

ACTION

COPY

AG ✓
DSG
Cdc



Strictly Confidential

Note to Mr. Eliasson

UPDATE ON NIGERIA

1. The situation in the three north-eastern Nigerian States of Yobe, Borno and Adamawa, where the government declared a state of emergency on 14 May 2013, is increasingly worrying. Fighting between Boko Haram and national security and defense forces, as well as attacks on schools and other civilian premises by Boko Haram, has led to significant displacements within the country and into neighboring countries, and has severely constrained thousands of children's access to education. More than 24,000 persons, mainly women, children and elderly people, have so far sought refuge in Niger, Chad and Cameroon. A joint assessment of the humanitarian situation in the area, conducted by UN and Nigerian disaster management agencies from 15 to 22 September, found that close to six million people are affected. Reports of human rights violations are also on the rise, while destruction of infrastructure and disruptions in basic services and livelihood activities leading to volatile market prices have prompted food insecurity and rising malnutrition rates. Humanitarian access remains limited due to the prevailing insecurity, and development activities have largely come to a halt. This situation is expected to continue well into next year, given President Jonathan's request to legislators on 7 November for an extension of the state of emergency for an additional six months.

11/11/13

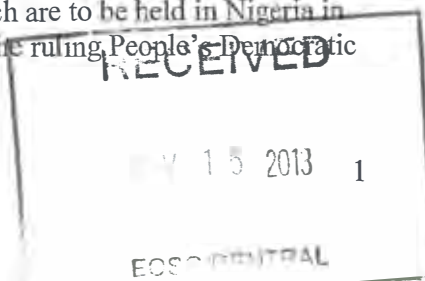
2. On 19 August, the Nigerian Army took over operations from the hybrid Joint Task Force composed of various security forces previously deployed in the area. Reliable information from the area continues to be sparse. However, media reports indicate that clashes between government forces and Boko Haram are continuing. Most recently, between 24 and 30 October, following a multi-pronged attack by Boko Haram, clashes intensified in Damaturu, Yobe State, leading to allegations of excessive use of force by the Nigerian Army. On 2 November, some 30 wedding guests were ambushed and killed along the Bama-Mubi-Banki road in Borno State, prompting OHCHR to recall that Boko Haram and other groups and entities, if judged to have committed widespread or systematic attacks against a civilian population – including on grounds such as religion or ethnicity -- could be found guilty of crimes against humanity.

3. In neighbouring countries, concerns persist that Boko Haram militants may be among the Nigerian refugees. On 5 October, the Cameroonian authorities conducted a security operation in the border town, Amchidé, during which they arrested 111 people. They had conducted a similar operation in December 2012. The authorities attempted to forcibly return some of those arrested to Nigeria in a convoy, which was ambushed by unidentified attackers. The incident resulted in 15 fatalities and seven injuries. The remaining 89 Nigerians fled back to Cameroon, where they were detained by the authorities. On 29 October, UNHCR released a communiqué asking for borders to remain open for asylum seekers fleeing the violence in north-east Nigeria, and that refugees not be forcibly returned.

4. Meanwhile, preparations for general elections, which are to be held in Nigeria in 2015, have begun. As expected, internal divisions within the ruling People's Democratic

POL / 04 / 001

POL / 04 / 005



Party (PDP) are rising, with northern PDP politicians maintaining that it is the northerners' turn to put forward the PDP's candidate in 2015. Prominent northern party members are in the process of establishing what they call the "New PDP." On 31 August, seven of the country's Governors walked out of the National Convention of the PDP and on 11 September, President Jonathan reshuffled the Cabinet, dismissing ministers perceived to be loyal to the New PDP. While this type of positioning within the PDP is not new, some observers have noted that the latest developments reflect the most serious crisis faced by PDP since restoration of democratic rule in 1999.

