

*“Regional Working Group on DDR
Programmes and Post-conflict Management
in West Africa »*

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Workshop

*« Regional Working Group on DDR
Programmes and Post-Conflict Management in West Africa »*

Volume 2 ♦ Working Documents

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FIRST SESSION

Overview of DDR Programmes in West Africa

- **DDR in West Africa: the Ivorian vision of the regional approach**

1. **DDR Program in Côte d'Ivoire**, by General Ouassenan, Head of the National Programme for Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration (PNDDR) in Côte d'Ivoire
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1. DDR Program in Côte d'Ivoire, by General Ouassenan, Head of the National Programme for Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration (PNDDR) in Côte d'Ivoire

INTRODUCTION

- ◆ *OVERVIEW:*
- CIVIL WARS IN NIGERIA, LIBERIA, NIGER, SENEGAL, MALI, SIERRA LEONE;
- REMINDER OF THE UNOWA HARMONISATION PLAN

I- PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES TO HARMONISING SUBREGIONAL DDRPS

- **How to implement a harmonisation plan for DDRPs in West Africa against the backdrop of a widespread crisis and given the peculiarities of each country?**
- Dealing with non-Ivorian combatants;
- The social reinsertion of ex-combatants and their economic reintegration;
- The fight against the cross-border proliferation and circulation of light weapons and combatants;
- Security at the borders;
- Post-conflict programme financing

II- IVORIAN VISION OF THE REGIONAL APPROACH TO DDR

- ◆ **1 – Guiding principles:**
 - Taking into account the sociopolitical, cultural and economic realities of each country within the definition of the overall strategy;
 - Consensus on the order of priority of the five (5) concerns identified in the context of defining the challenges
- ◆ **2 – Characteristics of the Ivorian Programme**
 - A national programme;
 - A significant national financial contribution;
 - A consensual and inclusive approach;
 - Limited psychological impact due to the brevity of the conflict;
 - A considerable dominance of the process implementation by military officials rather than political officials;
 - A defined security net that is understood to be reinsertion aid and not a reward;
 - A linkage and mixing of how disarmament operations are handled;
 - A fixed date: the October 2006 election deadline.

3 – Suggesting solutions to the five (5) concerns identified

- a) Dealing with foreign combatants
- b) Reinserting ex-combatants socially and reintegrating them economically;
- c) Fighting the cross-border proliferation and circulation of light weapons;
- d) Securing borders;
- e) Financing DDR programmes.

CONCLUSION

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- 1 – Consideration of the sociopolitical, cultural and economic realities of each country;
- 2 – Active cooperation and support between the different programmes in monitoring and tracking ex-combatants;
- 3 – Design and implementation of integrated subregional policies in the fight against poverty;
- 4 – Creation of national commissions to fight against light and small calibre weapons.

2. DDR opportunities and constraints in Côte d'Ivoire, by Mr. Brahim Sangare, Programme for Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration (PNDDR) in Côte d'Ivoire.

INTRODUCTION

◆ SOURCES:

- *Linas-Marcoussis Agreement (Chapter VII)*

◆ MISSIONS:

Contributing to:

- *Restoring security, peace and political stability in Côte d'Ivoire and the subregion;*
- *Reconstructing the country and its socioeconomic development;*
- *Fighting against the illegal circulation of light weapons and combatants in the subregion;*
- *Rebuilding and restoring the National Defence and Security Forces.*

◆ VISION:

- *A solution:*
- ✓ *To restore and maintain security, peace and political stability in Côte d'Ivoire and the subregion;*
- ✓ *To the persistent problem of the socioprofessional reinsertion of young people;*
- *One of the keys to the success of social cohesion;*
- *A common cause.*

I- OVERVIEW:

- Design of reference documents;
- Awareness raising among combatants and communities;
- Development of an overall budget;
- Identification of sites for the pre-regrouping of forces;
- Restoration of sites in the DDR areas;
- Acquisition of equipment and materials that can be used in DDR operations;
- Training police and gendarme support officers from the FAFN;
- Compilation of a list of 10,000 militiamen of whom 8,000 are no longer in service;
- Combined launch of an interviewing pilot and pre-regrouping of combatants project.

II – CONSTRAINTS:

- Financial
- Security
- Military
- Political

III- PROSPECTS:

- Pre-regrouping of forces;
- Disarming and dismantling militias;
- Updating an authorised schedule;
- Financial backing for the programme;
- Following up awareness raising campaigns;
- Updating studies on reinsertion opportunities;
- Efficiently implementing a detailed plan of DDR/CI operations.

CONCLUSION

- **Need to keep working to build trust between the actors in the conflict;**
- **Need for political and financial support from the international community**
(Backing for the programme budget and keeping up the pressure on the actors in the conflict).

3. "The Liberia DDDR Process - Experience Sharing", by J.Moses.

Plan:

Abbreviations and Acronyms

Acknowledgement

Executive Summary

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The Disarmament & Demobilization Process: How We Did It

The Rehabilitation and Reintegration Process: How It is being done

The Way Forward & Best Practices

Conclusion

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AFL	Armed Forces of Liberia
AU	African Union
DD	Disarmament and Demobilisation
DDRR	Disarmament, Demobilisation, Rehabilitation and Reintegration
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
GOL	Government of Liberia
ICC	Interim Care Centre
ICGL	International Contact Group on Liberia
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IFP	Interim Feeding Program
IP	Implementing Partner
ISU	Information and Sensitization Unit
JIU	Joint Implementation Unit
JMC	Joint Monitoring Committee
KAIPTC	Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre
LURD	Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation Unit
MODEL	Movement for Democracy in Liberia
NaCSA	National Commission for Social Action
NCDDRR	National Commission on Disarmament, Demobilisation, Rehabilitation and

	Reintegration
NGO	Non governmental organisation
NTGL	National Transition Government of Liberia
PAC	Project Approval Committee
TCC	Technical Coordination Committee
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission For Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s and Education Funds
UNMIL	United Nation Mission in Liberia

Acknowledgements

Mr. Chairman, fellow participants, for us in Liberia, it is clear that the maintenance of peace and stability in every post-conflict situation depends on how well the DDRR program is planned and implemented. Our DDRR program is being hailed as highly successful for very tangible reasons.

In less than nine months we disarmed more than 100,000 combatants from the three warring factions that were signatories to the Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement. Currently more than 60,000 of the total disarmed and demobilized ex-combatants are receiving reintegration benefits under the formal education and vocational skills training schemes of the RR program. The entire process has not witnessed a major incident that posed clear and present danger to the lives of the international peacekeeping force stationed in Liberia to maintain the peace. Thanks to the extensive sensitization of the stakeholders by our technical staff.

Most importantly, through the DDRR, Liberia has ushered in a democratic process that has been hailed as one of the freest, fairest and most transparent elections in recent world history. These monumental accomplishments have been achieved through the combined efforts of numerous stakeholders to the Liberian peace process who we feel duty bound and honoured to recognize in this public manner.

Mr. Chairman, fellow participants, we wish to seize this opportunity to extend heartfelt commendations to the following individuals and institutions that worked tirelessly to ensure that the DDRR program in Liberia made a positive impact on the peace process.

We wish to first commend Ambassador Abou Moussa, former Deputy Special Representative to the UN Secretary General in Liberia, for always being a pathfinder. Ambassador Moussa guided the DD process by pushing implementing partners and service providers to their elastic limit. Indeed, Ambassador Moussa added a human face to the DD program implementation. We sincerely believe that the Ivorian DDRR process will stand to benefit immensely from this highly professional son of the continent.

Next, we wish to say a big thank you to ECOWAS member states whose timely intervention helped in no small measure to sustain the current peace that we enjoy in Liberia today.

Our deepest appreciation goes to all local and international organizations that are supporting the Liberian peace process through the DDRR. This includes United Nations organizations, the European Commission, the United States Aid for International Development and many other organizations that are helping our war-torn country and people get back on their feet.

We also extend thanks and appreciation to the international donor community without whose financial contributions the gains of the DDRR would have been impossible.

To the former warring factions and their military and political leaderships, to the disarmed and demobilized ex-combatants that are seeking new ways of life through our reintegration programs, to the host community members including the returnees and all former internally displaced persons, we say a big thank you for supporting the Liberian peace process.

We also want to extend heartfelt thanks and appreciation to the Republic of La Cote d'Ivoire, the host country, for inviting Liberia to participate in this conference to share some of the best practices and experiences in our DDRR program.

Finally, we wish to commend the leadership of the new Liberian government headed by Her Excellency Madam Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, for prioritizing the social and economic reintegration needs of our war-affected population. This has been manifested by the recent signing of Executive Order No. 4 which gives the National DDRR Commission renewed mandate to implement the RR component of the DDRR program.

NCDDRR staff tour South-eastern Liberia during the heat of disarmament in 2004

Executive Summary

Introduction

1. Liberia development theory and practice are geared towards combating ignorance, poverty, promotion and maintenance of national peace and stability in the West African sub-region. Investment in human capital and provision of education have been recognized as central to quality life. This development goal had been beset by 14-year (1990-2003) civil conflict which brought us to where we are today. The last phase of the conflict ended in 2003 with a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) signed by all warring parties and the civil society.

After a major conflict such as ours, the most important outcome is the process of disarmament, demobilization, rehabilitation, reintegration and reconciliation. This is the only way peace and stability can be established and maintained at the national, international and/or sub-regional or regional level. The DDRR program in Liberia has been hailed as successful with all of its attendant best practices, and experiences for

conflict and post-conflict countries. Liberia succeeded in disarming more than 100,000 ex-combatants by directly involving major stakeholders in the process. In the pages that follow, the success story of how this feat was accomplished is presented.

Background to the Liberian Civil War

2. We will not attempt to belabour the point here. Evidently, there has been civil conflict in Liberia, the causes of which were bad governance, mismanagement of the economy, corruption, ethnicity and other socio-economic malpractices that were responsible for the downward trend in the development of the country. There have been major efforts by Liberians themselves in search of national peace, security and regional stability with the support of the international community.

The Disarmament and Demobilization Process: How We Did It

3. In keeping with the CPA, three warring groups who styled themselves as Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD), Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL), former Government of Liberia (GOL) fighting forces and their political and military leaders agreed to ceasefire and ultimately disarm with subsequent demobilization. However, the military and political leaderships and the combatants had to believe in the credibility of the process, prior to commencement of the program.

In other words, key members of the warring groups were encouraged to get involved to fully participate in the disarmament and demobilization. In the process, the NCDDRR, using its professional prowess, utilized all strategic techniques such as information and sensitization campaign to appeal to the combatants through their military and political leaders to give up their weapons. This process led to what is being considered a great success.

Indeed, the donor community had to be assured that the DD process would be credible. Needless to say, the disarmament and demobilization processes were guided by key and technical steps. On October 31, 2004 the process officially ended with 103,019 combatants being disarmed and demobilized.

The Rehabilitation and Reintegration Process: How It is being done

4. The rehabilitation and reintegration (RR) phase preceded by the DD phase began with a three-pronged target-based reintegration approach viz., Formal Education, Vocational and Technical Education, and apprenticeships. Training that goes along with the provision of job opportunities are the crux of the RR phase. Training without employment opportunities will render the RR process meaningless.

The Way Forward and Best Practices for DDRR: The Liberian Experience

5. It is extremely important that post-conflict nations be given the continuing support, and/or assistance from the international community to sustain the peace. We are thankful to note that parallel reintegration programs are being conducted by the U.S. Government, E.U. and other friendly governments. While we look up to the international community, our governments must take the initiative. Poverty reduction strategy plans must be developed; basic social services must be restored. As long as the people have a stake in the nation-building process, peace and stability will be ensured, and the Government of President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf is committed to this cause.

Conclusion

6. With the appropriate mechanism necessary for sustainable peace and stability being put in place in one post-conflict country, there is a strong possibility for peace and stability to exist in Liberia and the sub-region as well as among ECOWAS states.

Introduction

There have been numerous attempts at deriving a generic framework to implement DDRR. Best practices however dictate that DDRR programs are feasibly implemented in country-specific contexts. The planning and implementation of DDRR in any country must take into account key factors that led to the civil conflict; factors such as the culture of the people, their political and historical development and the root causes of the civil conflict.

Most importantly, DDRR must encourage participation of all stakeholders in the process. This includes the warring parties and the civilian populations. Lack of participation in the DDRR process breeds mistrust. Trust is therefore one of the most fundamental elements that precede actual disarmament.

In Liberia, we were able to disarm more than 100,000 combatants because we won their trust from the beginning. Combatants usually distrust anyone who is not part of their command structure. Yet, they will value your opinion and hold you to your word when you are proven credible. We were also able to buy the trust of the military and political leaderships of the three warring factions, whose members were demanding to occupy slots allotted to their respective factions in accordance with the CPA, before their men could disarm.

Disarmament and Demobilization are usually seen to be the easiest aspects of the DDRR process. The combatants bring in their weapons, go through the cantonment formalities and are later discharged, having received their reinsertion packages. The ex-combatants' period of cantonment and discharge benefits will vary from country to country, but universally, the process involves medical screening, pre-discharge orientation and counselling. During the DD, promises made to the ex-combatants should by all means be fulfilled. This will ensure stability and sustainability of the DDRR and peace processes.

According to General Geraldo Sachipengo Nunda, Deputy Commander-in-chief of the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA), during panel discussions at a "DDR Conference on Stability in Africa," held 2005 in Freetown, Sierra Leone, the trust and confidence of combatants must be ensured so

that they cannot revert to “Plan B” after disarmament. General Nunda maintained that the combatant will most often give one weapon up for disarmament and keep another for “contingency”. The DDRR program must ensure that such contingency plans which General Nunda referred to as “Plan B” must never be executed.‡

Also, it is always prudent for the DD and RR to overlap. When the ex-combatants experience long waiting period between disarmament and reintegration, the DDRR program and the security of any post-conflict country could be threatened.

Our own experience following official closure of the disarmament exercise is replete with incidences of ex-combatants rioting to get into training programs. We have learned our lessons well. This is why the RR engine is being propelled full throttle to ensure that all ex-combatants who have gone through the DD receive the RR benefits that were promised them during their cantonment period.

DDRR without national reconciliation is but an empty dream. The ex-combatants and host community members must co-exist; even though the element of mistrust is usually high from both ends. The ex-combatants will find it hard to believe that those whom they committed atrocities against during the war will forgive them.

The community members too find it hard to believe that the ex-combatants can become reformed and contribute meaningfully to society. Reconciliation in a post-conflict scenario should therefore be tackled holistically, involving the full participation of national and international institutions and stakeholders.

