been identified to date.

(a) The Challenges of Collaboration

The IPPP places great value on collaborative activities, and this requires the correct personal and institutional readiness. Considering the amount of time and energy that true collaboration requires, however, it is tempting to fall into an operational mode of being non-collaborative. In order to collaborate effectively, one needs to be prepared to take time to develop and nurture relationships. Nurturing relationships involves earning trust and following through on promises. The IPPP learned from the beginning that maintaining transparency and not 'over-promising' were effective ways to build new relationships.

While the IPPP tried to be as collaborative as possible, there were times when unilateral action was needed because of a pressing issue that demanded immediate attention. Our relationships and the trust we enjoyed allowed us to act as needed. Maintaining a culture of collaboration among key actors continues to be a challenge.

(b) Giving Up Control

The IPPP model places a great deal of emphasis on being elicitive rather than prescriptive, responding to ongoing analysis, and taking direction from and supporting local leadership. Acting in this manner involves a degree of giving up control. This stance makes sudden alterations to the project a possibility, while the risk of not achieving project outcomes on time is inherent. A flexible project culture can also alienate certain individuals and donors who are uncomfortable when not in control. Credible local partners and good working relationships built on trust help overcome this difficulty.

(c) Blending Short-Term Actions with Long-Term Engagement

It is difficult to blend short-term actions within a plan for long-term engagement. This is especially true when dealing with crises when immediate crisis-management actions may take precedence over achieving other long-term peacebuilding goals. In the case of the IPPP in Guinea-Bissau, the original concept of conducting research and carrying out multi-stakeholder joint diagnostics was quickly replaced with short-term measures directed at stabilizing the country. When the proper opportunity arose for a multi-stakeholder peace and prosperity action planning session, local participants were assisted in quickly moving through diagnostics to identify short, intermediate and long-term actions. We placed less value on extensive research and more on action planning partly to reflect the fact that what was wrong was adequately known and partly to reinforce the idea that concrete actions focused on short-term goals build hope and momentum. Retaining a long-term perspective, however, remains a challenge.

(d) Donor Reluctance

The IPPP has a strong advocacy function, a risk factor for alienating donors by drawing attention to their actions or failure to act. Furthermore, by being flexible, responsive, and acting as a catalyst, the IPPP may not produce 'tangible' results that can clearly be credited to the project. Moreover,

when results are achieved they may not necessarily correspond to the goals and structures of conventional donor programs.

(e) Perceived as Being Maverick – the ‘Peace Guerrilla’

Because of the fluid and fast-acting nature of the project, other NGOs and UN agencies which do not understand the philosophy that guides the IPPP may wrongly misinterpret it as being too ‘maverick’.¹⁰ It also runs the risk of being seen as too reactive and undisciplined.

Nevertheless, 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 are 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 maverick.

Some ways to neutralize potential downsides, build trust, and achieve maximum value include:

- Have funding and administrative arrangements that allow maximum executive decision-making and flexible operating procedures.
- Demonstrate professional competence in conflict analysis and violence prevention.
- Have minimum stake in self- or corporate-promotion.
- Be an active listener, and adjust priorities and responses to what ‘those who know’ are saying is needed.
- Be sufficiently transparent to all key stakeholders, especially national government officials and leaders within civil society.
- Put resources in, and provide tangible support to, local leadership disposed to nonviolent, practical actions.
- Be comfortable and competent in working in all relevant sectors, including security.
- Be seen to act across sectors, facilitating integration of effort; and also vertically within sectors, supporting practical immediate activities at the community and international levels.

¹⁰ There is an emerging trend in the literature that notes a maverick approach can often be beneficial and lead to good outcomes in international mediation (For example, see *Talking Peace in a Time of Terror: United Nations Mediation and Collective Security* by Martin Griffiths.) The term “peace guerrilla” was coined by Ben Hoffman when describing the project’s modus operandi of flexible strategically-targeted initiatives in collaboration with local partners, to a film crew documenting the project.

- Demonstrate a broad repertoire of competencies and actions, from facilitation to mediation, from violence prevention advocacy to conflict resolution, from peace-building to effective lobbying for action.
- Build-in project monitoring and participatory evaluation from the outset, and share results.
- Remain engaged in the country.



A NEW APPROACH TO VIOLENCE PREVENTION

Based on the 'Lessons Learned' in Guinea-Bissau - both positive and negative - and taking account of project evaluations, we present some ideas on a 'New Approach to Violence Prevention'.

Focus on Violence

The 'New Approach' is directed at, first, the reduction and prevention of overt hostilities; and, second, removal of structural violence as a long-term preventive measure. This prevention approach combines Action, Advocacy, and Academy. That is, it envisages catalytic actions, global advocacy, and extensive analytical and reflective tasks.

Ultimately a process of in-country joint diagnostics, prevention planning, and implementation of prevention activities will be the hallmark of the prevention initiative.

In the early stages of engagement, the strategic dimensions in which activities will be required come into focus. The dimensions needing early attention will emerge from information obtained during the scouting trip, ongoing interaction with country actors, and ongoing real-time analysis of conflict and violence. For example, the information from these various sources might highlight a need to work, first in the security sector while addressing potential violence-triggering behaviour among elite political actors, and thereafter to turn to the root causes of violence.

Concrete actions, some of which will be required immediately, must be identified and initiated. In order to do this, a list of all potential preventive actions that are indicated by analysis are run through a decision-making process in order to design a fully-integrated and multi-sectoral intervention. Decision-making is an analysis-informed process undertaken in collaboration with local partners to rule out some actions and to choose the best ones based on need, urgency, resources, and capacities.

Act as a Catalyst

Catalytic actions might include dispensing small grants to stimulate key prevention actions, undertaking a bridging activity across sectors, and facilitating problem-solving sessions, dialogues, and action planning.

Much of the responsibility for actual tasks and their completion lies with others, mostly local actors. This means relinquishing control and approaching tasks from a new perspective. The prevention initiative will lend support, technical advice, consulting, and some resources for activities. However, with the exception of advocacy, network building, and evaluation work, it rarely undertakes specific tasks.

Furthermore, local actors are the best qualified people to define the real needs of the local population. As such, an elicitive rather than prescriptive approach should be taken in partnership with local actors.

Combine Advocacy, Action and Academy

These three functions are linked and support one another in a process of continuous learning. Advocacy actions include issuing op-ed pieces, urging other actors in or outside the country to undertake complementary activities, and issuing action alerts. Action consists of operations in the field and in support of the project. The Academy function includes ongoing conflict and violence analysis and real-time monitoring, undertaking participatory evaluation, reflecting on practice, and compiling and disseminating lessons learned.

Integrate Actions Horizontally and Vertically¹¹

A distinguishing feature of the 'New Approach' presented here is that it envisages a range of 'Violence Prevention' activities that are integrated both horizontally and vertically. Project leaders and teams should act as catalysts for integrated efforts in a range of programmes and endeavours.

Many conflict resolution and peacebuilding projects focus on one level of actors or one set of activities within a single sector, because:

- Donors often urge projects to identify only one or two "target groups" to which their programming is directed.
- Most NGOs are specialized and therefore favor only a few select areas of activities (e.g. they are constrained by the "mandate trap").
- Current project design methodologies are based on uni-dimensional concepts.

With these constraints, the overall effectiveness of a project might be limited, and the potential synergies to be achieved by working across sectors and by integrating activities within sectors is lost.

