



**PARTNERSHIP AFRICA CANADA**

YEAR IN REVIEW 2003-2004





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# Bold and strategic action is required

Partnership Africa Canada enjoyed the rare privilege in late 2003 of being able to organize with partner organizations in Africa and Canada a series of consultations to discuss priority development issues. Small meetings took place in twelve African countries and three Canadian cities. Some three hundred people participated and for some African participants, this was a first opportunity to debate national and regional concerns in such an open environment.

A key outcome for PAC from these meetings is our renewed commitment to work with African and Canadian civil society groups in research and policy dialogue initiatives. There's no lack of priority issues to address - peace and human security, democratic governance, human rights, social and economic development - but a major concern for us all remains the context and the framework for our collaborative initiatives. As this Year in Review describes, PAC is working with a number of partners in countries in Africa where conflict has occurred, in countries such as Angola, DR Congo, Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone, where issues of human rights, good governance and democracy are at stake.

In Africa, too many governments still equate civil society activism with political opposition and there is an all too common reluctance to create the necessary mechanisms for consultation. African civil society does not dispute the need for strong government and indeed was the first to criticise structural adjustment programmes for having weakened African governments.

On the other hand, African civil society has no hesitation in demanding a more open political space in which dialogue can occur about national and international matters. There are regrettably few African countries where governments are actively using parliamentary hearings, national forums and other specific consultations to reach out to their people.

But change may be on the way. An important component of NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa's Development) is the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), whereby participating countries submit to an international review of their governance. Almost half of African countries have already signed on to the initiative and reviews have begun. Whilst it is difficult to predict the impact of the initiative, there is some optimism that improved governance will result. Civil society's place in this process, however, remains far from clear.

Canada has been at the forefront of donor countries in promoting NEPAD and its component parts,

such as the APRM. Its political and financial support to NEPAD has been significant, as has its recent support for the African Union's peace and security initiative. But on two levels we feel Canada can and must do more.

The government of Canada has pledged to double its aid by 2010, with half the increase going to sub-Saharan Africa. But these increases, significant though they are, will merely bring Canada's ODA levels as a percentage of national wealth (GNI) back to 1990 levels, well below many other donor countries. Public opinion in Canada is squarely behind a generous aid programme, especially one focused on the poorest countries. With an economy generating substantial surpluses, there is no reason why Canada cannot emulate the United Kingdom and France and reach the UN target of 0.7% of GNI by 2012 (France) or 2013 (United Kingdom), as these countries have recently committed to.

On another level, the government of Canada should renew its strategic relationship with civil society, both in Canada and Africa. During the 1980's, much ODA to Africa was channelled through NGOs rather than through governments. In recent years, there has been an emphasis on strengthening ODA programming through African governments, particularly in selected countries with better governance. As the pendulum swings, however, we are in danger of forgetting the key role of African civil society in supporting and monitoring political, economic and social development. We must redouble our efforts to help create an environment where government and civil society across Africa can play their respective roles to promote democratic development. And we must do this in more than just a handful of countries. Our approach must be strategic and our action must be bold.



Matthew Pearce  
President  
Partnership Africa Canada



Bernard Taylor  
Executive Director  
Partnership Africa Canada

# International Symposium on Côte d'Ivoire

## Consolidating a Fragile Peace

On September 19, 2002, an armed rebellion erupted in Côte d'Ivoire, plunging the country and the entire region of West Africa into a crisis. Two years after the start of this crisis, Côte d'Ivoire is still split in two. The events of September 19, 2002 have had a significant impact on the economies of Côte d'Ivoire and its neighbouring countries. The crisis has also given rise to a vast internal displacement of people and the return of immigrants to their countries of origin.

Various initiatives at the regional (Economic Community of West African States - ECOWAS) and international levels have been launched in an attempt to find a solution to the crisis. The Linas-Marcoussis Agreement – signed by Côte d'Ivoire's main political players and the rebel factions in Paris on January 23, 2003 – represents a major step towards allowing the country to travel along the path leading to peace. Positive advances have been made. However, the peace process remains a fragile one.

Given the continuing crisis, Partnership Africa Canada, the Canadian Peacebuilding Coordinating Committee and the Conflict Studies Programme of Saint Paul University in Ottawa, jointly organized an international symposium entitled "*Côte d'Ivoire: Consolidating a Fragile Peace*" held on February 23 and 24, 2004 at Saint Paul University in Ottawa.

