



*DDR, Post-conflict and Development
in West Africa*

Meeting of the Regional Working Group
organised by the
Sahel and West Africa Club / OECD
in partnership with ECOWAS

Praia (Cape Verde), 28 February to 1 March 2007

Volume 1 ♦ Summary Report

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*DDR, Post-conflict and Development
in West Africa*

Volume 1 ♦ Summary Report

Produced by

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Sahel and West Africa Club / OECD**

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Introduction

The second meeting of the Regional Working Group on the DDR and Post-conflict in West Africa was held in Praia, Cape Verde from 28 February to 1 March 2007. Organised by the Sahel and West Africa Club/OECD in partnership with ECOWAS, this meeting was held under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister of Cape Verde H. E. Mr. José Maria Neves who opened the meeting. Also in attendance were the Cape Verde Minister of Defence, Mrs. Maria Cristina Lopes Almeida Fontes Lima; UNDP Resident Representative and Coordinator of the United Nations System, Mrs. Patricia de Mowbray; President of the Sahel and West Africa Club, Mr. Charles Goerens as well as representatives of the European Union and OECD member countries (Austria, France, Luxembourg, Portugal and Spain).

This meeting brought together representatives from:

- (6) six international and regional organisations: African Development Bank (AfDB), Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP), ECOWAS, International Organisation of French-speaking Communities (OIF), SWAC/OECD, World Bank;
- (2) two regional networks: *Aide et Action*, WANSED;
- (3) three development partners (CIDA-Canada, AFD- France, GTZ-Germany);
- (9) nine West African countries (Cape Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal and Sierra Leone).

Unable to attend, the UNOWA sent their representative's contribution to the Working Group. The USAID's West African Regional Office intended to participate but was ultimately unable to do so.

1. Rationale, issues and objectives

DDR, Post-conflict and Development

For the international community, as for regional and national actors, post-conflict is an important and delicate phase. The necessity and demand of strengthening the dynamics of exit from crisis are likely to override a development approach without which it would be difficult to achieve lasting stability.

Within international and regional organisations as well as in development cooperation agencies of OECD member countries there are post-conflict strategic frameworks for defining steps, procedures and implementation plans in West Africa.

Through NEPAD, the African Union has a post-conflict strategic framework which ECOWAS is responsible for in its appropriation and implementation. In 1999 ECOWAS established a Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution of Crises, reinforced in 2001 by a Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance which supports a post-conflict strategy for the region.

In West Africa, post-conflict currently concerns seven countries which can be grouped into three specific categories with regard to their ability to curb armed conflict:

- **Countries in peace** where State institutions function regularly but where stability linked to the suppression of rebellion is threatened by resurgence. Such is the case in Mali and Niger having faced Tuareg rebellions in the past.
- **Countries in exit from crisis** which are in the stabilisation phase while at the same time bearing the after-effects of civil war. The DDR has been completed but its optimal impact has not yet been achieved in terms of reconciliation, reinsertion and pacification of socio-political relations. This is the case for Guinea Bissau, Liberia and Sierra Leone.
- **Countries in which a dynamic of exit from crisis has begun but is more or less hampered**; there has been rebellion aimed at the State power or on the periphery as independent crises. This is the case in Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal. The DDR has experienced launching and implementation problems due to lack of consensus by all protagonists. These countries' post-conflict strategies are marked to a certain extent by their relative autonomy to the demands of a DDR.

These diverse situations combined with the multiplicity of actors add to the seriousness of the policy coherence problems for actors involved in post-conflict in the ECOWAS zone. It also indicates the relevance of sharing DDR and post-conflict experiences in order to benefit from them at the regional level with a view to an approach supporting the creation of a sustainable development policy in West Africa.

The meeting in Praia is the second step in the establishment of a Regional Working Group on the DDR and Post-conflict. It was decided to create a group following a workshop held in May 2006 in Abidjan by the SWAC/OECD, ECOWAS as well as with support by the United Nations, various civil society partners, and participants from all countries of the region having set up a DDR programme.

The SWAC encourages a participatory approach involving external actors involved in the financing and/or implementation of action in support of building peace, democracy and development in West African countries.

The meeting's objectives

The meeting's key objectives were as follows:

- **Set up the Regional Working Group**
 - Define its missions and procedures at the regional level to support national and local actions as regards DDR and post-conflict;
 - Define an action plan enabling the selected objectives to be achieved;
 - Provide the Group with the base necessary to facilitate a regular dialogue at the regional level between internal and external actors involved in post-conflict in West Africa;
- **Examine the political, social and economic challenges** facing West African countries in post-conflict situations;
- **Undertake a dialogue between actors and concerned countries**, development partners, regional and African institutions such as ECOWAS and AfDB; as well as international institutions such as UNOWA; the private sector and civil society of the region for better coordination of post-conflict and development in West Africa.;
- **Contribute to the decompartmentalisation**, harmonisation of policies and synergy of various actors involved in post-conflict in the ECOWAS zone.

Key Questions

- Through the experiences of internal actors (State, civil society, regional institutions, private sector) and external actors (international organisations, development partners and cooperation agencies) how does post-conflict in West Africa express the demands of stability, security, democracy, poverty reduction and development?
- Within this framework, what is the relationship between emergency action, reconstruction and development support in the involvement of international and national agencies of OECD member countries?
- How to achieve political reconstruction, involve justice in the reconstruction process and build security to enable development?
- What is the role and place of actors such as ECOWAS in this process?
- What role could the Regional Working Group play in finding solutions to problems raised by the DDR and post-conflict at the country-level?
- How can this Group encourage dialogue with development partners at the regional level in order to bring actors into synergy, improve policy coherence and strengthen the effectiveness of their actions with regard to post-conflict in West Africa?

Working Methods

The meeting took place over two days:

- **The first day** was devoted to developing the Working Group's Action Plan. Challenges were identified for refining the DDR and post-conflict reconstruction at the economic, social and political levels in various concerned countries of the region.
- **The second day** was devoted to examining State and development partner strategies, programmes and actions; also addressed was their involvement and that of regional and international institutions in a regional approach setting out post-conflict actions with a view to development in West Africa.

2. Opening of the meeting

The second meeting of the Regional Working Group on the DDR and Post-conflict in West Africa was held in Praia, Cape Verde from 28 February to 1 March 2007. Organised by the Sahel and West Africa Club/OECD in partnership with ECOWAS, this meeting was held under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister of Cape Verde H. E. Mr. José Maria Neves who opened the meeting. Also in attendance were the Cape Verde Minister of Defence, Mrs. Maria Cristina Lopes Almeida Fontes Lima; UNDP Resident Representative and coordinator of the United Nations System, Mrs. Patricia de Mowbray; President of the Sahel and West Africa Club, Mr. Charles Goerens; as well as representatives of the European Union and OECD member countries (Austria, France, Luxembourg, Portugal and Spain).

Mr. Massaër DIALLO, Head of the Governance, Conflict Dynamics, Peace and Security Unit of the Sahel and West Africa Club/OECD

After a brief presentation of the Club, Mr. Diallo stated that Cape Verde was an Archimedean point for the region in building peace hence its location being chosen to hold the Group of Experts meeting. Since its independence in 1975, Cape Verde has not experienced any major political difficulty or a coup d'Etat. Mr. Diallo underscored that this was a key moment in defining post-conflict situations and strengthening the regional Group responsible for addressing these issues.

Ms. de MOWBRAY, UNDP Resident Representative and United Nations System Coordinator

In her speech, Mrs. de Mowbray, on behalf of the United Nations' Secretary-General, thanked the Club and the OECD for inviting the UN to take part in the meetings on the DDR and post-conflict. These meetings are in line with the recommendation made by the General Assembly as it recognises the need to set up regional DDR programmes and reduce the proliferation of arms. She reiterated the importance of undertaking strategic thinking on the ways to improve the DDR and post-conflict programmes to make them more effective notably by setting up an integrated strategic framework. This approach aiming to improve overall security is essential in attaining the Millennium Development Goals.