For example, take an NGO delivering a grassroots micro-economic program of developing a craft business owned and operated by women at the village level. The local program officer might realize that real hindrances to effective progress with the women are a lack of English language skills focused on business and an unstable security environment – raids are taking place by rebels in the village areas. Because solutions to these problems are outside the mandate of the micro-economic development project, the NGO worker at the grassroots level is unable to address them. She may raise concerns with her supervisor at the national level and hope that, eventually, an "English for business" program will be developed, funded, and provided to her women by another NGO specialized in that area. And she will hope as well that security measures take place by those responsible for that. Notwithstanding her own networking and informal appeals to colleagues to take action, she will not be directly active on the educational and security agenda. Her project will likely be compromised or fail because the NGO she works for will take neither the necessary cross-sectoral (horizontal) initiatives in education and security at the local level nor the vertical actions required in the education and security sectors to enable her to provide sound programming.

As a counterpoint to this typical modus operandi, the IPPP has demonstrated that a project can link vertical and horizontal actions around key strategic themes identified by conflict and violence analysis. This is a key to achieving a multiplier effect.

¹¹ The internal evaluation of the IPPP in GB found that this successful cross-linking of actions was one of the greatest strengths of the project.

TOWARDS A NEW 'MODEL' OF VIOLENCE PREVENTION

What To Do? - Principles and Practices

Based on our Guinea-Bissau experience, the 'Lessons Learned' there and the ideas reflected in the 'New Approach to Violence Prevention' outlined above, we now present a number of 'Principles' and 'Practices' that may be valuable for other similar operations. These are intended as key features of a possible new 'Model' for Violence Prevention.

a) Conduct Violence Analysis

A passionate commitment to prevent violence will sharpen the focus of prevention efforts. It will ensure that the security challenge receives proper attention and that efforts at stabilization become an active part of the prevention agenda. It will help set priorities among competing needs, help align effort, and help measure results.

Violence levels should be lowered enough to give hope that the right things are being done to make the country a less violent, more peaceful place in which to live. If the right things are not being done, if root causes are not addressed, if predatory leaders are not neutralized, and if deeply held grievances are not addressed, violence will result. Effective analysis of violence and its prevention is truly essential.

Some Questions to ask:

- Is the violence direct, structural, or both?
- What forms of structural violence are there?
- How are these being manifested?
- How likely is violence to become lethal?
- When might it become lethal?
- What must be done first to reduce violence?
- Who are the spoilers?
- What motivates them (what are they gaining by spoiling peace efforts)?
- Can they be induced to stop?
- Can they be neutralized nonviolently?
- Must legal coercion be used to neutralize them?

b) Value, Champion, Support Local Leaders

In every case of potential or actual violence there are people and factors that are pro-peace. These may be economic, social, and political conditions or individuals inside the arena of violence as well as conditions outside of it, in the neighborhood, in transnational organizations and corporations, in regional states, and at the UN. These allies or forces for peace must be identified and, to the extent possible, supported and drawn upon as efforts to prevent violence are specified and carried out.

Local people especially, if given the right opportunity for action and necessary support, can make and sustain the peace.

Questions to ask:

- Who are the drivers for peace?
- How can their efforts be supported?
- Who could be a driver for peace?
- How can they be made active?

c) Practice a Holistic, Multi-sectoral, Integrated Approach

Everything does connect to everything. An alteration in any given area can cause ripples throughout the rest of the country, region, and international community. Build on what is known and what exists of promise, including efforts to stimulate the economy and bolster community-based efforts at building a vibrant civil society. Be ready for unintended consequences to occur in some parts of the system because of adjustments made in other areas.

Therefore, work closely with individuals and organizations in a country to assess its current vulnerabilities and opportunities through a focused, reflective, and collaborative process. This joint process will identify the key impediments to stability and development. It will 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 prevent violence and to manage public issues in a peaceful manner and to galvanize its energies more squarely behind national development.

Questions to Ask:

- Keeping in mind the lethality of the political violence and the time required to build sustainable peace, what must change first and what can be addressed later?
- Are there human needs that must be met now?
- Are there political, economic, or social structures that must change now?
- Are there values and attitudinal changes required now?

- What are the levels of change required at the individual level, political, or economic?
- What can be worked on simultaneously and how will these activities complement one another?
- How much time will the prevention project take?
- What will be required to support it?

Identify the fronts on which violence prevention must be undertaken. Efforts must take place on several fronts and be sufficiently sustained to achieve the objective.

Questions to ask:

- Where are the forces of violence located?
- Where are the forces for prevention located?
- Are there external factors and actors that must be engaged to prevent violence?
- What needs to be done to bring the forces for peace to bear on the violence?
- What needs to be done to neutralize or convert violent forces?
- Are these informational tasks, are they tasks directed at new skills, are they tasks directed at systems? Are they political tasks, of persuading political leaders (both warlords and those who should be concerned and active peace lords) to give peace a chance?
- How much effort needs to be expended in the conflict zone?
- How much in the neighborhood?
- In the region?
- In the capitals of peace-loving countries?
- At the UN?

d) Timing is Critical

A sense of urgency, of priority, and of taking appropriate action when it is needed is critical to success. In efforts to stabilize a situation and to build momentum, focus on strategically-informed concrete actions in the short term, although these actions must be anchored in a long-term perspective.

e) Be Realistic, Don't Over-Promise

Local people and local actors are very aware that they are in a crisis zone, since they are living the reality of it day-in and day-out. As such, they might over-estimate the immediate and long-term personal and collective results of a violence prevention initiative. Be realistic about capacities and about what can be achieved and when. Credibility and forward momentum are at risk when a prevention initiative over-promises and under-delivers.

f) Inject Well-timed, Strategically-targeted Financial Help

Even on a small budget, just-in-time, limited financial support can be effective in preventing violence. Most local NGOs, and even the national government, rely on international donors whose funding requirements and cycles eliminate the prospects of obtaining financial support easily and quickly, even when the amount needed is relatively small. Being able to provide money quickly can make the difference between a much-needed initiative on the one hand and a lost opportunity on the other.

g) Be Diplomatic

Tensions can run high in a crisis zone, and it is utterly important to be diplomatic in communications and actions.

h) Remain Engaged

Effective violence prevention requires early and sustained engagement. Preparing for long-term engagement means developing an operational plan that effectively blends short- and long-term activities. Such planning entails securing the proper funding for longer engagement and making other necessary staffing and agency preparations. Establishing exit criteria through a process of joint analysis with local partners is also vital if a mission is to avoid dangers posed by hypothetical targets and artificial deadlines.

A NEW 'DRAFT' MODEL



How To Do It? - Nine Elements Of Effective Action

What should a Violence Prevention 'Model' consist of, and what 'Elements' should govern its operations?

Here are 'Nine Elements for Effective Action' suggested by our experience and reflections to date:

- Identify a potential location through an early warning exercise.
- Dispatch a multi-disciplinary team on an initial scouting trip in order to confirm country selection.
- Obtain endorsements and partners.
- Construct a flexible operational plan.
- Build working relationship with local leaders through targeted activities.
- Continue ongoing real-time analysis.
- Facilitate a joint diagnostic and prevention action planning process.
- Support implementation of the prevention action plan.
- Measure success, and agree on exit plan.

Identify a Potential Location through an Early Warning Exercise

The violence prevention initiative should be guided by sound analysis, and this requires access to accurate information. Several groups worldwide monitor potential 'hot spots' and use this information to issue alerts and sound Early Warnings.

At any given time a typical EW list might identify between three and twenty at-risk countries. Some EW lists rank various conflicts and countries according to the severity of symptoms or indicators that they are displaying. While this information is initially helpful in selecting a country in which to intervene, deeper analysis is needed before taking Early Response initiatives.