For us in Liberia, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) seems the best option for post-war reconciliation. The TRC sets the stage for the perpetrators of war crimes to face their victims, tell the truth and seek penitence. Retributive justice is good, but it usually does not provide lasting answers to the resolution of civil conflicts within traditional African contexts.

This paper intends to share the Liberian DDRR experience with you. We are going to take you on a journey through the rough and rugged road from war to peace. It is a success story worth telling.

Background to the Liberian Civil War

To understand the current status of the Liberian peace process, one needs to know a bit about what led to our civil conflict. Liberia is not very different from many third world nations as it relates to civil conflicts. The Liberian civil war is deeply rooted in the founding of Africa’s oldest republic, when freed slaves from the United States of America sailed into Africa to establish a safe haven. From the period of the ex-slaves’ settlement in Liberia in 1822 to their proclamation of independence in 1847, and up to 1980 when a group of non-commissioned soldiers of the

‡ “A Conference on DDRR & Stability in Africa”, Freetown, Sierra Leone. 2005.

Armed Forces of Liberia seized state power in a bloody coup *d'état*, the country has been divided along class lines: natives versus settlers, in an oligarchic political system. The 1980 coup led by army sergeant Samuel Doe totally reversed the political landscape in favour of the natives for the very first time. Sadly, the native administration became more oligarchic than its predecessors. Civil discontentment became rife following the controversial 1985 presidential elections which saw Samuel Doe emerging victorious. From then on, it was downhill for the Doe administration, whose military forces had to face the rebel invasion of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) in December 1989.

The Taylor-led NPFL invasion was welcomed from the inception by most Liberians. However, by the time Taylor's forces had blazed through the countryside, capturing 98% of Liberia's 43,000 square miles, they had gained worldwide notoriety for gruesomeness and wanton destruction of lives and properties. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) intervened in September 1990 by sending a contingent of regional peacekeepers under the umbrella of ECOMOG (ECOWAS Peace Monitoring Group) to stop the carnage in Liberia. Taylor's NPFL saw the West African intervention as meddling to its quest for state power, and launched full-scale attack on the peacekeepers. ECOWAS joined the fighting, siding with the Armed Forces of Liberia and Prince Johnson's breakaway Independent National Front of Liberia (INPFL), to drive the NPFL from the capital city, Monrovia and allow seating of the first Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) headed by acclaimed political scientist, Dr. Amos Sawyer. Dr. Sawyer was elected interim leader following the first peace meeting held on Liberia in Banjul, Gambia in 1990. From 1990 to 1996, there were series of peace conferences held regionally on Liberia to end the civil conflict and resolve the leadership crises. These meetings almost always culminated in changes of transitional governments.

It is noteworthy to mention that the Liberian civil conflict was fuelled by ethnicity. The NPFL took advantage of the bad blood that existed between President Samuel Doe's Krahn kinsmen and their Mandingoes sympathizers on the one hand, against the citizens of Nimba County, the Gios and Manos on the other. By 1992 the civil conflict had degenerated into ethnic cleansing or reprisal following slaying of President Doe.

By 1995, the NPFL had lost significant territories to new rebel splinter groups. During this period Liberia witnessed its first DDRR program between 1996 and 1997. The program was notably considered as a failure because ex-combatants that were disarmed and demobilized were never reintegrated due to donor fatigue to sponsor the DDRR program.

It was in such seemingly chaotic scenario that special presidential and general elections were held in 1997, and Mr. Charles Taylor was declared the winner. The newly elected president failed to consolidate the peace and reconcile with his former enemies and opposition, most of who fled the country from persecution. By 2000 Taylor's former enemies on the battlefield had regrouped and formed two rebel outfits, LURD and MODEL. By July 2003 President Taylor agreed to abdicate power to his Vice President due to excessive military pressure from the rebels and the insistence of the international community. A peace agreement – the Accra Comprehensive Peace Accord – was reached August 18, 2003 between the three warring parties and Liberian civil

society organizations. The CPA called for the formation of a National Transitional Government of Liberia (NTGL) which would involve participation of all stakeholders to the peace accord. Among other things, the CPA mandated ceasefire and monitoring, disengagement of the warring parties, and cantonments, disbandment, demobilization, rehabilitation and reintegration of the combatants.[§]

Taylor's GOL forces battling against LURD rebels in July 2003 for control of the key bridge linking central Monrovia with the suburb

The Disarmament and Demobilization Process: How it was done

In accordance with the CPA, three warring factions were supposed to be disarmed, demobilized, rehabilitated and reintegrated. They included LURD (the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy); MODEL (the Movement for Democracy in Liberia) and the Government of Liberia (GOL).

Elements that were vital to the successful implementation of the DDRR process as enshrined in the CPA included the following:

- Establishment of a multinational Interposition Force comprising ECOWAS to secure ceasefire and monitor the disengagement of warring parties, and ensure the security of senior political and military leaders;
- Establishment of a Joint Monitoring Committee (JMC) comprising representatives of ECOWAS, the UN, AU, ICGL and parties to the Ceasefire Agreement, who will monitor and investigate violations of the ceasefire and recommend remedial action;
- Deployment of an International Stabilization Force under UN Chapter VII to monitor ceasefire and disengagement of the warring parties, disarm combatants of the warring parties, collect and account for all weapons assembled at disarmament sites.
- Establishment of an interdepartmental National Commission on DDRR to coordinate DDRR activities. The NCDDRR would comprise representatives from relevant NTGL agencies, the GOL, LURD, MODEL, the United Nations, the African Union and the ICGL.

Precondition for disarmament

It is always critical that the warring parties provide DDRR policy makers with documents relating to the strength of their forces and arsenal. This was one of the major criteria that we set forth for the warring factions. Although we knew beforehand that it would have proven almost impossible for the factions to provide a comprehensive listing of their men and weapons, we realized that they were committed to the process as soon as they begun frantic efforts to meet

[§] Comprehensive Peace Agreement between GOL, LURD, MODEL and Political Parties, 18 August 2003

this pre-disarmament requirement. Meeting this requirement proved intractable because rebel movements normally do not use conventional methods of recruitment. Majority of their followers are conscripted or abducted and there is no record kept.

Additionally, members of the warring parties, including their political and military leaderships and the ex-combatants first had to believe in the viability and credibility of the process before disarmament could commence. Insurance of commitment on the part of the warring parties was guaranteed through intense negotiations and lobbying with all of the key stakeholders. This process was successfully initiated and implemented by the NCDDRR.

Finally, the donor community had to be assured that the process would be credible and successful. Based on the original estimate of 38,000 ex-combatants projected to be disarmed, a budget estimate of US\$55 million was presented to the donors. That underestimation posed tremendous challenges to DDRR financial management as evidenced by the current funding gap of US\$4.9 million that is needed to complete the reintegration of the remaining caseload of disarmed and demobilized ex-combatants.

Actual disarmament began on December 7, 2003 at the Camp Schiefflin military barracks. The process was suspended due to inadequate preparation and lack of adequate sensitization of the combatants**. The process resumed April 15, 2004 following construction of an initial four cantonment sites and sufficient sensitization of the combatants. Construction of these disarmament sites were done in areas where ex-combatants were concentrated, to ensure speedy and effective disarmament.

Delay in Starting the DD Process

Due to the three-month delay in resuming the DD process, the Liberian government at the time initiated the Interim Feeding Program (IFP). The IFP was a novel idea of the National DDRR Commission, having realized the burden that the ordinary rural Liberians were enduring to provide feeding for combatants who had not been disarmed. Through funds provided by the NTGL, the NCDDRR fed combatants through the length and breadth of the country. This stabilized situation to a greater extent and provided time for proper planning and coordination.

Also key to the pre-disarmament exercise was the involvement of senior commanders of the warring factions. Through the NCDDRR, 48 senior commanders from the three warring factions were brought on board to sensitize their men in the field and identify areas for the construction of cantonment sites. The 48 "DD facilitators" – as the senior commanders came to be known, are today the forerunners of the RR program. The RR facilitators form the core of the NCDDRR Special Delivery Team (SDT) whose function is to identify flashpoints and quell riots relating to ex-combatants.

DDRR Institutional Framework

The following are the institutional framework under which the Liberia program is implemented:

** NCDDRR Quarterly Report Vol 1 No 1. April 2004, pg 10.

The NCDDRR Policy Body: DDRR policy issues are decided by the interdepartmental NCDDRR Policy Body which comprises representatives from the UN, NTGL, African Union, ECOWAS, International Contact Group on Liberia (ICGL), the Government of the United States of America and the European Commission.

During the transitional period was the NCDDRR policy body was headed by the National Transitional Government of Liberia, and co-chaired by the Special Representative to the UN Secretary General. The Executive Director of the NCDDRR serves as the Secretary. The NCDDRR policy body meets regularly to deliberate on policy issues.

The NCDDRR Secretariat: The DDRR program is being implemented collaboratively by the United Nations and the National Transitional Government of Liberia (NTGL) through the NCDDRR, headed by an Executive Director with oversight responsibility to monitor and supervise the DDRR process. Of course, the DDRR program is being implemented with the involvement of international and local non-governmental organizations that serve as implementing partners to the program.

The Joint Implementation Unit (JIU): DDRR operational issues are discussed and implemented at the level of the Joint Implementation Unit (JIU) which comprises UNMIL, the NCDDRR and UNDP. DDRR programmatic technical issues are also resolved at the JIU through the Technical Coordination Committee (TCC). The TCC comprises representatives from the UN, NCDDRR/NTGL and Implementing Partners (IPs). Members of the TCC meet regularly to deliberate on technical and programmatic issues. It is at this level that project proposals are reviewed and forwarded to the Project Approval Committee (PAC). The JIU houses the Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) Unit, UNMIL DDRR Unit, the Reintegration Unit and the Information and Sensitization Unit (ISU).

The Project Approval Committee (PAC): A subset of the JIU, the PAC meets regularly to approve projects for implementation under the RR. Membership of the PAC comprises representatives of NTGL/NCDDRR, UNMIL, UNDP, EU and USAID. The Committee is chaired by the UNDP Country Director and co-chaired by the NCDDRR Executive Director.

The disarmament and demobilization procedures included the following procedures:

- (i) Disarmament process^{††}:
 - all conventional weapons issued by the leadership of the warring factions and any other authority were surrendered to UNMIL (weapons specifications were detailed in the operational plan in consultation with UNMIL);
 - verifiable information relating to arms caches and/or inside working knowledge of their group were provided to UNMIL;
 - 150 rounds of munitions were surrendered in case the ex-combatant did not possess a weapon

^{††} "Liberia DDRR Program Strategy and Implementation Framework", pg 29

- Groups were disarmed in a shared weapons (heavy artillery) category
- children and women are immediately separated from the males
- within 24 hrs. children were placed in interim care centres (ICCs) to be reunited with their families

(ii) Demobilisation process

- registration and provision of ID cards;
- medical screening and treatment of minor cases
- referral of serious medical cases including prosthesis for war-wounded
- legal re-certification to civilian status;
- maximum encampment period of 30days to support pre-discharge activities of social adaptation. The cantonment period was later reduced to five days to forestall rioting and save funds
- pre-discharge orientation involved demographics and vital information relating to the ex-combatants choice of resettlement and reintegration preference
- discharge and transportation/reinsertion

By October 31, 2004, at the official close of the DD process, following a one month mop-up grace period, 103,019 ex-combatants were disarmed, out of which 101,495 were eligible for reintegration. Fifteen NGOs were contracted to provide demobilization services at the 8 cantonment sites during the seven-month operation from April to October 2004.

During the process, 27,000 weapons were collected and destroyed, including 6.1 million small arms ammunition and 29,794 unexploded ordnances (grenades and RPG bombs).

It is noteworthy to mention that all of the ex-combatants who went through the DD received US\$300 as Transitional Safety-net Allowance (TSA) in two instalments: they receive the first tranche payment of US\$150 after the five-day cantonment period and the remaining US\$150 three months later in their resident community indicated during pre-discharge orientation. Critics have frowned on the idea of giving US\$300 to the ex-combatants.

It is believed that the ex-combatants would perceive the money as entitlement. The reality is that the ex-combatants were returning to communities that were completely ruined, infrastructurally and economically. The TSA that was given to the ex-combatants actually infused capital into the economy of the host communities to which the ex-combatants returned. US\$30.9 million was directly infused in post-war rural communities through these TSA payments.

It is also worthy to note that children (any ex-combatant below 18 years) did not directly receive the TSA. Rather, it was given to the child's family, relative or guardian who signed for them from the interim care centres.

The Rehabilitation and Reintegration Process: How it is being done

Mr. Chairman, fellow participants, as we indicated earlier, the bedrock of any successful DDRR program is trust. When the ex-combatants repose confidence in a program, promises made should always be fulfilled. If those promises cannot be fulfilled at any time, due to unforeseen circumstances, explanations must be immediately provided. Having realized that the root cause of the Liberian civil conflict was the denial of access to equal opportunity, it was deemed prudent to provide training opportunities to all of our beneficiaries who expressed interest in receiving training.

In this regard, the rehabilitation and reintegration component of the DDRR program has a three-prong target-based reintegration approach:

- Formal education
- Vocational education
- Apprenticeship skills

Under the target-based reintegration program, the ex-combatants are the direct beneficiaries. At present, 65,893 ex-combatants are undergoing training in the following reintegration options^{††}:

- Agriculture 13,587
- Apprenticeship 3,716
- Formal Education 32,159
- Public Works 4,358
- Vocational Skills 10,388

The NCDDRR, in collaboration with the UNDP, has established six regional offices in areas of concentration around the country to provide reintegration information and referral and counselling services to the ex-combatants. Presently, we are in the process of extending the regional structure to cover the 15 political sub-divisions.

Support

Support for ex-combatants under formal education is structured to last for three years. Once enrolled in school, the ex-combatants receive US\$30 monthly subsistence allowance (SA) during the first year. The SA is reduced to US\$15 in the second year and in the third year there is no SA payment. This policy adjustment was necessary to cover the huge funding gap realized after the projection had swell from 38,000 to 103,019. Beside the SA, the ex-combatant in training under formal education receives books and footwear for the duration of the training.

For ex-combatants who choose vocational education as their reintegration option, the training lasts for maximum eight months. They also receive US\$30 monthly SA.

^{††} Liberia's DDRR Program Trust Fund Activity Report, Vol. III, April – December 2005

Former child soldiers and children associated with the fighting forces (CAFFs) are reintegrated through UNICEF, which is supporting 12 child protection agencies to implement the Community Education Investment Program (CEIP). Presently, 3,540 children have accessed reintegration benefits under UNICEF.

