

**TRAINING MANUAL ON PRACTICAL
DISARMAMENT AND PEACE-
BUILDING IN WEST AFRICA**

PRESENTATION OF UNREC

The United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa (UNREC), headquartered in Lomé, Togo, was established in 1986 by the United Nations General Assembly pursuant to Resolution 40/151 G of 16 December 1985, adopted to this effect at the request of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), now the African Union (AU).

This resolution entrusted UNREC with the mandate to promote national, sub-regional and regional initiatives pertaining to peace, security, arms control and disarmament. It involves providing all the 53 Member States of the region, upon their request with technical and operational assistance for the implementation of measures of peace, security and disarmament on the continent.

Institutionally, UNREC is the regional presence of the United Nations in the field of peace and disarmament in Africa. It operates within the structure of the United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs (now Office for Disarmament Affairs – UNODA) in the UN Secretariat in New York.

UNREC functions on the basis of voluntary contributions from Member States and other institutions. It operates in a network with other agencies of the United Nations, and in partnership with governmental institutions and organizations, non governmental organizations and research institutes to enhance the synergy of the actions carried out in view of reducing arms and consolidating peace.

The four (4) priority areas of work of UNREC are:

- Peace and security;
- Disarmament and Arms Control;
- Advocacy and Resource Mobilization;
- Information, Research and Publication.

UNREC has published a number of publications and disposes of a library and an interactive Internet website for research and consultations. One of the website's particularities is the regional database on weapons known as the "Small Arms and Light Weapons Register in Africa" (SALWRA).

For any other information, UNREC can be contacted at the following addresses:

United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa
B.P. 2705, Lomé -TOGO
Email: mail@unrec.org
Telephone: (228) 253-50-00
Fax: (228) 250-43-15
Site: <http://www.unrec.org>

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FOREWORD

There has been, over the past decade, a growing global momentum for the fight against the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW). Over the past decade, too, armed conflicts, particularly in Africa, have been waged less at the inter-state level. Increasingly, as a matter of fact, conflicts are essentially an escalation of civil disputes that take place among people living on the same territory or sharing common national values and aspirations. The onward march of urbanization, intertwining with unemployment and poverty, have perversely generated in many societies formidable recipes of criminality in which SALW (imported or locally manufactured) are the tools of choice.

Thus, the shift in the nature of conflict in Africa and pervading armed violence in many urban and even rural areas have made the effects of the usage of SALW a dramatic and staggering reality more than ever before on the continent.

The new awareness of the nefarious effects of SALW has been expressed at all levels. Internationally, the world came together under the aegis of the United Nations in 2001 and negotiated a common policy and action framework, the United Nations Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons. A few months earlier, African States had come together at the call of the African Union to adopt the Bamako Declaration on an African Common Position on the Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons, in December 2000. Legally and politically binding arrangements exist at all sub-regions in Africa stipulating operational, administrative and legislative measures for controlling SALW on the continent¹. At varying degrees, States have initiated actions to implement similar national policies that may promote peace and security through effective practical disarmament measures.

Practical disarmament measures encompass a myriad of activities in preventive mood during peace time, and in a remedial mood following the conclusion of armed conflicts in societies where the need to re-build the peace that had been shattered depends to a large proportion on the effectiveness of weapons collection and disarmament programmes. Practical disarmament and peace-building are therefore functionally linked in the investment of efforts towards achieving lasting peace and security that would create a more conducive development environment.

Two main categories of players working in a mutually-reinforcing fashion are needed to effectively implement the provisions of the practical disarmament and peace-building arrangements that have been adopted: The government and the civil society. The armed and security forces are the traditional players invested with the authority of the government for the maintenance of peace and security. Many of them have been seen in action, endeavouring to advance the cause of disarmament in their countries. On the other hand, civil society organizations long combated even at their very birth, and deliberately sidelined during their growth by many governments, are a recent development in the disarmament and security sector. Nevertheless, to most players, government or civil society, practical disarmament and peace-building activities are new in nature, complex in their configuration and politically sensitive in their execution. Consequently, successful implementation of these activities requires not just a commitment from the national authorities and resources but most importantly an adapted savoir-faire, skills, experience and required modern tools for those involved in the processes. Unfortunately, gross capacity deficits have been observed and have hindered success in this field.

In 2000, in an effort to address these capacity deficits, the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa launched a continent-wide “Clearinghouse Programme” for building the capacities of the armed and security forces in the control of small arms and light weapons in Africa. In 2001, the programme trained over 70 law-enforcement and other paramilitary officers from the States, parties to the Nairobi Declaration (now Nairobi Protocol) on the Proliferation of SALW in the Horn of Africa and Great Lakes Region. In 2003, the Programme trained about 50 trainers from the armed and security forces of the Member States of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS).

¹ At the time of writing, however, there was no collective arrangement among the Arab Maghreb Union Member States. Individually, nevertheless, these States (Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia) were committed to the implementation of the UNPoA.

In 2005, noting the vital role that non-governmental actors must play alongside or in support of government officials, UNREC initiated research and action-oriented work that would lead to providing African civil society organizations (CSO) with a comprehensive capacity-building framework on practical disarmament and peace-building.

With the partnership of OXFAM GB, UNREC obtained the financial support of the Swedish International Development and Cooperation Agency (SIDA) for the implementation of the above project. The first major output was the Training of Trainers curriculum published in November 2007 following a very intensive drafting process which involved the intervention of an international consultant, several individual consultations, days of proof reading and a meeting of international experts for the validation of the curriculum. The curriculum constitutes a comprehensive conceptual guide in terms of contents and methodology necessary for the development and the teaching of courses adapted to the learning needs in the area of practical disarmament, peace-building, resource mobilization and partnerships.

The second, not less significant, output of CAPP is the training, on the basis of this curriculum, of forty trainers from civil society organizations during a sub-regional training workshop organized by UNREC from 12-15 November 2007 in Lome, Togo. During this hand-on training, 16 courses were delivered in four days by several renowned experts from international and sub-regional organizations and also from the academia and research institutes. Lectures, simulation exercises, role plays, interactive discussions and supports such as Power Point, films and documentaries were used for this purpose. UNREC has constantly endeavoured to maximize the impact of the project and has since been negotiating with partner institutions such as ECOSAP, GRIP and BICC about joint initiatives which would help support the replication of the local and national levels in the sub-region and even to extend the programme to other regions of Africa namely, Central Africa. Moreover, UNREC continues to seek the necessary funds for the perpetuation of the CAPP training by institutionalising it into an annual event.

The present training manual which constitutes the third major output of the CAPP project is the compilation of the lectures delivered during the workshop mentioned above. More than a simple compilation, the lessons have been reorganized and readjusted to suit the methodological directives of the curriculum. Thus, this training manual is a turn-key document with which CSOs can be trained to effectively support the efforts of States in the field of practical disarmament and peace-building. Through the contents of this manual UNREC and its partners intend to sustain the dividends of the training workshop by opening it up all those who are interested in the fight for the reduction of weapons and violent conflicts in Africa.

Ivor Richard FUNG
Director, UNREC
Lome, 10 February 2008

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The people whose names follow delivered one or more lectures during the training of trainers’ workshop from 12-15 November 2007. They are contributors to this manual edited and published by UNREC. They are:

- Mr Napoleon ABDULAI, Disarmament Expert with UNDP, Liberia.
- Mr Cyriaque AGNEKETHOM, Head of the Small Arms Unit of ECOWAS, the ECOWAS Commission.
- Mr Kossi AGOKLA, Project Coordinator - ASSEREP-TOGO (Security Sector Reform in Africa/Togo) at the UN Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa (UNREC).
- Mr Baffour Dokyi AMOA, President of the West African Action Network on Small Arms (WAANSA).
- Mr Emmanuel Habuka BOMBANDE, co-founder and **Executive Director** of WANEP (West African Network for Peacebuilding).
- Mr Eucher EKLU-KOEVANU, Human Rights Officer, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights in Togo.
- Dr Kokou Folly Lolowou HETCHELI, Professor and Researcher, University of Lome.
- Mr Jonathan SANDY, Programme Manager, ECOSAP.
- Mr Pamphile SEBAHARA, Researcher and international consultant with the GRIP (Groupe de recherche et d’informations sur la paix et la sécurité, Brussels, Belgium).
- Mr Jérôme TATRABOR, IT and Logistics Associate, UN Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa (UNREC).
- Mr Thierry ZANG, Programme Manager, UN Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa (UNREC).

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Ivor Richard FUNG
Director, UNREC
Lome, 10 February 2008

ACRONYMS

- ❑ **ADC:** Auto Defense Committee (Niger)
- ❑ **ARFS:** Armed Revolutionary Forces of the Sahara (Niger)
- ❑ **ATT:** Arms Trade Treaty.
- ❑ **AU/ OAU:** African Union.
- ❑ **BICC:** Bonn International Centre for Conversion
- ❑ **CAPPA:** Capacity Building on Practical Disarmament and Peace-building in Africa.
- ❑ **CDF:** Civilian Defense Forces.
- ❑ **CRA:** Armed Resistance Coordination (Niger).
- ❑ **CSO:** Civil Society Organisation.
- ❑ **DDR:** Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration.
- ❑ **DRC:** Democratic Republic of Congo.
- ❑ **ECCAS:** Economic Community of Central African States.
- ❑ **ECCP :** European Centre for Conflict Prevention
- ❑ **ECOMOG:** ECOWAS Military Observer Group.
- ❑ **ECOSAP:** ECOWAS Small Arms Programme.
- ❑ **ECOWAS:** Economic Community of West African States.
- ❑ **ECOWARN:** ECOWAS Early Warning System.
- ❑ **EU:** European Union.
- ❑ **FDR:** Front Démocratique du Renouveau (Democratic Revival Front (Niger)
- ❑ **FLAA:** The Air and Azawak Liberation Front (Niger)
- ❑ **GAF :** Ghanaian Armed Forces.
- ❑ **GPPAC :** Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict
- ❑ **GRIP :** Groupe de recherche et d'information sur la Paix et la Sécurité. (Research and Information Group on Peace and Security)
- ❑ **HCHR:** High Commissioner for Human Rights.
- ❑ **HCR:** High Commissioner for Refugees.
- ❑ **IANSA:** International Action Network on Small Arms.
- ❑ **IFOR:** International Fellowship of Reconciliation
- ❑ **MALAO:** Mouvement contre les Armes Légères en Afrique de l'Ouest (Mouvement against Small Arms in West Africa).
- ❑ **MDG:** Millenium Development Goals.
- ❑ **MFDC:** Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de la Casamance (Movement of Casamance Democratic Forces).