Confirm the appropriateness of a country for an ER intervention through a second-stage selection process that narrows the list according to the apparent needs of the country (or locations where violence is predicted) and the strengths and interests of the prevention initiators.

Dispatch a Multi-Disciplinary Team on an Initial Scouting Trip in Order to Confirm Country Selection

Scouting trips (not ‘fact finding’ or ‘country assessment’ missions) should be undertaken by multi-disciplinary teams, so that holistic analyses of each situation can be made. Rigorous analysis of specific conditions and capacities on the ground should include assessments of who has power and why, as well as deeper explorations of specific political and security dynamics.

The scouting trip has to be not only multi-sectoral but also multi-dimensional, so that the complexities of each country are properly taken into account.

This scouting trip will confirm or disprove the initial assumptions made about the country, and it will also generate new information and greater detail and accuracy about particular sectors. Among other points:

- The overall accuracy of the first assessment will be confirmed or disproved.
- An analysis of power and its relationship to predicted violence can be performed.
- In-country resource persons can be identified.
- The prevention initiative, its philosophy and approach, can be introduced to all key in-country stakeholders.
- Early support for an intervention can be identified and built upon.
- Concerns, strengths, and opportunities for prevention can be identified.
- Existing domestic and international responses can be identified to avoid duplication of effort.

One or more scouting trips will confirm whether a prevention initiative is merited and welcomed enough by local actors to permit firm plans or commitments to be made.

Obtain Endorsements and Partners

Having identified local leadership in key sectors during the scouting trip, nurture relationships with them to earn their trust by being clear about intentions and capacities, by not over-promising, and by being transparent throughout.

Identify a small number of international partner organizations as co-sponsors and explore their potential roles. Work to involve any relevant regional or sub-regional organizations. Invite these allies to create and join a new network of individuals and organizations interested in supporting the country.¹² Continue to expand and support the network. Use the network as mechanism for undertaking advocacy (e.g. circulating alerts), sharing resources, collecting information, and exploring collaborative efforts.

¹² Diaspora groups would likely also be interested in joining the network and they should be invited to do so.

Construct a Flexible Operational Plan

The plan must take into account the findings of the scouting trip. It should be structured to meet the immediate, intermediate, and long-term needs to prevent overt violence and to address structural violence. Furthermore, the operational plan should consider the actors that are already engaged and their planned or ongoing activities.

During a crisis phase, short-term activities to eliminate the operational manifestations of violence will be needed. What these should be, who should undertake them, and their timing are all a function of sound analysis of conflict but with a focus on the nature, form, and expression of violence itself. After the crisis phase (allowing for regression) both short- and long-term activities must be planned with a view to eliminating both the structural and operational causes of violence. To elicit locally-owned prescriptions, the operational plan must include a process of joint diagnostics and prevention planning.

The operational plan must also include a budget which will cover costs for a responsible minimum commitment. Additionally, the budget should include separate funds earmarked for small grants.

Build Working Relationships with Local Leaders through Targeted Activities

Inevitably, there will be immediate needs that can be addressed directly or by seeking new resources. New activities can also be launched in support of local leadership and indigenous organizations. Moving quickly to help in these ways can, at least in some measure, help to build much-needed trusting relationships with local leaders. Only trusting relationships can provide accurate insight into local political dynamics and capacities.

There may also be opportunities to invite local leaders to travel abroad to raise awareness of the needs of their country and to help secure resources for the prevention initiative.

Care must be taken not only in allocating resources locally and in forging partnerships, but also in being seen to be providing equitable support to actors or organizations.

There are other reasons to focus on building good relationships with local leaders. Good relationships with local leaders can be developed into strategic working relationships should the need arise. This is helpful for program implementation. For example, local leaders can become a resource to the project for arranging meetings, locating interpreters, and undertaking other project activities. Additionally, good relationships with local leaders may form part of a project's security strategy. That is, local leaders can help increase the acceptance of an agency and, as noted above, they can often provide detailed and privileged information which can help inform a security situational analysis. This same information can also be used for undertaking real-time analysis.

Continue Ongoing Real-Time Conflict and Violence Analysis

As a matter of good practice, continue to be open to information and maintain a culture of ongoing analysis of conflict, paying attention to factors that bear on security and violence prevention.

Sources of information can be found in several channels, including:

- ongoing and regular country visits;
- networks of people and organizations that are interested in the country;
- monitoring news sources (electronic and hard copy);
- searching various online reports and updates and subscribing to listservs and newsgroups;
- maintaining channels of communication with other regional NGOs, with local resource people, with the local government and civil society, and with other governments having a diplomatic presence.

This information can be used to update project staff, consultants, and donors; and to refine the operational plan based on new developments.

Tracking these developments will also help to identify action gaps. Making the network members aware of these action gaps and seeking their involvement is another way to advocate for increased action and new resources. Moreover, the information from real-time analysis can also be used to inform any evaluations and to support a cycle of continuous learning.

Facilitate a Joint Diagnostic and Prevention Action Planning Process

The prevention initiative must meet three criteria before facilitating the joint diagnostic and prevention planning process. There must be:

1. Sufficient stability to support a viable multi-stakeholder process.
2. Sufficient knowledge of the local actors and the key dynamics relating to potential violence in the country.
3. Enough credibility and convening power to bring together mid- to high-level actors.

Once these criteria have been met, start the diagnostic and planning process.

First, collaboratively draft a concept paper and seek widespread endorsement of the process. Second, send copies of the concept paper to national and local governments, local NGOs, and UN agencies, asking for support and participation in the action planning process. Third, after enough support for the concept has been built, help establish a local process design committee to lay the groundwork for the planning session. It is also important that the committee work to link the planning session to other processes in or bearing on the country. The committee might have to undertake capacity building activities (e.g. conflict analysis and facilitation training) so that core partners in the planning process can fully participate in the session. (See Annex “E” for a National Action Planning Session Concept Paper.)

The planning process should have two phases: diagnostic and action planning.¹³ At the conclusion of the diagnostic phase, a multi-issue national action plan will be created based on the analysis of conflict. The national action plan will have a timetable for the actions and benchmarks. After the plan is built, it must be widely endorsed and grounded in the current context. In order to do this, the plan will be published and disseminated to engage a wider set of actors.

(For a sample outline of a national action planning session, see Annex “F”.)

Support Implementation of the Prevention Action Plan

This phase of prevention activity focuses on implementation of the actions identified in the plan. Other emergent issues and needs will also be addressed.

Create a locally owned and operated implementation mechanism (e.g. a representative steering committee and small secretariat). This group sets priorities and ensures that actions in the plan are integrated with other policy development, planning, and operational activities ongoing in the country. Locating resources (financial and technical) to carry out the actions identified in the plan becomes critical. Starting with modest, practical measures builds confidence in the prevention plan and momentum.

Measure Success, and Agree on Exit Plan

How will one know when prevention assistance is no longer needed? When does one know violence has been prevented?

The most accurate way to measure whether a violence prevention project has affected levels of violence is by measuring violence itself. By placing the focus on violence, levels of progress towards the goal of expressing and resolving conflicts nonviolently can be measured.

- What are the forms and incidence of overt hostility?
- What are the forms and manifestations of structural violence?
- Are human rights abuses declining?
- Are there fewer political strikes, political assassinations?
- Is there space opening up in society for critical debate on government policy and actions?
- Are improvements taking place in the economic and human security dimensions?

¹³ A simple conflict mapping tool such as a ‘conflict tree’ is helpful for the diagnostic phase and a tool such as the ‘force field analysis’ can be used for generating actions.