Colonel Yoro KONE, Director of the ECOWAS Observation and Monitoring Centre, Representing the Commissioner responsible for Political Affairs, Peace and Security

After relaying warm regards from Dr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas, President of the ECOWAS Commission and Colonel Touré, Commissioner responsible for Political Affairs, Peace and Security, Colonel Koné underscored that the choice of Cape Verde was a symbol of democratic openness, tolerance and hospitality. Furthermore, he praised the Club's work which, according to him, to its credit has emphasised peace as a value in the region and has been able to bring together a wide-range of actors through such meetings. He called upon the various organisations addressing security and development issues to adopt more of an integrated approach. He urged the United Nations, the African Union and ECOWAS to work together more closely in addressing these issues. Colonel Koné also highlighted the

importance of women's and civil society's role in security and development. He hoped that this type of meeting could contribute to improving ECOWAS' post-conflict policy.

Mr. Charles GOERENS, President of the Sahel and West Africa Club

Mr. Goerens greeted and thanked the participants for accepting to take part in this workshop. He enthusiastically defended Cape Verde with which Luxembourg, his country, is a fervent ally. He underlined the absurdity of the situation in a country like Cape Verde which has just graduated from the category of least developed countries to the "fairly developed" while simultaneously losing all financial support. Mr. Goerens recalled that despite the incontestable economic progress based essentially on diaspora remittances and good public affairs governance, this country still remains vulnerable notably with regard to its dependence on imported food products. He urged the donor community not to leave this country by the wayside.

With regard to conflict, he recalled that there were direct and inherent causes of conflict, such as poverty. Although today conflict in the region is no longer international but rather intra-national, its impact is felt beyond borders, hence the need to address this issue as well as the DDR and post-conflict at the regional level.

Bringing to mind Europe's hesitation in managing conflict in the Balkans, he declared that Africa should not be ashamed of its first steps towards peace and security. He concluded his intervention by stressing the importance of dialogue to find solutions to crises.

Mr. José Maria NEVES, Prime Minister of Cape Verde

After having welcomed the participants, Mr. Neves thanked the President of the Club for his supportive words for Cape Verde. He also commended the countries of the region and ECOWAS for their efforts undertaken in the promotion of peace, cooperation and development. He praised the Club's initiative which, according to him, is in line with the United Nations orientations, the African Union's strategy, and ECOWAS' crisis management mechanisms notably the Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance.

Mr. Neves encouraged African counterparts to undertake efforts with regard to governance. Indeed, he considers governance, just like citizens rights, as a fundamental value for peace and African development. He stressed that the elites who are responsible for managing the country's resources should allow the population to benefit from these resources. He recalled that Africa had immense natural resources which attracted shady even dangerous interests.

He was optimistic with regard to Africa's place in the world, estimating that Africa was a continent of the future which shall still find its place within the globalisation process, to develop its own project and its own roadmap.

In conclusion, Mr. Neves reiterated his country's will to contribute to favourable conditions for peace, security, democracy and development of the region.

3. Schedule of Sessions

The first session was devoted to establishing the Working Group and its working procedures. After **Mr. Diallo** recalled the broad lines of the recommendations made at the Abidjan¹ workshop, the discussion was based on the text by **Dr. Istifanus S. Zabadi**² (Nigeria) entitled “Goals, Method and Actions of the Regional Working Group to help address the Post Conflict Challenges in West Africa”.

3.1 The broad lines of the recommendations made at the Abidjan workshop

Mr. Diallo introduced the discussion by raising questions recalling the recommendations made at the Abidjan workshop on the establishment of a Working Group.

- How can the Regional Working Group provide support for a better understanding of the dynamics of crisis and exit from crisis in the region?
- What political, strategic, social and cultural factors should be taken into account in resurgent crises situations?
- What to do in impasse situations such as in Côte d’Ivoire or Senegal?
- What can the Group provide in countries by way of strengthening exit from crisis strategies such as in Liberia, Guinea Bissau and Sierra Leone?
- What role should the Group play in support of ECOWAS in a regional post-conflict approach?
- How can the Group contribute to the dialogue with cooperation agencies, organisations and ECOWAS to discuss the issues?
- How can development partners be integrated as observers? What would be the impact of such an approach?

3.2 Discussion on the Group’s status, functioning and missions

Dr. Zabadi’s document served as a basis for discussion. Dr. Zabadi suggested adopting the identical approach to that of the **Multi-country Demobilization and Reintegration Program (MDRP)** set up in the Great Lakes Region.

The document set forth proposals on the Regional Working Group’s short-term strategies, its mission, objectives, mandate, its functioning procedures and financing sources.

¹ http://www.oecd.org/document/63/0,3343,en_38233741_38247070_38519231_1_1_1_1,00.html

² For reasons beyond his control, Dr. Zabadi was unable to be in Praia, but submitted his text.

The discussions began with the convergences among participants on the Regional Working Group:

3.2.1 The objectives

The Working Group shall be:

- An important **catalyst** in the coordination of DDR activities throughout West Africa;
- An **advocacy tool** for ECOWAS, member States and external partners for concretizing a regional and integrated approach;
- A **think tank and a knowledge and expertise source** on the DDR in the region.

3.2.2 The operational strategy

- **An inclusive approach:** participants reaffirmed the need to apply the inclusion principle with DDR programmes notably by involving the diaspora, those who have been forced to leave their country due to crises, as well as women and the private sector. All these actors shall be taken into account when setting up DDR programmes.
- **Anchored in ECOWAS:** the Group's actions shall be anchored within ECOWAS post-conflict policy to contribute to a better understanding and to applying ECOWAS instruments and mechanisms as well as those of the African Union with regard to peace, democracy, governance, women's and children's rights.
- **Synergise efforts** within the communities of ex-combatants, civil society groups, etc. with a view to achieving sustainable exit from crisis.
- **Promotion of partnerships** with organisations and networks involved in promoting the DDR, maintaining peace and security system reform in West Africa; with various groups (media, civil society, political actors) in order to contribute to the reconciliation and reintegration of persons whose lives have been impacted by violent conflict; with United Nations Peace Building Commission, WANEP, WANRI, WANSSED, etc.

3.2.3 Financing

- To have access to ECOWAS Peace Funds to finance the Working Group;
- To seek funding from donors who are already financing DDR programmes, ECOWAS, West African businesses;
- To envisage alternative funding sources such as a sub-regional tax.

In conclusion, Dr. Zabadi underlined the need to consider the DDR as an integral part of the continuous peace-building efforts and not simply as a post-conflict activity. He suggests **supporting gender-mainstreaming** in all DDR programmes which could be critical to the success of any such programme. Finally he stressed the issue of “ownership” of these programmes often seen as donor-driven and externally dependent.

At the end of the debates, Mr. Diallo insisted on the need for scheduled actions to be undertaken with ECOWAS. He proposed to bring together an *ad hoc* commission in order to formulate proposals to implement with a view to clarifying the Regional Working Group’s missions.

4. Post-conflict challenges in West Africa

4.1 Countries in the post-conflict stabilisation process (Guinea Bissau, Liberia and Sierra Leone)

4.1.1 Post-DDR in Guinea Bissau: the socio-political challenges and security issues, by Mr. Pedro Correia, Director of the Demobilisation Programme in Guinea Bissau

In his intervention, **Mr. Correia** provided an update of the Reconstruction and National Reconciliation Programme set up in 2000 with the IDA (World Bank) support through a loan of USD 25 million.

After having presented an assessment of the socio-economic situation, he highlighted the demobilisation and reintegration of ex-combatants. Returning to the military is highly attractive for a large part of ex-combatants given the socio-economic situation in countries especially in zones with a relatively high cost of living such as Bissau and Gabu which is also due to the great need for military soldiers in the capital and border zones.

The particularity of the DDR in Guinea Bissau is that this programme is open to all combatants especially those who fought in the Liberation War in the 1970s. The total number of candidates could reach 20 635 of which 15% are women. In the end, only half of the candidates registered and only 7186 were admitted. He also insisted on the need to follow-up the implementation of the Programme even after the Programme's end as well as maintain and update the database of ex-combatants.

4.1.2 Post-conflict Economic and Financial Challenges in Guinea Bissau: the Role of the Co-participation Fund, by Mr. Ousmane Sané, Administrator of the FCPC in Guinea Bissau

Guinea Bissau continues to face security challenges (large army, poverty's impact on the FCPC, potential of former combatant groups to maintain arms as illustrated in the country's recent history).