- ❑ **MINUCI:** United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire.
- ❑ **MUR :** Mouvement Uni Révolutionnaire (United Revolutionary Movement)
- ❑ **NATO:** North Atlantic Treaty Organization.
- ❑ **NCAPSA:** National Commission against the Proliferation of Small Arms.
- ❑ **NICT:** New Information and Communication Technology.
- ❑ **NUPI:** Norwegian Institute of International Affairs.
- ❑ **OCHA:** Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs.
- ❑ **OMC:** Observation and Monitoring Centre.
- ❑ **ORA:** Organisation de Résistance Armée (Armed Resistance Organization)
- ❑ **OXFAM:** Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
- ❑ **PCASED:** Programme for Coordination and Assistance for Security and Development.
- ❑ **RECSA:** Regional Centre on Small Arms in the Great Lakes Region, Horn of Africa and Bordering States.
- ❑ **RUF:** Revolutionary United Front (Sierra Leone)
- ❑ **SADC:** Southern Africa Development Community.
- ❑ **SALW:** Small Arms and Light Weapons.
- ❑ **SALWRA:** Small Arms and Light Weapons Register in Africa.
- ❑ **SARPCCO:** Southern Africa Regional Police Chief Council.
- ❑ **SATCRA:** Small Arms Transparency and Control Regime in Africa.
- ❑ **SCSL:** Special Court for Sierra Leone.
- ❑ **SIDA:** Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency.
- ❑ **SIPRI:** Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.
- ❑ **SLA:** Sierra Leone Army.
- ❑ **SRP:** Sub-regional Programme « Small Arms and Light Weapons.
- ❑ **SSR:** Security Sector Reform.
- ❑ **TRC:** Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission.
- ❑ **TRESA:** Training and Education on Small Arms.
- ❑ **UEMOA:** Economic Monetary Union of West African States.
- ❑ **UFRA:** Union des Forces de la Résistance Armée (Union of the Armed Resistance Army).
- ❑ **ULIMO:** United Liberation of Democracy Movement (Liberia)
- ❑ **UN:** United Nations.
- ❑ **UNITA:** National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
- ❑ **UN-LIREC:** United Nations Regional Centre for Peace, Disarmament and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean.
- ❑ **UNDP:** United Nations Development Programme.

- ❑ **UNMIL:** United Nations Mission in Liberia.
- ❑ **UNOCI:** United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire.
- ❑ **UNODC:** United Nations Office for Drugs and Crime.
- ❑ **UNOL:** United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office in Liberia
- ❑ **UNOGBIS:** United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau.
- ❑ **UNOMIL:** United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia.
- ❑ **UNOMSIL:** United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone.
- ❑ **UNOWA:** United Nations Office for West Africa.
- ❑ **UNPoA:** United Nations Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All its Aspects.
- ❑ **UNREC:** United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa.
- ❑ **USAID:** United States Agency for International Development
- ❑ **UNSAC:** United Nations Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa.
- ❑ **USSR:** Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
- ❑ **WAANSA:** West African Action Network on Small Arms in West Africa.
- ❑ **WACSOFF:** West African Civil Society Forum.
- ❑ **WANEP:** West African Network for Peace-building
- ❑ **WARN:** Warning And Response Network
- ❑ **WWW:** World Wide Web.

INTRODUCTION

This training manual is an outcome of the training of trainers' workshop organized by UNREC in Lome, from 12 to 15 November 2007 under the CAPPA Project. The workshop aimed at strengthening the capacities of civil society organizations (CSOs) of the 16 West African countries in their support to the efforts of governments in the areas of practical disarmament and peace-building. The training was conducted in four days by several renowned experts from international and sub-regional organizations and also from the academia and research institutes. The workshop methodology involved the use of lectures, simulation exercises, role plays, interactive discussions and supports such as Power Point, documentaries, films and stories. In all, sixteen lessons were delivered in the four days of intensive work.

This manual is a compilation of the courses which have been edited for better structural organisation and substantive adjustments following the guideline of the curriculum. This editorial work proved useful as some of the manuscripts did not fit the predefined methodology and courses elements prescribed in the curriculum.

Each lesson presented in this manual is preceded by a table indicating, the module from which it has been drawn, the goal and pedagogical objective of the module, the title of the lesson, its order of appearance in the module, its thematic contents, the trainer who delivered it and the language of presentation.

Bibliographic references by the authors are presented. The contents of the manual can be summarized as follows:

1. Lesson 1 of Module 1: *"The sociopolitical environment and armed conflicts in West Africa"*. This lesson gives an overview of the geopolitical and security situation in West Africa, characterized by the existence of a multitude of conflicts and an analysis of the root causes of these conflicts. This lesson helps understand the socio-political environment and the causes of conflicts in the sub-region.

2. Lesson 4 of Module 2: *"General knowledge on small arms and light weapons"*. This lesson draws attention on the different types of SALW in use, trade in SALW with the different routes and the factors of demand and supply. This lecture enhances knowledge on SALW and establishes the link with conflict prevention.

3. Lesson 6 of Module 2: *"SALW Control Mechanisms"*. National mechanisms and legislation on SALW in certain African countries are analysed as well as the context of adoption and implementation of international and regional instruments on the matter. The weaknesses of these mechanisms and the relevance of other international and regional instruments are also analysed. This lesson also indicates how CSOs could contribute to the effective operation of these mechanisms.

4. Lesson 9 of Module 3: *"Practical Disarmament and peace-building"*. This lesson presents a few experiences on peace-building measures in several countries affected by armed conflicts and analyses the evolution of the concept of disarmament, micro-disarmament and practical disarmament. The link between practical disarmament and peace-building is presented and the legal norms and instruments on the matter are also mentioned.

5. Lesson 11 of Module 3: *"Practical disarmament initiatives in West Africa"*. The achievements and difficulties faced by States, CSOs and the international community to effectively carry out

disarmament activities in West Africa are presented as well as the strategies for weapons collection, stockpile management, registration and destruction are presented in this lesson.

6. Lesson 12 of Module 3: *"DDR in West Africa"*. This lesson presents the foundations, challenges, methods, and stakes in the implementation of DDR operations planned and conducted by the United Nations in post-conflict countries in West Africa.

7. Lesson 14 of Module 4: *"Peace-Building"*. This lesson presents the paradigms of peace-building and violence as well as the basic principles of peace consolidation.

8. Lesson 16 of Module 4: *"The institutional framework for peace-building"*. This lesson endeavours to provide a conceptual definition of peace and to present the legal institutional mechanisms available for CSOs working in the field of peace consolidation in West Africa.

9. Lesson 17 of Module 4: *"Peace-building initiatives in West Africa"*. This lesson further elaborates on the concept of conflict prevention and resolution, peace consolidation and concrete examples of peace-building initiatives in West Africa

10. Lesson 20 of Module 5: *"Basis for partnership in practical disarmament, SALW control and peace-building in West Africa"*. This lesson presents different models of successful and strategic partnerships for CSOs in the area of practical disarmament. It also underscores the basic principles and success criteria for effective partnerships and indicates key elements for strategic partnership, collaboration and cooperation between CSOs, governments and the international community for the enhancement of the sub-regional security situation.

11. Lesson 21 of Module 5: *"Capacity building for civil society"*. This lesson focuses on the definition of concepts related to practical disarmament and peace-building, the strategies and techniques for resource mobilization and the best qualities to develop in partnerships such as accountability, transparency, participation and evaluation.

12. Lesson 23 of Module 6: *"Internet"*. This lesson emphasizes on a series of methods to be adopted for efficient research through Internet without losing sight of issues pertaining to internet security systems. The advantages of the use of ICT in practical disarmament and peace-building is also presented.

13. Lesson 26 of Module 7: *"Project Development"*. The major steps to be followed in the elaboration of projects including the prerequisites, the drafting of a project proposal and budget are examined in this lesson.

14. Lesson 27 of Module 7: *"Resource Mobilization"*. The lesson focuses on resource mobilization strategies, eligible projects for funding as well as donors and their areas of intervention. The objective of this lesson and the previous one is to enhance knowledge on the development of projects, fund raising and resource management for practical disarmament and peace-building initiatives in West Africa.

15. Lesson 29 of Module 8: *"Implementing the training programme in West Africa"*. This lesson presents the process which enables one to identify the technical factors to be taken into account in the implementation of a training programme on practical disarmament and peace-building undertaken by a CSO. These factors could be: the training needs, the targets, human and material resources, the tools for replication, the selection and adaptability of the lessons.

16. Lesson 30 of Module 8: *"Follow-up and evaluation of the training in West Africa"*. The follow-up mechanisms and indicators for a training programme on practical disarmament and peace-building at the local and national levels, as well as the necessity to evaluate the results and impacts are presented in this lesson.

As rich it may be, it is important to observe that this training manual does not, however, encapsulate all what can taught on the subject matter. But it does represent a solid compendium within which a significant cross-section of key lessons presented in the Training Curriculum have been elaborated. Indeed, the curriculum from which the manual derives is more comprehensive framework that offers a greater variety of substantive and methodological choices for building the capacities of CSOs in the field of practical disarmament and peacebuilding.

DEVELOPPED LESSONS

LESSON 1

MODULE 1: WEST AFRICA: SOCIOPOLITICAL ENVIRONMENT AND ARMED CONFLICTS

GOAL

To present the sociopolitical environment and conflicts in West Africa

PEDAGOGICAL OBJECTIVE

To identify and analyse the structural causes of modern armed violence and conflicts in West Africa

LESSON 1: The sociopolitical environment and armed conflicts in West Africa²

CONTENT

- ◆ Definitions
- ◆ General Overview
- ◆ Typology
- ◆ Analysis of root causes
- ◆ Stakeholders
- ◆ Democratic transitions
- ◆ Analysis of threats and risks
- ◆ Youth unemployment
- ◆ Availability of weapons

TRAINER

Professor Kossi AGOKLA, Project Coordinator of ASSEREP-TOGO, UNREC.

LANGUAGE OF PRESENTATION: French

1. DEFINITIONS

From the state of nature to contemporary times, man has consistently excelled in an activity called armed conflicts which can be described as hostilities "between actors who all possess weapons of war". These hostilities disrupt or threaten to disrupt peace and security and include actions such as invasions, interventions, border conflicts and civil war. They can be grouped into two broad categories namely:

- Minor armed conflicts in which the number of war victims is less than 1000; and
- Major armed conflicts with a number of casualties' superior to 1000.

Even though each part of the world has once been affected by conflict, we must recognize that the African continent is often the seat of armed conflicts because of a fundamentally conducive socio-economic and political context.

2. OVERVIEW

² This title corresponds to Lesson 1 in the Training of Trainers' Curriculum

West Africa, following the example of other regions of the black continent, represents a pole of interest in the proliferation of armed conflicts and their vectors.

If West Africa is a region of large economic integrations more or less efficient such as the Mano River Union, UEMOA, ECOWAS..., it is nonetheless true that most of the 16 States of the sub-region can easily be catalogued at a given time as either states in conflict, states in a situation of relative peace or states in a context of post-conflict peace –building.

Except for the Great Lakes region where the Rwandan genocide in April 1994, the process of democratisation has seen more tumult in West Africa than anywhere else on the African continent. Indeed, this sub-region has recorded over the last two decades, the longest and bloodiest conflicts. In Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast etc. the process of democratisation took place in a context of civil war, with devastating consequences in all areas of people's lives.