Violence prevention is not necessarily a linear progression. Instability, uneven progress, and regression are all likely. It is important to realize that progress can sometimes appear as two steps forward and one step backwards.

In collaboration with local partners, establish country-specific criteria for success and agree on an exit plan. The exit plan need not entail a complete cessation of activities by a certain date. The exit plan can be structured as a slow phasing out, moving from the cessation of some major project activities to a status of being available to provide technical support to maintaining a watching brief.

At the formal conclusion of the project it is desirable to commission a final project evaluation and to reflect on practice to create new frameworks, tools, or models for broad distribution.



ACRONYMS

ACRONYMS

CGWTF	Citizens Good Will Task Force
CIFP	Country Indicators for Foreign Policy
CIAN	Canadian International Institute of Applied Negotiation
CPLP	Community of Portuguese Language Countries
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ER	Early Response
EW	Early Warning
GB	Guinea-Bissau
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
IPPP	International Peace and Prosperity Project
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
NPSIA	Norman Paterson School of International Affairs
RPVAG	Reducing Political Violence Action Group
UNOGBIS	UN Peacebuilding Support Office in Guinea-Bissau
WANEP	West Africa Network for Peacebuilding

ANNEXES

ANNEXES

ANNEX A

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA-BISSAU

A quick retrospective of political history since the war of liberation from Portugal, ended in 1974, shows as many as six major military-related incidents concerning political power in Guinea-Bissau. These include assassinations and coups d'état, a major war confined mainly to two factions of the armed forces in 1998, a coup d'état in 2003, and the killing of General Seabra (Head of the Armed Forces) in October 2004.

The Armed Forces

The armed forces represent a dominant concern regarding stability in Guinea-Bissau and a major factor influencing the country's ability to carry out social and economic development activities leading to prosperity. The armed forces are described as having an unclear mandate with the force size inflated well beyond present external and internal security requirements and beyond the means of the public treasury. Force size is estimated to be 10,000 to 30,000 strong (although an official estimate puts it at 5,000 only). A fairly consistent view of those canvassed is that it should be about 3,000 strong.

The ethnic composition of the forces is also a concern. While the Balanta tribe makes up 40 percent of the general population, 95 percent of the armed forces (both officers and other ranks) are Balanta. The mutineers who led the incident in October 2004 involving the killing of General Seabra, a non-Balanta, are allegedly Balanta.

The Government

In 1980 a military coup established Joao Bernardo 'Nino' Vieira as president and he faced several coup attempts thereafter. Then, in 1994 Vieira was elected president in Guinea-Bissau's first free elections. A major war in 1998 led to his ouster in 1999.

In 2000, Kumba Yala won the presidential election, and his term ended in a bloodless coup d'état in 2003, carried out by General Seabra. Yala's presidency was generally described as turbulent. The population was apparently greatly relieved that Yala had been removed, even if not exiled to another country but still resident in Bissau. Yala is Balanta and represented the Social Renewal Party. The other main party is known as the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC).

With Yala's departure, interim president Rosa was installed, pending presidential elections that were scheduled for March 2005 and actually conducted in July 2005. Rosa was reported to be well liked by the population and not interested in re-election. (In any event, the Constitution does not allow an 'Interim President' installed after a coup to seek re-election.)

While legislative elections during Rosa's term were apparently conducted without serious incident (in 2004), and civil society was active, including women mobilized by WANEP, Rosa's government was reportedly not functioning effectively in the following year. Public servants, soldiers, and teachers failed to receive their salaries for months, and the economy stagnated.

In August 2005 Vieira was re-elected president in the second round of presidential polling and he formally took office in October of 2005.

The Legal System

The civil, criminal, and regulatory legal system does not function effectively, and there is little to no confidence in the system among the people or potential investors.

There is a notable absence of traditional or emergent mediating institutions in the country. It is not clear that traditional tribal leaders and elders play any dispute resolution role.

The Economy

There is no history of an active private sector, the country having followed a socialist ideology after independence. Almost everyone looks to the government for jobs and services. While some business people are trying to stimulate and represent business interests, the climate for investment and for conducting private business is seriously impaired.

There is little to no infrastructure to support local industrialization. Electricity is scarce, roads are inadequate, the recently rehabilitated airport is just beginning to operate, and the port is idle and in disrepair. Virtually all goods and commodities are imported, except for some fruits and vegetables locally produced and sold on the streets.

The tax base is therefore small, with the few business people functioning in the country carrying the burden.

The fishing industry is confined to a small fish processing plant that is just becoming operational. The fish stocks in coastal waters owned by Guinea-Bissau are said to be the most plentiful in West Africa. The fishing rights, however, have been assigned to the EU for some \$15 million (US), when estimates of \$90 million or so could be realised annually if the fishing were done by companies owned and operated in the country. Furthermore, the EU is reported to be giving incentives to foreign fishing companies to move from the North Atlantic to fish in Guinea-Bissau waters where there is no regulation or enforcement of the stocks taken. Moreover, with the port not functioning, any boats that might visit Bissau for provisions and restocking go elsewhere.

Oil reserves have been discovered off the coast. Some of these seabed reserves are shared with Senegal, although Guinea-Bissau is said to have considerable reserves in its own right. But the cost of extraction is said to be prohibitive.

There are reports that diamonds and other precious gems are to be found inland, but there is no evidence that efforts to find and extract these are ongoing.

The highest salary paid to a senior public servant is \$60 (US) per month. Teachers' wages were not paid for nine months in 2003, and they were in arrears for the 2004 school term and again in 2005 and 2006. Military personnel subsist in difficult conditions and often go without pay for long periods.

Society

Guinea-Bissau has about 1.5 million people.

While there is nominally a free media, including national television and print journalism, anecdotal accounts indicate that—with some improvement since 2005—caution must still be taken when being openly critical of the government and the military.

The general population is apparently habituated to elite maneuvers, including coups, and the great majority live in a reality distanced from those actors and that level of activity. Most people are simply concerned with daily survival issues.

International Interest in Guinea-Bissau

Apart from humanitarian motives, international actors who show an interest in Guinea-Bissau do so because they are concerned that the country may become a failed state. Its potential remains unrealized.

On the ground, active international interest is minimal. The EU is the most active international actor. China has recently shown some interest, and is quickly credited by locals with having built some public buildings and put some capital investment into the country. The USA, which no longer has an embassy in Guinea-Bissau, provided some \$1.2 million in USAID in 2003, and remains moderately active, focusing on efforts to build the cashew industry. France has some interest, but mostly through Senegal, the northern neighbour concerned with stability along its border in the Casamance region of Senegal. However, both Senegalese and Mauritanian banks have taken steps to set up operations in Guinea-Bissau.

The Swedish government has reduced the amount of its donations to Guinea-Bissau, the Netherlands and Britain are represented by honorary consuls.

The World Bank has a number of initiatives directed at building the regulatory infrastructure to attract private sector investors.

The Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries is active now in efforts to stabilize the country, and the UN has established a number of programs, including UNOGBIS, a Peacebuilding initiative.

There is not a lot of evidence of regional pressures influencing Guinea-Bissau. The northern border shared with Senegal's Casamance region has been unstable in the past and again more recently. Rebels antagonistic to the Wade government in Senegal have sought safe haven in northern Guinea-Bissau.

Natural Resources

Guinea-Bissau is rich in agriculture and has great potential there, notably in cashew nut production, rice, and citrus fruits. Despite abundant fish stocks, the country realizes very little revenue from them and is not regulating its resources. It has off-shore oil, although extraction costs are considered prohibitive at this time. There are also reports of diamonds in the country.