The goals of the symposium were to understand the various causes that led to the armed rebellion in Côte d'Ivoire, to analyze the regional issues and their consequences and to propose concrete proposals for the role that Canada could play. Over one hundred participants from Côte d'Ivoire, West Africa, the Government of Canada, Canadian universities, the diplomatic corps and Canadian civil society attended the symposium. The main speakers were Honoré Guie, Bruno Losch, Carolyn McAskie, Halidou Ouédraogo, Ruth Marshall-Fratani, Diégou Jérôme Bailly, Imam Cissé Djiguiba, Obou Ouraga, Jacqueline Lohoues-Oble, Tchere Seka and Jean-Louis Roy.

The first day of the symposium was devoted to presentations on factors surrounding the conflict (immigration, nationality, the economy and development issues), human security at the national and regional levels, internal and external mediation and the management of fundamental change. On the second day, workshops examined the main symposium themes in greater depth and made concrete suggestions as to how to put an end to the crisis. The three workshops were built around institutional reform, human rights issues and the economy.

The following are some of the main proposals that were made during the debates and workshops:

- The international community must be encouraged to support an effective disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme that will provide employment for ex-combatants and civilians, particularly within the scope of infrastructure rebuilding programmes.
- It is crucial to rebuilding trust between the people and Côte d'Ivoire's public institutions, and to

create the conditions which will allow for institutional reform in the short term.

- Civil society must be supported within the scope of the process for national reconciliation and peacebuilding.
- We must support the emergence of a truly independent press by promoting the development of non-partisan media that are economically viable.
- An international commission should be created to investigate and establish the facts throughout the country with respect to human rights violations that have taken place since September 19, 2002.
- In the past, solutions were imposed from the top down. There must be real negotiation between the stakeholders to arrive at solutions that will be accepted by all. Priority must be given to the educational system and civic awareness education.

Partnership Africa Canada has just published a 120-page book featuring papers written by the symposium's main speakers. Issues of nationality, immigration and eligibility to run for the presidency, which are the source of so much controversy, are analyzed by Honoré Guie, law professor, President of GERDDES-CI and the Collectif de la Société Civile pour la Paix. If these issues are considered as a major source of conflict, the fact still remains that other interpretations – such as those of an ethno-religious conflict, a conflict between the north and the south – were advanced at the height of the crisis. For Bruno Losch, guest researcher at the University of California (Berkeley), the issues of immigration, nationality and eligibility to run for the presidency, are nothing more than the tip of the iceberg. Rather,

he sees that the fundamental roots of the present crisis lie in the initial economic choices made by Côte d'Ivoires leaders. Faced with the hazards of the current international economic climate – falling prices for raw materials, globalization – Côte d'Ivoire's leaders showed themselves to be incapable of finding any adequate solutions. During the Cold War, the international community was overly preoccupied with the danger of a world conflict which could arise from regional disputes (between East and West). Today, cross-border interests between African states are contributing to the internationalization of conflicts. The analysis offered by Ruth Marshall-Fratani, political scientist, is a typical example of the varied facets of the regional wars in the aftermath of the Cold War: the overlapping of personal interests, security concerns, regional issues. Thus, she highlights the various intertwined facets of the regionalization of the Côte d'Ivoire war: they are personal, national and regional in nature.

Nowadays, we cannot discuss conflicts without mentioning the major role played in them by the media. They are in an ambivalent position: they can contribute to increasing the tension between the various factions or they can favour peace and reconciliation. Diégou Bailly, Director of the Conseil National de la Communication Audiovisuelle, paints a picture of the Côte d'Ivoire media in light of the current crisis. He distinguishes a “patriotic press”, that is to say, the media which in his eyes defended state institutions, and the pro-rebel media, in this instance the media created at the height of the conflict and a large portion of the western media, which took the side of the rebels in covering the events of September 19, 2002.

The paper presented by Professor Obou Ouraga deals with the series of measures to be taken in

order to bring peace back to Côte d'Ivoire. In his paper, he examines section 35 of the Côte d'Ivoire Constitution, which sets forth eligibility criteria for the Presidency. The current formula is deemed discriminatory and is considered to be one of the sources of the present conflict. The Linas-Marcoussis Agreement has proposed a reform. However, political and legal problems emerge in relation to the process of amendment and its integration in the current Côte d'Ivoire Constitution. As for Professor Jacqueline Lohoues-Oble, she details a plethora of crimes – both political and economic – which have to date gone unpunished. Without being the direct cause of the conflict, the fact that they go unpunished has contributed to a great extent to polarizing political life and increasing the tensions which have been a significant part of the current conflict. Within the framework of the reconciliation process, an amnesty law has been passed, involving mostly military infractions. Those responsible for human rights crimes do not however benefit from the sweeping powers of this law. The State assumes the cost of compensation to be offered to war victims within the framework of the reconciliation process. Furthermore, circumstances have been created through which victims can exercise their rights.