In his intervention, **Mr. Sané** addressed the issue of post-conflict economic reconstruction through the example of the Compensation Fund set up by the World Bank promoting the private sector in Guinea Bissau. He stressed that **making funds available to revive the economy was not enough**; that general infrastructure was essential. The Bissau Guinean private sector wanted a Fund to assist in the country's reconstruction. Currently, there is such a Fund but the private sector is still troubled by its incapacity to use and fully absorb the subsidies which would encourage private investment. Businesses have benefited from

the Fund but not from remuneration. The problem for them remains finding seed money which would enable them to take advantage of the Fund.

Twenty-six months after its establishment, the Fund has provided much information notably with regard to post-conflict economic revival policies in general and the place of the private sector. In such an economy, **business revitalisation, the restructuring of the financial sector and financing infrastructure are essential.**

This operation has had mixed results due to **banking system's incapacity to fully play its role.** Thus, only 10 of the 56 projects presented have been financed. The funds will be re-allocated to other programmes if by June 2007 disbursements are not made.

Mr. Sané pleaded for the economic and financial dimension to be integrated into the conflict analysis notably by taking into account the destruction of infrastructure and private capital as well as the loss of confidence in the future. The private sector's economic growth strategy is still a powerful tool for reducing poverty.

4.1.3 **The Post-conflict Challenges of Sierra Leone and the Political Action of the State to address them,** by Mr. Osman Gbla, Head, Department of Political Science of the du Département de Sciences politiques, Fourah Bay College

After providing a brief history, **Mr. Gbla** presented the main challenges of post-conflict and responses by the Sierra Leone Government. Since 2002, the current Government launched several large initiatives to revive a country battered after eleven years of war. This has included:

- Establishing a decentralisation policy promoting good governance;
- Assessing the judicial system in order to create a solid judicial system in the capital as well as in the provinces which are lacking access to services;
- Instituting reforms to improve private sector capacities and effectiveness;
- Reforming the security system notably the armed forces and the police.

At the same time, the Government established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Special Court for Sierra Leone as transitional justice institutions with the aim of promoting peace and reconciliation. Most of Sierra Leone's population approved the positive role of post-conflict reconciliation, but the simultaneous establishment of the two institutions has not been well-received.

The implementation of the PSRP (Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper) was perceived by the population as a strategy imposed by the international community but not sufficiently reflecting the country's socio-cultural, economic and political realities.

Incomes from mineral resources and other of Sierra Leone's abundant natural resources have been equally divided among the chiefdoms. At the same time, **the repartition of natural resources has not yet been resolved. Traffic linked to this activity continues and deprives the country from the supplementary income needed to establish political reforms.**

4.1.4 Liberia's Post-conflict Challenges, by Mr. Byron Tarr, Development Consultants

Like his colleague before him, **Mr. Tarr** placed the recent conflict in its historical context. He began by presenting some facts concerning his country: Liberia is not a new nation as it acquired its independence in 1847. The deadly conflict between 1989 and 2003 was not Liberia's only conflict. It has experienced more than eighty conflicts in its history. Dating from 1822, its governance system establishes a separation between "natives" and others and little has evolved since. Presidential power has always been very strong. The judiciary system, he said, is not independent from the executive power.

Relying on recently carried out independent studies on this country, he stated that **Liberia could remain in a "conflict "trap" if deep changes are not made and Liberia's unsettled political history and authoritarian tradition is reformed. The only way to escape another conflict is to build a nation.** Currently, according to Mr. Tarr, despite the new team's willingness, we try to make new with the old. Also, he raises doubts of the Governor's new team's capacities of a new way with old rules.

Furthermore, he described a social and economic catastrophic situation and feared that future petrol and natural gas resources would be a "curse rather than an advantage" for the country's future. He called attention to the rubber concession contracts, which, according to him are virtual States within the State.

According to Mr. Tarr, the international community building on the African standard is a serious error. Despite transparent and loyal Presidential elections there have not been any institutional changes. Corruption is far from being resolved. Control by only one group is still a problem as there are 17 different ethnic groups within the State. Land tenure issues are problematic. The involvement of a large western company in rubber plantations is as much an obstacle to a slight improvement of the situation, according to him.

4.2 Countries having reached impasses in exit from crisis: Côte d'Ivoire and Casamance, Senegal

4.2.1 DDR in Côte d'Ivoire, implementation, obstacles and role expected in exit from crisis, by Mr. Brahim Sangaré, Secretary-General of the PNDDR/RC

The PNDDR in Côte d'Ivoire was represented by its President, General Gaston Ouessenan Koné and its Secretary General, Mr. Brahim Sangaré after an introduction presenting the current DDR context, General Koné gave the floor to Mr. Sangaré to present the DDR situation.

(Mr. Sangaré's presentation was made 3 days before the signing of the Ouaga agreements between President Laurent Gbabo and Mr. Guillaume Soro, Head of the new forces who has since been named Prime Minister of Côte d'Ivoire).

Four years after signing the Marcouris Agreement, the peace process in Côte d'Ivoire has reached an impasse. Under these conditions, establishing a National DDR Programme is still difficult, each party not having enough confidence in their adversaries in order to move forward with disarmament and reintegration. As a result, everyone is becoming disillusioned. Despite obstacles, he and his team have continued their mission to local communities in order to provide a balanced approach so that the population does not have the impression that DDR programmes favour the rebels and that violence is rewarded.

Like everywhere else in the region, the crucial issue remains youth employment. Without going into the programme's details of which the modalities were broadly presented at the Abidjan workshop (see link on the website), he stressed a number of constraints:

1. Financial
2. Security
3. Military
4. Political
5. Equipment deterioration since the start of the crisis in 1999.

According to General Koné there are numerous reasons why the programme is at an impasse:

- Support promised by the World Bank takes a long time to be made available. Disbursements have not been made.
- There has been political interference in the programme's implementation. Some parties refuse to provide preliminary lists of ex-combatants for fear they will be used for other means.
- In some communities of western Côte d'Ivoire there have been tensions between ex-rebels and village chiefs. Furthermore, some chiefs who were armed to protect themselves are not confident enough in the peace process and refuse to surrender their arms.

He reaffirmed that the disarmament of forces as well as the reinsertion of ex-combatants and the youth are not currently the essential point. **He emphasised the need to go quickly from a post-conflict approach to a development approach paying particular attention to strengthening the social integration of the younger generation through seeking a solution to the employment crisis.**

4.2.2 The particular case of Casamance, by Mr. Nouha Cissé, Historian

The situation in Casamance, Senegal is very particular. This region is home to a conflict dating back to 1982. Members of the independence movement fought armed Senegalese forces to defend their cause. Today, as no official peace agreement has been signed, DDR programmes have been developed but not implemented. Mr. Cissé explained that this was due to the slow pace of the peace negotiations between Senegal and the *Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de Casamance* (MFDC); and the DDR's implementation requires funds that are not yet available. Also, he underscored that it is rather contradictory to speak of post-conflict in a context where conflict has not been managed.

The relative calm that prevails today offers no guarantee that there will not be another crisis. Until now only cease-fires have been signed. Furthermore, due to the death of the rebellion leader, Abbé Augustin Diamacoune Senghor, Secretary-General of the MFDC, there has been a void in leadership among the rebels who are not facilitating a resolution to this latent conflict with non-demobilized troops in two camps.

The State and the donor community have undertaken actions to relaunch economic, social and cultural development of the Casamance region and have thus created the *Agence nationale de Reconstruction* (ANRAC) for their implementation. But these initiatives are at a dead stop because there has been no agreement between the State and the rebels.

Two zones are particularly affected. The first is the border with Guinea Bissau and the second is the border with the Gambia. In addition such a conflict has major impacts on the social fabric which disintegrates over time (disrespect of "sacred woods", status of women and children, etc.). The attempts to secure the "mine-polluted zones" are still contentious subjects between the two parties. The issues of refugees in neighbouring countries, abandoned villages, mines and despoiled fields also remain inconclusive.

For Mr. Cissé, the signing of the cease-fire agreements is an important milestone in the conflict management process but is not an end in itself. Only the signing of a peace agreement is a guarantee that both parties concerned will respect and implement the terms of agreement. Thus this remains a major challenge for a sustainable exit from crisis. For this to be achieved, the genuine reasons for the impasse must be resolved.

4.3 Countries at risk of conflict resurgence: Niger and Mali

Strategic thinking on this issue was introduced by Mr. Zeini Moulaye, WANSÉD

4.3.1 Risk of the Tuareg crisis resurgence and post-conflict policy in Mali

In his presentation, Mr. Moulaye analysed the factors, from past experiences and lessons learned, which led to a resurgent crisis in Mali's northern region on 23 May 2006. He recalled the various rebellions putting them into Mali's historic and geographic context; northern Mali comprising 75% of the territory.