Basic Infrastructure

Basic infrastructure is seriously lacking. Telephone and internet service are intermittent, electric power is sporadic, and the port is not in service.

Current Problems

Currently, Guinea-Bissau suffers from many problems such as political instability, corruption, high unemployment and extreme poverty, a lack of development, and a lack of democracy.¹⁴ Because of the extreme severity of these problems, most sources identify Guinea-Bissau as a fragile state and several have already classified it as a failed state. For example, the United States of America placed GB on its list of terrorist-harboring countries.

Shortcomings

This instability in Guinea-Bissau is mainly attributed to:

1. a crisis in state affirmation
2. a lack of qualified human resources
3. inadequacy and lack of clear goals in the educational and profession training systems
4. distrust among key players and groups (no 'win-win' dialogue)
5. manipulation of national security and defense force for political means
6. a lack of favorable climate for business and investment
7. increase of non-conciliatory interest groups
8. a struggle for power¹⁵

¹⁴ Source: NATIONAL ACTION PLAN FOR PEACE AND PROSPERITY IN GUINEA-BISSAU: A Consensus Document February 18, 2006 available online at <http://www.ciiian.org/nationalactionplan.doc>

¹⁵ Ibid.

Strengths

Guinea-Bissau shows strength in:

- natural resources, especially in agriculture, fishing, and tourism
- small, determined private sector
- small, motivated cadre of civil society leaders
- some freedom of press, freedom of movement, freedom of political association
- an electoral apparatus that worked sufficiently well in 2004
- general history of ethnic integration of the population
- strong role played by women in society
- desire to democratize
- general consensus regarding the problems of the country and how these should be addressed



MISSION POSSIBLE

A Ripe Opportunity to Avert Violent Conflict And Achieve Sustainable Peace in Guinea-Bissau

March, 2005

The Global Turn to Prevention

Since the mid-1990's, major governments, the UN, development and regional organizations, and non-governmental organizations (NGO's) have increased their determination to prevent future violent conflicts like the genocide and wars in Rwanda, Bosnia, and the Congo. This call for conflict prevention arose out of bitter experience in having to cope with the aftermath of those and other intra-state wars that erupted in the 1990's. Such conflicts have caused millions of deaths, torn their societies apart, spawned huge refugee camps, reversed development progress, and spilled over into neighboring states. They have required the international community to expend huge sums on humanitarian relief and post-conflict peacekeeping and reconstruction. As the mass media have come to realize the scale of human drama in these wars, popular films such as "Hotel Rwanda" and television documentaries have sensitized a widening global public to the horrors of the civil wars, ethnic massacres and other human calamities in many underdeveloped countries.

After the events of 9/11, more people also realized that poor and remote countries that are experiencing conflict and turmoil, such as Afghanistan, can produce direct threats to the national security of the developed societies. When states break down or are largely ineffective, they can breed terrorism, drug trafficking, and organized crime. Increased development aid and proposals for debt relief are being advocated as a way to strengthen international stability. The World Bank, the European Commission, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and other major bilateral donors all have been seeking to mainstream conflict perspectives into their regular development programming. The key place of prevention in these efforts was underscored in the recent report of the UN High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change.

Contrary to a widespread assumption, the UN and other major international actors have not always ignored the early warning signs of imminent violent conflicts or state failure. Despite well-known failures to act promptly – as seen recently in Darfur, Sudan – at other times, international entities have helped to head off or contain the escalation of emerging violent conflicts. Examples are Macedonia, the Baltic states, Venezuela, and Cote D'Ivoire. These efforts have proceeded in quiet ways that are rarely covered by the media, and they are not always described as conflict

prevention. For example, in early 2005, behind-the-scenes international diplomacy played a role in avoiding possible civil war in Ukraine and making a peaceful political transition possible.

At this moment, the poor but plucky West African country of Guinea-Bissau presents an urgent situation that is ripe for acting again on the policy commitments to preventing violent conflicts and state collapse.

Where is Guinea-Bissau?

Situated on the western-most tip of Africa, to the south of Senegal and north of Guinea (Conakry), Guinea-Bissau is a largely agricultural society of about 1.5 million people. Since fighting a long war to achieve independence from Portugal in 1974, Guinea-Bissau (GB) has suffered recurrent military coups and putsches, keeping it in a state of chronic instability that has thwarted its development. It is still staggering from the destruction of its economy caused by a short but violent popular rebellion in 1998-99. In the latest violent episode unsettling the country, an uprising of soldiers in October, 2004, assassinated the Army Chief of Staff, believing that he had withheld overdue wages from their peacekeeping service in Liberia.

According to close observers, the leading sources of instability in this still young, weak state include the:

- decline in rice and other agricultural production, requiring month to month emergency food provisions;
- lack of revenue to support basic health and education services and to pay government workers and soldiers, worsened by government graft and corruption;
- failure of its post-socialist economy to generate job-producing alternatives to its still-bloated public sector, as well as to the privatization that has begun;
- continuing shadow that is cast over its civilian politics by the pattern of attack and revenge among various military leaders and their factions within the armed forces, which are paradoxically both dominant and ill-equipped; and
- unemployed, poorly trained youth who are potentially recruitable for political and military ventures.

So far, observers do not see the signs of imminent violence of the kind that "Hotel Rwanda" portrays in that country in early 1994. But Guinea-Bissau is listed on most of the extant global early warning 'watch lists' as one of the countries that faces the serious prospect of significant violent conflict in the coming few years. Especially worrisome is the possibility that the recurrent factional fighting in the military will spill over from the barracks into civilian party politics and will activate the society's underlying ethnic rivalries. Rumors are heard of weapons being stashed away. Observers are also concerned that radical Islamists could gain a foothold in the country's sizeable Muslim population, and that its largely stateless countryside might provide attractive havens for criminal activity, arms trafficking, and local warlords. GB is emitting more than

sufficient signals of an impending deeper crisis and possible open violent conflict to warrant urgent and vigorous preventive action.

The international community could take a wait-and-see attitude, as it has imprudently done in other cases with these warning signs. But then it would be too late to be effective when the larger collapse and violence occurs that many predict. The only option left would be the typically costly, reactive response of providing humanitarian aid and debating a peacekeeping force, for which global resources are already overstretched. Once again, as with Rwanda, the UN and other key actors in the international community would be exposed to international criticism and shame. "If you saw these warning signs, why didn't you do something when you had the chance?"

What Is Already Being Done

Despite the presence of many risk factors, however, the prospect of violent conflict in GB is not inevitable. Many leaders and citizens in Guinea-Bissau are currently at work trying to overcome their country's chronic instability. After the bloodshed and destruction of the 1998-99 war, no one, including those in the military ranks, desires a repetition of the violence and political turmoil of past years. All want to improve their low standard of living.

What is intriguing about GB is that, although the warning signs of serious further deterioration and conflict are definitely present, the country is not yet so highly polarized, nor so close to a precipice that it would be unable to avert a crisis.

Many people in GB are working to avoid repetition of the past, as seen in several hopeful trends of the last few years:

- A number of NGO's, along with a small business community, are trying to fill service gaps left by its weak state capacity. In the process, they are also seeking to create an independent civil society that could provide the political ballast that is needed to keep the ship of state on a right course. Women's groups, for example, are becoming active and have stood up to excesses by armed forces and engaged them in dialogues.
- A series of national envisioning exercises and reconciliation conferences have articulated certain basic goals and affirmed the need for cooperative action.
- GB has a democratic constitution in place that is broadly respected. Elections, inter-party political negotiations, and legislation have proceeded peacefully.
- The country's fledgling media are relatively free, and open public debate is possible.
- The interim President and prominent religious leaders are interested in advancing a peacebuilding agenda.
- The new Chief of the Armed Forces is visibly taking steps to reconcile factions within the armed forces, working side-by-side with his civilian counterpart, the Minister of Defense.