Parallel reintegration programs are being conducted by the United States government through its lead development agency, USAID and by the European Commission through two Liberian NGOs. UNICEF is also a valuable parallel program partner in the reintegration process. Community members as well as ex-combatants directly benefit from these parallel programs.

Despite these significant gains in the RR program, reintegration of the remaining caseload of 35,981 ex-combatants is our immediate challenge and focus.

Mr. Chairman, fellow participants, permit us to once again seize this opportunity to commend our donors without whose financial and material contributions we would not have achieved such monumental accomplishments in the RR.

Commendation goes to:

- The Government and people of the United States of America
- Denmark
- Ireland
- Norway
- Switzerland
- The United Kingdom
- Japan
- The European Commission
- The United Nations Development Program
- And all other donors that are contributing to the success of the DDDR program.

Throughout our own process in Liberia, we have drawn on the expertise and knowledge of other DDDR practitioners in the sub-region. We have come to realize that in networking, there is strength.

In 2004 we held a working session in Liberia with our then Ivorian counterpart, Professor Donwahi, who was extremely eager to tap on our own DDDR experience. Professor Donwahi and I took the first DDDR training at the Kofi Annan Institute for Peacekeeping. We wish the people of La Cote d'Ivoire "bon chance" in your quest for lasting peace.

Through networking, we have also engaged our counterparts in Sierra Leone on countless occasions. Dr. Francis Kai-kai who once headed the Sierra Leone DDDR and is recognized as an expert in the field, and Mr. Sidy Bah of the National Commission for Social Action (NaCSA) in Sierra Leone, have all been invaluable sources of inspiration to the Liberia DDDR process.

Through our combined effort we were able to achieve an unprecedented event in DDRR history: we successfully repatriated 435 Liberian ex-combatants or internees who fled into Sierra Leone during the heat of our civil conflict. This event culminated in the signing of a Joint Communique and a Memorandum of Understanding between the Republic of Sierra Leone and Liberia for a sustained regime to curb cross border mercenarism. We sincerely thank the Government and people of our sister republic of Sierra Leone for hosting the Liberian ex-combatants and providing reintegration benefits for them through NaCSA.

Indeed, mercenarism is a troubling phenomenon that continues to rob our continent of scarce material and human resources. The Sierra Leone civil conflict, our own civil war which just ended and the Ivorian situation are clear examples why we must each remain our brother's keeper.

Moreover, we must ensure internal security of our citizens before attempting to address issues of external aggression. We have to realize that the root cause of most conflicts in the third world, and especially in our own situation, is poverty, followed closely by lack of education. When the people are poor and uneducated, they will always rebel and fight against the state.

While it is true that DDRR, when successfully implemented will ensure peace and stability, sustainability of the peace is however far removed from DDRR.

Post-conflict nations need long-term support from the international community to sustain the peace. Poverty reduction strategy plans (PRSPs) must be instituted by post-war government and fully supported by the international community. Basic social services need to be restored after long years of civil strife. As long as the people have a stake in the nation-building process, peace and stability will be ensured and sustained.

In the case of Liberia, the new Government is fully committed to the implementation of the Governance Economic Management Assistance Program (GEMAP) recently outlined by the international community as a prerequisite to national economic recovery.

On the other hand, while almost everyone is hailing the Liberia DDRR process, we have to remain cautiously optimistic. There are visible sign-posts that signal trouble. Our nation is just recovering from a 14-year civil conflict which left almost all of the national institutions in complete ruins. Basic social services are almost non-existent. Unemployment has reached a record high. The rate of armed robbery is alarming. Ex-combatants seeking job opportunities and other illegal occupants are engaged in the tapping of rubber on most of the government plantations. These are but a few of the troublesome signposts of our own post-conflict situation.

Mr. Chairman, fellow participants, we wish to use this forum to plead with the United Nations to immediately lift economic sanctions against Liberia. Lifting of the sanctions on timber and diamond will greatly ease the unemployment problem and provide economic reintegration opportunities for thousands war-affected Liberians. In this regard, we urge you to add your

voice of reasoning to those of your compatriots in Liberia who are trying to recover from the ravages of an ugly past.

Finally, one of the key lessons learned by our process is that there must also be consultation with the stakeholders during the planning and implementation of every stage. The inclusion of national counterparts is very essential to the process. It is during such interactive collaboration that key policy issues pertinent to the program are addressed.

Conclusion

Again, we want to thank all nations and organizations that have helped to quench the fire of our civil conflict. We are especially grateful to the instructional staff of the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Centre (KAIPTC), especially the Ghanaian and Canadian governments for providing DDRR practitioners the opportunity to learn new methods and approaches, not only in DDRR, but peacekeeping operations as well.

Finally, we wish to underscore the following points that are key to establishing a regional approach to DDRR:

- There is a need for ECOWAS to either replicate the KAIPTC example or use resources of the institute to establish a databank of DDRR practitioners that can be easily accessible for networking and troubleshooting on DDRR issues and challenges.
- It is also important that ECOWAS institute a comprehensive plan that would address current regional security issues.
- ECOWAS must set up a Trust Fund to supplement the efforts of the international community as it relates to conflict resolution and implementation of DDRR processes.
- Within the regional context, in our own Liberian scenario, we were able to identify non-state actors that were roaming the sub-region. As a result of this, we were able to establish a sub-regional framework with the Government of Sierra Leone which allowed us to repatriate 435 former combatants who fled the Liberian civil war. Such initiative should extend beyond the Mano River Basin, to include member states of ECOWAS, and eventually to that of the AU. Within the ECOWAS Secretariat, there should be a DDRR office established in collaboration with KAIPTC to identify and establish a database for professionals across the sub-region to do networking and support some member states. The focus of this initiative should not only be geared towards conflict resolution, but conflict prevention as well.

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4. The Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration Programme in Sierra Leone: Experiences, problems and lessons, by Mr. Osman Gbla.

Mr. Chairman, government and international organisation representatives, distinguished delegates from international organisations, colleagues, fellow speakers and participants,

I am pleased to be here today and I am extremely honoured to have been asked to present a report at this historic workshop.

This conference is clearly significant, as the subject chosen for discussion is both topical and relevant. I would thus like to thank the organisers of this conference for taking this worthy initiative.

Sierra Leone is well placed in the discussions in this workshop and has a wealth of experience that it would like to share with participants. The country achieved considerable success in organising free, fair and peaceful elections in May 2002, less than six months after the official declaration of the end of the war in January 2002. While several factors have contributed to establishing a climate favourable to the successful holding of elections, the role of the DDR Programme has been quite extraordinary.

The purpose of this report is to study the role of the DDR Programme in Sierra Leone's path towards peace. In this regard, I would first like to outline my experience and views on the success, problems and lessons that can be learned from the DDR Programme in Sierra Leone. I will address some of the following questions: what were some of the initial factors for the relative success of the DDR Programme in Sierra Leone? What main obstacles did the programme face? Why were the disarmament and demobilisation processes more successful than the reintegration process? Does West Africa feel the need to set up a regional DDR Programme given the lasting peace achieved in the sub-region? What lessons can be learned from the DDR Programme in Sierra Leone?

The DDR (Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration) Programme in Sierra Leone

The DDR Programme played an important role in the Abidjan and Lomé peace agreements signed between the Government of Sierra Leone (GoSL) and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone (RUF/SL) in 1996 and 1999 respectively. For example, Article 16 of the 1999 Lomé Peace Agreement took this very important programme into consideration; as part of the agreement, a neutral peacekeeping force comprising UNOMSIL (United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone) and ECOMOG was deployed to disarm all combatants, including members of the RUF/SL, the Civil Defence Forces (CDF), the Sierra Leone Army (SLA) and paramilitary groups. The programme was devised to build and sustain peace in the country. Its objectives are mainly as follow: to collect, register, disable and destroy all conventional weapons and ammunition retrieved from combatants, to demobilise approximately 45,000 combatants and to prepare and support the socioeconomic reintegration of ex-combatants (Malan, et al., 2003: 25).

The GoSL created two major institutions to extend the DDR process beyond the peace agreement: the National Commission on Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (NCDDR) and the National Commission for Reconstruction, Resettlement and Rehabilitation, now known as the National Commission for Social Action (NaCSA). The United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone

(UNOMSIL) and the NCDDR initiated the DDRP which ran between October 1998 and January 2002. In October 2005, with the programme having been mostly completed, UNOMSIL stated that more than 70,000 ex-combatants had been disarmed and reintegrated; more precisely, the programme was able to demobilise 72,490 combatants in total and collect 42,300 weapons and 1.2 million ammunitions (Malan, et al.: 25).

The Programme ran throughout the country in 2001 at reception centres set up with the express purpose of registering and collecting weapons. This process was carried out in five stages: 1) assembly: organising the arrival of ex-combatants and providing them with orientation; 2) interviews: collecting personal information about the ex-combatants; 3) weapons collection: in which weapons were tagged, temporarily disabled and stored; 4) eligibility certification: allowing UN observers to verify and authorise ex-combatants; and 5) transportation: in which disarmed and screened combatants were grouped and organised and then transferred to demobilisation centres where they were accommodated and received necessary assistance. Another aim of this “demobilisation” stage was to prepare ex-combatants for reintegration into civilian life by dealing with trauma healing and providing a psychosocial counselling service, information and sensitisation seminars, as well as civic education. Transitional allowances were given to the ex-combatants to support them during their first three months in the resettlement location of their choice. They also received travel allowances to visit their local communities.

Overall, the DDRP in Sierra Leone has been highly productive because, as well as ensuring the disarmament of the various warring factions, it created an atmosphere favourable to the holding of peaceful presidential and parliamentary elections in May 2002. The programme’s success can be attributed to several factors, the most significant of which has been the establishment of a powerful institutional framework dedicated to the DDRP creating links with various local, national and international institutions. The main actors in this institutional framework include the GoSL, the peacekeeping forces, UN agencies, the World Bank, the UK Department for International Development (DFID), several NGOs and combat forces. The DDRP has thus succeeded in bringing together all the parties involved in the peace process. Leadership of the NCDDR has been assumed by the Head of State and an executive secretary has been appointed to implement the programme's policies. The programme headquarters are in Freetown, with regional antennas in the East, North and South provinces and in the western region.

One of the other key factors for the programme's success has been the adoption of a multi-step process dedicated to disarmament at a local level, an initiative which has furthermore encouraged the adoption of confidence-building measures. Monthly tripartite meetings, bringing together the different actors to evaluate the disarmament process continually, have promoted an atmosphere conducive to mutual understanding. Furthermore, the nature of the post-war regime and how it is viewed both nationally and internationally have helped to secure considerable moral and financial support for the DDRP.

Ex-combatants were given training grants and tool boxes which also encouraged most of them to take part in the programme. This mechanism, based on a resettlement package providing USD300 as a transitional subsistence allowance, largely encouraged ex-combatants to remain in their resettlement area.

Finally, the focus placed by the programme on providing information, psychological support and guidance both at the district and regional levels has allowed ex-combatants to find out about job opportunities.

In spite of all the commendable aspects described above, several factors have hampered the progress of the DDRP. The most important concerns the adoption of eligibility criteria under the programme, particularly the need to hand in conventional weapons. Some combatants have treated this measure as a weapons buy-back programme. Thus, many chief commanders have disarmed soldiers to make an additional economic profit from them; various abuses have arisen from this, including arms being given to non-combatants such as their wives, brothers and close friends. The criteria also excluded the non-conventional weapons and homemade weapons used by the CDF, resulting in some conflict between the peacekeeping soldiers and the CDF at some reception centres.

Moreover, the DDRP was hampered by the untimely provision of financial resources and other logistical aid as well as the lack of trust between the RUF and the CDF. Finally, the reintegration programme was also hindered by difficulties in integrating ex-combatants into civil society; this was essentially due to a lack of resources at the community level and the fear generated among ex-combatants at the thought of having to return to their original communities. The “DD” parts of the programme have been very successful whereas the “R” part of it remains problematic. This trend is worrying; all the more so as most of these ex-combatants have since left to fight in Liberia and Côte d’Ivoire. What can be done with them when they return? I believe that this point justifies the creation of a regional DDRP.

5. The situation in Casamance, Senegal, by Mrs Fatou Cisse (RADDHO).

I. Introduction

The crisis in Casamance is one of the oldest and longest-running conflicts in Africa. The conflict has been raging for nearly a quarter century, having broken out in December 1982 with the Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance (MFDC) opposing the government of Senegal.

Throughout the conflict, many peace agreements have been signed with various outcomes but without creating a lasting peace.

Since 2000, the “alternance” movement, which inherited this immense issue, has questioned how it had been dealt with and has adopted another method for dealing with it by excluding other actors, including civil society, who have tried not only to cease hostilities but also to support peace-building activities among the local people.

II. From Peace-building to Peace Agreements

Seventeen months after the signing of the Ziguinchor Peace Agreement between the government of Senegal and the Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance (MFDC) on 30 December 2004, relative peace has prevailed in Casamance.

These agreements are the result of several actions taken on the ground by the government, the people, civil society organisations as well as partner countries and international organisations.

They were signed at a time when the cessation of hostilities on the ground was made possible by:

- The lack of confrontation between the army and the MFDC;
- The freedom of movement of people and goods, mainly MFDC members, both the political and military wings;
- The relocation and reassembly of some military bases by the government.

The implementation of projects to reconstruct and restore homes has created a situation conducive to the return of refugees and displaced populations to their respective villages.

This stage has been incredibly positive as the people worn out by this war eagerly want peace.

Thus, in decree 2004-822, Senegal established the National Agency for the Reconstruction of Casamance (ANRAC). Its Programme for the Revival of Economic and Social Activities in Casamance (PRAESC) was set up with the main aim of re-establishing the security conditions required to create an economic and social atmosphere that promotes sustainable development that is both devised and adapted to regional specificities. The PRAESC is responsible for creating the conditions to coordinate all activities in Casamance to concert sponsored projects and programmes, responding to the basic requirements of the region's socioeconomic revival.

This programme covers four fields:

- De-mining/ de-pollution;
- Rehabilitation – reinsertion – reintegration;
- Infrastructure reconstruction;

- Local development.

The DDRP covers the two following areas:

- Demobilisation, reinsertion and reintegration of ex-combatants from the different groups involved in the conflict;
- Supporting the reintegration of groups and people directly affected by the conflict.

All of these actions paved the way for actions leading to negotiations for these peace agreements to be signed. This allowed the Senegalese political class, opposition as well as government parties, members of NGOs, members of the official diplomatic corps in Senegal and civil society organisations to meet in a non-confrontational atmosphere in Ziguinchor on 30 December 2005.