In his paper, Séka Tchere, Professor at the Abidjan-Cocody University, discusses post-crisis economic priorities. The presentation analyses the impact of the crisis on Côte d'Ivoire's economic performance, which was already affected by the drastic measures imposed by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Solutions offered vary from increasing the degree of decentralization to re-establishing trade links with countries in the sub-region, and are proposed with a view to getting the country out of its economic crisis.

The issue of the right to intervene was recently the subject of discussion for an international team of researchers. With the emergence of “the duty to protect”, the researchers scrutinized the various questions concerning the problem of intervention in the post Cold War period. They prefer the expression “the duty to protect” in order to clear up any ambiguity surrounding the term intervention. As the Kampala conference concluded, the duty to protect is a logical part of the defence of human rights and human security that the international community has a duty to protect in countries where these are threatened.

From this perspective, Canada is involved to varying degrees in peace and security initiatives around the world, ranging from human security and peacebuilding to support for the process of democratization within the Francophonie. In Africa, Canada

has already supported the peace process in Central Africa by participating in the UN mission. Furthermore, it has made a contribution in supporting the transition government of the Democratic Republic of Congo, within the framework of the inter-Congolese dialogue. In West Africa, Canada is supporting initiatives of the Economic Community of West African States with respect to human security. A significant contribution was made to ECOWAS for small firearms control. More recently, Canada supported the Kofi Annan Centre in Ghana through the Pearson Centre, by training civilians for peacekeeping operations. The international symposium on Côte d’Ivoire organized by Partnership Africa Canada, the Canadian Peacebuilding Coordinating Committee and the Conflict Studies Programme of Saint-Paul University in Ottawa is part of this Canadian perspective on peace and security.

Today, cross-border interests between African states are contributing to the internationalization of conflicts.



# Natural Resources Development and Political Stability in Liberia

Liberia has been in political transition since 2003, when Charles Taylor left and the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) took over the country's governance. The country is emerging from fourteen years of armed conflict that is believed to have killed 200,000 Liberians (of a total population of just over three million) and generated instability throughout the region. Indeed, Charles Taylor took advantage of the widespread insecurity to exploit Liberia's natural resources and finance his military campaign to control the country but also to intervene militarily in Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone. Diamonds were at the centre of the conflict, and Liberia served as a major conduit for illicit gemstones. As in Angola, conflict diamonds in Liberia fuelled military confrontations and contributed to the war's longevity.

Under the Diamonds and Human Security Project of Partnership Africa Canada, Lansana Gberie conducted a study in April and May of 2004. His report, *Diamonds Without Maps: Liberia, the UN, Sanctions and the Kimberley Process*, points out that while diamonds represent a very small part of Liberia's economy, they are nonetheless a key component in the stability of both the country and the region. The paper argues that Liberia's re-entry into the global diamond trade must be managed with great caution and with more involvement from

international institutions. Diamonds could become a source of legitimate income for many thousands of Liberian citizens and contribute to the country's economic development.

In 2001, a UN Panel of Experts on natural resource development in Liberia recommended that the Security Council impose an embargo on Liberia's diamond exports. The Panel found links between Charles Taylor and the Revolutionary United Front in Sierra Leone, and established that these links

were premised on illegal diamond and weapons deals between President Taylor and the RUF. In June 2004, a few days after publication of *Diamonds Without Maps*, members of the UN Security Council found that the country was not yet able to control diamond trafficking and decided to maintain the embargo. Indeed, this was one of the author's recommendations, namely, that the Council extend the embargo on Liberian diamonds until the country is fully able to implement a diamond certification system in accordance with the Kimberly Process Certification Scheme (KPCS). The paper argues that other measures are required as well. Among other things, the author recommends that the UN Security Council request the Government of Nigeria to surrender Charles Taylor to the Special Court in Sierra Leone. Taylor's continuing ability to evade justice, apparently with the tacit approval of the Security Council, sends a very bad message to the Sierra Leoneans, Liberians and others who have suffered at his hands. The UN Security Council should ask the Kimberly Process, on the

request of the Government of Liberia, to review any proposed Government of Liberia system once it is fully in place, with a view to making a recommendation on Liberian participation in the KPCS and a final removal of UN sanctions. Donors must be found in the short and medium term to meet the cost of any new regulatory system. Finally, ECOWAS should consider the possibility of a deeper engagement in the economic drivers of conflict in West Africa with a view to ensuring better management of natural resources – such as diamonds – throughout the region.