Guinea-Bissau also illustrates that the international community has not always totally ignored places with the potential for violent conflict. This is most obvious in the presence of the UN Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNOGBIS) since 1999. Headed by a former military man who is trained in conflict resolution and has peacebuilding experience in Mozambique, the mandate of UNOGBIS is to encourage “national reconciliation, the rule of law, respect for human rights, constitutional normality, and peace with Guinea-Bissau’s neighbors.” This mandate was strengthened in December, 2004, so that UNOGBIS now has a direct line to the UN Security Council and sends it situation reports every three months, for GB is now a high profile country on the UN radar screen. In addition, UNDP, UNICEF, the WFP, the World Bank, the IMF and several bilateral donors are providing food aid, monetary support, and assistance for demobilization and governance reforms. The Bank’s Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) process of 2000 elevated anti-poverty to a central place in national policy planning. Diplomatic missions by the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP) have engaged political and military leaders in the crucial issues of demobilization and reintegration. The regional organization, the Economic Community of Western African States (ECOWAS), is also watching developments in GB.

In short, Guinea-Bissau has some of the ingredients that have helped other poor, developing societies weather the tensions and instability that are associated with making wrenching transitions to a modern, democratic state.

A Window of Opportunity

Even though GB leaders and citizens are apparently beginning to get their act together, however, ensuring against the state’s complete collapse and the resumption of armed violence requires a more focused and vigorous domestic effort, supported by further modest but targeted international assistance.

Due to the 1998-99 war and continuing political instability, donors and private investors understandably have been reluctant to put resources into Guinea-Bissau. Some donors pulled out a few years ago. But now, the international community has no reason not to take further deliberate steps to avoid a major crisis by putting the country more firmly on track, in concert with the people of Guinea-Bissau. The small scale of the country and its problems means that relatively modest, but strategically focused efforts can make a discernible difference. But the situation will not change if the international community awaits the spontaneous emergence of some mystical, diffuse domestic political will. The current positive trends need to be actively nurtured, energized and supported in order to reverse the habitual ‘beggar thy neighbor’ practices that are daily sapping GB’s otherwise productive social and governmental energies.

Hence, Guinea-Bissau presents a ripe opportunity for national, international and regional actors to work together in a more organized and focused way that would enable it to avert further conflict and deterioration and pick itself up. By applying the documented lessons of past instances of effective international conflict prevention, this effort could possibly transform GB into a doable African model of timely and effective international peaceful intervention.

Next Steps: A Strategic Compact for National Reconciliation and Renewal?

Concretely, what is most needed is to take specific action steps to implement the national goals that have been set out. Building upon and rewarding the emerging efforts for reconciliation and renewal, a coherent and public campaign needs to exert more concentrated leverage especially

on the leading political, military, and development drivers of potential violent conflict and obstacles to a sustainable peace.

How such a GB-owned but internationally supported national process of reconciliation and renewal would work cannot be prescribed in detail. But certain guidelines and processes seem to be most fruitful.

- A coherent, effective strategy needs to be specified. This strategy should comprise a package of integrated measures that are targeted on key threats to stability, short-term and longer-term. Scattered and piecemeal measures that are not linked together, at least loosely, will not suffice to build the public and international political momentum and confidence that are needed.
- The needed collective action should be as inclusive as possible. However, it must be aimed effectively at reducing the main immediate and structural sources of potentially wider violent conflict, and at bolstering GB's governmental and non-governmental capacities for managing the tensions and disputes that arise when national transitions are underway.
- Given the history of instability, international help realistically needs to be able to set certain conditions. Certain domestic 'quids' need to be promised and actively worked toward, in return for certain international 'quos'.

In particular, specific potential triggers of violence require immediate attention in the next few months. Otherwise, they could easily unravel the gathering threads of cooperation.

- One is the threat of further attack and recrimination within the military. Vigorous efforts should be made now to engage military leaders in a practical program of modernization. Support for paying soldiers, upgrading of poor living conditions, and training for younger recruits, should be offered in return for agreement to a phased process of professionalization and downsizing, informed by a military audit, e.g., needs assessment.
- Another pressing threat is that of disruption or irregularities in the presidential election, originally scheduled for March, 2005 but currently postponed until May. A code of conduct may be needed to deter any provocative candidate behavior, such as ethnic incitement, along with technical assistance to the Electoral Commission for administering the elections. It is essential that the elections be conducted properly and their outcome be viewed as legitimate, so a credible government can take charge.
- Necessary accompaniments to these short-term measures and public sector reforms will be more vigorous efforts to stimulate job-providing enterprises, in order to absorb decommissioned soldiers, redundant government workers, and other unemployed. Credit needs to be available to stimulate commercial activity that can increase the country's ability to process its own natural resources and agricultural products.

- Quick start programs can also begin to tackle the most egregious infrastructure needs. A symbolic first step might be provided by the early dredging of the port, now obstructed with ruined hulks, to let the world know that Guinea-Bissau is now 'open for business' and is beginning to pursue a path of prosperity for all its citizens.

Also, for a time, government ministries that supply vital health and food needs require continued financial support to pay for salaries and provisions. But this support should act as a promissory note and confidence builder, its continuation being contingent upon adequate performance in gradually achieving an agreed-on program of increasing government efficiency and reducing corruption. The continuing need for emergency food and financial support cannot become an excuse for conducting government business as usual, for this would enable dysfunctional and harmful practices to continue.

In sum, reducing GB's short-term vulnerabilities to instability and stimulating some promising economic activity will make discernible progress toward a sustainable peace and prosperity more possible.

The specific procedures through which to organize and implement these efforts, as part of a national GB strategic compact with international actors, need to be pinned down through meetings of government and civil society leaders. A useful first step could be to consolidate and revalidate the national goals that various recent GB gatherings have set for the country. Concrete, realistic objectives then need to be defined for each key problem area. These objectives must have realistic benchmarks for given time periods, and thus be able to meet the reasonable expectations of concerned international actors and funders. To reach them, public/private working groups or commissions could tackle the operational issues in security sector modernization, civil service reform, business development, infrastructure, social services, and education. The progress made toward specific goals could be monitored by a civil society organization, and reported through the media.

Compacts of this sort – carried out in specific countries through negotiated partnerships between governments, civil society, and a phalanx of international players – were successful in the CSCE processes in Eastern Europe in the late 1980's. More recently, the EU's Lome and Cotonou processes and NEPAD represent similar processes in Africa.

In sum, a vigorous and focused GB/international strategic compact and domestic campaign for national reconciliation and renewal is both feasible and could effectively deter the divisive, violent, destabilizing behaviors that the present situation will otherwise likely default to. This joint action would empower Guinea-Bissau to grasp its present opportunity to achieve sustainable peace and eventual prosperity, keeping it off the front pages in the coming months and years.