The signing of these agreements allowed the government to reintegrate a group of combatants that had left the guerrillas by training them and financing them to be able to organise themselves in Economic Interest Groupings (GIE) in fields such as fishing, transport and livestock rearing.

In the interest of protecting human rights, greater attention has been paid to vulnerable groups and a clear drop in cases of human rights violations has been noted.

III. Problems linked to this peace-building phase

Today, it is clear that the peace process has run out of steam. Major obstacles remain. The wing of the MFDC more commonly known as the Northern Front (*Front Nord*) has not adhered to these agreements. It considers the unity of the MFDC and the adoption of a common position covering all internal views within the group as the condition which must be fulfilled to allow serious negotiations to be held with the government of Senegal. However, these agreements only became a reality on the ground through a ceasefire entailing:

- The marginalisation of some members of the MFDC who dispute how the government is managing the conflict by favouring another wing;
- Acts of violence including the raid on 2 January 2006 which led to the death of the sub-prefect of Diouboulou;
- The failure of the mechanisms to apply and implement the peace agreement. This has also resulted in non-adherence to the agreement schedule.

The MFDC is more divided than ever. Some instability in the leadership is noticeable insofar as the leaders, apart from Father Diancoume, do not remain in the posts to which they are appointed; rivalries then ensue.

The government of Senegal has exploited the situation's deterioration to push the MFDC into an unwilling surrender.

The lack of transparency in conflict management has resulted in all kinds of facilitators competing unfairly; the upshot of this is the fragmentation of the MFDC into factions. Small armed groups have carried out deadly attacks which are difficult to monitor; there have also been confrontations between different factions of the MFDC in Guinea-Bissau.

Guinea-Bissau intervened in these confrontations on 14 March 2006 when its chief of staff backed the group in Kassole, a Guinean village where this MFDC fringe group is based, against Salif Sadio, who is considered by the government of Senegal to be an obstacle to peace as he questioned the peace process. Using confrontation as a means of achieving peace seems to be a new crisis management method, playing the different factions of the MFDC against each other.

The impression that now emerges is that the Senegalese government has subcontracted this issue to the Guinea-Bissau chief of staff. In spite of the resulting humanitarian crisis with 200 refugees fleeing to Senegal, there has been no reaction from the Senegalese authorities. This silence may be interpreted as assenting Guinea-Bissau's actions. Another front has returned to the north of Casamance along the Gambian border with a reversal of the effect of the confrontations in Guinea-Bissau: schools have been closed and people living in the combat zones have fled to safety in the Gambia.

At the present time, the consequences of these actions include the condemnation of these confrontations by the political wing of the MFDC and even the way the conflict is managed is openly criticised by the Northern Front (*Front Nord*). The second Foundiougne meeting for negotiations between the government and the MFDC has been postponed.

Huge threats currently hang over the peace process which could lead the region back into violence and insecurity.

IV. What are the challenges to implementing the DDRP?

As has been mentioned already, this programme, created in July 2004, is still at the planning stage, as are other projects such as opening up the region, reviving activities as well as clearing mines. The lack of political will is a challenge that the government and the principal actors must overcome.

The commitment of the parties to accept the DDR could be questioned given the upsurge in armed violence. The spread of weapons is truly underway again. The MFDC could refuse to be disarmed if the programme is implemented.

The lack of unity in the MFDC could also delay the DDR process as safety may not be guaranteed.

The two parties' commitment is not yet effective enough for the programme to be taken into consideration in peace-building. In all the government's actions, there is no indication that this programme is being set into motion. The same goes for the MFDC: it has shown no commitment to being disarmed in any of the actions it has undertaken.

6. The situation in Guinea-Bissau, by Mr. Pedro Correia.

The Peace-building Process in Guinea-Bissau: Appraisal and Prospects

Between 1998 and 1999, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau witnessed a series of armed clashes that destabilised the country's institutional system and seriously damaged its productivity and social fabric. What had started as a confrontation between the government in power and part of the army gradually turned into a fratricidal war on a regional scale through the military intervention of countries neighbouring Guinea-Bissau. As well as the loss of human life, the whole society was deeply traumatised by these events.

The conflict has left an immense legacy for the current government. The destruction of assets has been enormous. The rule of law had been eroded and property rights violated. The loss of private capital following the destruction, seizure, confiscation and looting of properties and the loss of business opportunities has been estimated at USD 90 million. The weakening of the private sector has directly affected the banking sector which is already in crisis. Nearly 5,000 houses were badly damaged or destroyed in Guinea-Bissau. On a slightly smaller scale, public capital was also affected and weakened.

The government's post-conflict reconstruction strategy was largely inspired by the National Reconciliation and Reconstruction Programme (PRNR) presented at the Geneva Round Table in May 1999 and supported by partners outside Guinea-Bissau. Three axes summarise this strategy: (a) *Peace-building*, (b) *Reviving the economy* and (c) *Promoting reforms*:

- (a) ***Peace-building***, in order to create the conditions for security, peace and national reconciliation, without which democracy and development cannot resume their normal functions. In this regard, the government has implemented a system to demobilise, reinsert and reintegrate soldiers, paramilitaries, militias and ex-combatants from the independence war, in order to restructure the army and demilitarise society. These measures were also accompanied by concrete actions to disarm civilians, monitor the illegal supply of weapons and establish a de-mining programme;
- (b) ***Reviving the economy***, with the aim of fighting widespread poverty in the country by re-establishing key social services, such as education and health, as well as restoring the social and housing infrastructures and strengthening the judiciary system. In this regard, re-establishing basic services helped revive the national private sector. Regularising the State's internal arrears has also helped revitalise the private sector financially with a positive effect on creating jobs.
- (c) ***Promoting reforms*** in order to strengthen the administration of public resources and improve the private business environment. Thus, optimising the management of public finances, in a

transparent and efficient manner, has helped earn the government credibility with companies and foreign investors. In the same way, the ongoing privatisation of public companies as well as reforms expected in the energy and telecommunications sectors will contribute to promoting the private sector in Guinea-Bissau.

As in most countries in a post-conflict situation, restructuring the army, demilitarising society and dealing with those who were involved in the conflict is an extremely sensitive process, which requires lots of significant political and social, as well as financial, efforts from the State and civil society. In Guinea-Bissau, this situation is all the more complex given the historical discontent of one group of ex-combatants in the independence war which hangs dangerously over the country's stability. Nevertheless, important steps have been taken by the government concerning the *peace-building* issue.

At the end of actions undertaken by a multisectorial *Work and Supervision Group* created by a ministerial order of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers on 12/10/99, in 2000, the government decided to expand its range of actions by establishing a ***Demobilisation, Reinsertion and Reintegration Programme (PDRRI)***.

The Ex-combatants' Demobilisation, Reinsertion and Reintegration Programme (PDRRI) is part of Guinea-Bissau's transition from conflict to post-conflict management. It is part of an overall government strategy to create a political and social environment that favours the resumption of development activities. Democracy and development are under constant threat unless the Defence and Security Forces are restructured and the actors in the 1998-99 conflict are demobilised and effectively reintegrated. It is clear to see that the PDRRI is a condition for *good governance* and the *fight against poverty*, two of the main strands of the government's reconstruction strategy.

The overall aim of the PDRRI is to contribute to peace-building, national reconciliation and the social and economic reconstruction of the country.

More specifically, the programme aims to demobilise and reinsert 1,950 soldiers and 391 paramilitary fighters as part of the restructuring of the Defence and Security Forces and 2,051 militias who took part on either side of the 1998-99 conflict. These figures include 67 child soldiers from the armed forces as well as 24 child combatants from militias.

The objectives of demobilisation, on the one hand, include making relative savings in the defence and security budget, estimated at CFA 816 million in the first post-demobilisation year, in order to inject this money into priority sectors such as health and education and, on the other hand, to contribute to the demilitarisation of Guinea-Bissau's society in order to strengthen domestic security with a positive influence on regional stability.

The programme focuses simultaneously on the issue of the *social and economic reintegration* of ex-combatants who are most affected by the crisis. Around 7,321 who have been identified as "vulnerable" by the programme, including female ex-combatants, child soldiers and disabled ex-

combatants, have been inserted into the community production process through income-generating activities, improving their living conditions and physical rehabilitation.

The aim of reintegration is, on the one hand, to reactivate community productivity, and on the other hand, to reduce the extent of the socioeconomic vulnerability of at-risk groups.

The programme's main strategies are: (a) Applying *non-discrimination rules* as the basis for determining the programme's target group, (b) Adopting a *gender perspective* in the design and execution of the programme, (c) Encouraging *ex-combatants to participate* in all stages of the programme, (d) Finding a reasonable *legal complementarity* for profits, (e) Introducing *socioeconomic vulnerability criteria* to target actions more effectively at the groups most affected by the crisis, particularly *female ex-combatants, the handicapped and child soldiers*, (f) Promoting *reintegration in a rural setting* to promote rural communities and to reduce the pressure on cities, (g) *Diversifying social and economic reintegration options* to respond to the different needs of the target group and (h) Monitoring the reintegration of ex-combatants *in accordance with the norms of daily life and the socioeconomic characteristics of the community they are integrating into* to avoid any form of privilege or negative differentiation towards other members of the community.

Reintegration, within the scope of the PDRRI, is a stage of financial, technical and institutional aid to help vulnerable ex-combatants reintegrate into the community of their choice with *the same conditions and opportunities available to other members of the community*. During this stage, ex-combatants will seek to achieve gradual economic self-sufficiency or improve their status in terms of social vulnerability.

Key lessons from the Guinea-Bissau process:

- *Political involvement*, realism and pragmatism are the main factors determining the successful implementation of the programme.
- It is counterproductive for a government to promise what it cannot offer. Disappointment as well as the *unequal distribution* of profits create discontent within the target group and can result in public protests and violence.
- Inefficient coordination of the programme's actions can lead to resources overlapping or being wasted. Integrating new components or expanding on existing programme components must be preceded by *strategic reorganisation*.
- The components of a *successful implementation strategy* are (a) providing a minimal support system, (b) ensuring the simplicity of the system provided, (c) establishing a decentralised decision-making process, and (d) using existing social capital as well as restructuring local institutions.
- The prioritisation of the programme's components based on how *easy* they are to implement, and the prioritised application of the simplest components, contribute to the optimal use of scarce resources and to the timeliness of the help granted.

- Urban reintegration is more complex and requires a *more diversified* approach, including a more careful management. Its key components are counselling, job placements and benchmarks, professional training and apprenticeships, and an employment grants scheme.
- *Training programmes aimed at responding to market demand* and *placement opportunities* should be set up.
- Beneficiaries should be *provided with information* about the opportunities, constraints and procedures that greatly affect their economic and social reintegration.
- Coordination within the government and within the structures of the other actors involved is important to maximise the efficiency of the programme.
- The establishment of a single civil organisation responsible for overall planning and implementation is the method that best serves this aim. A *centralised coordination approach combined with decentralised implementation authorities* in towns and villages would provide an adequate institutional structure.
- Local communities must be directly involved in the *decision-making process*. Particularly as concerns local issues, involvement helps communities to embrace the programme and to accept the help it provides.
- Communities could play an important role as intermediaries to solve problems through, for example, community consultation committees. They can also help ex-combatants with their reintegration efforts. *The community's support* must be used fully.
- Simultaneously, it seems important to *devise actions* that benefit the ex-combatants' reintegration communities.
- As there is no clear policy concerning the DRRP, donors are unable to develop an efficient finance system and appropriate finance schedule. Conflicting interests and the inability to honour commitments can, moreover, derail the programme's implementation. Conversely, a rapid response from donors could help facilitate operations greatly.

7. The situation in Mali, by Mr. Zeini Moulaye.

INTRODUCTION

Northern Mali has had two rebellions (in 1963-1964 and 1990-1996), the reasons and motives for which are multifarious, complex and simultaneously historical, political, economic and socio-cultural. The second rebellion officially ended with the **Flame of Peace** ceremony held in Timbuktu on 27 March 1996; during this ceremony, more than 3,000 weapons handed in by rebels were burned. At this event, the rebel movements solemnly announced they would disband themselves. However, the after-effects of the rebellion continue to be felt because the underlying causes remain. They are chiefly: poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition, poor provision of healthcare and education, poor living standards, widespread unemployment and chronic underdevelopment in the northern regions.

Geographically, the area known as northern Mali is a vast area covering 937,742 km² (of Mali's total surface area of 1,241,328 km²) with a population of around 928,324 inhabitants (equivalent to 10% of Mali's total population of 9,790,452). It covers approximately the 6th, 7th and 8th administrative regions of Mali. It is an essentially agro-pastoral Sahel-Sahara region. The ethnic makeup of the population sometimes appears complex but, in reality, it is far less diverse than the south of the country. The majority of people are Songhai, Tuaregs, Fulani and Arabs (also called *Maures*). The people are sometimes classified in groups, depending on their economic activity (livestock breeders, farmers, fishermen, etc.) or the area they reside in (town dwellers, nomads). Generally, livestock breeders (Tuaregs, Arabs, Fulani) live on the edges of the desert and semi-desert areas while farmers and fishermen mainly live along the banks of the River Niger.

Nevertheless, there are many areas in which you see both camels and pirogues. As concerns age-old relationships and internal support systems, nearly each "town-dwelling family" has its "nomad relatives" and vice versa. This support system has allowed the people in this area to come to prominence in history by founding powerful and prosperous political and social systems prior to colonialism: the Songhai Empire in Gao, the Pashalik of Timbuktu, Arab and Tuareg sultanates, etc. Between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, cities such as Timbuktu, Djenne and Gao were the focus of the extraordinary development of Arab-Islamic culture (universities, institutes for research, the development of the arts and oral storytelling, etc.). Technologically advanced centres of production were set up in the sectors of textiles, architecture, silversmith's ware and other metalwork. Social harmony was slowly eroded first with the colonisation of the country (1880-1960) and then by postcolonial political ambitions.

1. THE CONFLICT IN NORTHERN MALI: Historical, socio-political and security background

The first Tuareg rebellion in Mali started in 1963. Young people, mainly from the Adrar des Ifoghas region, started the uprising, infuriated by the exactions of State employees whose

behaviour ran contrary to the promises of freedom and development in the first few years after independence. It was a truly popular revolt by young people who had no military training or political agenda. Limited to Kidal (the current Kidal region), they were quickly overpowered and bloodily suppressed by the central government. The instigators had probably been encouraged, at the time, by the plans of some French circles to create a “Common Organisation of Saharan Regions” (Organisation Commune des Régions Sahariennes - OCRS) with the aim of monitoring the oil-rich Sahara and to use it for nuclear tests.