Other countries are experiencing a situation of neither peace nor war like Senegal, where the region of Casamance is witnessing since 1982, a rebellion that the authorities have had difficulties to curb so far. Furthermore, if Mali and Niger have been relatively successful in putting an end to the Tuareg insurgencies, the Sahelian belt from Mauritania to Niger, remains a fire belt around the sub-region. The gradual decline of some "Islamist" armed groups whether or not linked to Al Qaida, in the Sahara, with their war-like and ideological expertise, is a lasting threat to the stability of all the countries of the Sahel.

However, the countries which are not directly affected by internal armed conflicts are not immune to the indirect effects and the domino effect induced by these conflicts. Within each country, tensions experience without exception a level of intensity more or less strong, resulting from the degree of the ambient economic and social crisis. West Africa offers the spectacle of a volcanic zone with eruption spots and others on standby. Each national space includes the ingredients of a cocktail waiting for a spark to explode.

The simultaneity of these conflicts with the emergence of the democratic process has led some observers unfamiliar with the realities of Africa, to make down-grading judgments on the nature of these conflicts. For some, these conflicts are merely a reflection of "traditional inter-tribal or inter – ethnic wars," while others see in them the manifestation of religious intolerance generated by Islamic fundamentalism and to a lesser extent, Christian fundamentalism.

In reality, these conflicts are rooted in an economic, social and political substrate as forged by history. The case-by- case analysis of conflicts in West Africa shows the importance of historical factors. These conflicts are the product of a long process of sedimentation experienced by the economic and social formations.

3. TYPOLOGY

This observation of the situation of the continent in terms of peace and security leads to the following questions: What are the types of conflicts in Africa since 1990? As an answer, one can distinguish three types of conflicts: internal conflicts, internationalized internal conflicts and inter-states conflicts.

3.1 Intrastate and internal conflicts

Since the 90, conflicts in Africa, especially in West Africa, took the form of intra-state conflicts. The intra-state conflicts are defined as armed conflicts between a regular army and rebel groups or

between two political entities of the same State.

The intra-state conflicts are most often known as civil war. In this case, civil wars are the most widespread type of conflict. The 90s started with an unnamed civil war in Somalia. Other examples of civil wars and conflicts in West Africa took place in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea-Bissau.

Included in the category of intra-states conflicts, inter-ethnic conflicts can be mentioned. They have marked the contemporary political history of West Africa well before the 90's. The wars of secession also feature prominently among the intra-state conflicts. The Biafra war in Nigeria from 1967 to 1970 is an instance of war of secession.

3.2 Internationalised internal conflicts

It should also be noted that the international nature taken since some time by intra-state conflicts in Africa, leads to another kind of confrontation: internationalised intra-state or internal conflicts. These are conflicts internal to States, but because of the support for one or more parties to the conflict by neighbouring states or foreign powers, the conflicts tend to become internationalised internal or intra-state conflicts (case of the DRC, "1st World War "of Africa, Somalia...). So far, West Africa has been spared by this kind of armed conflict.

3.3 Inter-states conflicts

The inter-state conflicts are conflicts that engage the regular troops of two antagonistic states, often in the form of a territorial dispute (Ethiopia and Eritrea from 1998 to 2000). This type of conflict is rather less prevalent not only in West Africa but also across the African continent. Inter-state conflicts in Africa since the 90's focus on territorial disputes. An example of this type of conflict is the border war fought between Mali and Burkina Faso (Border Conflict of Agacher which prompted a mission of good offices from Togo).

4. ANALYSIS OF PROFOUND CAUSES

The causes of these conflicts are multiple and are due to socio-economic considerations which evolve around extreme poverty, not forgetting that for a long time, there was a lack of consideration for human rights and the mechanisms of good management of society.

In West Africa, armed conflicts have three main causes: the identity issue (1), the issue of governance (2) and the availability of firearms (3).

4.1 Exploitation of the identity issue

The first category of causes has to do with the refusal or inability of the authorities to manage the multi-ethnicity or multi-national African countries with a view to integration and inclusion. Most West African countries that have experienced crises and armed conflicts are characterized by multi-ethnic groups, pluralism of beliefs, communities, and so on.

If in such a context, governments don't have an inclusive and "integrative" approach, the application of marginalization and exclusion policies can only pave the way for challenges to the powers in place. Indeed, those who feel marginalized, discriminated against or excluded from the political, military, economic, financial or important material benefits of the system of governance in place develop a frustration and resentment that they can exploit to trigger a political contestation of power and even armed conflict.

Similarly, if the perfect application of democratic rules is tantamount to that of the ethnic, religious

or regional arithmetic, which is the essence of the colour of the majority of political parties existing in the region, it can only fertilize the ground of protest and conflict.

Unfortunately, managing the ethnic, religious and regional diversity has not been the strong point of political regimes in countries that have experienced or are experiencing crises. In many cases, voluntary marginalization and exclusion of certain groups to ensure the safety of the so-called power, has led the political regimes to stimulate a lot of conflicts in West Africa.

Another important social fact is the anchor of cultural and ethnic identities in particular due to the political exploitation of social, ethno-cultural, religious differences etc... in past or present governance systems.

In some cases, these situations have led to bloody disputes between social groups and such disputes are often difficult to erase or ignore even after the crisis and armed conflict. These situations become historical facts and socio-political realities that should be recognized and integrated into the management of post-conflict situations in multicultural societies.

4.2 The question of governance

This has to do with political governance and socio-economic governance.

4.2.1 Poor political governance

Political governance is the way in which political power is shared and managed in the country. This also concerns how the political, administrative, judicial and public coercion institutions are appropriate and how these institutions are managed by the authorities. This has finally to do with the relationship between the leader and the people on the one hand and the relationship between public institutions and these same people on the other hand.

4.2.2 Chaotic democratic transitions

In the majority of conflicts in Africa and particularly in West Africa, the blocking of the democratisation process, its manipulation or abuse, have been at the root of many crises on the continent. The political regimes in place were military or militarised, autocratic, single-party or state-party regimes. These regimes were headed by strong men, ideologically controlling populations or rather putting them ideologically in line. These regimes, to ensure the political economy of "predation", were totally opposed to any form of democratic expression, sharing power or popular participation in the exercise of power.

These regimes have finally embraced the democratisation process against their will, as a result of popular pressure and other forces excluded from the political economy of the "predation" or because of pressure from foreign partners which eventually impose democratisation as one of the conditions for their assistance.

As the basic political philosophy of these regimes by nature was the gun and physical coercion, they have not skimped on the means to deny, deflect or manipulate the application of the rules of genuine democracy. This led to social and political frustrations, protest movements that soon became contestation movements, political opposition and even armed opposition.

Facing such political opposition and social demands, the ruling class often responded with oppression and militarization of political institutions, sometimes on the basis of exclusions along cultural, ethnic, regional or religious lines.

These practices often encouraged some leaders of the political opposition to form militias and armed groups in order to conquer political power.

Conflicts thus appear as a consequence of the bankruptcy of the system of governance, the absence or denial of democratic governance, one of the paradigms of human development.

Of the 16 countries in West Africa, more than a third has experienced crises, which most often erupted into armed conflicts. The crisis and conflicts in these countries and their regional amplification have affected the nature, as well as the rationality and modes of expression of conflict. Similarly, the multiplicity of actors and stakeholders in these conflicts, some of which were not necessarily in the foreground, did not always facilitate the a priori reading and analysis that could have been made of such conflicts.

Countries like Togo, Nigeria and Guinea, just to mention these, are in fact experiencing relative peace and stability to be consolidated at all costs in order to avoid regrettable contagions.

4.2.3 Poor socio-economic governance

Economic governance refers in particular to the field of sustained growth and distribution of the social and economic dividends of economic independence and growth among the people. Remedies have often been prescribed by partners who portray themselves as development prophets or doctors, as well as assistance programmes that ultimately falter: all these were to no avail. West Africa is experiencing a deep development crisis in all its dimensions since the end of the seventies: growth rate, public finance, foreign trade, debt, etc...

Pauperisation was growing high while access to basic social services was becoming increasingly difficult for people and all of this in the face of the grandiloquence and the ostentation of "predatocracy." These populations felt betrayed by their leaders, and thus challenged the policies and the leaders who defined and applied them.

The environment and natural resources are the basis of economic growth and thus human development in West Africa. When they are not properly managed and are subject on the contrary to the predation of the leaders and their internal but mainly external accomplices, mismanagement that does not ensure protection nor regeneration for the current needs of the people and future generations, this may result in environmental insecurity for certain social groups, which develops into conflicts.

From a strictly economic point of view, crisis and armed conflicts have led to the destruction of the economic fabric, productive investments, infrastructures, and even the normal running of basic economic mechanisms. The economy of the region, with a few exceptions, is characterized by:

- The drop in regional and sector-based macroeconomic indicators, a deterioration of economic and social infrastructures caused by internal factors or due to regional interconnection;
- The destruction of the productive apparatus whose capacity have been reduced because of insecurity and the decline in the domestic market;
- A "growing informal economy and the development of parallel circuits especially in countries in crisis on the one hand and on the other hand, the slow assertion of national capital compared to the foreign capital which is still dominant in politically stable countries.

4.2.4 Youth unemployment³

On the continent, there are tens of millions of young people who do not have any hope to find an employment worthy of its name. This situation does not only raise the issue about the tragic waste of invaluable human resources but also highlights the repercussions this situation may have on human security in almost all the countries of Africa. Indeed, despair often makes of young people the easy preys for war leaders, criminal bands or gangs specialized in illegal immigration. The current levels of unemployment among the young men and women in West Africa are a time bomb for the region and beyond. In certain countries, the number of young people who do not have an authentic work exceeds 50% of the working population. Youth unemployment is the principal cause of destroying and self-destroying behaviours, ranging from activities carried out in neighbourhood bands to becoming part of local militias, where the young people without employment are in desperate search of not only an income, but also recognition and a feeling of belonging. Even the United Nations Security Council, in its Presidential Declaration of 25 February 2005, reaffirmed the emergency to find durable solutions to the problem of youth unemployment in West Africa in order to prevent the recruitment of these young people by illegal armed groups.

The transborder recruitment of young people for armed conflicts is very current in the region which extends from Guinea Bissau to Côte d'Ivoire. Combined with many the other transborder problems in West Africa – including light weapons, mercenaries, the illegal points of control and the traffic of drugs – the problem of youth unemployment cannot be solved according to a national approach but requires a regional approach not only to treat its negative effects but also to lay out a strategy to reduce it.

This unemployment feeds conflicts and criminality, which also repeatedly increases unemployment through its effects on economic performances, the confidence of investors and the social, physical and institutional structures. Consequently, the creation of jobs is a key tool for the prevention of conflicts.

4.3 The availability of small arms and light weapons

Oxfam International, IANSA and SAFERWORLD have for the first time in October 2007, estimated the economic cost of armed conflict for Africa's Development.