Despite a settlement being reached which resulted in the signing of the National Pact on 4 July 2006 in Alger, challenges remain:

- Impatience and various frustrations notably among the younger generation who remain unemployed;
- An unsatisfied strong social demand;
- Re-examination of traditional power structures such as chiefdoms;
- Emergence of new leaderships;
- Weakening community balance and social cohesion;
- Precariousness and growing uncertainty for the future;
- Emergence of social and radical religious movements.

According to Mr. Moulaye, the Malian Government has undertaken a number of commitments although results are yet to be seen.

These challenges linked to the recent crisis seem to be part of a larger picture:

- Security challenges with notably the proliferation of light arms;
- Institutional challenges concerning the status of northern regions and effective monitoring of the Pact's implementation;
- Economic and financial challenges linked to economic reconstruction and reducing precariousness.

Concluding, Mr. Moulaye emphasised the need to adopt a regional approach to crises because of the risk of propagation, indeed the interconnection between them. **The case of Mali highlights the cross-border aspect of conflict and its impact on other countries of the region.** Mali has extremely porous borders with 7 other countries; salafists (Al-Qaeda) and all kinds of traffickers use Mali as a staging ground. The Côte d'Ivoire conflict has affected the southern part of the country. It is a meeting place and Mali is currently the trafficking centre from north and south. Hence, according to him, ECOWAS and actors working for

peace in the region strongly need to develop regional tools to address crisis prevention, maintain peace and well-manage post-conflict situations.

4.4 Summary of discussions

4.4.1 Establishing a Regional Working Group:

Discussions on the Group's objectives, functioning and actions raised a number of topics that could contribute to structuring the Group's activities.

- v **Harmonisation and coordination of national programmes at the regional level:** money is wasted and inconsistencies result from the lack of harmonisation of DDR programmes at the regional level. For example, some countries devote increasingly more funds to the demobilisation of combatants in order to reduce circular migration of former combatants. There must be better coordination at various levels: political, ECOWAS and DDR national commissions. The Group could play this catalyst role working with the various levels.
- v **Conflict prevention and management:** can the Group address post-conflict situation issues without addressing conflict prevention issues? Some suggest that the Group also has a monitoring role.
- v **Education of the younger generation in the culture of peace and security as well as citizenship:** The Group should address the issue of the **social reinsertion of child soldiers**. It should also take into account demographic statistics (45% of the population is under 15 years of age). The younger generation has very high hopes although training offered to this generation is not sufficient and does to respond to the demand.
- v **Need to meet the challenge of refining the DDR** following the example of Liberia where recently 30,000 ex-combatants were not taken in by the DDR. These combatants are a serious instability factor within the country as well as in the region.
- v **DDR financing programmes:** as one participant reiterated, money is essential to war but it is also essential to peace. One of the causes of conflict resurgence is often lack of available funds to implement programmes.
- v **The private sector** as a crisis victim but also post-conflict reconstruction actors.
- v **Implication of the States:** the States should be more involved and devote a large part of their budget to post-conflict. Furthermore, the State should address internal security problems before they degenerate into conflict.

- v **Circulation of light arms in the region:** in post-conflict situations, it is not only a matter of disarming combatants but also reducing the number of arms circulating within the country and beyond. Currently, there are approximately 8 million light arms and weapons circulating within the region.

4.4.2 Remarks and lessons learned for the region

a) Demobilisation and Reinsertion

- **Demobilisation and reinsertion** are more effective if they are supported by **reintegration**. Reintegration greatly hinders ex-combatants to rejoin the armed forces.
- **Ex-combatants should be reintegrated into civil life** at the same time as receiving aid from the host community in order to avoid creating a situation of privileges and preferential treatment which could engender conflict and insinuate that violence is rewarded.
- Ex-rebels are not always well-accepted into society. Some will need **psychological support**. This is difficult in most countries, even impossible. For example, there is not one single psychiatrist in Sierra Leone!
- A DDR programme is the result of a process which is the result of a project. It can only be developed with the participation of all involved parties otherwise it cannot be implemented.

b) Economic reconstruction

- **A post-conflict economy does not fall within the norm.** How can help be expected from an inexistent banking system to serve as a financial lever for funds? How can a business leader build up capital without being compensated?
- Post-conflict countries hope for rapid private re-investment but there are major obstacles to overcome: **destruction of capital and a weak banking system increase country's risk and hinder investment.**
- **A business enabling environment should be developed** just as a dependable legal system, an investment code, etc.
- The issue of **social equity** has been raised: Should aid be given to those who will become the wealthiest, like private sector entrepreneurs; those who, once their business has taken off are going to earn money again when the poorest cannot access micro-credit?
- Within a post-conflict situation, it is not feasible to wait for an economic upswing in order to **launch infrastructure rehabilitation projects** which are vital to reviving economic activity.

c) Political and institutional reconstruction

- **The army is often the last barrier to poverty reduction.** In Guinea Bissau, ex-combatants coming from the capital or border zones prefer to enter the army rather than civil life which offers them little chance to support their families.
- **Civic education** has a crucial role to play in nation-building and conflict prevention. It is one of the driving forces that enabled Mozambique for example to make the transition. Education in the broadest sense must be at the heart of development policies.
- The re-emergence of the **identity issue** in Africa is linked to State instability.
- Given the various situations in Casamance (Senegal) and Mali, some ask if the link is not related to the identity issue and national-building. Should this issue be examined within the DDR programmes?

d) Development partners' actions

- Given the broad scope of the task at hand in post-conflict countries, development partners do not always know the priorities.
- Development aid (ODA) has a crucial role to play in particular in the reviving of social and health infrastructures.
- The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) believes that even without a peace agreement, like in Casamance, it is important to support local communities that have been dismantled by crises. They can no longer for example collect taxes and provide basic services to the populations who still need plenty of support during difficult periods. This leads to a general loss of confidence in State structures and institutions. By providing support, their role and image can be strengthened. Also CIDA encourages other donors to work directly with local communities to develop local development projects. To this end it has set up a 3 million dollar programme in Casamance with particular emphasis on women and micro-credit projects. CIDA would also like that even without peace work could be undertaken on the ground.
- Some participants reaffirmed their interest for the international community to be involved in the Casamance situation. The AfDB has set up a reconstruction programme of several million dollars without addressing the military aspects. Morocco is very involved in demining operations and the building of a hospital.
- In the case of Casamance, cooperation agencies are still reticent to intervene at the political level.

4.4.3 Major challenges for countries of the region in post-conflict situations

The interventions and discussion which followed contributed to identifying more specific challenges in some countries even though they can be shared by other countries of the region.

a) Lack of financial support from the international community

- **Guinea Bissau** is not currently receiving financial aid from an international institution. This country needs 400 million dollars in order to implement its DDR programme. The roundtable with its donors foreseen for March 2007 was postponed sine die. As observers indicated lack of financial support could have severe consequences, like falling back into conflict.
- This lack of financial support adds to great political instability with consequences on the region. The militia of President Nino Vieira were sent to Guinea Conakry for training; some remained in Guinea Bissau. Furthermore, MFDC Rebels will support the Guinean opposition and could seek to overthrow the current president. Given the imbalance between the budget allocated to health and that to the army, some participants question whether Guinea Bissau is geared towards conflict dynamics or dynamics of peace.

b) Better division of natural resources

- While the natural resources issue is universal, it is especially significant in **Sierra Leone**. According to observers present, trafficking of natural resources (diamonds, etc.) continues and deprives the country of the needed supplementary income to set up political reforms. Populations are impatient to see their situation evolve given the abundant wealth in their country.

c) Serious institutional reforms

- For Mr. Byron Tarr, **Liberia could** remain in a “conflict trap” if serious reforms are not undertaken in order to end a permanent situation of political and authoritarian instability. The only way, according to him, to escape another conflict is to build a nation on a new foundation recognising that building something completely new must be started from scratch. He emphasised in particular the institutional foundations which would have led the country into an almost uninterrupted cycle of violence. Mr. Tarr’s vision with regard to the situation and development prospects is rather pessimistic which do not seem to be shared by the donor community.

d) Unblocking the “neither war nor peace” situation

- **Casamance**, Senegal is a unique and paradoxical situation in the region: DDR programmes should be implemented although no peace agreement has been signed between the parties in conflict. This region is currently in a “neither war nor peace” situation where available funding for DDR programmes by international financing institutions cannot be used. Hence arms continue to circulate in this region; this impasse situation is harmful to the populations, and in particular the younger generation does not see an end to the oldest conflict in Africa and are becoming increasingly impatient.