Since this first rebellion, there has been a particular dislike for all Tuaregs, who are often suspected of having secessionist impulses. Fleeing the exactions of repressive forces against people and cattle, a large part of the Kidal population has taken refuge in Algeria. This first wave of emigrants was followed by other waves of emigrants during the droughts of 1973 and 1984. Algeria and Libya have been the main destinations. The youngest of these thousands of emigrants often had no other choice than to join foreign Islamic legions. They have thus fought in operations in Chad, Lebanon, Palestine and even Afghanistan. Consequently, they have constituted the breeding ground for recruits to the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Azawad which broke onto the political and security scene in Mali by starting the second rebellion.

Unlike the first, this rebellion was launched by Arabs as well as Tuaregs. Furthermore, the rebels were well-seasoned soldiers and had a purpose to their struggle, condemning in particular the political marginalisation of the northern nomadic population and the abandonment of northern Mali, which they call *Azawad*. They demanded autonomy and rapid socioeconomic development in this area so as to be on a par with the level of development in other regions. Their mobilisation strategy, more ethnically than ideologically based, targeted at the same time the Tuareg and Arab communities in Mali, Libya, Algeria, Mauritania, Morocco, Saudi Arabic, etc. Some of these countries were used by the rebels as rear bases for deadly attacks on Malian armed and security forces, while others were used as mediators and host countries for negotiations.

Launched in the region of Menaka in June 1990, this second rebellion quickly spread throughout northern Mali and also affected the northern parts of the central regions (Mopti and Segou).

2. APPROACH TO MANAGING THE CONFLICT IN THE NORTH

Confronted simultaneously on several fronts (political, social, educational), the authorities at the time chose to negotiate with the rebel leaders, particularly through the intervention of influential Tuaregs and Arabs. The negotiations resulted in the signing of the **Tamanrasset Agreements**, in the southern Algerian town of Tamanrasset on **6 January 1991**. In particular, these agreements made provisions for “a special status” for the northern Malian region and greater development efforts. However, the regime in power had neither the time nor the means to implement them. Faced with a popular uprising in the capital, Bamako, it was swept from power by a coup d’état on 26 March 1991.

2.1. From the Tamanrasset Agreements to the National Pact

Since the fall of the regime of General Moussa Traoré, the Transitional Committee for the Salvation of the People (CTSP), the new government which succeeded it, confirmed its commitment to the Tamanrasset Agreements and welcomed within itself the representatives of the movements signatory to these agreements. With the support of Algeria, in a mediatory role, and France, which provided a team of facilitators (Edgard Pisani and Ahmed Baba Miské), the CTSP sought to promote peace. Its efforts resulted in the signing of the **National Pact on 11 April 1992**. The contents of the National Pact are almost identical to those of the Tamanrasset Agreements, but are more detailed. In particular, it advocates a ceasefire, demilitarisation, a special status for the northern regions (decentralisation), the demobilisation of combatants and their integration into the armed forces and the civil services, the socioeconomic reinsertion of those who are not integrated, the establishment of a compensation and reinsertion fund as well as the creation of the Northern Commissariat. The idea of setting up an independent commission to investigate crimes committed during the conflict was accepted but was never to be followed through. The authorities promised to implement the provisions of the pact rapidly.

In practice, the implementation of the National Pact was particularly difficult as it required considerable resources which the State did not have and which the Malian authorities were not able to obtain quickly. This was probably the weakest link in the DDR process and conflict management in northern Mali.

Doubt thus crept into the minds of the rebels; the violence continued and got worse. It peaked in 1994; thousands of Malians from the north were forced to leave their economically devastated areas to take refuge in neighbouring countries: Algeria, Mauritania, Niger, Burkina Faso, and even further away: Morocco, Libya, Saudi Arabia, etc.

2.2. Regional meetings

In its desire to widen the basis of consensus which resulted in the National Pact, the government had the idea of organising, in August 1994, regional meetings throughout the country to discuss the issue of northern Mali. Malian public opinion was largely aware and informed about the problems in the north, the importance of the National Pact and the risks in applying it, the drift towards insecurity and its sub-regional dimension. Through these meetings, the people were asked to make efforts, including through endogenous post-conflict management peace-building processes. Many recommendations were made by the people themselves in view of a lasting return to peace and security, improving intercommunity relations and lasting national reconciliation, the only factor that offered hope for the future. Subsequently, missions led by ministers, including members of parliament, traditional chiefs, leaders of the rebel movements and civil society representatives travelled throughout the country and refugee camps in neighbouring countries to sow the seeds of peace, security and national unity.

2.3. Intercommunity meetings

These government missions led a few weeks later to a series of intercommunity meetings in the northern regions where the conflict had largely torn apart the social fabric and considerably broken down the age old coexistence between the different communities. These intercommunity meetings had an extraordinarily positive impact on the ground. Most noticeably, they helped heal social divisions and reconcile sworn enemies. Some communities on the verge of confrontation signed peace agreements, conciliating nomads and town dwellers: the power of dialogue triumphed and peace returned to northern Mali.

2.4. Civil society actions for peace and security

The sudden outbreak of the rebellion, its violence, spread and dangerous evolution which sometimes took on the appearance of an ethnic war between nomads and sedentary communities justified the involvement of all State components to manage the conflict. The way the conflict in the north was managed under the third republic was very different from the way it had been dealt with under the first two. The involvement of civil society, particularly religious leaders and traditional chiefs, women and young people as well political forces, all movements and views together, was essential in the quest for peace and security. Some organisations, groups of individuals and even individuals with high moral standing involved in the conflict management process succeeded in exerting a strong enough social and political pressure to influence key decisions on peace and security. More comprehensively, civil society actors participated in two main stages:

- During the first stage (June 1990, when the rebellion broke out, and 11 April 1992, when the National Pact was signed), the different elements of civil society (traditional chiefs, religious leaders, independent figures, women's organisations, youth organisations, village groups, etc.) were involved in setting up the dialogue between the warring parties, promoting the implementation of the ceasefire, taking part in the planning and signing of the National Pact;
- During the second stage (11 April 1992—27 March 1996, date of the Timbuktu flame ceremony), civil society contributed to peace and security building, in particular through information and awareness raising campaigns, the promotion of social values, the regulation of social and interpersonal relations, the search for a consensus, a call for dialogue, meetings, positive involvement, brotherhood and solidarity.

2.5. Meetings with development partners in the north

In order to develop this peace process, on 27 July 1995 in Timbuktu, the government organised a meeting with development partners in the northern region; public authorities, representatives from rebel movements and civil society as well as technical and financial partners participated. This resulted in the establishment of a Transitional Programme of Normalisation and Rehabilitation of the Regions of the North (programme transitoire de normalisation et de réhabilitation du Nord-Mali) and a joint commission made up of the Malian government and northern development partners. The joint commission included ministerial representatives under

the Minister of Foreign Affairs and all the technical and financial partners working in northern Mali under the rotating presidency of the heads of diplomatic missions. For four years, the transitional programme and the joint commission played an important role on the ground in terms of partnership and productive international cooperation. The Malian government created the Agency for Integrated Development in the Northern Regions (l'Agence de développement intégré des régions du Nord - ADIN).

2.6. The process of integrating and reinserting ex-combatants

Shortly after signing the National Pact, and without waiting for the reaction of technical and financial partners, the Malian State, using its own funds, set up cantonments for combatants from various movements in order to integrate them.

Between 1993 and 1996, the integration process allowed the Malian government to recruit 2,540 ex-combatants from the Unified Movements and Fronts of Azawad (MFUA) and the Ganda Koy Patriotic Movement (MPGK) to the military and paramilitary forces and the civil service.

As not all ex-combatants could be integrated into the armed forces and the civil service, the Malian government and some development partners, with technical support from the UNDP, set up a special trust fund, managed as part of the Support Programme for the Socioeconomic Reinsertion of Ex-combatants (Programme d'appui à la réinsertion socio-économique des ex-combattants - PAREM). The following countries contributed to this fund: the USA, Canada, Norway, the Netherlands, France, Belgium, Japan, Switzerland and Mali.

Some 9,509 ex-combatants benefited from this programme through 866 individual or group projects at a total cost of nearly USD 9 million. The first reinsertion programme (PAREM) ended in December 1997. It was followed by a second programme called the Consolidation of Acquired Assets for Reintegration (Consolidation des Acquis de la Réinsertion - CAR-NORD) programme which ended in 2002.

2.7. Organising the return of refugees and IDPs

Repatriating refugees and resettling internally displaced persons was achieved in partnership with the UNHCR. This included several awareness raising campaigns in neighbouring countries which had taken in fleeing Malians. At the same time as these awareness raising campaigns, more than a hundred intercommunity meetings were organised to facilitate the return and reinsertion of refugees and IDPs. These meetings largely aided reconciliation and the reopening of closed local markets. Almost every meeting set up a **disarmament and anti-insecurity commission**. These commissions inspired the Malian authorities to create local commissions for micro-disarmament at a communal level, stemming from the National Commission against the Proliferation of Small Arms.

Practical mechanisms were adopted to facilitate the repatriation and reception of refugees and displaced persons:

- a) Improving services and security at reception sites;
- b) Improving the conditions of their residence before reinsertion;
- c) Setting up several cooperation programmes in the areas of food aid, village water supply, health, education, microfinance, etc.

These actions were supported by direct aid in the form of grain distribution and other "food for work" or "food for training" programmes.

On 25 June 1999, 132,000 refugees had been registered as returnees by the UNHCR, of whom 65,000, i.e. almost half, were spontaneous returnees. A rather interesting aspect of this process, indefinable as it is intangible, is the way in which the Malian authorities have re-established confidence between the authorities and the former rebels, on one hand, and between the refugees, the displaced populations and the people who stayed behind, on the other.

Also in 1999, all the northern regions benefited from relative autonomy through decentralisation. However, it is a privilege that they share with the seven other regions and the District of Bamako. Furthermore, while some of the National Pact's provisions were achieved, others such as the investments pledged for infrastructure and economic and social development were slow to materialise. This allowed doubt to creep back into the minds of the people living in the north. This is probably why some former rebels have recently been incessantly demanding more independence; unless the "petroleum war" had already broken out in Mali and these strategies are being used to control this "necessary evil" that is petroleum. Oil prospecting is being carried out in Mali, in northern Mali to be precise, at the borders with Algeria and Mauritania, both of which are oil-producing countries.

For several years after the signing of the National Pact, Mali remained under the grip of what the authorities euphemistically called "residual banditry". This banditry has often included stealing private and government vehicles and vandalising the property of some travellers. These acts clearly indicate a feeling of dissatisfaction among a rebel fringe, basically openly challenging the authority of the State. Furthermore, they create a state of paranoia and make people believe that the situation in the north will lead to yet another rebellion. Faced with this situation, the Malian government has many times expressed its firm desire to curb any form of insecurity and resurgence in the rebellion by putting the army and security forces in the best position to guarantee the security of persons and goods throughout the north of the country. It has not had the means to do this and, despite its belief in occupying the land (the bandits' hideout), sometimes with the support of neighbouring countries (Mauritania, Algeria, Burkina Faso, Niger) as part of its strategy to fight organised crime, there has been a rise in tensions in northern Mali recently, a tremor of possible violence which suggests that in one way, nothing final has been achieved through post-conflict management. Peace and security are constantly being built with gradual touches of reinforcement.

3. KEY CONSTRAINTS ENCOUNTERED

Mali has encountered three major difficulties in its post-conflict management experience:

- Establishing complete and lasting trust between the government authorities and all the elements of the rebellion;
- Raising funds for the resources required in the demobilisation, demilitarisation, reintegration, reinsertion, reconstruction and reconciliation processes;
- Achieving all commitments undertaken in the National Pact signed on 12 April 1992 within the time allowed.

Furthermore, three challenges of paramount importance still have to be overcome:

- Ensuring the security of persons and goods in the north and the rest of the country;
- Managing natural resources and the fair division of the State's wealth;
- Rebuilding the northern regions in view of promoting regional stability.

Given the above, what lessons can be drawn from the Malian experience of conflict management in northern Mali?

4. LESSONS LEARNED

4.1. The need to hold dialogue between the warring parties

The first lesson learned is that in this type of conflict, it can be difficult for a regular army to overcome guerrillas. Conversely, the army cannot reasonably expect to achieve a military victory. Consequently, both parties should negotiate a political solution. This negotiation requires the actors to make a sincere attempt to communicate. In this case, the most valuable support that the friends of the warring parties can provide is through a sort of maieutics, encouraging each of the actors to have their say, to not poke fun at any other parties, to listen and recognise the common assumptions as well as the working hypotheses leading to consensus. In the case in point, the Malian experience has shown that using social capital can be a determining factor. Civil society (the main victim of conflicts and definitive source of legitimacy) can play a critical role in the peaceful resolution of conflicts. As long as it remains a neutral, impartial force, it can and must sometimes assist in the quest for peace and security. In order to do this, it must be given the necessary resources to guarantee its independence and maintain its credibility with the various actors.

4.2. The need to limit small arms

The second lesson is the need to curb the proliferation of small arms as soon as possible. Their effect is destructive; they kill even in times of peace (especially when landmines are involved). Their huge availability on the market often made them tempting to use. The Malian authorities were fully aware of this; on the day following the signing of the National Pact with the rebel movements, they requested a consultation mission from the United Nations on the phenomenon of the proliferation of small arms.

The mission, which visited Mali and six other countries in the sub-region, came to the following double conclusion:

- a) The massive presence and free circulation of illegal small arms are a reality in all the countries visited and present a permanent threat to peace and security in West Africa. This problem must thus be dealt with through sub-regional cooperation;
- b) The scale of this proliferation and the difficulties linked to its eradication require commitment from the international community.

This justified the signing of the Bamako Declaration which resulted in the adoption of a moratorium on the import, export and manufacture of small arms in West Africa, signed by West African Heads of States and ECOWAS on 31 October 1998 in Abuja. This moratorium was additional to the domestic efforts in our respective countries to prevent, manage and resolve the conflicts that they were respectively facing. It reinforced the security sought in the sub-region through better economic integration and encouraged the adoption of economic and political measures that were likely to contribute to collective security, promoting the emergence of the principles of the rule of law, respect for human rights, environmental protection and good governance.

4.3. The need to involve the international community in implementing peace and security agreements

The third lesson is that a poor country facing internal conflict cannot do without support from the international community which, through the UN, has for several years been promoting an international political strategy based on the idea of human security. In this time of globalisation, it seems clear that individual security has become an essential element of global security given the complexity and unpredictability of the threat to peace and security and particularly because these threats have swept into the country from outside. The international nature of the threat to security and the impracticality of one country, or even group of countries, dealing with these threats alone give it good grounds to seek international solidarity on this matter.