About 300 billion dollars were lost between 1990 and 2005 in 23 African countries among which were some countries from West Africa, such as Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Niger, Nigeria and Senegal.

This amount corresponds to international aid of major donors during the same period. According to the findings of this research, weapons of choice in conflicts in Africa is without doubt the rifle "Kalachnikov", the most famous being the AK-47, most of which are not even manufactured in Africa.

These weapons which are classified as small arms and light weapons have been the subject of a study by the Small Arms Survey, an international NGO based in Geneva, Switzerland. In its new estimates of August 2007, the Small Arms Survey said that 875 million small arms and light weapons are currently in circulation worldwide, with 80 million in Africa and 650 million in the hands of civilians.

The excessive accumulation of SALW has rendered the security situation very volatile in many

³ <http://www.un.org/unowa/francais/unowa/studies/yunemp-v2-fr.pdf>.

African States which, for the majority, have failed as States. The proliferation, circulation and trafficking of small arms and light weapons combined with the complex nature of conflicts on the African continent is now the main battle front on which are fighting not only states but also international organizations and civil society.

The armament used in armed conflicts in Africa and particularly in West Africa, primarily consists of small arms and light weapons. These are essentially weapons of a calibre less than 100 mm, portable either by one or more people on foot (case of small arms), or on a horse, in a cart or a vehicle (case of light weapons). They are also manufactured according to military specifications to be used as means of war. Disarmament, arms control and peace-building initiatives are then recommended to alleviate this problem.

5. PARTIES TO THE CONFLICTS

There are the direct actors and the indirect actors. The first are the protagonists of the conflict, the opposing parties which are clashing; the latter includes the third parties, all those who are interested for a reason or another in the crisis, either to solve it or to maintain it. Observation has shown that the parties involved in modern conflicts in West Africa are usually the regular armies, the rebel groups, multinational companies, the salesmen and arms brokers, the unemployed youth, the child soldiers, the separatist movements, religious communities and criminal organizations, the mediators and facilitators, the neutral forces of interposition and peacekeeping, etc.

6. ANALYSIS OF THREATS AND RISKS

In 1997, a survey conducted by the GRIP (Groupe de Recherche et d'Information sur la Paix) revealed that the reasons for the acquisition of small arms in Africa are found in conflicts of political (or government) succession and in territorial disputes, the former being the most frequent. The recent alarming figures given above, in the introduction on the situation of small arms and light weapons (SALW), attest to the uncontrolled movement and the destabilizing proliferation of SALW in the world and particularly in Africa.

This phenomenon exacerbates and prolongs armed conflicts whose victims are numerous and with immeasurable material destruction.

Beside the issue of small arms and light weapons which have become de facto "weapons of mass destruction" in Africa, there is no formal and binding international and multilateral convention prohibiting the development, manufacturing, storage, transfer and calling for the destruction of small arms and light weapons.

CONCLUSION

Since the independence era, passing through the period of the Cold War and the fall of the Berlin Wall, the unregulated and uncontrolled flow of small arms and light weapons fuelled armed conflicts and violent crimes in Africa. This grim situation seriously undermines the efforts to build stable and prosperous states on the African continent.

The salvation of Africa lies in the general improvement of governance as well as in the adoption, ratification and implementation of legally binding instruments on arms transfers and an unwavering support to the adoption of the Arms Trade Treaty.

West Africa, through its sub-regional organization ECOWAS (the Economic Community of West African States), has already adopted a legally binding instrument on SALW. It concerns the adoption in June 2006 of the ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons, their ammunitions, and other related materials. Thus, West Africa has become the first sub-region in the world to have established a legally binding instrument which governs the trade and movement of small arms and light weapons.

In recent years, the need for a global legally binding instrument on SALW has mobilized the efforts of some international non-governmental organizations. There is an ongoing campaign which aims to promote the adoption of an international treaty covering arms transfers - the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) - and prohibiting the sale of weapons to repressive governments, rebel groups and criminals of all kinds. On October 26, 2006, 139 United Nations Member States voted at the First Committee of the General Assembly, by an overwhelming majority in favour of the development of an international treaty on arms trade. From the beginning of 2007, the new Secretary General of the United Nations, Ban Ki-Moon began consultations with Member States in order to determine the legal basis of this treaty. West Africa would largely benefit from this Treaty.

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LESSON 2

MODULE 2: SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS IN WEST AFRICA

GOAL:

To strengthen knowledge on SALW in the sub-region and to establish the link with conflict prevention.

PEDAGOGICAL OBJECTIVE

To define what small arms and light weapons are, their impact on human security and peace-building and how to combat the illicit proliferation of SALW

LESSON 4: General knowledge on small arms and light weapons⁴

CONTENTS

- ◆ Definitions
- ◆ Supply factors
- ◆ Sources, brokering, arms circulation routes in West Africa
- ◆ Production: industrial production, marking and tracing
- ◆ Local production
- ◆ Factors contributing to the demand, internal markets

TRAINER

Dr Cyriaque P. AGNEKETHOM, Head of the Small Arms Unit, ECOWAS Commission.

LANGUAGE OF PRESENTATION: French

INTRODUCTION

The security situation in West Africa has been characterized for a few decades by the recurrence of different types of armed violence: armed conflicts; urban or rural armed violence; transborder armed violence; etc.

Whatever the causes and its manifestations, this violence is perpetrated through the use of small arms and light weapons (SALW), of which the proliferation hinders the national security strategies and the development efforts in the sub region.

The presence and the use of light weapons in organized crime, urban criminality and wars, represent today, as a great number of observers, nongovernmental and inter-state organizations have observed, the principal threat, with AIDS, to human security in Africa.

Significant efforts have been made at the international and regional levels to adopt a common understanding of SALW as well as its related concepts and activities. This has had a positive effect on the understanding of the nature of the proliferation of SALW, its proportions and its consequences both human and material.

⁴ This title corresponds to Lesson 4 in the Training of Trainers' Curriculum

However, it should be underscored that in the field of light weapons, the major problems encountered are those of the availability and reliability of statistical data on the production and trade of these weapons. This can be explained by the fact that SALW are integrated in the defence and trade strategies of producing countries. Furthermore, the fact that on this matter the borders between the licit and the illicit are very porous renders the search for reliable data and the understanding of the routes through which these weapons circulate even more difficult.

Thus, this lesson is a contribution to the general effort to circumscribe and understand the phenomenon of SALW in West Africa whilst integrating the continental and international dynamics. The lesson has been structured so as to flow gradually from the concepts to the understanding of the routes used for weapons' transfers in West Africa as well the presentation on the activities related to the production and trade of SALW.

These developments are the fruit of documentary research on the works published by a certain number of institutes specialized on this question. They are also drawn from field research undertaken by the author in 2000 –2001 on behalf of the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa (UNREC), on "The Routes and Weapons Cache in Africa". And finally, the lesson is based on the personal experience of the author acquired over the numerous years of management of issues related to practical disarmament.

1. DEFINITIONS

Defining SALW has been a progressive enterprise so as to insert various realities and to obtain minimal consensus enabling the understanding of what SALW are.

From the Report of the Panel of governmental experts on small arms (A/52/298) to the "Report of Open-Ended Working Group (OEWG) with the goal of negotiating an international instrument to Enable States to Identify and Trace, in a Timely and Reliable Manner, Illicit Small Arms and Light weapons" (The Marking and Tracing Instrument - A/60/88), there has been significant evolution in the definition of small arms and light weapons.

In the first report of governmental experts (A/52/298), the following definition is given:

"Small arms and light weapons range from cold steel (bludgeons, cutlasses or machetes) to weapons of a calibre immediately inferior to those which are listed in the Register of the conventional weapons held by the UN",

The following definition of SALW is given in the "Project of international instrument aiming at enabling States to proceed with the quick and reliable identification and tracing of illicit small arms and light weapons" (A/60/88):

"Any portable lethal weapon on man's back which propels or launches lead, bullets or shells through the action of an explosive, or which is designed with this intention or can be easily transformed for this purpose, with the exception of old small arms and light weapons or replicas"

- a) Generally, "**small arms**" are defined as, but not exclusively, **individual weapons** such as: revolvers and pistols with automatic loading; rifles and carbines; sub-machine-guns; assault rifle; and light machine-guns;
- b) Generally "**light weapons**" are defined as, but not exclusively, **collective weapons designed to be used by two or three people, although some can be transported and used by only one person**, such as: heavy machine guns; portable grenade launchers, mobile or

mounted; portable anti-aircraft cannons; portable anti-tank cannons; non recoil rifles; portable anti-tank missile launchers or rocket launchers; portable anti-aircraft missile launchers; and mortars with a calibre of less than 100 mm.

The ECOWAS Convention on small arms and light weapons, their ammunition and other materials, adopted, in Article 1, the following definition of SALW:

Light weapons: Portable arms designed to be used by several persons working in a team and which include notably:

- Heavy machine guns ;
- portable grenade launchers, mobile or mounted;
- portable anti-aircraft cannons;
- portable anti-tank cannons, non-recoil guns;
- portable anti-tank missile launchers or rocket launchers;
- portable anti-aircraft missile launchers;
- mortars with a calibre of less than 100 mm.

Small Arms: Arms used by one person and which include notably:

- firearms and other destructive arms or devices such as an exploding bomb, an incendiary bomb or a gas bomb, a grenade, a rocket launcher, a missile, a missile system or landmine;
- revolvers and pistols with automatic loading;
- rifles and carbines ;
- sub-machine guns ;
- assault rifles ;
- light machine guns ;

In the ECOWAS Convention on SALW, the definitions of the following concepts are as follows:

Ammunitions: Devices destined to be shot or projected through the means of firearms including among others:

- cartridges;
- projectiles and missiles for light weapons;
- mobile containers with missiles or projectiles for anti-aircraft or anti-tank singled action systems.

Other related materials: All components, parts or spare parts for small arms or light weapons or ammunition necessary for its functioning; or any chemical substance serving as active material used as propelling or explosive agent;

Marking: Inscriptions permitting the identification of arms covered by this Convention;

Tracing: Indicates the systematic monitoring of the movements of small arms and light weapons and their ammunition and other related materials, from the manufacturer until the end user, with a view to helping member States' competent authorities detect illicit manufacture and trading;

Brokering : Work carried out as an intermediary between any manufacturer, supplier or distributor of small arms and light weapons and any buyer or use; this includes the provision of financial support and the transportation of small arms and light weapons;

Transfer: Includes import, export, transit, transshipment and transport or any other movement whatsoever of small arms and light weapons, ammunition and other related materials from or through the territory of a State;

Non-state actors: Such as any actor other than State Actors, mercenaries, armed militias, armed rebel groups and private security companies.

These arms which are used by armies, are also used by irregular troops, terrorists and criminals due to the fact that they are less expensive, easy to transport and dissimulate, usable without much preliminary training and requiring very little maintenance, and especially because of their high rate of lethality.