The paper *Diamonds Without Maps* was widely distributed in Liberia and elsewhere and has contributed to the debate on natural resources development and stability in that country. Only a democratic government can ensure sound natural resources stewardship for sustainable development that benefits Liberians and political stability that benefits all of West Africa.

Charaf Ahmimed

## Sierra Leone Portal

As part of a programme to encourage the application of information and communication technologies in support of development initiatives, PAC recently began supporting a pilot project in Sierra Leone to create a portal site. The aim of the Sierra Leone Portal is to provide an inexpensive and effective electronic forum for collaborative sharing of information and ideas related to development in Sierra Leone. Amongst its users would be organizations in Sierra Leone, international organizations and people in the Diaspora.

The creation of the portal is still in its early stages, but there is considerable interest in the initiative from government departments, academic institutions (particularly health-related) and the private sector in Sierra Leone.

# PAC Africa Office

The year 2003-2004 has been an important year for the PAC Africa Office, which has been part of important activities and events taking place in Africa. In late 2003, the PAC offices in Ottawa and Addis Ababa held a series of consultations with civil society organizations (NGOs and NGO networks) both in Africa and Canada, which enabled the latter to interact about priority options for policy work on Africa. Both offices realized that this has helped organizations working on policy to dialogue on development issues which would in turn help to strengthen policy work in Africa and Canada.

The PAC Africa Office published a booklet entitled 'NEPAD in Perspective' during the first quarter of the current year, in collaboration with the Christian Relief and Development Association (CRDA), an umbrella organization of national and international NGOs operating in different parts of Ethiopia. The booklet is a basic guide for Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) particularly in Africa and enables readers to understand the essentials of NEPAD, which will encourage them to see their point of engagement with the initiative.

NEPAD, the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA) and the Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC) are all possible entry points for CSO input toward realizing the objectives of the African Union (AU).

As ECOSOCC, which will officially be launched in November 2004, is an assembly of CSOs that acts as an advisory organ of the AU, it will collaborate with

the Peace and Security Council of the AU to identify states where conflicts may arise. This would be one area which could foster partnership between governments and CSOs.

The convening of the World Social Forum (WSF) in Mumbai, India in January 2004 provided the space for exchanging ideas and examining the main developments in the African and world contexts and understanding their consequences for the African populations and social movement. The mushrooming of social movements both at national, sub-regional and regional levels will serve as an opportunity to strengthen relations among CSOs and thematic networks to promote Africa's active and determined participation in the World Social Forum.

Engudai Bekele



# Kimberley Process: Second Year of Implementation

*Partnership Africa Canada* (PAC) has been an active member of the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme (KPCS) since its beginning in 2000. The KPCS' administrative structure consists of a Secretariat, a Participation Committee and three Working Groups (WG): on Statistics, on Monitoring and Control, and Diamond Experts. PAC is a member of the Participation Committee and of the WG on Statistics and on Monitoring and Control.

PAC participated at the October 2003 KP Plenary at Sun City, South Africa. Its lobbying efforts for a system of regular monitoring resulted in an agreement for a monitoring approach, which would cover all members of the KPCS within three years, but which would send missions only to those countries that volunteered for a mission. Thus, the Peer Review Mechanism ended up consisting of three elements: *annual reports*; *review visits* which, as explained above, are voluntary in nature; and *review missions* directed to countries with "significant indications of non-compliance".

Canada became the Chair of the Kimberley Process in January 2004 (and Russia its vice-Chair), The Canadian chairmanship was characterized by an immediate implementation of the Peer Review Mechanism. It ensured that by March 31, 2004, in accordance with the KPCS provisions, countries submitted their first annual reports through the office of the Chair. These reports are an essential tool for assessing countries' implementation of KPCS and PAC

was actively involved in reviewing them. Although a number of countries submitted reports with delays, this first exercise was successfully completed.