5. In view of the above, we plan to step up monitoring and conflict analysis related to Nigeria in the short to medium term. ~~Following SRSO Djinnit's visit to Nigeria in June,~~ UNOWA is pursuing contacts with the Nigerian authorities on how the UN could further assist their efforts. The recruitment of a Peace and Development Advisor based in Abuja is also ongoing. Meanwhile, UN Resident Coordinator will continue his engagement with international partners based in Abuja on preparations for the 2015 general elections. The UNCT will also pursue projects to advance peace and development in Nigeria, as well as national efforts to provide humanitarian assistance in the three states where the state of emergency is in effect.

6. As you are aware, in August, the Department of Political Affairs Mediation Support Unit, in coordination with UNDP, deployed two stand-by mediation experts to Nigeria to assess the situation and develop recommendations on possible UN support to address the peace and security challenges facing the country. We have attached the executive summary of the report, which was finalized in consultation with the UN country team. A full copy of the report will be sent to you under separate cover. The report reflects key findings, including concerns that by inflaming ethno-religious tensions and widening political fragmentation among the country's political elites, Boko Haram may constitute one of the greatest threats Nigeria has confronted since the Biafra civil war in the last 1960s. While the team recognized that the scope for the United Nations to make a meaningful contribution to Nigeria's peace and security challenges, particularly in the north, is limited, they identified priority areas for the UN in the short to medium term, including building the UN Country Team's in-house political analysis and conflict expertise; supporting a regional approach to the Boko Haram issue; providing technical support to government mechanisms; strengthening mechanisms to prevent electoral violence; and building capacity to counter arms trafficking.

7. We will continue to monitor the situation and keep you updated.



Jeffrey Feltman
11 November 2013

CC: Ms. Amos
Ms. Clark
Ms. Pillay

Nigeria Assessment Mission Report

22 July-13 August 2013

Executive Summary

1. Nigeria remains a deeply divided society along ethnic, regional and religious lines. Since the country's independence in 1960, its stability and coherence has been threatened by multiple conflicts in various parts of the country. While these conflicts tend to be framed along ethno-religious issues, the underlying factors are often exploitation of identity issues by elites to gain advantage, power and resources. These dynamics are exacerbated by massive centralization of power, poverty, growing inequity, corruption, impunity and a zero-sum approach to electoral politics.
2. The country has considerable internal assets to manage and mitigate these conflicts, including impressive women's networks, inter-faith groups and civil society organizations. The government has devoted significant resources at the central, state and local levels to respond to identified threats, including engaging the religious community and civil society to broker disputes, establishing ad-hoc commissions and, in the case of the Niger Delta, an amnesty program providing reparations to the insurgents. **However**, these efforts are overshadowed by the government's reliance on a blunt "law and order" approach, often accompanied by disproportionate use of force and human rights violations by security forces and other state agencies.
3. The emergence of Boko Haram is seen as the most significant threat to Nigeria's unity. The government's decision to impose a state of emergency in the northern states of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa, in response to Boko Haram's growing attacks, has been widely viewed as effective in diminishing the potency of the insurgents in the north and quelling the violence. It has however created significant security and humanitarian challenges and generated alarm about human rights violations carried out by government and Boko Haram forces. The Nigeria's Human Rights Commission, civil society organizations and the international community have raised concerns about the government's disproportion use of force.
4. The upcoming 2015 elections aggravate Nigerian concerns about further political volatility. There is considerable uncertainty in the lead-up to the elections, including whether President Goodluck will seek a second term and the implications of this decision and the election outcome on conflict dynamics, particularly in the northern and southern regions. The emergence of the opposition coalition, the All Progress Congress (APC), however is seen as a positive development that may eventually generate a genuine competition of ideas offering remedies to the country's challenges.
5. The solution to Nigeria's peace and security challenges are structural, and dependent on domestic political will to address equity and power dynamics in the country. While the international community's leverage with the Nigerian government is limited, there are entry points, including: Nigerian concerns about their country's international standing; demands for technical assistance; non-state constituencies for peace and

reform; opportunities offered by the 2015 electoral dynamics and calls for a solution to the northern crisis.