- This creates imbalances with regard to territorial planning. Some funds are being re-allocated to other regions for the renovation of schools, health centres and some road network infrastructure to the detriment of zones more affected by this conflict.

e) Social integration and insertion of the younger generation

- In **Côte d’Ivoire**, observers believe that following a post-conflict approach a development approach must be quickly adopted with particular emphasis on strengthening the younger generation’s social integration by seeking a solution to the employment crisis.
- Social integration and insertion of child soldiers remains a major challenge for all of the countries in post-conflict situations.

f) Respect of commitments made for rapid changes

- In order to respond to the discontent that has emerged with the resurgence of the Tuareg crisis in Mali in May 2006, the Government has undertaken a number of commitments responding to the demands expressed by populations of the northern region. Falling back into crisis is contingent on the State’s capacity to maintain such commitments and for changes to be made rapidly.

4.4.4 Recommendations

Participants developed some recommendations which depend on the success of exit from crisis:

a) With regard to political and institutional reconstruction

- Set up a transparent and responsible decentralised administrative system;
- Ensure access to all and notably the majority of the poorest to a fair justice system;
- Encourage political decision-makers to set up structures and means contributing to lasting support by the international community.

b) Post-conflict monitoring

- Set up a permanent system monitoring the implementation of commitments made by various parties;
- Develop a long-term communications strategy while implicating the media, in particular;
- Integrate DDR actions into the global democratic process;
- Set up a long-term strategy for development actions with regard to the DDR;
- Ensure that programmes favouring ex-combatants do not lead to other means, notably arms purchases;

- Encourage education and training of the younger generation so that they may find employment and no longer be a factor of instability.

c) Regional strategies

- Strengthen capacities and promote partnerships in the Mano River Region in the area of conflict prevention;
- Set up a regional strategy to deal with the problem of arms proliferation which is as much a factor of instability as contributing to the prolongation of conflict;
- Establish the *Poverty Strategy Reduction Paper (PSRP)* within the Mano River Region (Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea);
- Support regional construction and integration in order to develop a community spirit among populations of various countries often sharing the same languages and traditions;
- Encourage education programmes promoting regional citizenship.

d) Others

- Encourage various cooperation organisations on the ground to better coordinate and harmonise their actions.

5. Regional and international actors and post-conflict

5.1 ECOWAS and post-conflict reconstruction

5.1.1 Political reconstruction and economic regional instruments and mechanisms

Presentation by Colonel Yoro Koné, representing the ECOWAS Commission's Peace and Security Commissioner (Abuja)

Colonel Yoro Koné presented ECOWAS' main peace and security mechanisms, emphasising the specific Articles on maintaining peace. He clarified that the Commission is no longer only involved in maintaining peace but has become a supporter of peace aiming to control damage before and after conflict. These mechanisms also address the restoration of political authority through setting up an electoral, human rights and legal process. Furthermore, Colonel Koné presented the Peace Fund supported by all of the donors which enables rapid responses in crisis situations.

He presented the main peace-building-related Articles involving the Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention as well as the Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance:

- *Articles 42* - ECOWAS Institutional Capacity for Peace-Building;
- *Article 43* - Peace-building during hostilities;
- *Article 44* - Peace-building at the end of hostilities;
- *Article 45* - Restoration of political authority.

It appears that within these various stages, ECOWAS intervention varies greatly: political, economic, institutional, security reconstruction, etc. Colonel Koné also took this opportunity to present the new ECOWAS Commission³ officially established 1 January 2007 and chaired by Dr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas.

³ The new ECOWAS Commission is composed of: President: Dr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas; Vice President: Mr. Jean de Dieu Somda; Commissioner responsible for Administration and Finance: Dr (Mrs) Adaoha C. Okwuosa; Commissioner responsible for Trade Customs and Free Movement: Mr. Mohammed Daramy; Commissioner responsible for Agriculture, Environment and Water Resources: Mr. Ousseini Salifou; Commissioner responsible for Infrastructure: Mr. Comla L. Kadje; Commissioner responsible for Macroeconomic policy: Prof. Lambert N. Bamba; Commissioner responsible for Political Affairs, Peace and Security; Commissioner responsible for Human Development and Gender: (nomination underway by Senegal).

5.1.2 NEPAD in West Africa's economic reconstruction

Intervention by Mrs. Janice James, ECOWAS Commissioner responsible for Macro-economic Policy

Mrs. James presented the broad lines of NEPAD's action framework for post-conflict reconstruction. In 2002, ECOWAS began implementing NEPAD policies in West Africa of which the objectives are to promote good governance and mutual assistance.

Within NEPAD there is the "The African Post-Conflict Reconstruction Framework" that aims to address the nexus between the peace, security, humanitarian and development dimensions of post-conflict reconstruction and peace-building. It shall facilitate coherence in the assessment, planning, coordination and monitoring of post-conflict reconstruction systems. ECOWAS' actions regarding post-conflict should be coordinated within this framework.

Mrs. James stressed the importance of the economic level to prevent, manage and resolve conflict, which from a macro-economic point of view, have disastrous effects on investment and infrastructure as well as contribute to the ever more financial and economic dependence of these countries.

She also made the connection between governance and conflict, shedding light on the impact conflict has on a country's economic structures, and between low-income countries and conflict. Conflict is the cause and consequence of States' weakness which leaves room for an underground economy as well as a war economy open to all sorts of trafficking and often to the benefit of warlords.

She underscored that while aid provided within the HIPC initiative is most welcome, it does not offer new money. On the other hand, studies indicate that post-conflict reconstruction policies have more of an impact on growth than on any other parameters. This assumes that the government has taken all adequate measures with regard to security, disarmament and integration of armed groups in order to create a secure and sound environment to re-establish entrepreneurs' and potential investors' confidence.

Macro-economic policies in post-conflict situations involve some sort of compromise on behalf of the State as well as the donors. Indeed it is difficult to impose drastic economic policies on populations battered by years of war. Thus some prescriptions aimed at macro-economic stability cannot simply be applied during reconstruction. Furthermore, governments can be drawn into budgetary arbitrage which does not help the post-conflict situation. Fearing a resurgence of crises, some governments are tempted to devote a large part of their budget during post-conflict to war efforts instead of education and health.

The role of the private sector as well as that of the State is essential in this reconstruction phase. A certain amount of control must be maintained in order to avoid all possible pitfalls of a weak State such as the emergence of monopolies, corruption in particular in countries which earn considerable income from their natural resources or in situations of bank recapitalisation. It is up to the State to regulate the private sector to protect general interest.

She concluded her intervention by reiterating that the reconstruction process takes time and that setting up economic measures is not enough to reduce the risk of falling back into conflict; this must be included in a broader strategy in support of peace.

5.2 The African Development Bank and Post-Conflict

Presentation by Mr. Mohamed H'Midouche, AfDB Resident Representative for West Africa, Dakar

Post-conflict countries unable to free up resources need substantial support. Hence, in June 2004 AfDB adopted the *Bank Group Post-conflict Assistance Policy Guidelines* which has a participatory, integrated and coordinated approach and gives priority to populations.

Most of the countries in post-conflict situations are highly indebted. The numerous arrears owed to multi-lateral financial institutions and other external creditors often hinder them from receiving other types of aid, except for grants by multi-national financing organisations.

Six key principles guide the AfDB's assistance to post-conflict countries:

- Comparative advantages and selectivity.
- Partnership, coordination and participatory approach.
- Appropriation by the countries.
- Early commitment and support.
- Regional dimension.
- Case by case approach and flexibility.

Within this framework, the AfDB has supported reconstruction efforts in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau and Senegal (Casamance). Mr. H'Midouche also encouraged the Regional Working Group to pursue actions promoting the implementation of a regional post-conflict policy.