C

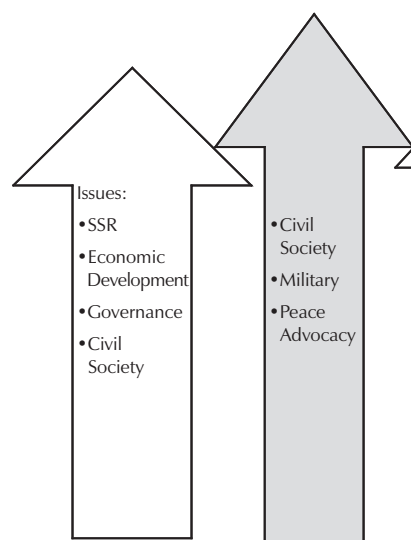
ANNEX C

IPPP THREE-YEAR OPERATIONAL CYCLE

IPPP PREVENTION PROJECT GUINEA-BISSAU

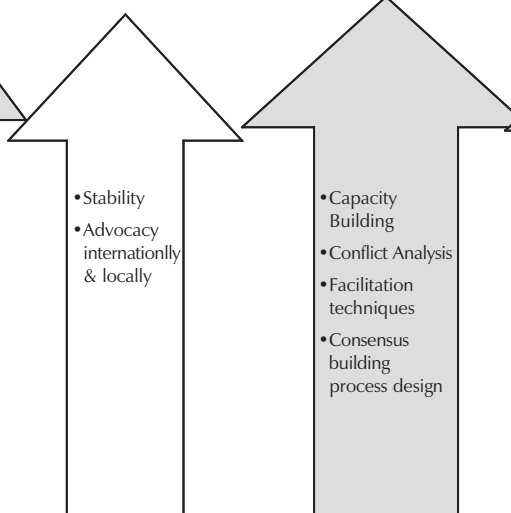
YEAR 1 (2004-2005)

Scouting Mission...Crisis Management...



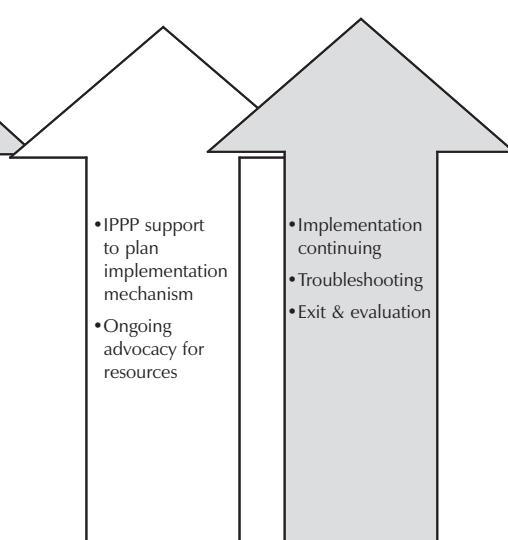
YEAR 2 (2005-2006)

Joint Diagnostics & National Action Planning
Plan Implementation



YEAR 3 (2006-2007)

Follow-up Support & Exit



D

ANNEX D

RECONCILIATION CONCEPT PAPER

Reconciliation and Renewal in Guinea-Bissau

February, 2005

There is heartfelt hope in Guinea-Bissau that the present efforts of General Tagme Na Wai to reconcile factions within the armed forces will be a success. Everyone recognizes that success on this front will be a building block for stability and prosperity in the country.

And General Tagme Na Wai himself is visibly taking steps to reform the military, working side-by-side with his civilian counterpart, the Minister of Defence, Daniel Gomes. In the background, now with a recently renewed mandate, Mr. Joao Honwana, head of UNOGBIS, brings a UN commitment to reconciliation, stability and peace.

It may be observed that the theme of reconciliation is again in the air in Guinea-Bissau. And the vision and commitment of leaders in the country, especially General Tagme Na Wai, should be rewarded, supported, and built upon. For it is now clear that without reconciliation, from the corridors of power in parliament, to the affairs of the business community, through the rank and file of the armed forces and to the village level, there can be little hope of renewal, of forward movement.

But this hopeful atmosphere that can be detected in the capital will not deliver on its potential without a dedicated, publicly visible, enthusiastic drive toward reconciliation. After all, it was just a year ago when leaders in Guinea-Bissau assembled for a second time, under the auspices of the Goree Institute, and issued strong words of commitment to reconciliation. And within months, underground currents of discord pushed their way to the surface, and General Seabra was assassinated.

It is obvious that the international community must re-commit to Guinea-Bissau to ensure that it has urgently-needed short-term assistance. It must provide a stable base to provide the time that is needed to seek reconciliation and prepare the ground for renewal. It is not possible to listen, to empathize, to acknowledge harms which have been done, to apologize and then plan for a future together if you are unable to feed yourself, to feel safe enough to embrace your former enemy.

And while it is understandable why members of the international community and private investors are reluctant to put resources into Guinea-Bissau, because it is so unstable, the international community, in concert with the people Guinea-Bissau, must take a few deliberate steps to put the country on track.

The International Peace and Prosperity Project, Guinea-Bissau after two visits to the country and having met with representatives of government, the private sector, the military and civil society proposes that a 'Year of Reconciliation and Renewal' be embarked upon now. Under the leadership of senior public figures, and guided by a council drawn from all sectors of society, a program to address grievances, to improve understanding and relationships and to create stability in the country would take place. This might culminate with a large ceremonial event, such as the dredging of the port, to let the world know that Guinea-Bissau is "open for business" and is prepared to pursue a path of prosperity for all its citizens. To begin that process, to build the necessary support throughout society, the IPPP proposes to convene a meeting of key representatives to share its observations, to discuss the importance of reconciliation to long-term stability and prosperity and to seek advice on how a 'year of reconciliation and renewal' may be launched in Guinea-Bissau.

Your interest and views on the idea of a 'Year of Reconciliation and Renewal' are most welcome. Please contact Dr. Benjamin Hoffman, Project Director.

E

ANNEX E

NATIONAL ACTION PLANNING SESSION CONCEPT PAPER

Concept Paper

THE VISION, STRATEGY, AND A PLAN FOR PEACE AND PROSPERITY IN GUINEA-BISSAU August, 2005

Planning Now for Peace and Prosperity in Guinea-Bissau

The political, military, and civil society leaders and the people of Guinea-Bissau (GB) have demonstrated to the world that they are committed to a peaceful transition of power in the country. The Presidential election, controversial, animated, exciting, has concluded peacefully with the democratic election of Joao Bernardo (“Nino”) Vieira.

Now, while the populace and the international community wait for the ‘dust to settle’, the challenge of embarking on a path to peace and prosperity awaits. And now, the opportunity for Guinea-Bissau to take its destiny into its own hands is more promising than ever before. The President elect has stated he is committed to national reconciliation; General Tagme Na Wai and the members of the Armed Forces have acted on reconciliation within the Forces, and have demonstrated professional conduct throughout the election; a Citizens Goodwill Task Force has mobilized civil society to full, peaceful participation in the democratic process; and some key members of the international community are now focused on Guinea-Bissau.

So the conditions are ripe now for taking action. There are also many paths to peace and prosperity in Guinea-Bissau. But which one should be pursued, in what order? And how?

The International Peace and Prosperity Project (IPPP) believes that the people of Guinea-Bissau should make these important decisions now, supported by the international community active in the country, and by others abroad. The vision of what Guinea-Bissau wishes to become, the strategy to get there, and implementation of practical steps that build success are properly in the hands of Guinea-Bissau.

A Peace and Prosperity Action Planning Session

The IPPP therefore proposes that key leaders from all stakeholder groups in Guinea-Bissau (including a senior representative from the Office of the President, from the Prime Minister and government, representatives of political parties, the armed forces, and civil society) participate in a Peace and Prosperity Action Planning Session.