6. The UNDP Country Office has built on many of these entry points and has been an active partner in supporting Nigeria's conflict mitigation efforts, partnering with government and civil society actors at all levels and providing support through donor assistance, technical expertise and capacity building. Building on the lessons drawn from these past efforts, it has been working with the government to establish a National Infrastructure for Peace, an initiative that envisions developing a systematic and long-term approach to addressing the myriad of conflicts in Nigeria.
7. To carry out this ambitious undertaking, the UNDP Country Office will have to overcome significant challenges, including developing strategic alliances with government entities with the requisite power and political will to implement this initiative; persuading government authorities to work in coordination rather than at cross-purposes; and getting the support of security agencies. It will also have to demonstrate to the government and the donor community that it has the requisite resources and in-house expertise to manage this initiative and that its efforts will produce meaningful results. Finally to affectively address the drivers of conflict, the UNDP Country Office, with the support of the UN system, will have to convince the government that peacebuilding needs to be mainstreamed—with an inclusive and gender sensitive approach—into development priorities, particularly in conflict-ridden areas, and that it must address underlying issues, including lack of access to education, socio-economic opportunities and government services. To this end, the following recommendations are provided to the UNDP:

Recommendations

Short-term (next six months)

Reinforcing in-house capacity building

- Invest in securing expertise in political analysis and conflict expertise. To that end, the recruitment of a PDA, with strong conflict expertise, combined with the ability to design and implement strategic programming in a complex political environment should be a priority. Provide the PDA with a mandate to contribute to conflict analysis in UNDP programming and to train UN agencies in conflict-sensitive programming and conflict prevention. Place the PDA within the Office of the Resident Coordinator and consider a dotted-line channel of communication to both the UNDP-BCPR and DPA to ensure an interagency approach to peace and development. DPA should also consider deploying political officers, with strong political capacity, to work with the PDA as a part of the Office of the Resident Coordinator's conflict expertise surge capacity.
- To advance the National Peace Architecture, build greater capacity and technical resources and invest in the production of evidence-based results.

- To enable the UNDP Country Office to play a more effective role as a broker of aid coordination and resource mobilization, the PDA should support the RC's efforts towards establishing a sustained communication and engagement strategy with the development community.
- As a part of the Infrastructure for Peace scoping exercise, map out key government actors in conflict prevention at the state and federal level with the requisite political will, capacity and influence to move policy forward and develop a sustained engagement strategy with these actors. Bearing in mind the shifting political dynamics, develop a targeted strategy to partnering with these actors to support specific conflict prevention initiatives.
- Take stock of conflict resolution mechanisms in place in the country and in the two major parties and, in partnership with the donor community, develop a coherent program to address identified gaps. Carry out scenario programming, with the view towards developing adaptive programming to address unfolding political events on the ground in the lead-up to the elections.

Supporting domestic and regional solutions to the Boko Haram threat

- Engage government, northern political elites and religious leaders in support of keeping channels open for political dialogue with Boko Haram.
- Develop a close working relationship with the Presidential Committee on Dialogue and Peaceful Resolutions of Security Challenges in the North to assess their capacity, needs and resources to carry out dialogue and mediation and to engage on issues such as disarmament and detentions. Engage the MSU Standby Team to provide technical assistance to this body.
- Work with ECOWAS and UNOWA to advance a regional approach to address the Boko Haram threat in Nigeria and neighboring countries and to exchange best practices on early warning systems, conflict prevention, mediation and conflict resolution. An important step was taken on 31 October-1 November 2013 at the regional meeting convened by the Government of Nigeria and the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF).