5.3 Involvement of international organisations, development partners and non-governmental organisations in post-conflict reconstruction

5.3.1 Post-conflict reconstruction within the fragile State context

Intervention by Mr. François Gaulme⁴, Agence française de développement⁵ (AFD), Paris

Mr. Gaulme focused his *ab lib* intervention on the concept of the fragile State, which according to him, underpins the problems related to countries in post-conflict situations. He explained that cooperation agencies, recognising this phenomenon through democratic governance, integrated it into their development issues. The concept of the fragile State is not pleasant for the countries to which this applies, but even so, powerful countries like the United States could find itself at one point or another in a fragile situation such as in the case of Hurricane Katrina.

He highlighted the difficulty in defining a State “fragile” because the concept of the State has numerous interpretations according to culture. Thus, the State in France does not have the same reality as that in the United States or in the United Kingdom. In France, it involves a central authority which represents the power when in Anglo-Saxon countries the State is more of a vague notion which is increasingly based on local communities. As for the State in Africa, some researchers have indicated that it involves a hybrid of the French conception of the State and that of local realities. Under these conditions, it is difficult to define what a fragile State is exactly. Fragile States are generally those that cannot fulfil the conditions set by international financing institutions which are States in conflict or post-conflict. The idea is to help these States by insisting on fewer conditions.

Development partners are beginning to understand that it is important for them to concentrate on State reconstruction and legitimisation if long-term results are to be obtained. They have also understood that each situation is different and should be treated on a case by case basis; across-the-board approach cannot work. At the same time, the cultural and historical environment is increasingly being taken into account by development partners.

How to make State development sustainable?

In order to respond to this question Mr. Gaulme re-examined the fresco at the Château de Fontainebleau near Paris (see publication *Etats et Sociétés Fragiles*)⁶, which depicts Cesar with a pomegranate in his hand (The pomegranate is a fruit with pockets of small seeds) symbolising authority enabling various elements to be held together before co-existing. This involves the inclusion principle which brings together all the communities, all classes in one society. It is essential to find ways to act together within the same country. It is difficult and

⁴ M. Gaulme indicated that his remarks were not attributable to AFD. He was participating on a personal level as a Fragile States specialist.

⁵ French Development Agency

⁶ *Etats et sociétés fragiles*, sous la Direction de Jean-Marc Châtaigner et Hervé Magro, 2007, Ed. Karthala (Paris)

costly. Mr. Gaulme began his conclusion by stating that a solid State cannot be built with a fragile society; just as a solid society cannot be built in a society-less State.

How to apply this to West Africa?

He asserted that compared to other regions on the continent West Africa is one of the most unstable with a number of challenges to be met before attaining a level of stability. He stressed that demographic growth out of pace with economic potential leads to high unemployment among the younger generation. Security has become in fact an integral part and even crucial to development aid (ODA).

Furthermore, he underscored that the instability enables the survival of some warlords, those that the English-speakers call “spoilers”. He also highlighted the regional nature of conflict in West Africa and the war phenomenon among communities in the region forcing populations to run from country to country depending upon the conflict. Finally he stressed the need to support ECOWAS which is resolutely committed to the prevention and management of crises in the region.

With regard to the Regional Working Group, he appreciated the approach which consists of decompartmentalising actors, involving the military, politicians, representatives of civil society, researchers and development partners to launch joint strategic thinking on issues for which responses can be found by sharing their efforts, reaffirming that world security can no longer be only be handled by the military. He encouraged the Regional Working Group to disseminate the results of its meetings to the donor community and in particular the DAC.

5.3.2 Rule of law and legal transition in post-conflict⁷

Intervention by Mrs. Marie-Thérèse KEITA BOCOUM, Principal Advisor for Human Rights, United Nations Office for West Africa (UNOWA), Dakar

The Working Group’s preceding meeting in Abidjan shed light on the dangers of the tardy implementation of legal appropriation in post-conflict countries. Justice is one of the fundamental pillars of the rule of law on which peace can be strengthened. In her intervention, Mrs. Marie-Thérèse Keita Bocoum emphasised the need to take on the issue of transitional justice and adopt a legal global vision around the idea of security sector reform. She also suggests examining the relationship between transitional justice, building the rule of law and development.

Furthermore, UNOWA will soon launch a study on the judiciary transition experiences in the region. It will involve examining taking up judiciary transition in a conflict prevention context and proposing recommendations to improve the functioning and effectiveness of this

⁷ Mrs. Marie Thérèse Keita Bocoum could not participate in the workshop and had submitted her intervention. We have provided a summary. The complete document is available in Volume II.

mechanism promoting justice, reparation, reconciliation and peace. These experiences at the regional level, in particular in Ghana, Liberia and Sierra Leone, have indeed already been undertaken. Failure of the legal system is re-merging as one of the source causes of human rights violations.

5.3.3 Education in support of peace

Intervention by Mr. Thierno Diaoune, Guinea Conakry

The international NGO *Aide et Action* is developing educational programmes. Mr. Thierno Diaoune, based in Guinea Conakry, explained that within contexts of conflict, education is not generally part of the emergency mechanism. In order to mitigate this situation, *Aide et Action* has set up training centres in Guinean refugee centres, where the war had a decimating effect on teachers. Around 30% of them had been enrolled or killed. They are also reviving this initiative with local communities focusing on the training of teachers. The idea would be to make education a veritable lever for peace.

How can education be placed at the heart of conflict prevention and management and strategies as well as the strengthening of deep-seated and lasting peace in support of sustainable development based on a participatory approach?

The Mano River Region brings together 3 countries: Guinea, Sierra Leone and Liberia. In the region, *Aide et Action* has launched cross-border programmes aiming to strengthen civil society's capacities. Concerned civil society organisations of the three countries are endeavouring to build an education system for citizen status and to enable citizens of the three countries to better understand their historic connections. It involves in particular raising awareness among the youth on how these countries were constructed in the course of history in order to encourage border exchanges between communities often sharing the same language.

Simultaneously, *Aide et Action* has carried out a study on endogenous knowledge in conflict prevention which should be validated by civil society organisations, States, educational institutions as well as ECOWAS. This knowledge could then be integrated into the curricula. Such an approach has been launched in Guinea and Sierra Leone.

5.3.4 The World Bank in Guinea Bissau and Casamance (Senegal)

Intervention by Mr. Demba BALDE, World Bank Representative, Dakar

Mr. Baldé presented two experiences with mixed results and the main lessons learned in the implementation of the DDR programme in Guinea Bissau and Casamance (Senegal) with World Bank support.

In **Guinea Bissau**, the World Bank set up a fiduciary fund financed by the Netherlands and Sweden providing funds for a programme to take inventory of ex-combatants. In **Casamance** (Senegal), USD 20 million has been set aside. Because there is no peace agreement, the division related to the reintegration of ex-combatants with financing up to USD 3.5 million has not been able to be implemented. Thus, this money is going to be re-allocated to the renovation of infrastructure, schools, health clinics, production routes and other social mobilisation actions for peace in Casamance, raising awareness and communications aimed at actors and benefiting populations.

Lessons learned were drawn from these two experiences. According to him, without involvement of ex-combatants, DDR programmes are fated to fail. For Mr. Baldé, it is important to involve the populations in the development of these programmes with a view to facilitating their success.

At the macro-economic level, he suggested to keep in mind the long-term development perspectives and encouraged setting up an economic policy which would enable eventual stabilisation of often fragile situations. Finally, he reaffirmed the need to harmonise development partner actions on the ground.

5.3.5 German cooperation and post-conflict in West Africa

Intervention by Mr. Samson Terreffe, GTZ, Frankfurt

The German Technical Cooperation Agency (GTZ)⁸ is the executing division of the BMZ, the German Ministry of cooperation and economic development. Along with UNSP, it has developed the, “Practical Guide to Multilateral Needs Assessments in Post Conflict Situations”. This guide summarises years of experience on the ground and organises various post-conflict reconstruction phases, evaluates needs and funding, and development partner aid to better understand post-conflict strategies.

Germany’s post-conflict strategy is based on five pillars:

- Political stability;
- Security and respect for human rights;
- Reducing social exclusion and social aid;
- Access to services;
- Adequate standard of living.

Within this framework, GTZ is active in several countries in the region with the following programmes:

⁸ Internet site: www.gtz.de
Information on DDR training: www.iddrtg.org
Information on IDDRS www.unddr.org

- Repatriation and reintegration of refugees and internally displaced persons in Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone;
- Rural renovation of the south east of Liberia;
- Civil disarmament in Sierra Leone;
- Food security, reconstruction and crisis prevention and emergency aid geared towards development in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea.