The Action Planning Session will be designed by small Process Design Committee (PDC) facilitated by an IPPP team. Ideally, the PDC will be comprised of representatives from at least the following organizations: Government of Guinea-Bissau; Citizens Goodwill Task Force; INEP/WSP; SNV; UNOGBIS/UNDP and IPPP.

The Action Planning Session will employ a semi-structured process that does not present the answers but is guided by a framework that poses some of the key questions and others that emerge. The Session will begin with the participants agreeing on a vision of peace and prosperity in Guinea-Bissau. The key characteristics and conditions of that vision will be identified as the overall goal to be pursued. A joint analysis of sources of conflict and obstacles to achieving peace and prosperity will be undertaken by the group. Then discussion will focus on the three action paths which have been identified to the IPPP by local leaders:

1. dialogue among political leaders to develop a culture of political negotiation and accommodation;
2. the path of economic development; and
3. the path of national reconciliation.

These potential 'action paths' will form the broad structure of the Session, ensuring that the Session builds on current diagnostics and that it retains focus and practicality.

The Session will include as resource persons representatives from those organizations previously consulted and who agree they have sufficient interest in working in Guinea-Bissau to indicate the ways in which their services might address the specific stabilization problems and specific fleshed-out actions that have been by that time identified through the diagnostic process, as part of the information and resource base available to the GB participants.

The Peace and Prosperity Action Planning Session is being planned to take place in Guinea-Bissau, as soon as possible. It will be a three to five day event.

The Outcome: A Joint Plan of Action for Peace and Prosperity

Based on their vision for peace and prosperity in Guinea-Bissau, and with facilitation, the participants will determine which activities in which order should be undertaken. Together we will produce a detailed, integrated, and sequenced plan of action, which spells out a timetable, resource requirements, support strategy, and implementation, maintenance, and monitoring and evaluation requirements.

These plans need to be feasible in light of local capacity. It is anticipated that the action paths identified here (political dialogue, economic development, national reconciliation) themselves will be modified somewhat during the session: they will be refined to meet local need and capacity, integrated or sequenced according to the views and decisions of the participants. It is anticipated that external resource providers may want to identify what and how they may contribute to the execution of the overall Action Plan. It is further anticipated that a mechanism for facilitating, guiding, and supporting implementation of the Action Plan (which may be over 3- 5 years) will be required. The IPPP, local resources persons and organizations, and external resources will need to

agree on, at the very least, next steps to sustain the overall effort, pending greater clarification of resource requirements and contributions.

Next Steps

1. This Concept Paper will be circulated to potential members of the Process Design Committee in September, 2005, soliciting agreement in principle to the proposed Action Planning Session concept. Pending agreement:
2. The Process Design Committee will be established in Guinea-Bissau and planning will begin for the Action Planning Session.
3. Formal invitations to participate in the Action Planning Session will be sent by the PDC and the International Donors Community will be informed.
4. The Action Planning Session will take place no later than January, 2006 at a facility in Guinea-Bissau.
5. An Action Plan Implementation Committee (APIC) will be established at the Session and continue the work.
6. Representation by the APIC will be made to the International Donors Community.

FOR MORE INFORMATION CONTACT:

Dr. Ben Hoffman, Director, IPPP,
hoffmanben@hotmail.com

ANNEX F

SAMPLE OUTLINE OF A NATIONAL ACTION PLANNING SESSION

	Day One	Day Two	Day Three	Day Four	Day Five
AM	*24 PARTICIPANTS FROM KEY SECTORS* -Welcome -Introductions -Overview of Planning Session (goals: joint diagnostic and a concrete plan), the process, implementation	Diagnostics Continued — Deepened/Owned Analysis (large group)	(Small Groups) Facilitated Planning Using Force Field Analysis Tool	Reports From Small Groups	Action Plan Presented to Large Group -Revised and Modified as Needed — Plan Adopted
PM	Joint Diagnostics — Conflict Mapping Exercise (large group)	Key Issues Identified/Confirmed for Small Group Work; Preview Force Field Analysis Tool — Free Time to Mix	(Small Group) Force Field Analysis Tool Producing Key Actions, Prioritized, Potential Resources	Large Group Integration of Plan — Facilitators Drafting Action Plan	-Next Steps -Implementation Mechanism -Release of Plan -Uses of Plan in Key Agencies, Government

Canadian International Institute of Applied Negotiation

Our Mission

The Canadian International Institute of Applied Negotiation (CIIAN) is dedicated to the prevention and resolution of destructive conflict and to building sustainable peace at local, national, and international levels.

Our Commitment

We believe that reducing violence, achieving stability and building sustainable peace can only be attained through the sound engagement of the people and institutions in conflict. We are committed to building relationships and partnerships with appropriate leaders and organizations as a route to real change. We use and develop state of the art, empirically tested methods of conflict prevention, resolution and peacebuilding. And we are committed to transferring knowledge and competencies to those with whom we work.

Achieving Our Mission

CIIAN achieves its Mission and fulfills its Commitment through four programs: International Program; Domestic Program; Violence Prevention Early Response Unit; and Special Programs.

All of CIIAN's professionals are theory-informed practitioners. Experienced as facilitators, trainers, mediators, researchers and peacebuilding consultants, their services draw upon lessons learned and best practices to design customized interventions and training programs.

A Brief History

Founded in 1992, CIIAN was built upon the notions of peace, social justice, and principled dispute resolution based in negotiation. CIIAN soon became one of the leading ADR organizations, gaining a solid reputation for effective programming and training. Our growing reputation resulted in international recognition and by the mid-1990's we were invited to partner with organizations, especially in the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe. Recent years have seen CIIAN continue to offer dispute resolution programming through local organizations in a number of conflict zones, including Azerbaijan, Bosnia, Columbia, Haiti, Lebanon, Macedonia, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and the Crimea. We are now recognized as a leader in violence prevention, using a catalytic approach that balances security and development.

CIIAN's Presidents

CIIAN has been strengthened by the leadership and wisdom of the following: Founding President: Senator and past Ambassador to the UN for Disarmament, Douglas Roche; The Late Honourable, Justice Mark McGuigan; Co-Founder of CIIAN and past Director of Conflict Resolution for the Carter Center, Dr. Ben Hoffman.

CIIAN's International Program

CIIAN's International Program provides services in conflict prevention, conflict resolution as well as peacebuilding programming, often in long-term partnerships with local organizations. The Program also offers specific, clinical training workshops including a Certificate Program in Peacebuilding and Conflict Resolution.

CIIAN's Domestic Program

The Domestic Program provides three levels of training for those interested in learning dispute resolution competencies: • Individual Courses • Certificate Programs • Professional Designations

CIIAN's Early Response (ER) Unit

CIIAN's ER Unit works in conflict situations to prevent potential violence and intervenes in cases of violence to stabilize and restore the situation. The ER Unit also develops and delivers training courses for other early responders, provides consultation on violence prevention, and continues to conduct research on this topic.

CIIAN's Special Programs

CIIAN's Special Programs focuses on the development of special resources such as research papers, manuals and videos. It also sponsors a speaker's series and designs innovative training workshops such as the 'Power Clinic For Mediators'.

PREVENTING POLITICAL VIOLENCE: Towards a Model for Catalytic Action

Reproductions, translations, or adaptation by any means is prohibited without the written consent of CIAN. Permission is granted for reproduction and use of these materials for educational purposes provided the source is acknowledged.



Canadian International Institute of Applied Negotiation

Suite 1105 1 Nicholas Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 7B7 Canada

P: 613-237-9050

E: ciian@ciian.org

F: 613-237-6952

Lessons Learned From Guinea-Bissau