2. SUPPLY FACTORS

Even though there is a lack of complete and reliable statistics on the matter, one can comfortably affirm that recent transformations within the international system have boosted the SALW market.

2.1 The dislocation of the ex - USSR and the Federation of Yugoslavia

This double dislocation led to the formation of national armies in the newly independent States. Some of these armies (Russia, Serbia and Ukraine) inherited large surpluses of weapons whereas others (Armenia, Croatia, Slovenia and Georgia) had to import various types of weapons to equip their new armies. Even if these countries need heavy weapons, due to their limited means, they are forced to purchase only small arms and light weapons.

Moreover, the majority of these countries have been involved in border or ethnic and/or religious disagreements, in internal conflicts with the appearance of militias and paramilitary troops, which have increased their requirement in weapons.

2.2 The collapse of the central authority in ex Soviet Republics

The control of the central power on the production and distribution of weapons was rather strong in the former Soviet republics. With the collapse of the USSR, this authority was demolished by the democratic and nationalist forces which emerged, leading, in many cases, to the erosion of governmental control on the internal and external trade of light weapons. This resulted in a significant progression of the illicit trade of weapons by new private firms, without much control of weapons and consequently there has been a substantial flow of weapons towards the black market.

Furthermore, the Russian military hierarchy, when confronted with great budgetary difficulties and salary payments for its officers and personnel, is said to have sold its surpluses of weapons to foreign purchasers and to combatants of various internal conflicts all over the world.

2.3 Surpluses of stocks of light weapons

The end of the Cold War in Europe generated enormous stocks of surplus weapons in many member countries of NATO or the Warsaw Pact. These countries were forced, in many cases, to sell part of their stocks or to find new purchasers all over the world at relatively low prices, in order to get rid of what was becoming a burden.

2.4 The multiplication of ethnic and religious conflicts

One of the great evolutions on the international scene since the end of the cold war is the occurrence, or even the proliferation of identity based conflicts, which in many cases are internal

conflicts. In Africa for example, the Ethiopia - Eritrea war appears as an anachronism in this macabre reality of internal conflicts.

The favourite weapons used in a majority of such conflicts are light weapons, which as indicated by the United Nations are the most used weapons in 46 of the 49 listed conflicts in the 1990s.

2.5 Growing importance of non-state actors

Alongside the multiplication of identity based conflicts and the socio-political and economic disorders in societies, the increasingly significant weight of non-states actors such as rebel groups, separatist movements, religious communities and criminal organizations, is a factor which favours the international trade of weapons.

2.6 The increasing privatization of security and violence

One of the recent evolutions within societies is the increasing tendency of private individuals, groups and organizations to use private security forces rather than to trust the police and paramilitary forces of the State. We observe that a growing number of individuals equip themselves with weapons and hire the services of security companies for protection from the insecurity due to organized crime or rebellions.

The growing privatization of security and violence leads to a demand in weapons by various means, legal, when the national legislation allows it, and illegal when it proves to be difficult to get them through legal means.

2.7 The difficulty, if not impossibility to control the borders

The observation shared by all the stakeholders within the framework of this study is the difficulty encountered by African States to effectively control their borders. The weak control of borders in Africa is mainly related not only to the lack of technical and logistical means but also the lack of financial and human resources. Indeed, the existing border posts are insignificant as compared to the territory to be controlled. The maritime, terrestrial or airport based borders are all characterized by their porosity, which is encouraged by the general lack of collaboration between the relevant authorities (police force, customs and gendarmerie) and between the various countries.

2.8 Corruption within the relevant authorities

In spite of this existing lack of means, it appears that a minimum of effectiveness could be reached in terms of control, if the agents under whose responsibility it is were to carry it out with the necessary rigour and professionalism. Nevertheless, according to persons in the main administrations met by the author, corruption is increasingly propagating amongst these agents. The reasons brought forward are the poor salaries and more specifically their irregularity. Thus, the border post has become a highly sought for working place by the agents who can obtain money and other compensations by facilitating the passage of goods and not controlling them. The traffickers of all kinds use this weakness of the agents for the passage of various illicit products, including weapons.

3. SOURCES, BROKERING, ARMS CIRCULATION ROUTES IN WEST AFRICA

In a regional context taking into consideration the whole of the African continent, one can draw the following three (3) conclusions concerning this circulation:

3.1 The Logic behind the Circulation of Weapons in West Africa

a. There is a logic behind the sub-regional circulation of weapons in which certain countries play a central role as a source of supply and/or transit. The areas of circulation revolve schematically around the main systems of conflict in Africa, namely those of the Horn of Africa, the Great Lakes, Southern Africa and West Africa.

b. The epicentres of these conflict systems have a significant role in the routing of weapons towards other countries due to the interaction between the various conflicts within the same system.

Moreover, the displacements of populations from the epicentre towards the peripheral zones are accompanied, on a scale which is difficult to evaluate, by movements of weapons justified by a set of factors such as the need for refugees to protect themselves, the will of an armed group to reorganize itself out of its territory of action, etc.

c. The assumption that weapons are recycled from conflict zone to another is often brought forward but it appears that this recycling is more often carried out within a same geographical set and very seldom from one sub-region to another.

According to official information collected in Niger, the entry and the illicit circulation of weapons is narrowly and directly linked with the vicinity of the country, thus transforming it into "a withdrawal base for runaways from neighbouring countries, who enter with weapons and luggage".

It appears that the illicit traffic of weapons in Niger follows four (4) main axes:

- The Algerian axis, consequence of the Islamic fundamentalism in the country and the fight carried out against it by the Algerian authorities. Hunted in Algeria, armed fundamentalism seeks and finds refuge in Niger. Several religious groups have ramifications going as far as the Arab countries, and are involved in the traffic of weapons.
- The Chadian axis which develops and structures itself according to the successive conflicts in Chad and the refugee movements bound for Niger. The strong presence of these refugees on the territory of Niger, in particular after the flight of the former Chadian president Hissein Habré, is accompanied by a great flow of weapons to Niger, weapons which are resold or exchanged with the populations against food.
- The Malian axis, with weapons coming from Mauritania, which are being supplied from Iraq;
- The Burkinabe axis, with weapons coming from Libya, Liberia and Sierra Leone.

The investigations which have been carried out on the field in the region of Diffa in Niger and in particular in the district of N'Guigmi, separated from Chad by the lake of the same name, confirm the existence of the Chadian axis.

Illicit circuit of weapons in West Africa



Source: Map elaborated by UNREC

In Senegal, the great majority of weapons seized by the police forces were manufactured in ex-USSR or the former Eastern block and come mainly from the West African sub region and particularly from the neighbouring countries.

Among those, Guinea Bissau is regarded as the principal source of weapons which enter Senegal, in particular bound for the neighbouring Casamance where an armed rebellion has been prevailing for the past ten years carried out by the Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance (MFDC). The long war of liberation against the Portuguese colonizer and the support Guinea-Bissau enjoyed from former Communists, transformed it into a zone of strong concentration of weapons in the sub-region.

The intelligence services of the Senegalese police forces support their information by the description of a weapons traffic which supposedly starts from countries experiencing civil war (Liberia and Sierra Leone), transits through the Republic of Guinea and Guinea Bissau, before reaching their final destination which is often Casamance. Furthermore, they confirm the original identity of weapons found in the Eastern part of Guinea at the border with Liberia on the one hand, and those used in 1998 during the civil war in Guinea Bissau and on the other hand those which are used by the Casamance rebels.

The cross-checking of the information obtained in Liberia and through the abundant literature concerning the country, classify Liberia both as a transit point and a final destination for the traffic of weapons in the sub region, with an intense activity at the borders with Guinea and Sierra Leone.

Zones like the counties of Montserrado and Nimba and the region of Lofa are classified as zones of intense concentration of illicit weapons.

3.2 Sources and Actors involved in the traffic of weapons

The functional break down of the chain of weapons trafficking makes it possible to identify:

- applicants: armed rebellious movements; countries or regimes under weapons embargo; organized crime;
- suppliers: private or state owned enterprises, often from the communist bloc and/or other producer countries;
- intermediaries: individuals or private companies playing the role of traffickers.

If one refers to the subjects, one discovers States, private or state owned companies, specialized in the trade of weapons, armed gangsters and movements. According to this classification, the role of each actor is measured as follows.

3.2.1 The States: One can reasonably think that a great number of weapons which are found in the illicit circuit come from the stocks or legal purchases of African States, taking into account the limited control which these States have on their own arsenals (absence of register, theft within the military stocks, etc), the implication of some of these States in the violations of embargo, or their benevolence towards armed rebellious movements.

The absence or the very weak control which African States have on their own arsenals is portrayed in several ways. On the one hand, this happens due to the temporary disappearance of weapons coming from the stocks of the police and security forces. This is the doing of agents who, confronted with socio-economic difficulties or tempted by the easy lure of gain, rent out their weapons in exchange of money, to delinquents and/or criminals. The existence of this phenomenon has been recognized by the large majority of persons in charge within the security with which the author had to interact during his investigation. The time during which the weapons are “rented out”, these weapons belonging to the State in question find themselves in the illegal circuit and are used to commit crimes and offences against the populations, and unfortunately sometimes, against agents of the police and security forces.

In addition and more and more often, the weapons disappear completely from the national arsenals. This occurs in cases of theft, plundering in times of mutinies or the distributions of weapons to militias during internal crises.

Guinea Bissau is an example of an African country confronted with the illicit circulation of weapons which had been previously distributed to their militia by the parties involved in the internal conflict. The confrontation in June 2000, in Guinea Bissau, between the partisans of president Nino Vieira and the military junta led by General Ansoumane Mané was characterized by the very significant implication of civilian populations in the conflict. The militias which were close to the two camps involved were strongly armed to take part in the combats which plunged the capital Bissau in blood. The very great majority of the weapons which were distributed to the populations during this conflict have never been recovered.

The other channel by which African States contribute to the proliferation and illicit circulation of weapons on the continent is through the violation of arms embargoes decided by the international community, and in particular by the UN.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, the UN Security Council decided on eight (8) arms embargoes against the following States (Angola, Rwanda, Libya, Somalia, Liberia, Sierra Leone) and African armed movements (UNITA, ex-FAR, RUF) African. Whatever the motivation, the objective was to

prevent, thanks to the collaboration of the UN Member States, the supply of weapons to the accused actors.

Official reports exist, proving that these embargoes have been violated by a certain number of actors, including African States.

A case in point is the arms embargoes decided against the UNITA in Angola and the Revolutionary Front (RUF) in Sierra Leone which was violated by Burkina Faso, Togo and ex-Zaire for Angola, and by Burkina Faso and Liberia for Sierra Leone. According to investigations carried out by the United Nations, these countries are said to have actively contributed to the violation of the Security Council Resolutions by providing to these incriminated movements certificates of end-users, or simply by serving as transit points for weapons destined to these movements.