4.4. The interdependence of security and development

The fourth lesson (and probably the most important) is that security and development are closely linked and the domestic and foreign aspects of security are inseparable. There is no peace or security without development, or development without peace and security. Poverty inevitably leads to a loss of security which makes it a fundamental aspect of development. In this case, security is not necessarily the result of military force. It can simply be an effect of democracy, respect for human rights, improving the standard of education and of living. It can also be a product of economic prosperity and social well-being. On the contrary, a lack of peace and security ruin any development effort. Security thus appears to be a development cost that must be assumed as such by all development actors.

4.5. The need for a mechanism to monitor and evaluate the implementation of the agreements and commitments undertaken

The fifth lesson we have learned through events in northern Mali is: nothing is finally achieved in post-conflict management. One is never safe from impulses to return to violence, insecurity, in other words war, which cancel out all peace, security and development efforts. The need to set up an effective mechanism to monitor and evaluate the peace agreement implementation process thus arises.

5. CONTRIBUTING TO A REGIONAL APPROACH TO THE DDR PROCESS AND POST-CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

Dealing with the threats and challenges to DDR, post-conflict management and to guarantee lasting peace and security in our sub-region might require working on several strategic objectives:

- **Meeting the challenges of:**
 - National sovereignty, to gain greater control of our destiny;
 - Controlling natural resources;
 - The inadequate distribution of national wealth;
- **Dealing with security threats and destabilisation** such as intra- and intercommunity conflicts, the proliferation of small arms, government crisis, State criminality, organised crime and poor governance (with its chaos, corruption and counterproductive policies that often maintain a bureaucracy that is underperforming and unconcerned about accountability, effectively run by opportunists attracted by the lure of a quick and easy profit and intoxicated by the unbridled quest for wealth at any price and by all means), etc.
- **Strengthening collective security in the sub-region** by setting up the moratorium on the international convention on small arms, improving regional collective security instruments and promoting the re-evaluation of endogenous mechanisms to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts;
- **Strengthening overall regional integration** through massive community investments in the huge building sites of regional construction requiring high intensity labour (dams, transport infrastructure, agro-pastoral developments, mining, fisheries, crafts, tourism, etc.) to create a genuine regional production scheme, with full employment and sustainable development;

- **Promoting and using social capital** as it is sometimes the deciding factor in conflict prevention, mediation or post-conflict management. Social capital could, in a context of democracy and decentralisation, use the endogenous mechanisms that reinforce regional peace and security systems advantageously;
- **Implementing education programmes to establish a culture of peace and human rights** to influence thinking and steer ideas away permanently from impulses of violence, strengthening the rule of law, respect for human rights, democracy and good governance and promoting sustainable development.

Here lie, in our opinion, some of the keys to peace and security and eventually the salvation of the people of West Africa.

SECOND SESSION

Problems encountered and lessons learned from the national experiences

- 1. Introducing DDR and crisis resolution mechanisms in West Africa, by Mr. Mamadou Jao.**
- 2. Casamance (Senegal) and the prospects for introducing a DDR Programme, by Mr. Nouha Cisse.**

1. Introducing DDR and crisis resolution mechanisms in West Africa, by Mr. Mamadou Jao., INEP

Introduction

After a glorious struggle against Portuguese colonialism which resulted from a multicultural alliance built around a liberating party, the PAIGC^{ss}, Guinea-Bissau has encountered significant difficulties in establishing a post-independence State that meets the ideals of the national liberation struggle.

Today, these difficulties are so great and so deeply entrenched that some minority views do not hesitate, when considering the situation in Guinea-Bissau, to wonder what the country's future will be. There is even the belief that the prospect of creating a State governed by the rule of law in Guinea-Bissau is a pointless exercise. This is perhaps an excessively pessimistic view; the political, economic and social situation that is and has been characteristic of Guinea-Bissau since it achieved political independence more than thirty years ago is fertile ground for alarmist concerns, such as those that consider the idea of creating a truly modern State in this country to be somewhat unconvincing. Putting aside these political tensions and the instability that has resulted from them and that continues to result from them today, economic and social indicators rank the country as among the worst in terms of performance in the human development index. Guinea-Bissau has yet to succeed in rising above the ranks of the ten least developed countries in the world. The United Nations report for 2004 put our country in 172nd place (with an index of 0.350) out of 177 countries. This situation is the result of instability in this small country on the west coast of Africa with a population of just over one million, a country blessed by nature which continues to provide enviable resource potentials, not only as concerns quantity but also quality, as compared to many neighbouring countries (more than 6 months of rain a year, vast expanses of farmland, abundant fishing resources, high quality wood, etc.). To this day, no one has been able to use these resources wisely. Due to this inability to develop its resources, Guinea-Bissau is experiencing a general crisis. We believe that the crisis in Guinea-Bissau revolves mainly around one problem: "the crisis of affirming the sovereignty of the State". How does this affirmation crisis of the sovereignty of a truly postcolonial State impact today on the daily life of Guinea-Bissauans? What are the opportunities and constraints to resolving this situation permanently? These are some of the questions that we intend to deal with in our presentation.

1. The affirmation crisis of the sovereignty of a postcolonial State as the main obstacle to building peace and foundations for sustainable development

Today, Guinea-Bissau's importance in the anti-colonial struggle is well-known and acknowledged; this struggle has left its mark on the history of the struggle of oppressed

^{ss} African Party for Independence in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde founded by Amilcar Cabral in 1956.

peoples to become masters of their own sovereignty. The eleven difficult years of armed struggle led by the people of Guinea-Bissau in an exemplary manner against Portuguese colonial domination was successful for two main reasons: firstly, the leaders were able to organise themselves around a political group which, in spite of everything, was able to adopt a slogan and bring together the ethnic and cultural diversity of the people. Around the common ideal of the struggle for national sovereignty (PAIGC's minimal programme), the PAIGC took a first step towards creating the conditions for a better life for all the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (the liberating party's maximum programme). This slogan, "Unity and Struggle", has always been part of a series of principles that guided the actions of the main leader of the people of Guinea and Cape Verde's movement, Amilcar Cabral, and his avant-garde party. Cabral continually repeated the slogan to his companions, "the first principle of our party and of our struggle... is unity and struggle. This must be our party's slogan".

Cabral considered this slogan, of the party of the people's struggle in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, to be the main condition for the success or failure of the liberation mission the party was engaged in. To use Max Weber's expression, the slogan "unity and struggle" can be considered a "secret weapon" in the success of the struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde for their liberation. For Cabral, "regardless of the differences that may exist, and however numerous they are as concerns ethnicity, religion, social class, etc., we need to be united and show solidarity to achieve this objective". Cabral tried to use the simplest examples possible to help party activists understand the importance of the ideas of unity and struggle clearly; among the many examples he liked to use during meetings with guerrillas was that of a football team. He would always say that "a football team is made up of many individuals, 11 people, each with their own specific job to do when the team is playing, people different from one another, with different temperaments, often given different instructions, some can't read or write, others are doctors or engineers, are of different religions, etc.; people who are different from one another, who consider themselves as being different from the others but belong to the same football team. If this team is unable to unite all its elements when it plays, it will never be a real football team". The principle of unity has always been essential to the objectives of the struggle because as Cabral himself liked to remind his companions, everyone knows that "strength is through unity". The anti-colonial struggle, like any other struggle, always needs force to achieve its objectives.

It is important to remind you of all this today to help you understand better how Guinea-Bissau's population was able to lead a successful anti-colonial struggle against the odds and then falter in its attempts to build a postcolonial State. We could explain this situation through the loss or rather the state of advanced degradation of some fundamental ethical or moral values which once were fundamental and even guided actions and the struggle for political independence. These ethical and moral values include: the principle of unity, the principle of the primacy of collective interests over individual interests, the respect for existing rules which govern social order, the principles of rigorousness and responsibility, having a government that serves the people and not politicians who "live off politics" rather than those who "live for politics", to use Max Weber's expression. This is at the root of the difficulties that Guinea-Bissau and several other African countries have encountered in their attempts to build and affirm postcolonial states, manifesting themselves in the risks and challenges that

independence poses to governments and the governmental elite on the continent. In Guinea-Bissau, a real crisis persists in terms of affirming a progressive postcolonial State that defends disadvantaged sections of the population, an ideal which many Guinea-Bissauans paid with their lives for. A critical question would be to find out how the affirmation crisis of the sovereignty of the State is manifested today in the everyday lives of Guinea-Bissauans. This is what we will attempt to do.

2. Manifestations of the affirmation of the sovereignty of the State in the everyday lives of Guinea-Bissauan citizens

A clear manifestation of the crisis in the affirmation of the State in Guinea-Bissau is its lack of authority. The authority of the State is in a situation of total decline. Today, there are a large number of instances where citizens challenge the authority of the State incessantly without facing any consequences whatsoever. Other ways in which this crisis manifests itself are the disorder and dysfunction in State institutions which exist and operate in isolation from one another. This situation is worrying in the provinces where almost no one is concerned about anyone else. In most cases, revenues collected from services are not transferred to the Public Treasury; they end up being used by the collectors and their superiors in the provinces. The country has lost its ability to perform the most basic administrative tasks such as issuing receipts and providing proof of public services rendered to citizens. Falsifying receipt forms in some public services where this practice still exists has become normal behaviour. What is even more incredible is that all this happens without anyone showing any concern about it. How can public finances be improved in these conditions?

The non-functioning of legal institutions and their total disrepute, violation of the principle of the separation of powers between sovereign organs, among others, are elements that continue to characterise the Guinea-Bissauan administration.

The situation has been recently aggravated by the permanent tensions and changes in the political order that has always characterised life in the country. In the three decades of independent Guinea-Bissau, the country has been subject to ongoing political problems that have affected the normal course of its development. There have been coups d'état, attempts to overturn the established legal order by massacring innocent citizens during the first few years after independence (1974-1980), the coup d'état in November 1980 which swept General Joao Bernardo Vieira (Nino) to power (1980-1998), replacing Luis Cabral. Nino Vieira, in turn, was deposed in another military coup d'état (7 June 1998/99), creating a military conflict that lasted more than 11 months, with immeasurable losses, including 5,000 deaths. Leading the military uprising was Brigadier Ansumane Mané, former chief of staff of the Guinea-Bissauan army, an old friend and longstanding companion of General Nino Vieira himself. A year later (September 2000), it was Brigadier Mané's turn to be ousted, once again by his own companions in a military uprising. He lost his life in circumstances which are still unclear today: did he die fighting as some minority opinions try to make people think? Was he brutally assassinated by his companions? What happened? No one has been able to explain it to the people of Guinea-Bissau as yet. This same incident was repeated in 2004 with the death of two high-ranking officials in the army: former chief of staff General Verrissimo Correia and

Colonel Domingos Barros from the human resources department, the chief of staff's spokesperson. This happened after a military uprising in as yet obscure circumstances. These are just some of the main events in the political and social crisis in Guinea-Bissau. These incidents of political violence continue to increase. From 1999 until now, other cases of political violence and serious violations of the legal constitutional order have been confirmed on many occasions (e.g.: the suspension of parliament by a presidential decree for no legitimate reason), many cases of the most basic human rights violations such as the arbitrary imprisonment of citizens, of media professionals, etc. without mentioning other cases such as that of 14 September 2003 when Kumba Yala was overthrown as the President of the Republic after having been elected in 1999. None of the authorities have yet responded to the latest tragic episode in October 2004 mentioned above (when a group of soldiers, under the pretext of claiming their salaries, clashed with and assassinated two high-ranking officials working for the chief of staff) so as to establish what happened and bring those who are responsible to account.

All of this shows the level of impunity that exists in the country. To borrow the expression of the Russian Revolution's leader, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, Guinea-Bissau is nowadays like a country in a "revolutionary situation" where the ruling class cannot continue to govern in the same way as before and the people too can no longer put up with the injustices they face. In these conditions, something must change. How will this change occur? No one knows as yet. What we do know is there are normally two ways of tackling this type of situation: firstly, and perhaps more constructively, is a deep overhaul of the system; the other way is revolution. In Guinea-Bissau's case, neither of these ways has yielded positive results as yet. Unfortunately, this situation is the reality in the country. The various revolutionary attempts since the events of 14 November 1980 up until those of 7 June 1998 have increased the level of disorganisation in the country in spite of promises to impose order and justice. Instead of trying new methods, this disorganisation has led to greater chaos, more disorder and confusion and the many reform attempts have set the country on the path of even greater "misreform". Two examples of this are suffice: after over 30 years of experience, no government knows exactly how many people work in public administration. This is in spite of many attempts to carry out a census. It is the same for ex-combatants. Every day, new faces appear claiming to be ex-combatants. This phenomenon has reached the extent that today we speak of a new category of ex-combatants who are ironically defined as *new ex-combatants*. This has led us to believe that Guinea-Bissau is the only country in the world where 2+2 does not equal 4. There is a good possibility that a third way can be developed for Guinea-Bissau. If this is the case, we need to progress immediately as the situation on the ground remains very difficult.

This context of permanent political and institutional instability has had a negative impact on the lives of the people. Currently, income per capita remains amongst the lowest in the world at EUR 210. More than 80% of the population lives in poverty, with 65% living on less than USD1 per day. Most people do not have more than one meal a day. This phenomenon is so deeply entrenched in the daily lives of citizens that it has been named *a shot* ("un tir" - one meal a day). Social indicators are not encouraging: 65% of the population, the majority of who are women (around 80%), is illiterate. The education system is still wanting. In the health sector, the situation is far from being any better. Life expectancy does not exceed 45. Child and

maternal mortality rates are alarming, not to mention the serious performance problems encountered in the health system, proving that the crisis in Guinea-Bissau has already permeated all spheres of national life.

This situation has placed Guinea-Bissau firmly within the group of States classified by a consultative group from the Commonwealth as weak nations. We need to consider the factors that could be at the root of the increasingly severe crisis that this West African country is steeped in.

3. The main factors in the crisis in Guinea-Bissau

As mentioned above, Guinea-Bissau's problems revolve around a greater issue: the affirmation crisis of a post-independence or postcolonial State, as we call it. We need to understand how this crisis could arise in a country which showed its ability to organise an internal struggle for national liberation against a particularly backward colonial regime, and why today it cannot take the leap to construct a State and guarantee peace and well-being for its people. There are many reasons for this and many of them are complex (historical, social, cultural, political, etc.). They are briefly mentioned below.