In March 2004 a review visit was sent to the United Arab Emirates, being the first country to volunteer. This was followed by a review visit to Israel in April 2004, in which PAC took part. While on one side doubts about the effectiveness of a voluntary system abounded, and on the other side antagonism towards any kind of review mechanism was also known, the review visits experience has shown both the usefulness and the value-added of such visits.

To better equip NGOs to participate in review visits, in June 2004, PAC organized a training session in Antwerp, Belgium. WWW International Diamond Consultants Limited and the International Diamond Certification Ltd., were the two companies retained to deliver the course. The first company is, among other things, diamond valuator for Canada and for the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The structure

of the course included an overview of diamonds with visits to diamond cutting and polishing companies; KP monitoring, evaluation and verification procedures; and a written examination. Several governments requested to participate in the training, and in the end two participants each from Canada and the EC joined the course. The joint government/NGO approach allowed participants to realize common perspectives for review visits. A second programme is being prepared for November 2004.

PAC was also a member of the team for the review mission to the Republic of Congo completed in the first week of June 2004 and which led to the country's suspension from the KPCS in July 2004. This single action moved the KP from being “a system without

teeth” to a “system with decisive bite”, and accentuated the significance of compliance.

As a member of the WG on Statistics and recognizing that statistics are the most indicative instrument within KPCS, PAC has diligently worked on reviewing and analyzing all the statistical data submitted by member countries.

As the train moves forward, PAC will continue its positive, albeit intense participation in the KPCS to ensure its effectiveness in preventing conflict diamonds from entering the legitimate trade.

Dorothee Gizenga Ngolo



# African Natural Resources Networks

Partnership Africa Canada has strengthened its collaboration with African civil society organizations working on natural resources issues.

In Sierra Leone, PAC supports the *Campaign for Just Mining*, the publication of *The Network*, the newsletter of Network Movement for Justice and Development, and the strengthening of the four Regional Task Forces which plan and implement training programs on extractive issues in the country. There is an average of 20 members per Task Force and in July 2003, each group met to identify key issues for investigation and to develop a programme plan for the year. They held several workshops and discussions to raise awareness in the local communities and to address issues related to mining in the country.

In Democratic Republic of the Congo, PAC supports the project *Le diamant, le pillage des ressources naturelles et la campagne contre la criminalisation de l'économie au Congo* implemented by CENADEP (Centre national d'appui au développement et à la participation populaire). CENADEP provides the secretariat for the *Réseau Ressources Naturelles (RRN)*, a

civil society initiative working for transparency and human security in the extractive sector in DR Congo. CENADEP has created a national network of contact points for the RRN and has worked on data collection on the issue of resource exploitation in DRC. The organisation publishes a monthly electronic newsletter – *CENADEP ACTU*, a synthesis of reports from the contact points in the provinces, which is sent to national and international partners. CENADEP has undertaken several field researches with other civil society organizations to identify issues in the extractive sector and to meet with local residents to determine appropriate follow-up action. They organized the first round-table with representatives from the Ministries of the Economy and of the Environment in September 2003, to examine issues related to natural resources exploitation.

# New Publications in 2004

In 2003-2004, Partnership Africa Canada conducted several research and advocacy programmes. The results have been published and disseminated in Africa, North America and Europe.

Following research conducted in collaboration with civil society organizations in Africa, PAC launched the Diamond Industry Annual Reviews. This series of annual reviews examines the diamond industry in the three countries most affected by conflict diamonds: Sierra Leone, Angola and Democratic Republic of the Congo. Titles published so far are:

*Diamond Industry Annual Review: Sierra Leone 2004*, Lansana Gberie, January 2004, joint publication with Network Movement for Justice Development, Freetown (English only).

*Diamond Industry Annual Review: DR Congo 2004*, Chris Dietrich, April 2004, joint publication with Centre national d'appui au développement et à la participation populaire, Kinshasa

*Diamond Industry Annual Review: Angola 2004*, Christine Gordon, July 2004.



PAC is an active member of the Kimberley Process prescribed by the United Nations whereby governments, the diamond industry and non-governmental organizations all participate in an international system for certifying rough diamonds. PAC has contributed to the debate on the diamond industry in Liberia and the role of the United Nations by publishing *Diamonds Without Maps: Liberia, the UN, Sanctions and the Kimberley Process*. The paper summarizes findings of a study conducted by Lansana Gberie in April and May of 2004 in Liberia and Sierra Leone, under PAC's Diamonds and Human Security Project. The study has been widely circulated in Liberia and elsewhere and has contributed to the debate on natural resource development and stability in that country.