3.2.2 Armed Movements and Groups: It is difficult to evaluate, with regards to the States, the contribution of armed movements to the illicit circulation of weapons on the continent. Only, it can be said that they play a significant role, as recipients of these illegal circuits of weapons but also, and more than we can imagine, as providers of weapons.

If States can in all legality get weapons on the world market, on the other hand, armed groups which are opposed internally or externally to the existing authorities, resort to the illegal circuits to supply themselves with weapons which they need for the defence of their cause.

It can be stated that:

- armed movements profit from the accommodating attitude and complicity of States in their supply of weapons;
- there are interactions between armed movements in the acquisition of weapons;
- the great zones of illicit circulation or concentration of weapons on the continent match quite perfectly the areas where armed conflicts proliferate.

The armed groups in Africa generally benefit from the support of a certain number of States, which provide them with weapons and military equipment. This assistance in weapons is based either on the regional ambitions of the States in question, or on their deliberate will to destabilize a nearby regime, or on economic reasons which push them to sell surpluses of weapons at their disposal.

In West Africa, the supports of Liberia to the RUF and that of Guinea Bissau to the Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance (MFDC) are proven cases, just like the fact that most of the weapons used by the MFDC came from Guinea Bissau.

We can also observe the cross-cutting between the great zones of concentration of weapons and the zones of activities of armed groups.

One also observes the stepping between the great zones of concentration of weapons and the zones of activities of the armed groups.

In West Africa, the main area of tension which threatens the stability of the sub region concerns the three countries of the Mano River Union, namely Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone. This crisis is unfolding in a zone polluted with illicit weapons because of the long civil war in Liberia and Sierra Leone and the proximity of other zones of tension and concentration of weapons such as Casamance and Guinea-Bissau. However, the main characteristic of the few tens of square kilometres (the zone of the "nozzle of the parrot") which constituted the main battle field of this conflict is that it is criss-crossed with impunity by armed groups, militiamen and rebels.

Among the armed groups which deployed their activities there, one can count the rebels of the Revolutionary Front (RUF) of Foday Sankoh supported by Liberia, which accused Guinea of sheltering and supporting opponents to the Liberian regime, and in particular the United Movement

for the Liberation of democracy (ULIMO), an ex faction of the Liberian civil war. Also present were the Sierra Leonian traditional hunters organized in pro-governmental militia ("kamajors") and their Guinean accomplices, as well as opponents to the Guinean regime who have armed themselves and have rallied the rebels of the neighbouring countries.

The link between the activity of armed movements and the concentration of weapons is also perceptible inside one same country.

In Niger, the two major zones of concentration of weapons in the country are the North and the East, which, were both the theatre of rebellious movements in the early 1990s

The Tuareg rebellion in the North of the country saw the emergence and activism of groups such as the Air and Azawak Liberation Front (FLAA) led by Rhissa Ag Boula, the Coordination of armed resistance (C.R.A.) chaired by Mano Dayak, the Organization of armed resistance (O.R.A.), or Union of the forces of armed resistance (UFRA) chaired by Mohamed Anako.

The eastern part of the country (basin of Lake Chad and in the Manga) was also the theatre of Toubou rebellion carried out by Democratic Front for Change (F.D.R.), the United Revolutionary Movement (M.U.R.) and the armed revolutionary forces of the Sahara (F.A.R.S.). In reaction to these armed movements Peul and Arab militias emerged and gathered themselves in self-defence Committees (C.A.D.), often with the support of the central administration.

3.2.3 The dominating role of brokers and conveyors

It is readily recognized that without brokers, conveyors and other intermediaries, the illicit trade of light weapons would not have the width it has today. This leads many official actors, NGOs and all those who take interest in this field to wish for the regulation of their activities both at the national and international level.

The brokers facilitate and organize transactions, working for the account of suppliers and recipients in order to gain some profit.

According to observers, the brokers can be classified into two groups depending on the period when they started to exercise their activity. Consequently, there are traditional actors of great charisma, most of which emerged after the cold war, who intervene in relatively significant transactions. To this group, one can appropriately add a second group, made up of old official personalities and officers from a more modest rank, attracted by the possibility of gaining quick profits thanks to more limited transactions.

The increasingly significant role of brokers is apparently related to a certain number of factors:

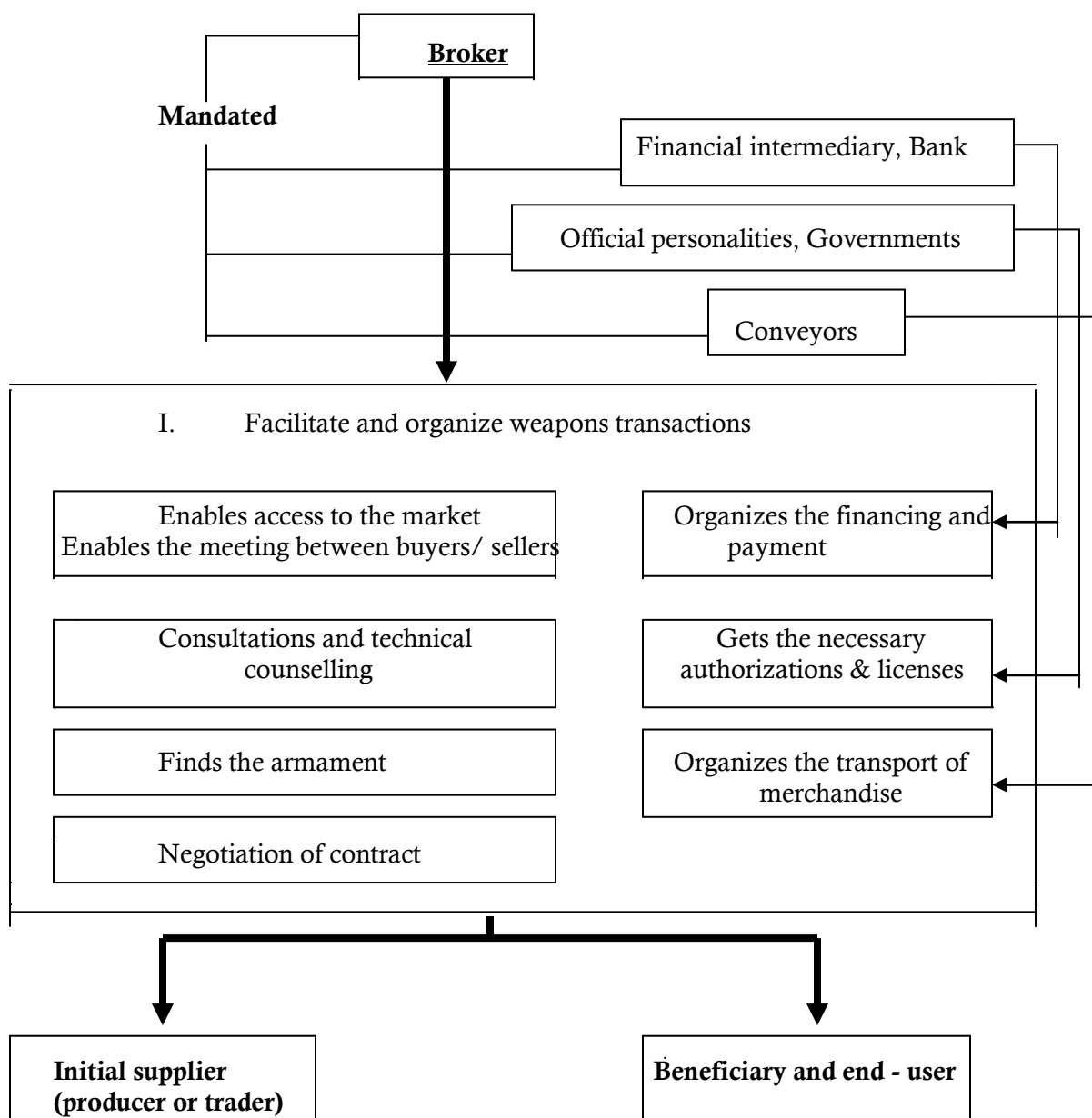
- The progressive withdrawal of governmental agencies in parallel weapons transactions;
- The increasing demand for indirect transfers to the benefit of doubtful recipients;
- The revival of the demand for weapons among non state actors;
- The more significant needs in weapons within the communities and individuals in order to face the increasing trans-border.

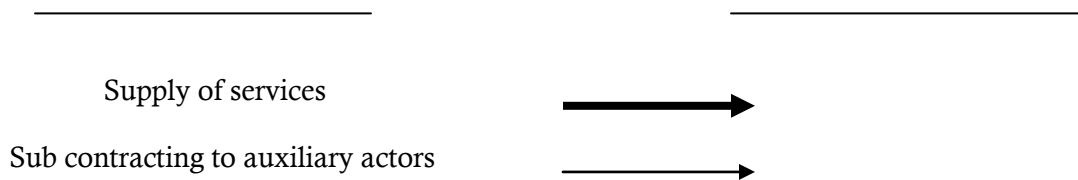
Nevertheless, it is advisable to add that the importance of the role of brokers in the illicit trade of light weapons is somehow related to the weakness of public policies on the matter. Thus, certain States, whilst denouncing this phenomenon, do not hesitate to call upon brokers in a bid to dissimulate their exports, and even their acquisitions of weapons. Furthermore, the brokers benefit from the inexistence, the flaws of the national legal systems which, in some cases, do not regulate nor prohibit the activity of weapons brokers.

Thus, a better control of the activity of brokers goes through initially and necessarily the installation and application of national regulations, which take into account this type of activities. Indeed, the majority of regulations focuses only on the physical transfers of armaments, and was not elaborated to involve provisions for services intervening within the framework of negotiations of weapons.

Then, it is necessary to move on to the stage of the coordination of regulations at the international level in order to better determine the trans-national character of arms brokering, because it is not possible for one State only to control all the transactions of brokers who operate on their territory. Lastly, it is necessary to operate more rigorous controls of the certificates of end-users and to implement the marking and tracing of light weapons which make it possible to identify the manufacturer of the weapon and to retrace the "life" of the weapon.

Diagram of the world of brokering





Source: Small Arms Survey 2001, Graph 3.1

Complementary to arms brokers, the conveyors also play a non negligible role in the transfer of military equipment. The most acknowledged conveyors are the airborne conveyors with cargo airlines which convey the weapons and ammunitions even to conflict zones. These conveyors take advantage of the weaknesses of African States in particular the absence of civilian air transportation regulation and the generalised corruption within the police and customs for the falsification of their documentation and dissimulation of their cargo.

Recent reports from the UN on arms embargo violations to Angola and Sierra Leone clearly depict their activities, the main companies involved and the implemented mechanisms to reach their objective.

3.2.4 Mode of Transport and entry routes

Few African countries dispose of a great capacity of weapons manufacturing. Even with regards to small arms and light weapons which are the most used weapons in Africa, only South Africa and Egypt are considered as average producers on the 10 recognized African countries disposing of production capacities. Indeed, the production capacity of the other countries is difficult to evaluate and often reduced to traditional manufacturing.