Responding to the security and humanitarian challenges in the northeast

- Develop a follow-up plan to the inter-agency Humanitarian Rapid Assessment Mission led by OCHA and the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA)—a significant undertaking that provided some level of visibility on the situation in the north—that includes engagement with non-state actors, and a more detailed and hands on assessment of the situation of vulnerable groups and victims.
- Work with the donor community to build an effective advocacy campaign based on the recent World Bank statistics on poverty in the north (recently approved by the Nigerian Bureau of Statistics) to encourage the government to develop a program to mainstream the north into the economy of the rest of the country and to formulate a

coherent political, development and security strategy, addressing the underlying causes for Boko Haram's support.

- Engage the government to support the Nigerian National Human Rights Commission's recommendation to publish the Rules of Engagement (RoE).

Improving the pre-electoral environment

- In support of INEC, and in cooperation with UNDP and EAD, compile best practices in electoral conflict prevention and monitoring, with a particular focus on conducting elections in unstable environments. Convene a workshop bringing electoral experts from these countries together in Nigeria.

Medium term (2014-2016)

Strengthening advocacy tools to address equity issues

- In coordination with relevant government institutions, the UN Country Office, with the support of the Country Team, should build data capacity to inform politics of inequality and links between inequality, bad governance and conflict. Ensure that statistics regarding women and girls are mainstreamed in this effort.
- In cooperation with relevant government institutions, convene a workshop bringing together national, state and local government, to examine the data findings of the aforementioned proposed research.
- In partnership with UN Women, work with the Ministry for Women's Affairs and women's NGOs to design data collection and gender monitoring and evaluation, with a view towards generating meaningful gender statistics as an advocacy tool.

Improving the electoral environment

- In advance of the elections, provide support to the government's efforts, in partnership with DPKO and Center for Disarmament Against Proliferation of Armament, to eliminate the proliferation of small arms.
- Expand on existing successful initiatives, such as the establishment of early warning monitors and mechanisms in Jos and Plateau states, to strengthen channels for communities to alert the security agencies and government about impending violence in their communities.
- Provide direct support to civil society organizations and media groups to establish conflict monitoring and reporting mechanisms, hotlines and social media communication designed to mitigate electoral-related violence.
- The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), which currently enjoys legitimacy among most Nigerians, will require robust international support to strengthen its capacity to improve the electoral process and to support its efforts to

develop voter education, effective electoral conflict prevention and monitoring mechanisms.

- Provide resources to support INEC and civil society efforts to raise awareness regarding the upcoming elections, particularly targeting women and constituencies in remote areas and disadvantaged populations.
- In collaboration with other donors, identify women voter and candidate challenges and needs and work with relevant state agencies, NGOs and other actors to ensure that these issues are sufficiently addressed to ensure robust female participation in the upcoming elections.
- With support from EAD and in collaboration with INEC, donors and implementing agencies, including IFES, IRI, NDI and other relevant entities, work with People's Democratic Party (PCP), All People's Congress (ACP) and other parties to engender constructive and issue-based messaging and platforms in the lead-up to the election.
- In collaboration with donors, provide resources and capacity for Nigerian media, including print radio, and television, to convene forums for electoral candidates to engage in issue-based debates.
- With the support of EAD and in partnership with the Carter Center, NDI and other relevant organizations, continue providing support and training to domestic observers.

Long-term and ongoing

Strengthening Nigeria's internal mediation resources

- In partnership with OHCHR, continue supporting the National Human Rights Commission and other relevant institutions to train and build the capacity of Nigerian security forces on human rights and to advocate for a counterinsurgency approach sensitive to the culture of the population.
- In coordination with UN Women, work to support and build the capacity of women to engage in inter-communal conflict prevention and resolution at the local, state and federal levels.

organizations like USIP, Search for Common Ground and other expertise in inter-faith work, support the efforts of local inter-faith groups conducting training-of-trainers initiatives.

Government, particularly at the state and local level, to build capacity to disseminate best practices from international organizations, including the National Council, should be drawn upon to help the government identify dispute resolution mechanisms.

For Thursday
14 Nov