*Diamonds Without Maps: Liberia, the UN, Sanctions and the Kimberley Process*  
Lansana Gberie, June 2004

Appearing in late 2004:





## Publish What You Pay

The Publish What You Pay campaign aims to help citizens of resource-rich developing countries hold their governments accountable for the management of revenues from the oil, gas and mining industries. Natural resource revenues are an important source of income for governments of over 50 developing countries, including Angola, Congo-Brazzaville and Nigeria. When properly managed these revenues should serve as a basis for poverty reduction, economic growth and development.

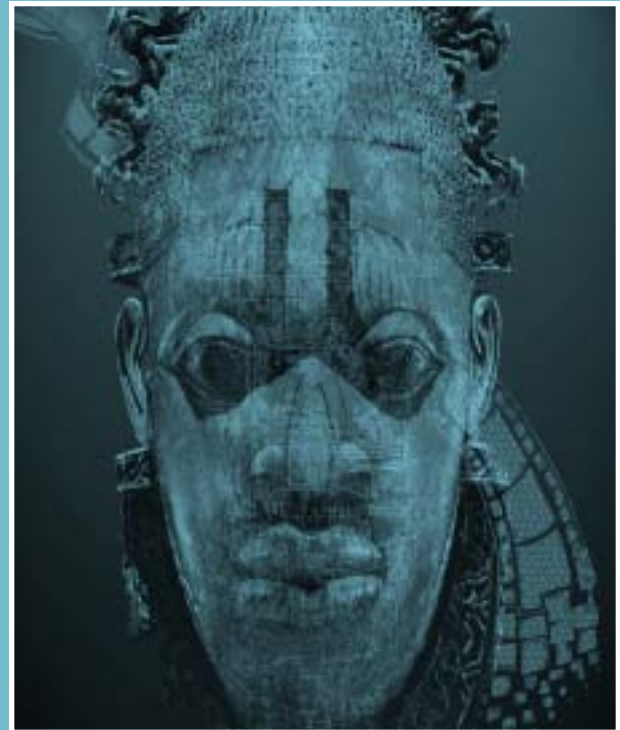
The Publish What You Pay coalition of over 240 NGOs worldwide calls for the mandatory disclosure of the payments made by oil, gas and mining companies' to all governments for the extraction of natural resources. This is a necessary first step towards a more accountable system for the management of natural resource revenues in resource-rich developing countries.

Partnership Africa Canada is signatory to the "Publish What You Pay" appeal and is supporting actions of the campaign in Canada.

## Colours of Africa 2004

The fourth *Colours of Africa* film festival took place in Ottawa and Gatineau in April 2004. New feature films from Angola, Burkina Faso, the Democratic Republic of Congo and South Africa were shown, together with a retrospective presentation of the classic film *Wend Kuuni* (Burkina Faso), in the presence of the renowned director, Gaston Kaboré. Children, and in particular street children, were a special focus of the festival. Through collaboration with *Vues d'Afrique*, several film directors or producers participated in the festival, leading to excellent post-film discussion with audiences. The most popular film was *The Wooden Camera* (South Africa), a beautifully shot film which depicts the friendship between a young black boy and a white girl in contemporary South Africa. *Colours of Africa 2005* will take place in April 2005.

Visit the Colours of Africa web site at:  
[www.coloursof africa.ca](http://www.coloursof africa.ca)



# Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for 2003-2004

at March 31, 2004

	2004	2003
<b>REVENUES</b>		
Canadian International Development Agency	353,445	326,660
Department for International Development (U.K.)	21,941	59,682
Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade	42,588	-
MacArthur Foundation	61,455	182,717
Non-government organizations	112,592	78,223
International Development Research Centre	52,399	11,075
Interest	4,291	817
Membership fees	970	600
Other	12,693	14,574
<b>Total</b>	<b>662,374</b>	<b>674,348</b>
<b>EXPENSES</b>		
Administration and programme support		
Canada	77,128	98,029
Africa	25,476	23,459
Projects	558,768	544,339
<b>Total</b>	<b>661,372</b>	<b>665,827</b>

A complete version of the Audited Statements by *McIntyre and Associates* is available from Partnership Africa Canada.

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### AFRICA

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