Thus, the weapons in circulation on the African continent are or have been in majority imported from outside and particularly from Europe. This confers to air and maritime transportation a major role in the conveying of weapons to Africa.

On the continent, the transportation of weapons is carried out either by road or by river and this is facilitated by the porous borders and the lack of control at the border posts.

Recent official documents, particularly those provided by the United Nations and the research carried out by a number of organizations and institutes have highlighted the role of certain airports in the traffic of weapons towards Africa.

Consequently, the Report of the Group of Experts composed in application of paragraph 19 of Security Council resolution 1306 on Sierra Leone (S/2000/1195), clearly indicates the preponderance of the airports of Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso) and Monrovia (Liberia) in the traffic of weapons intended for the rebels of the United Revolutionary Front. In paragraphs 202 to 211, examples are mentioned of weapons transported by air, most often by helicopter, to Liberia and which finish their itinerary in zones which are under the control of the URF.

Other airports have been pinpointed as playing an important role in the traffic of weapons in Africa, particularly in the Great Lakes region. These are the airports of Entebbe (Uganda), Goma, Kigali and Luanda. Many observers of the crisis in DRC have named these airports as being the most utilised to convey weapons to the eastern part of Congo Kinshasa.

Although information concerning the main transit airports for weapons in Africa is quite scarce, the information tends to be more precise in terms of maritime transportation.

There is no written evidence on information collected to this effect but concurring testimonies have made of certain ports, especially those along the Indian Ocean, the main entry points into Africa. The ports which are often cited are those of Mogadiscio and Berbera in Somalia, Dar-Es Salaam in Tanzania, Mombasa in Kenya, Beira in Mozambique and Djibouti. The latter is considered as the exclusive entry point of weapons destined for the Ethiopian government and in some cases to armed opposition movements. However their weapons are more often conveyed through the port of Assab in Eritrea.

On the Atlantic front, the information obtained depicts a less busy trend of activities in weapons flow. This might also be due to the lack of data on the matter. However, the ports of Monrovia in Liberia and Conakry in Guinea are often mentioned as playing an important role in the supply of weapons within the Mano River Union which is composed of Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone.

Furthermore, the information collected from the security and police forces of Niger indicates that the port of Lome is also an important transit point for weapons going to the Sahelian countries, including Niger. This trend has been observed due to the regular seizures of weapons made in second hand cars for which the port of Lome is one of the major ports in West Africa. For the Nigerien security services, traffickers use the second hand cars transiting through the port of Lome as a means of conveying the weapons to the Sahelian countries.

However this information has not been verified with the relevant Togolese authorities who have indicated that second hand car business is a major target for the Togolese security forces in the fight against drug and arms trafficking.

To be informed on the various entry points of weapons into the African continent is of major importance for any person wishing to understand the maze behind arms trafficking in Africa. It appears however that the African security services are less concerned about these entry points than the internal movement of weapons.

Terrestrial transportation within a sub region has been recognized as the means of predilection to convey weapons from one country to another thanks to the lengthy borders and difficulty for States to carry out effective border controls. For example, Niger which shares borders with its seven neighbours over a distance of approximately 5606 km only disposes of 20 border posts.

In Togo, the security services have indicated that the Mano River which flows along the eastern part of the country is also used as a conveying route for drugs and weapons.

4. PRODUCTION: INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION, MARKING AND TRACING

It is considered that approximately 550 million small arms and light weapons are in circulation in the world, according to figures that were published in 2001. This minimal figure does not take into account weapons which are being held illegally by civilian populations and the very great number of weapons held by private citizens in a number of countries such as China, France, India and Pakistan.

The detention and possession of these weapons by different groups can be classified in 5 categories:

- a. **Firearms held by the police force.** They represent a negligible amount of the total number of firearms in circulation in the world, accounting for 3%, that is to say approximately 18 million.

- b. **Firearms held by the governmental armed forces.** From the data submitted by countries having statistics on these issues, these weapons amount to 226 million, that is to say 41% of the total weapons in circulation.
- c. **Firearms held by non state actors, mainly the nongovernmental forces and the rebels.** Evaluated at nearly 1 million, that is to say less than 1% of the world total, they are the fewest but the most destabilizing. The majority of these weapons are located in Africa and mainly in Central Africa.
- d. **Firearms held legally by private individuals and private security companies.** These amount to 305 million, that is to say approximately 55% of the world total of small arms and light weapons.
- e. **Firearms held illegally by private individuals and private security companies.** These remain difficult to estimate, precisely due to their illicit nature.

4.1 Production

The light weapons industry is geographically the most widespread of the Defense industry. Indeed, it is estimated that at least 95 countries have the capacity to undertake the legal production of light weapons and that the number of companies manufacturing these weapons increased from 200 in the eighties to 600 in 2000, of which more than half are based in the United States.

The geographical distribution of countries manufacturing light weapons in 2000 should be as follows:

- Africa (South of the Sahara): 10 countries;
- Europe and the Community of Independent States: 39 countries;
- The Middle East: 11 countries;
- Asia (The Pacific): 19 countries;
- Latin America: 10 countries;
- North and Central America: 6 countries.

Although the number of companies is clearly on the rise, the production itself has lessened. According to the data available, at least 347 million light weapons were produced between 1945 and 2000, with an average volume of production estimated at 6.3 million per annum from 1980 to 1998. For the year 2000, this average is estimated at 4.3 million weapons.

In value, the global production of light weapons was estimated in 2000 at 1.4 billion US\$ at least, whereas the 15 billion ammunitions of all categories and calibres were considered to be worth 2.6 billion US\$, which carries the total value of the production of light weapons and ammunitions to at least 4 billion US\$.

According to the value and the volume of production, the industry of light weapons can be divided into 4 categories:

- the major producers (3) which are China, Russia and the United States;
- the average producers (23) including France, South Africa, Egypt, Belgium, etc.
- the small producers (29) like Canada, Australia, Saudi Arabia, etc.
- countries having a certain production capacity (40) but difficult to evaluate for lack of information, like a great number of African countries including Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Cameroon, Burkina Faso, Algeria, Morocco, Guinea.

4.1.1 Types of most sought for weapons

According to the data below, the most used types of light weapons are the M16, FAL, G3 and AK-47. The main suppliers of small arms and light weapons are, alphabetically, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, China, France, Germany, Israel, Italy, Russia, South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

| Assault Rifle (Type) | Number of countries using this weapon | Number of countries manufacturing this weapon | Number of weapons manufactured(millions) | Main Manufacturers |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|--|--------------------|
| M16 (and similar models) | 67 | 7 | 8 | United States |
| FAL (and similar models) | 94 | 12 | 5 – 7 | Belgium |
| G3 (and similar models) | 64 | 13 | 7 | Germany |
| AK-47 (and similar models) | 78 | 12 | 35 – 50 | Russia |

In Sierra Leone for example, within the framework of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme, 12000 weapons and 250000 ammunitions were collected in May 2000, just before the breaking up of the Lome Peace Agreement. The inventory below of the collected weapons is a testimony of the preponderance of small arms and light weapons⁵:

- 496 guns;
- 4000 "Kalachnikov" AK-47 rifles;
- 1072 AK-74 rifles;
- 940 G-3 rifles;
- 440 FN-FAL rifles;
- 451 SLR rifles;
- 140 machine guns;
- 217 grenade launchers;
- 1855 grenades;
- 45 mortars.

4.1.2 Areas of concentration of weapons in West Africa

Niger: Two big areas of concentration of illicit weapons can be identified, namely the North of the country, due to the Tuareg rebellion and the various armed movements which have emerged there, and in the eastern part of the country which experienced an intense Toubou rebellion and the surge of armed refugees following the flight of the former Chadian President Hissein Habré.

According to the administrative division of the country, the department of Agadez in the North and those of Zinder and Diffa to the extreme East of the country are the great areas of weapons concentration.

⁵ Report from the Group of Experts pursuant to Paragraph 19 of Resolution 1306 (2000) of the Security Council concerning Sierra Leone, S/2000/1195, paragraph 173

The great concentration of illicit weapons in the district of N'guigmi, at the border with Chad, led to the implementation of a pilot project of weapons collection and destruction of the Niger authorities with the support of the United Nations in exchange of micro projects of development. The Project envisaged the collection of 5000 weapons amongst a population of about 35.000 inhabitants. This district is located within a large perimeter of internal and transborder trafficking of weapons with Zinder being the major centre.

The department of Zinder and the city of the same name could be, according to certain police and gendarmerie sources, the main area of concentration of illicit weapons and the large crossroads of the traffic which results from this situation.

Corroborating information has made of Tesker and Kazoé, in the district of Gouré, central zones in the illicit circulation of weapons in the country.

Kazoé, which is a large market and a key crossroad of the country, is regarded as a major pole in the flow or sale of weapons. The price of a Kalachnikov can attain 25.000 to 50.000 CFA during the normal period, with an inflation of up to 400.000 CFA over certain periods.

Guinea Bissau: Guinea Bissau is considered by many experts as the country of West Africa with the highest rate of civilian populations carrying weapons. The following estimate has been confirmed by certain official sources whereby at least one weapon for two inhabitants is being held illegally which amounts to over six hundred million (600.000) weapons for a total population of about 1.2 to 1.5 million. The areas of concentration are mainly the capital city Bissau and residually, the towns of Bafata, Gabu, Cansunco.

This great concentration of weapons can be explained by the enormous military support which the country received from the former USSR during the long liberation war carried out against Portuguese colonization which led to the independence of the country in 1974. The absence of disarmament programmes and legislation on the possession of weapons at the end of the conflict left enormous quantities of weapons at the hands of civilians, of which mainly ex-combatants. The weapons used in urban criminality (in particular in Bissau) or those sold on the black market in particular in Gabu and Bissau apparently come from this significant internal stock. The price of an AK47 sold on the black market varies between 40.000 and 50.000 FCFA.

The Mano River Union: The other area of concentration of weapons in West Africa is the Basin of the Mano River, which is a region including Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea. Even though the governments of these three countries recognize the great concentration of illicit weapons in this area, they all put the blame on the respective neighbouring governments. The major area of concentration is called "the nozzle of the parrot", and it borders the three countries.

According to the information obtained from Liberia, a great quantity of weapons could be in circulation illicitly in the county of Montsherrado whereas a significant arms cache could have been discovered in Ghanta, in the county of Nimba in April 2001. The county of Lofa, bordering both Guinea and Sierra Leone, is recognized as being the greatest area of concentration of illicit weapons, because of its proximity with the zones of conflict in the three countries.

In neighbouring Guinea, the region of Guékédou, located in the forest areas, where diamond layers are being exploited, is, according to the same sources, a great zone of concentration of weapons.

When the situation of the proliferation of SALW is examined at the national level, it appears that the most affected areas are generally the border areas, as Guinea is surrounded by countries having experienced an armed conflict (Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea - Bissau). The transborder aspect of the phenomenon is thus very distinct in Guinea.