In the last two decades, several (disciplinary and multidisciplinary) studies have been carried out to identify the main factors hindering the country's progress. Upon the government's request, the INEP (National Institute for Studies and Research) has conducted two studies, in collaboration with some development cooperation agencies on the socioeconomic impact of the Structural Adjustment Programme in Guinea-Bissau. Between 1994 and 1996, INEP coordinated perhaps the largest and most inclusive study into the factors hindering progress and the outlook for short- and medium-term resolutions. These were the so-called National Long-Term Perspective Studies (NLTPS), which were financially supported by the African Futures initiative. The development outlook for the country for the next 25 years has been planned (Guinea-Bissau 2025) was based on the results of these studies. Other studies have been conducted, in particular two national human development reports; a third report was expected in February 2005. The conclusions of these studies converge to identify poor governance in all its forms (political, economic, etc.) as the main factor hindering progress in the country. This consistently poor governance has reached such proportions that one can even speak of the governance crisis, or non-governance of the country, with the progressive establishment of the "law of the jungle" where only might is right.

An analysis of the situation in Guinea-Bissau needs to be considered in this context: the growing political dominance of the army over the civil authorities (the great power of the "sound of boots", as Bertin described the situation in Cameroon), periods of rule under "one-man State" regimes and the spread of political figures who are "investor politicians" funded by the State's Treasury through the mechanisms of widespread corruption. In his analysis of the situation in Chad, Jean-Pierre Magnant concluded that, in the case of Chad, it would be more appropriate to speak of a crisis in governance rather than simply the weakness of the State; this analysis may also apply to Guinea-Bissau. In our view, this weakness has reached such an

alarming extent in many African countries that we can speak of a crisis concerning the very affirmation of the State. The case of Guinea-Bissau is such a good example that some people reckon that if things continue as they are now, the future of the country could be jeopardised; clearly, this is something that none of us wants. To avoid this happening, those in power and decision-makers must review their attitude to the governance crisis; they must review it now so as not to jeopardise the future of the whole nation.

4. Factors contributing to the final resolution of the crisis in Guinea-Bissau

Discussing the factors contributing to crisis resolution in Guinea-Bissau or any other country in the modern world fundamentally comes down to discussing the attitudes of citizens, particularly the ruling and political elite, towards the construction of the State itself. As the Guinea-Bissauans are the main architects of their own crisis, they are also the main factor in resolving this very crisis. To do this, Guinea-Bissau must come out of its current "savage State" condition and end the "savage governance" that has become commonplace in recent years. First of all, it is necessary to establish public order. We cannot continue with the "one-man State" governance run by individuals and not institutions and at the same time, we must think of how to resolve this crisis permanently. You cannot expect to achieve any form of lasting peace in a country devoid of justice or equity. It is important to understand that in such situations governments themselves become the main problem. The country needs to first stop being "a one-man State" to become a "State based on institutions" so that other factors can then be dealt with such as, for example, sub-regional, regional (African), international solidarity, etc. It is well-known that Guinea-Bissau had experienced this type of solidarity since its anti-colonial struggle. The latest events in the country are further proof of this. During the conflicts in June 1998/99, November 2000, September 2003 and October 2004, the countries in the sub-region and international organisations such as the United Nations did not lead any efforts for a return to normality, at least not apparently, in the country.

We could certainly mention several other factors that would contribute to resolving the crisis in Guinea-Bissau, such as, for example, poverty and the militias which the Secretary-General of the United Nations defined as being the main obstacle to peace and democracy in the country. Nevertheless, this is all the result of failures in the construction of the State, failures due to poor governance. By resolving the governance issue, we can also resolve the problem of State construction and consequently the other difficulties the country is facing. Let us not forget that the peace that is so wished for in our sub-region (see for example the recent peace agreement in Casamance) is also a factor in the final resolution of the crises in some of the States in the region.

Concerning the domestic factors that can contribute to building and consolidating peace in the country, some signs of hope have started to appear for a few months now; we may mention as an example the reconciliation process that started within the army, with the reintegration of a large number of militias including army officers who had been dismissed for having participated in the military conflict in June 1998/99 on President Joao Bernardo Vieira's side. Another positive sign is the fact that the new government has declared its priorities to be fighting corruption and impunity, fighting poverty, as well as the

implementation of reforms launched within the army (e.g.: the current demobilisation, reinsertion and reintegration process) and general public administration (the start of a new census to manage the workforce, etc.).

In spite of the problems and difficulties mentioned above, Guinea-Bissau can remedy its difficult path to development and well-being for all citizens. Nevertheless, this objective will only be possible if the people of Guinea-Bissau themselves work towards it.

2. Casamance (Senegal) and the prospects for launching a DDR Programme, by Mr. Nouha Cisse, historian.

Casamance is a province situated in the south of Senegal. For almost a quarter of a century, it has been subjected to a severe conflict fought by the Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance (Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de la Casamance), an independence movement, against the central government. The situation calmed down in Casamance, where the armed conflict was being waged, after several ceasefire agreements were signed between the two parties, the earliest of which was in 1991, along with the weariness and deep desire of the people for a lasting peace. This period of respite is only episodically disturbed, while the general agreements signed in Ziguinchor on 30 December 2004 and in Foundiougne on 1 February offer a negotiation framework – we should add that these negotiations have yet to be held. It is in this framework that the National Agency for the Reconstruction of Casamance (ANRAC) was established by Decree no. 2004-822 on 1 July 2004. ANRAC is responsible for implementing the Programme for the Revival of Economic and Social Activities in Casamance (PRAESC), developed in 2004; DDR is a fundamental component of it. It is responsible for the basic components of peace restoration.

DRAFTING A TECHNICAL DOCUMENT FOR THE DDR PROGRAMME

The DDR Programme developed by ANRAC for Casamance addresses many concerns, including:

Preliminary considerations: These are based on the declaration of the parties to the conflict of their desire for a political and peaceful solution to the conflict. This has to be achieved around the negotiating table. In the meanwhile, the independence movement has an armed wing which, according to estimates, includes no less than 2,000 active or temporarily demobilised combatants; this armed branch has gradually been given a large number of weapons, including mines with a devastating impact.

Developing a DDR procedure manual drawn on experiences learned from conflicts that have been quelled in Africa in particular. Identifying common aspects in these experiences and adapting them to the Casamance experience while not losing sight of the realities specific to this conflict.

The implementation strategy, which should be based on existing structures or structures that are yet to be created.

ADDITIONAL PROVISIONS SUBJECT TO CERTAIN CONDITIONS

- Technical files

The needs of combatants, particularly as concerns reintegration, need **to be identified and listed**. The rule is to avoid thinking for those concerned. Responses must be demand-driven. Nevertheless, a study into reintegration opportunities will have to be conducted in terms of:

- Work opportunities and conditions;
- Available training possibilities and types of training;
- Job creation, by identifying all required structures and conditions.

CONSTRAINTS TO OVERCOME

The main constraint is the **slowness of the crisis management process** as concerns holding negotiations. While important steps have been taken in signing the general agreements, the negotiations themselves have been delayed due to internal problems with the MFDC (political and military divisions) as well as regular escalations of violence; these escalations (the Guinea-Bissau army's action against the independence movement's bases on its territory) keep delaying these negotiations.

The parties in conflict must be flexible so as to be able to fine-tune the DDRP.

Effectively, fine-tuning the Casamance DDRP **means getting the State and the MFDC** to share its content in order to ensure its success.

Overall and complete application of the DDR. Meanwhile, the World Bank group of donors has only considered demobilisation and disarmament; in terms of reintegration, only the *training* aspect has been dealt with. Yet training is as essential as the two other aspects. A sustainable, and even permanently lasting peace depends on it, even if in other respects the "rebellion premium" issue persists.

In its DDR implementation strategy, ANRAC has chosen to **set up departmental sub-agencies**. Beyond the institutional aspect, these agencies will help to cast a wide net and prevent any discrimination – as discrimination may lead to dangerous frustrations.

The DDR Programme in Casamance is still at the pre-implementation stage. Political commitments have been made but the lack of final and inclusive agreements is delaying its implementation.

THIRD SESSION

Harmonisation and the regional approach

L'UNOWA and regional DDR approach, by I.C ZABADI, WANSED/National War College, Abuja, Nigéria

INTRODUCTION

1. Developments, both positive and negative, are leading West Africa to address the various challenges it is faced with through common regional frameworks. There are probably several reasons for this; however, two readily come to mind.

2. The first is that several of the development and security challenges faced by the countries of West Africa, have easily spread throughout the region. The conflict which began in Liberia in 1989, whose effects later spilled over into Sierra Leone and Guinea is a case in point. The challenges to the security and development of the region, therefore, have increasingly had to be addressed at the regional level for success to be achieved (the fumigation of cockroach “theory”). The second reason for adopting regional approaches is that states in the region are becoming increasingly aware of their inability to manage these challenges on a unilateral basis, and therefore need the collective efforts of others. This is the case with a subject like Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) which, like the cockroach, can be eliminated only by fumigating beyond the immediate place of impact, otherwise it will simply migrate to other areas that have not been fumigated.

3. In this contribution, we establish what DDR is or should be, in the light of experiences from various parts of the world. We then demonstrate the scale of the DDR challenge in West Africa, especially the scale of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) proliferation.

4. Next, we highlight the approach that has been adopted for DDR programmes in the region over time. We then outline what the regional approach should be and illustrate it with the programme in the Great Lakes region. The last point concerns the issues of leadership, structures and coordination of the programme, encompassing not only the countries in conflict but also those that are ‘normal’, i.e. relatively at peace.

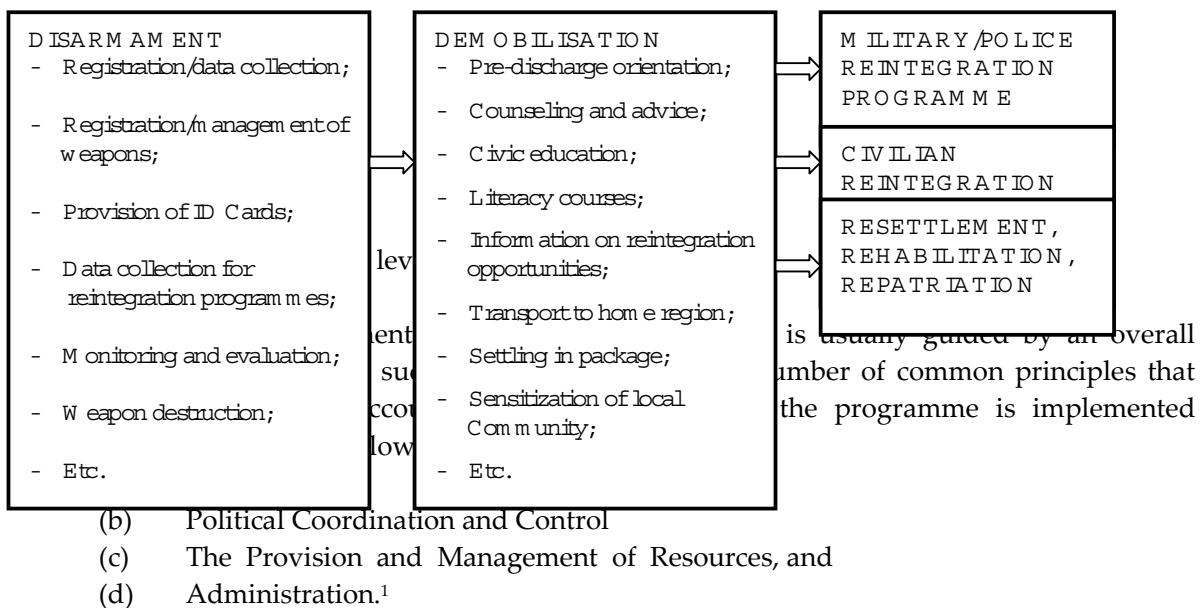
DISARMAMENT, DEMOBILISATION AND REINTEGRATION

5. The composite term Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) has been in the post-conflict lexicon for many years; yet some confusion persists as to exactly what it entails. Most often, it has been used in reference to the process that follows a ceasefire agreement, involving a mechanism to remove weapons and to reduce the number of combatants by **disarming** and **de-mobilising** them and placing them somewhere more productive, commonly described as **reintegration**. Such reintegration may be into any of the national security services or into normal civil life. The essential elements of a DDR programme, therefore, are disarmament to reduce the availability of weapons; demobilisation including post-conflict re-orientation of ex-combatants, discharge to an area of their choice in order to dismantle the combat structures, as

well as the economic and social reintegration of ex-combatants into the society, supported by cash or in-kind payments that are phased over a period of time to facilitate their rehabilitation.

6. A DDR programme typically starts as part of a ceasefire or post-conflict peace building arrangement. The negotiations for a ceasefire or peace agreement provide the framework for such a programme. A generic model of a DDR programme is presented on Figure 1 below. However, while this model may be useful as a starting point for understanding the process, the fact must be constantly borne in mind that each DDR programme needs to be tailored to the prevailing circumstances of the specific post-conflict situation for which it is formulated. In other words, there are no hard and fast rules or frameworks for DDR, and programmes must be guided by the national or even regional realities.

Figure 1: Model of a Generic DDR Process



These principles may be elaborated briefly as follows:

- Security:** A DDR programme has to be implemented in a secure environment if it is to stand any chance of success: if belligerents lack confidence in the process or are bent on disrupting it, combatants are unlikely to come forward voluntarily to disarm. Security has to be provided by a third party, possibly through a United Nations peacekeeping force, a sub-regional organization, a regional organization such as the African Union, ECOWAS, OSCE or NATO, or by a 'coalition of the willing'. The prevailing security situation usually dictates the timing of the start of the DDR programme.
- Political Coordination and Control:** At country level, political control implies effective government ownership through a National Committee reporting to the political leadership. It also involves practical control through the identification and registration of former combatants or members of armed groups, knowledge of the numbers passing through the process, perhaps more importantly, both at national or regional levels, it involves the effective coordination of implementing partners, and a clear communications policy that ensures that information reaches all stakeholders. The

degree to which political control and coordination are exercised, influences the response that can be elicited from international and donor communities; an effectively coordinated process builds donor confidence and reduces the opportunities for disruption by those parties to the conflict that may have been less willing to cooperate.