The GTZ is part of the International Working Group on the DDR, Integrated Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration Training Group (IDDRTG), which develops training for DDR practitioners (regional and international organisations, military, NGOs, etc.). The aim is to define policies and lines of conduct by providing an integrated approach to the DDR with regard to planning, management and implementation of the processes. Particular emphasis has been placed on women, youth, children, cross-border populations and HIV-AIDS victims.

5.3.6 International Organisation of French-speaking countries⁹ (OIF) in post-conflict: actions in support of peace-building

Intervention by Mr. George NASKEU, OIF, Paris

DDR-related issues are a major concern of the OIF who is involved in crises and conflict preventative actions and management as well as peace-building. States and governments participating in this organisation have adopted a number of intervention and organisation mechanisms in the French-speaking region. Among them, the *Bamako Declaration* adopted in 2003 provides the French-speaking countries with an observation and response system with regard to crises and conflict prevention and management. This instrument has been strengthened by the *Saint Boniface Declaration* adopted in May 2006 on Conflict Prevention and Human Security. These two declarations are the basic thread coordinating exit from crisis French-speaking support procedures and are based on four pillars:

- Strengthening the rule of law;
- Maintaining a peaceful political environment;
- Promoting democratic culture and respect of human rights;
- Organising free, reliable and transparent elections.

There are numerous support actions which can be grouped into the following areas:

- Assistance needed to strengthen the material and human capacities of structures and actors involved in the State reconstruction process, reconciliation and peace;

⁹ Organisation internationale de la Francophonie

- Actions encouraging support for regions and coordination instruments;
- Actions encouraging the mobilisation and effective disbursement of international funding for countries in crisis situations, in transition and peace-building;
- Assistance in preparing electoral deadlines at the end of the exit from crisis process;
- Financing the publication and dissemination of basic texts in national languages;
- Organising a seminar with a view to building institutional transition management capacities based on an approach of French-speaking countries' experiences.

5.3.7 The Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP) and member countries' involvement in post-conflict

The CPLP representative, Mr. Sancho COUNTELHO presented his organisation as well as the Portuguese cooperation agency's PAMPA Programme.

a) The Community of Portuguese-speaking countries created ten years ago brings together eight countries that are linked culturally rather than geographically. These countries are spread over five continents enabling them to play an advocacy role in the regional organisations to which they are attached.

Its action is focused around three pillars:

- Political cooperation;
- Language;
- Development cooperation.

In West Africa, the CPLP is present in Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde. In Guinea Bissau, it supports the political evolution, the State normalisation process, democratic normalisation and respect for human rights. It works in close collaboration with other partners in order to mobilise the country's resources. For the United Nations it is the contact Group in Guinea Bissau.

b) PAMPA Programme:

With the agreement of the Portuguese government¹⁰, Mr. Sancho Coutinho briefly presented the "*Peace Missions in Africa Support Programme*" (PAMPA), set up by the Portuguese Government in April 2006. This programme aims to strengthen Portugal's cooperation with African Portuguese-speaking Countries¹¹ (PALOP) to enable them to strengthen their crisis management capacities. This programme is carried out through several actions:

- Strengthening institutional capacities: in the nation-building process in Africa;

¹⁰ PAMPA is implemented by the Portuguese Government and not the CPLP. The CPLP representative requested the Government's approval to present this programme.

¹¹ Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa

- Military training: instruction in military training establishments, adoption of codes of conduct, links to important principles of human and humanitarian rights, development of instructor training;
- Cooperation with African regional and sub-regional organisations: in order to strengthen their Defence capacities;
- Mobilisation of the African agenda within international organisations so that they may develop capacity building policies;
- Development of Centres of Excellence focusing on instructor training: Cape Verde, Mozambique and Angola.

6. Conclusion and Work Prospects

6.1 Final Conclusions

The work provided a summary of the situation of West African countries in post-conflict situations, by relating and sharing experiences and expertise. The exchanges and discussions on the issues examined resulted in conclusions and work prospects for the Regional Working Group.

Three country categories were addressed and generated intense discussions:

- **Countries in post-conflict stabilisation** (Guinea Bissau, Liberia and Sierra Leone).
- **Countries in which the exit from crisis process is at an impasse** (Côte d'Ivoire and Casamance, Senegal).
- **Countries at risk of falling back into conflict** (Tuareg rebellion) already resolved (Mali and Niger).

The meeting summed up:

- The obstacles for DDR implementation and post-crisis prospects in Casamance (Senegal) and in Côte d'Ivoire;
- The post-DDR situation, challenges of security sector reforms and impact of the crisis on the private sector in Guinea Bissau;
- The post-conflict situation in Liberia and Sierra Leone, and the reconstruction, socio-cultural, political and economic challenges;
- The risk of the resurgence of the Tuareg crisis in Mali and Niger and the related policies.

Discussions highlighted:

- **The importance of the State** in all of these contexts and the great challenge of structural, social and political fragility. Political reconstruction preceded by the construction of the rule of law rooted in social legitimacy and effectiveness founded on democratic legal values, transparency and equity.
- **Political reconstruction in West Africa should assist economic reconstruction**, which cannot come about without the veritable involvement of the national private sector often weakened even wiped out by armed crises.

- **The involvement of international agencies and organisations as well as development support** cannot be effectively sustainable without fully taking into account the risks and constraints of the post-crisis context in countries of the region.
- The seriousness of some challenges that need to be met, in particular:
 - **The phenomenon of child soldiers** in the region where 45% of the population is under 15 years of age;
 - **The proliferation and illegal circulation of light arms and small weapons** (an estimated 8 million in West Africa of which half are not in the hands of public defence and security forces).

The two-day meeting in Praia made it obvious that dialogue was of utmost importance for the Regional Working Group. This was evident through fruitful exchanges between internal and external actors leading to a concerted and coherent approach to post-conflict in West Africa involving international organisations and agencies (AFD, CIDA, CPLP, GTZ, OIF, UNDP, UNOWA, World Bank) and internal actors (States, civil society, regional organisations such as the AfDB and ECOWAS).

Each of the international and regional agencies and organisations recognised their involvement, approach and actions in the countries concerned and contributed to further the debate on the Regional Working Group's orientations.

6.2 Recommendations

- v **Contribute to documented advocacy** for the international community's financial support to countries in post-conflict situations and in particular those that have specific problems such as in Guinea Bissau.
- v **Encourage policies** favouring economic spill over and national resource exploitation to benefit local populations.
- v **Contribute to better coordination** of institutional and security sector reforms essential to development at the local, national and regional levels.
- v **Contribute to the dissemination and appropriation of** principles and practices for reconstruction and democratic reinforcement in States in post-conflict situations.
- v **Develop initiatives** on the dynamics of exit from crisis in Côte d'Ivoire as well as for hindering factors and exit from crisis in Casamance (Senegal)
- v **Give high priority to the youth component** in post-conflict situations.

6.3 Decisions and work prospects for the Regional Working Group

6.3.1 Status and function of the Regional Working Group

- a) The Group will contribute to strengthening and coordinating multi-disciplinary expertise on post-conflict with regard to development in West Africa;
- b) - The participants adopted the ECOWAS proposal to make the Working Group a permanent structure and coordinate its activities with its conflict prevention strategy, support dynamics of exit from crisis, and post-conflict reconstruction;
- The Group shall develop activities in support of the ECOWAS conflict prevention and early warning mechanisms.
- c) The Group will be a framework to facilitate and develop dialogue among development agencies and actors of the region involved in post-conflict in West Africa thus encouraging coordination and harmonisation of countries and donor institutions involved in post-conflict.
- d) The Group shall organise and take part in strategic thinking and information meetings with State decision-makers, development partners, civil society representatives, and political parties in collaboration with ECOWAS.
- e) The Group's SWAC coordinator is responsible for an *ad hoc* restricted commission that will finalise the contents of the Group's mission and its work programme which were clarified at the meeting.

6.3.2 The Regional Working Group and ECOWAS

The Regional Working Group decided to base its structure on that of ECOWAS whose role in the region with regard to post-conflict should also become clearer. The following points are essential:

- To capitalise on ECOWAS' experience, to rely on existing fundamental mechanisms and instruments within the sub-region.
- To contribute to developing an ECOWAS post-conflict reconstruction strategy rooted in socio-political, socio-economic and socio-cultural realities of the region.