- c. **Mobilisation and Management of Resources**: The success of a DDR programme depends also largely on the availability of human, financial and material resources. Resources need to be mobilized early in the programme and sustained throughout its implementation so that the gap between the signing of a peace accord and the start of demobilisation is kept to the minimum. DDR programmes have shown that nothing undermines a programme more disastrously than assembling ex-combatants or members of armed groups and then not being able to provide food and accommodation for them. The timely mobilisation and allocation of finance as well as having the capacity to make most use of the resources available are therefore issues that need to be taken into account when planning a DDR programme. Furthermore, whatever resources that are mobilised must be managed in a transparent and accountable manner, guarding against the many opportunities for corruption.
- d. **Administration**: This is the fourth major pillar of any DDR programme. Indeed, how efficiently the process is administered is a key determinant of the success or otherwise of the entire DDR programme. Delays in payment of benefits or even the dissemination of conflicting information, for instance, have sometimes provoked ex-combatants and members of armed groups into rioting, thereby threatening the entire programme.

The planning of any DDR programme, therefore, whether at national or regional levels, must take the four elements discussed above into serious consideration.

THE SCALE OF THE DDR CHALLENGE IN WEST AFRICA

8. West Africa is host to a wide variety of armed groups, including ethnic militias, community defence groups, political gangs and, allegedly, foreign mercenaries. These armed groups are more numerous than was previously thought.

9. A study that was coordinated by the Geneva-based group, Small Arms Survey, in 2004 found that there are at least 35 armed groups in West Africa.² The breakdown of these groups in terms of the numbers found in each country is shown on the Table 3. The 38 armed groups that were identified by that study constitute only a tip of the iceberg, as the authors of that report themselves admit that the study did not take into account several other groups, partly due to its own logistical constraints, but also because some of these other groups are not identifiable by name or do not conduct operations regularly. This, however, does not deny the fact that these groups are deadly and, therefore, constitute threats to the security of the region. Demobilizing them, therefore, is a compelling imperative in the quest for regional peace and security.

Table 1: Non-state Armed Groups in West Africa

S/No	Country	No. of Non-State Armed Groups Identified
1.	Benin Republic	Nil
2.	Burkina Faso	Nil
3.	Cape Verde	Nil
4.	Côte d'Ivoire	9
5.	Gambia	1
6.	Ghana	Nil
7.	Guinea	2
8.	Guinea Bissau	1
9.	Liberia	3
10.	Mali	Nil
11.	Niger	5
12.	Nigeria	12
13.	Senegal	1
14.	Sierra Leone	4
15.	Togo	Nil

Source: Compiled from Nicholas Florquin and Eric Berman (eds), *Armed and Aimless: Armed Groups, Guns, and Human Security in the ECOWAS Region, A Small Arms Survey Publication*, May 2005.

10. The demobilisation of these groups, however, will be of no effect unless it is accompanied by disarming them and reducing significantly, the availability of small arms and light weapons in West Africa. It is estimated that there are more than 8 million small arms and light weapons in illegal circulation and use in the sub-region. The availability of these weapons was a major factor that facilitated rebel activities in the conflicts that have been witnessed in several countries since the early 1990s. The ease with which these weapons are trafficked from countries at war to others that are relatively at peace, and the diverse uses to which they have been put both in conflicts and in criminal violence in the region, now call for a region-wide approach to the control of small arms and light weapons in West Africa.

EXISTING DDR STRATEGIES IN WEST AFRICA

11. DDR programmes in West Africa have been conducted only in the aftermath of conflicts in specific countries of the region. Table 2 shows the countries in which such programmes were conducted between 1992 and 2005.

12. DDR experience in the sub-region, therefore, has been one in which programmes are conducted on country-specific basis. However, the reality is that the phenomenon of arms proliferation, and the movement of fighting groups and other armed elements are not defined by national boundaries. Thus, any realistic attempt at coming to terms with the challenges of DDR in West Africa, in a comprehensive sense, must be based on a regional approach.

Table 3: DDR Processes in West Africa (1992-2005)

S/N	Country	Date	Context in Which Programme was Undertaken
1.	Mali	1995	National Level Conflict Resolution effort
2.	Liberia	1996-1997	UN Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL)
3.	Sierra Leone	1996-2004	a. ECOWAS Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) b. UN Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL) c. UN Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL)
4.	Guinea Bissau	2000	National Level Post-conflict Peacebuilding
5.	Liberia	2003 -	UN Mission in Liberia (UNAMIL)
6.	Côte d'Ivoire	2004 -	UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (ONUCI)

Source: Adapted from Stockholm Initiative on Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration: Final Report (Sweden: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2006).

THE 'NEW' REGIONAL APPROACH BEING ADVOCATED

13. The regional approach being advocated is not exactly new. It has had precedents in some other regions of the world that have been faced with similarly complex security problems. A notable example is the case of the Multi-Country Demobilisation and Reintegration Programme (MDRP) in the Great Lakes region of Africa.³ The MDRP is a multi-agency effort that supports the demobilisation and reintegration of ex-combatants in the Great Lakes region. Being the largest programme of its kind in the world, the MDRP currently targets an estimated 450,000 ex-combatants in seven countries: Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, the Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Uganda. Managed by the World Bank, the MDRP is supported by 11 donors with some 30 partner organisations, including several United Nations agencies. Some \$400 million in trust funds and Bank funding has been contributed to this effort.

14. The MDRP provides comprehensive support for demobilisation and reintegration, establishing standard approaches throughout the region, coordinating partner initiatives and providing financial and technical assistance. It supports national programmes, special projects (such as work with special target groups including women and children) and regional activities. To date, some 41 per cent of the target caseload in the region has been demobilized, 42 per cent have been provided with reinsertion assistance and some 17 per cent have been provided with reintegration support.

15. Indeed, a regional approach to the DDR challenge has several advantages, as has been seen in programmes such as the MDRP. Such advantages include the following:

- a. Relative standardization of benefits provided in the programmes.
- b. Communication and sensitization across borders.

- c. Confidence building and capacity building among governments.
- d. Sharing of lessons learned and technical expertise.
- e. Economies of scale and addressing certain regional issues such as ex-combatants who are on foreign soil.

It can be expected that these and possibly other advantages will similarly be derived from developing and implementing a region-wide DDR programme for West Africa.

FRAMEWORK FOR REGIONAL DDR PROGRAMME IN WEST AFRICA

16. The advocacy for a regional approach to DDR in West Africa naturally raises several questions. For instance: Who should be responsible for coordinating such a programme at both regional and national levels? What task should various actors be charged to execute? How should they be enabled or assisted to carry out these tasks? These are questions which the Working Group on DDR Programme and Post-Conflict Management in West Africa will have to address. However, this presentation may offer some preliminary thoughts.

17. First, on structure and coordination, the programme could be patterned on the MDRP Model. Alternatively, the programme could be coordinated by the West Africa Peacebuilding Office headed by a Special Representative of the UN Secretary General. Although the office already exists, based in Guinea Bissau, it needs to be accorded the status of a major UN Mission and must work very closely, not only with the UN Peacebuilding Commission but also with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

18. Secondly, at the national level, there should be provision for National Commissions on Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (NCDDRs). At the moment, such Commissions have been established as part of peacebuilding efforts in post-conflict countries like Liberia, Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire. However, there is need for similar Commissions to be established in all countries of the sub-region. In doing so, it will also be necessary to clarify the relationship between the DDR Commissions and the National Commissions on Control of Small Arms (NATCOMS) that were established and are already in operation, under the provisions backing up the ECOWAS Moratorium on the Importation, Exportation and Manufacture of Small Arms and Light Weapons. The proposed National level DDR Commissions may be funded jointly by National Governments, the UN Development Programme (UNDP) and development partners from the European Union (EU) and other non-European G-8 countries.

CONCLUSION

19. In conclusion, the point must be stressed that even the most ambitious and well intended DDR programme will not work, unless and until the quality of governance and levels of human security in the sub-region improve. As long as people feel deprived, oppressed and insecure, persuading them to cooperate in DDR programmes will yield no result. Governments, militaries and civil society groups in the sub-region, therefore, must work together to ensure an atmosphere of justice, equity and development in which most groups and individuals will feel secure enough to repudiate the desire for guns and the culture of violence.

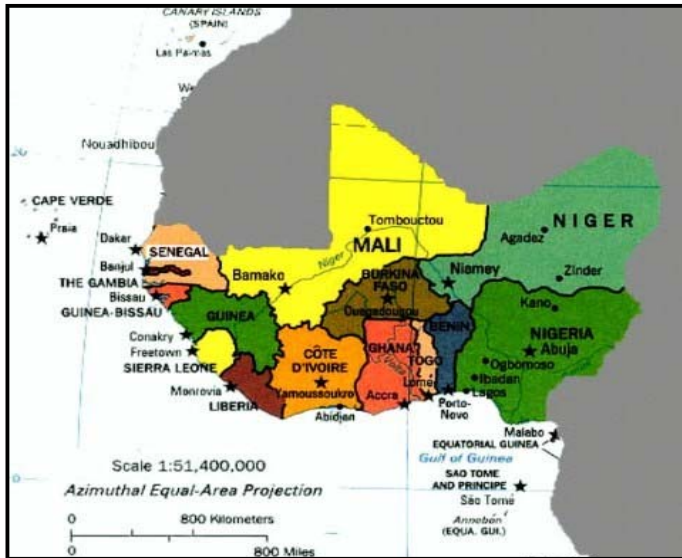
FOURTH SESSION

Challenges and Alliances in the regional approach

Regional spread of conflicts and ECOWAS's regional jurisdiction on security, by Colonel Adama Mbaye, Main Peacekeeping and Defence Programme Officer, ECOWAS

Regional spread of conflicts and ECOWAS's regional jurisdiction on security, by Colonel Adama Mbaye, Main Peacekeeping and Defence Programme Officer, ECOWAS

ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS)



**LESSONS LEARNED FROM
DDR OPERATIONS IN AFRICA**

Aim: To present the conclusions of a study on DDRPs in the region.

DDR ELEMENTS IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

Disarmament, Demobilisation and reintegration are not new ideas.

DDR – NECESSARY FOR PEACE

- Support is necessary for peacebuilding
- Some achievements can still pose challenges
- Combatants need to be reintegrated into society
- DDRPs have repercussions on neighbouring countries

LESSONS LEARNED FROM CURRENT PRACTICES

- *Integrated planning and programme execution is essential*
- *Working together to define plans and identify strategies*
- *Basic DDR elements are conceptually linked*
- *The DDR process does not make linear progress and is not a chronology of events*
- *DDR is a means of making money*
- *Need a subregional approach to DDR*
- *DDR objectives must be clear*

EVOLUTION OF PEACEKEEPING AND DDR IN AFRICA

- *17 Peace enforcement operations*
- *Peace agreements prior to DDR*
- *Negotiated documents*
- *Regulated process*
- *Following up reports by the Secretary General*

DDR STAGES

- *Collecting, checking and storing*
- *The question of who disarms is a concern*
- *Demobilisation is official liberation*
- *Demobilisation is part of the process and not the end*
- *Reintegration is the most difficult stage*

- *Situations are different*

LESSONS LEARNED

- *The UN learns from its past experiences*
- *Authorship of the programmes is better defined and supported*
- *Greater understanding of the programme structure*
- *Lack of clarity in planning and execution is a problem*

PLANNING AND COORDINATION

- *The reality on the ground is a challenge*
- *DDR is a component of peacekeeping*
- *Negligence throughout the region*
- *The credibility of the force is an important factor*
- *Other actors could participate in destroying arms*
- *Protecting civilians is an integral part of the mission*
- *DDR includes many actors*

LESSONS FROM THE USE OF FORCES

- *Need to communicate and coordinate between the parties involved*
- *Consistent lack of precise data on the number of combatants*
- *Include the question of militias in the mandate*
- *Extent of the conflict zone and the nature of the conflict influence the definition of the force*
- *Evaluate projects that contingents are involved in*

COMMUNICATION, MEDIA AND PUBLIC INFORMATION

- *Each party seeks to exert influence through the media*
- *Need an integrated approach that takes the media into consideration*
- *Media that can be used to channel information and boost public opinion*

MEDIA, COMMUNICATION AND PUBLIC INFORMATION LESSONS

- *Assessing the media gives a better idea of how programmes should be implemented*
- *The relative importance of the UN should not be underestimated*

DISARMAMENT AND DEMOBILISATION (1)

- *The aims should be to:*
- *Eliminate the means of violence*
- *Reduce tensions and demilitarise politics*
- *Restore the State's monopoly on power*
- *Define the disarmament process*

- *Include all the processes specified in the Peace Agreement*
- *Identify whether disarmament is voluntary or coercive*
- *Decide on registration processes, cantonment and disarmament reports*
- *Deal with disarmament length and place*
- *Separate communication about allowances from the disarmament stage*
- *Provide for the immediate security and physiological needs of regular combatants*
- *Change combatant mentalities*

LESSONS LEARNED FROM DISARMAMENT AND DEMOBILISATION

- *DDR is a means of making money*
- *Adequate preparation for reintegration is crucial*
- *Disarming the largest margin of society is desirable*
- *Need to train actors before deploying them*

REINTEGRATION, DEFINING A NEW APPROACH (1)

- *Those responsible for the violence must be kept out of the equation*
- *Disarmament prevents the circulation of arms in the short term*
- *Need to combine demilitarisation with a larger strategy to take victims into consideration*
- *DDR policy monitoring under civilian control*
- *Reintegration does not have to be understood to be an individual process*
- *Important that national commissions decide which processes are necessary*
- *Cooperation between DDR and development initiatives are important*
- *Leaders and combatants must undergo different reintegration procedures*
- *Combatants can be reintegrated into the army if they are a small group*

LESSONS FROM REINTEGRATION

- *DDR must include human rights and security in society*
- *More efforts dedicated to finding lasting relief mechanisms*

WORKING WITH SPECIAL GROUPS

- *Knowing how to define combatants*
- *How do identify them appropriately*
- *Priority: children under 15, women, senior citizens, prisoners*
- *The process requires special planning for each special group*
- *Leaders and combatants brought to the disarmament and demobilisation stage more seriously*

LESSONS LEARNED FROM WORKING WITH SPECIAL GROUPS

- *Vulnerable groups must be recognised, located and included in the programmes*
- *Children under 15 taken out of the armed forces*

- *Meet the needs of special groups*
- *Need to coordinate between actors*

LESSONS LEARNED FROM COORDINATION AND VARIOUS ACTORS

- *Use and better identification of many sources of information*
- *Involvement of local UN teams and teams from neighbouring States*
- *Integrating DDR strategies into country strategies*
- *Trying to plan better*

RECOMMENDATIONS

- *The aim of DDR must be made clear*
- *Effort must be made in preparing and planning*
- *Emphasis on reintegration and national reconstruction*
- *There is a need to inform and train actors*

CONCLUSION