6.3.3 The Regional Working Group's short- and medium-term actions

The Group shall develop initiatives to address and further the following issues:

- a) The prospects of economic, political and post-conflict reconstruction in West Africa;

- b) The dynamics of exit from crisis in Côte d'Ivoire;
- c) The hindering factors in Casamance, Senegal;
- d) The resurgence of crises situations in Mali and Niger;
- e) The regular monitoring of post-conflict countries;
- f) The serious security issues in Guinea and Guinea Bissau.

In the short-term the Group could periodically produce a documented report on the post-crisis situation in West Africa.

After participants validated the conclusions and work prospects presented by Mr. Diallo, the meeting was closed by the President of the Sahel and West Africa Club, Mr. Charles Goerens

6.4 Closing words by President Goerens

The DDR and post-conflict follow on the heels of a series of failures. They highlight both the incapacity to control a crisis as well as reduce poverty. As Professor Ki-Zerbo said: "We are not free as long as we are poor". It also reveals the same inability to understand all of the factors that could help avoid crises.

This meeting has placed the **State's role** at the centre of the debate: while still weak, it can be the worst digression, the biggest annihilator of freedom. An impossibly weak State is not the solution. Lack of resources to assure basic social services can lead to a State and governance crisis. Can it be concluded that a State well-governed is a State that can assume all of its grand functions? This is not enough. An international approach must be considered.

The ideal solution is a responsible State. Some African countries are making efforts towards this goal. Some States are dealing with it well while taking into account the difficulties that they face. Cape Verde, for example, has developed this governing capacity. But this progress does not appear in the media. Furthermore, in a well-functioning State leaders accept the opposition. Those who claim to represent public affairs should not forget that they achieved their legitimacy through the people. State must be able to manage this permanent tension.

I thank all of the multilateral organisations for their contribution. I would like to take this opportunity to call for policy coherence: while each deals with its small part, this will not work. It is essential to take into account interactions between various components of society. This coherence imperative is for all national, regional and international actors. In order to achieve this, clear priorities must be established.

Annex 1: Agenda

WEDNESDAY 28 FEBRUARY

11.45 – 13.00	OFFICIAL OPENING SESSION
11.45 – 12.00	Presentation by Mr. Massaër DIALLO, Head of the Governance, Conflict Dynamics, Peace and Security Unit, SWAC/OECD
12.00 – 12.15	Presentation by Mrs. Patricia de MOWBRAY, United Nations Representative, <i>Cape Verde</i>
12.15 – 12.30	Intervention by Mr. Charles GOERENS, President of the Sahel and West Africa Club, SWAC/OECD
12.30 – 12.45	Intervention by Colonel Yoro KONE, Representative of the President of the Commission of ECOWAS, Dr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas
12.45 – 13.00	Opening Statement by the Prime Minister of Cape Verde, HE Mr. José Maria NEVES (to be confirmed)
13.00 – 13.30	Brief adjournment for officials to exit
13.30 – 14.30	<u>FIRST SESSION:</u> WORKING GROUP'S OBJECTIVES AND PROGRAMME ON POST-CONFLICT
13.30 – 13.50	PRESENTATION OF THE WORK AND EXPECTED RESULTS, Mr. Massaër DIALLO, Head of the Governance, Conflict Dynamics, Peace and Security Unit, SWAC/OECD
13.50 – 14.00	WORKING GROUP'S APPROACH AND ACTION PLAN, Dr. Istifanus ZABADI ¹² , WANSED, National War College, <i>Nigeria</i>
14.00 – 14.30	Discussion and summary for action
14.30 – 16.00	<i>Lunch</i>

¹² For reasons beyond his control, Dr. Zabadi was unable to be in Praia, but submitted his text.

16.00 – 18.45	<u>SECOND SESSION:</u> CHALLENGES OF POST-CONFLICT IN WEST AFRICA
16.00 – 16.15	After the DDR in Guinea Bissau: Socio-political Challenges and Security Problems , Mr. Pedro CORREIA, Director of the Demobilisation Programme, <i>Guinea Bissau</i>
16.15– 16.30	Economic and Financing Challenges of Post-conflict in Guinea Bissau: The Role of Co-participation , Mr. Ousmane Birame SANE, Director of Post-Conflict Co-participation Funds, <i>Guinea Bissau</i>
16.30 – 17.15	Discussion
17.15 – 17.30	Challenges of Political Reconstruction in Sierra Leone and State Action , Dr. Osman GBLA, Executive Director of the Centre for Development and Security Analysis (CEDSA), <i>Sierra Leone</i>
17.30 – 17.45	Political Reforms and Economic Perspectives in Liberia , Mr. Byron TARR, <i>Liberia</i>
17.45 – 18.45	Discussion

∞ End of Session ∞

20.30	Cocktail offered by Mrs de MOWBRAY, United Nations Representative in Cape Verde
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THURSDAY 1 MARCH

- 09.30 – 12.00 **SECOND SESSION: (FOLLOW UP)**
CHALLENGES OF POST-CONFLICT IN WEST AFRICA
- 09.30 – 09.50 **Threats of a Tuareg Crisis Resurgence and Post-conflict Policy in Mali and Niger**, Mr. Zeini MOULAYE, WANSED, *Mali*
- 09.50 – 10.10 **The DDR in Côte d’Ivoire: Implementation Situation, Obstacles and Expected Role in the Exit from Crisis**, General Ouassenan KONE, President of the NP-DDR and Mr. Brahim SANGARE, Secretary-General of the DDR Programme, *Côte d’Ivoire*
- 10.10 – 10.30 **The Case of Casamance (Senegal) in Post-conflict Action: Uncompleted Peace Agreements and Reconstruction**
Points of view of:
Mr. Nouha CISSE, Historian
- 10.30 – 11.30 **Discussion**
- 11.30 – 12.00 *Coffee break*
- THIRD SESSION:**
POST-CONFLICT AND DEVELOPMENT: STRATEGIES, ACTIONS AND PERSPECTIVES FOR WEST AFRICA
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- POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION*
- 12.00 – 12.20 **Facing the Challenges of the Vulnerable State**, Mr. François GAULME, French Agency for Development (AFD), *France*
- 12.20 – 12.50 **Education in Reconstruction, the case of Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea**, Mr. Thierno DIAOUNE, Aid and Action, *Senegal*
- 12.50 – 13.30 **Discussion**
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- ECOWAS AND BANK OF AFRICA (BAD) IN POST-CONFLICT*
- 13.30 – 13.40 **ECOWAS in the Building of Peace and Political Reconstruction**, Colonel Yoro KONE, Director of the ECOWAS Observation and Monitoring Centre, *Nigeria*

13.40 – 13.50	ECOWAS Approach in the Post-conflict Economic Reconstruction Mrs. Janice JAMES, Macro economic Advisor, <i>Nigeria</i>
13.50 – 14.00	Involvement of the AfDB in Post-conflict Reconstruction in West Africa , Mr. Mohamed HMIDOUCHE, Resident Representative for West Africa, <i>Senegal</i>
14.00 – 14.30	Discussion
14.30 – 15.30	<i>Lunch</i>
15.30 – 17.30	<u>FOURTH SESSION:</u> INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES IN POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION IN WEST AFRICA
15.30 – 15.45	World Bank Actions in Post-conflict , Mr. Demba BALDE, Social Development Specialist, World Bank, <i>Senegal</i>
15.45 – 16.00	The German Cooperation Approach to Post -conflict and Development Mr. Samson TERREFE, GTZ, <i>Germany</i>
16.00 – 16.15	CIDA and Capacity Building in Post-conflict situations , Mr. Daouda DIOP, Development Counsellor, Canadian Embassy, <i>Senegal</i>
16.15 – 16.30	Actions in Support of Peace-building , Mr. Georges NAKSEU, International Organisation of French-speaking Communities (<i>Organisation internationale de la Francophonie - OIF</i>), <i>France</i>
16.30 – 16.45	The Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP) and member countries' involvement in post-conflict , Mr. Sancho COUTILHO, CPLP
16.45 – 17.30	Discussion
17.30 – 18.00	Synthesis of the Work and Prospects of the Regional Working Group
18.00 – 18.10	Closing words Mr. Charles GOERENS, President of the SWAC
18.10	End of the meeting

∞ END ∞

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