The north-western region (administrative region of Boké) was used as a “base arrière” for combatants fighting for the independence of Guinea Bissau (PAIGC). Indeed, the bordering sub-prefectures such as Sansalé, Foulamory, Wendou Mbourou and Koumbia accommodated the troops and military camps of the PAIGC. Insofar as no disarmament activity was carried out in that area at the end of the independence war, one has the right to think that many weapons which were used during the war are still, in one way or another in circulation in the area. In addition, the defence and security policies initiated by Sekou Touré under the 1st Republic has had a harmful impact on the country. These policies consisted in arming the people’s defence committees, a kind of "popular militia" created during the revolutionary period "to defend the revolution" and after which no disarmament programme was initiated with the advent of the new regime in 1985.

The development of the traditional manufacturing of weapons in the country also contributed to make of Guinea an area of concentration of small arms and light weapons in West Africa.

5. LOCAL PRODUCTION

The aim here is to describe the manufacture of firearms which is carried out by blacksmiths who act individually or in organized cooperatives. Even though the number of weapons likely to be produced over a short period is negligible, the traditional production becomes worrying when cumulated over a relatively long period. Moreover, these traditional weapons use ammunitions from modern arms and are often manufactured with the same techniques as those of modern weapons.

The traditional weapons were diverted from their original use (parading and hunting) and are more and more used in organized crimes and criminal acts.

This worrying report is valid in West African countries with a strong tradition of blacksmithing and hunting such as Ghana and Togo (the Bassars, Konkombas and Dagombas), Benin, Guinea, Mali and Burkina Faso.

The absence of reliable statistical data on this activity as well as the underlying cultural and socio-economic considerations behind the development of this activity should not make us lose sight of the fact that these weapons constitute a real threat to the security in many communities of the sub region.

6. FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE DEMAND, INTERNAL MARKETS

6.1 Data on the legal trade of light weapons.

According to the most recent data published by Small Arms Survey, at least 80 to 90% of the trade of light weapons is legal.

The legal trade of light weapons and their ammunition would account for 5% of the total trade of conventional weapons which amounts to about 4 to 6 billion American dollars per year. It is estimated that with 50 million dollars, approximately the price of a modern bomber, a small army can be equipped with some 200.000 assault rifles.

Of the 95 countries which have the capacity of manufacturing light weapons, at least 60 are directly involved in legal exports. The table below recalls, per category and in value, the role of the 60 legal exporters of light weapons.

Table of countries exporting light weapons officially and legally

| 1. Main Exporters (+75 million \$ / year) | | Average exporters (between 1-75 million \$ /year) | | 2. Small Exporters (less than 1 million \$ / year) | 3. Value unknown |
|---|------------------------|---|---------------------------|--|------------------------------|
| Country/ Year | in million \$ / origin | Country /Year | in million de \$ / origin | Country | Country |
| Brazil (99) | 100-150 (D) | Argentina (98) | 3 (B) | Australia (B) | Armenia (C) |
| Germany* auto (99) | 384 (A) | Austria (94) | 60 (B) | Chili (A) | Bielarus (C) |
| Russia* (99) | 100-150 (D) | Belgium (99) | 33 (A) | Colombia (B) | Bosnia (C) |
| United States* auto. (98) | +1,2 billion (A) | Canada* (98) | 26 (D) | Croatia (B) | Bulgaria (C) |
| 4 Countries Total: | + 2 billion | China (98) | 27 (B) | Danemark (B) | Cyprus* (E) |
| | | Czech Rep.*(99) | 59 (C) | Japan (B) | Equator* (E) |
| | | Finland* (98) | 5 (C) | India (B) | Egypt (C) |
| | | France (99) | 23 (A) | Indonesia (B) | Greece (C) |
| | | Italy (98) | 28 (B) | Latyle (B) | Hungary* (E) |
| | | Pakistan* (99) | 30 (C) | Malaysia (B) | Iran (C) |
| | | Poland (99) | 40 (C) | Mexico (B) | Israël (C) |
| | | Romania (my 95,96) | 10 (B) | Netherlands** (A) | Kazakhstan (C) |
| | | Spain (98) | 7 (B) | New Zealand (B) | Jordania (C) |
| | | South Africa* (97) | 9 (A) | Norway (B) | North Korea (C) |
| | | South Korea* (97) | 43 (A) | Philippines (B) | Singapour (E) |
| | | Sweden* (98) | 43 (A) | Portugal (B) | Slovenia* (E) |
| | | Switzerland (98) | 10 (B) | Slovakia (B) | Ukraine (C) |
| | | United Kingdom (98) | 44 (B) | Swaziland*** (A) | Zimbabwe (C) |
| | | | | Thailand (B) | |
| | | | | Turkey (B) | |
| | | 18 Countries Total: | 497 million | | 18 Countries : Value Unknown |
| | | | | 20 Countries Total: - de \$10 millions | |

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

II. Governmental Reports

III. Customs data UN (COMTRADE)

Figures published in the press

Calculations based on the different reports

Declared exporters in official reports

*. Including ammunition

**. According to COMTRADE, firearms, guns and revolvers for a value of 187 million of the 5 would have crossed the Dutch customs in 1998 as exports.

***. Re-exportation of firearms not coming from domestic production. Sales authorized which do not necessarily correspond to the real sales.

Even if it is difficult to advance figures on these issues, one can without risk say that a significant part of light weapons which have a legal origin, finish in the hands of criminals of all kinds, insurgents, governments under embargo and other prohibited destinations; the legal transfers contribute in feeding, to a large extent, the black market.

The legal transfers of light weapons generate instability by a domino effect when new types of weapons are bought to replace old models which are then found on the market.

The normal flow of new weapons causes a drop in the prices by inflating already saturated stocks. Thus, increasingly sophisticated light weapons are more and more accessible to a whole series of beneficiaries. These legal transfers do not only go to recipients whose stockpiles are under effective control and monitoring but also to others (official and private) who do not exercise the same vigilance. Consequently, a direct link is established between legal sales and military aid on the one hand, and corruption and robbery on the other hand, thus rendering it possible to supply the black market.

6.2 A trade using various channels

The trade of the light weapons uses several channels:

Transfers from State to State: These are generally sales or donations of weapons from a government to another. These transfers may concern either the sales or subsidies of newly manufactured weapons or the transfer of surplus weapons which are not needed by the Supplier State in order to equip his armed forces and police force. It a practice which was common during the cold war, during which these States provided great quantities of weapons to regimes which were considered allies either freely or at very low costs.

Sales on the world market: These concern the legal sales of light weapons for private commercial enterprises of a country to governmental agencies or private merchants of weapons in another country. These transactions are normally regulated by the government of the country from which the supplier comes, and generally require a registration procedure whereby it is requested from the salesman to produce a valid certificate of "end-user" provided by the purchaser, testifying that the transaction is legitimate.

Clandestine operations: This has to do with covert transfer of weapons carried out by the government of a country to rebellious and nongovernmental forces acting in another country. The principal motivations behind this type of transfer can be political, ideological, religious or economic. A government can decide to support through weapons a group of rebels with which it shares political or religious orientations, or with which it shares an ethnic identity.

Sales on the black market: These are characterized by their clandestine and illegal nature, carried out by criminal or mafia organizations in a country towards an unauthorized recipient. It can be, for example, sales to governments or weapons companies in countries under UN embargoes, or sales to rebellious or terrorist movements. These sales have developed in recent years and have become the main channel of support for non state actors everywhere in the world, be it ex - Yugoslavia, the Horn of Africa or Central Africa.

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LESSON 3

MODULE 2: SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS IN WEST AFRICA

GOAL:

To strengthen knowledge on SALW in the sub-region and to establish the link with conflict prevention.

PEDAGOGICAL OBJECTIVE

To define what small arms and light weapons are, their impact on human security and peace-building and how to combat the illicit proliferation of SALW

LESSON 6: Control Mechanisms⁶

CONTENTS

- ◆ National mechanisms: Overview of legislations and regulations
- ◆ ECOWAS mechanisms
- ◆ Dialogue with the manufacturers
- ◆ Other regional and international instruments

TRAINER

Mr Pamphile SEBAHARA, Researcher, GRIP, Belgium.

LANGUAGE OF PRESENTATION: French

INTRODUCTION

The fight against the proliferation and illicit circulation of small arms was for a long time under the exclusive jurisdiction of individual nation states. It has gradually acquired increasing importance in the political agenda of the international community. Over the past decade, several international and regional initiatives have emerged, even if their implementation is still far from perfect. In particular, States have yet to implement the existing legal instruments in their legislation and take the necessary measures to implement them in an effective manner.

The objective of this course is to provide, without claiming to be exhaustive, the main mechanisms in existence or in preparation for the implementation of controls on transfers of SALW. These instruments are the result of the initiatives of multiple stakeholders, including governments, international and regional organizations such as the United Nations and ECOWAS.

The conclusion provides a series of actions that could be taken by the various actors involved in the control of SALW in West Africa, including the ECOWAS Commission, the Member states and civil society organizations active in this field.

1. NATIONAL MECHANISMS: OVERVIEW OF LEGISLATIONS AND REGULATIONS

Strengthening the laws of recipient countries of armaments and in the regions affected by armed conflict is a challenge for the international community in the fight against the proliferation and

⁶ This title corresponds to Lesson 6 in the Training of Trainers' Curriculum

uncontrolled accumulation of SALW, as well as their trafficking and illicit use. To this end, one of the first tasks of West African States is the development and reinforcement of laws and the implementation of existing international and regional instruments in the national legislation, most of which are incomplete and outdated.

In practice, the laws on arms should include, on the one hand provisions related to holding, trade and manufacturing, and on the other hand provisions related to export, import, transit and use. The ECOWAS Convention on SALW which we will analyse in paragraph 2 includes all these aspects and its transposition into national legislation will enable an efficient harmonization of national laws within the ECOWAS Member States.

1.1 General Overview of legislation and regulations in Burkina Faso

The comparison between the Burkinabe national legislation and the ECOWAS Convention on SALW leads to a number of remarks which can be developed in two aspects: normative and institutional.⁷

In terms of standards, the positive law of Burkina Faso on SALW does not comply with the provisions of the ECOWAS Convention on several points. This concerns not only the definitions of key concepts such as small arms, light weapons, ammunitions, brokering, marking, transfer, tracing, non-state actors, but also issues such as transparency and exchange of information and operational mechanisms.

However, the concern is more about the deficiencies to be tackled than possible existing contradictions. The institutional framework of Burkina Faso in the fight against the proliferation of SALW includes two main structures in addition to the normal structures linked to the defence and security forces. On the one hand, we have the National Commission which was set up in accordance with the recommendations made in the Code of Conduct of the ECOWAS Moratorium and the UN Program of Actions on Small Arms (PoA), by Decree No. 2001-167/PRES/PM/DEF of 25 April 2001. This Commission became effectively functional in 2006 with the adoption of Decree No 2006-174/PRES/PM/MAECCR/DEF/SECU on the composition, functions, organization and operation of the National Commission.

On the other hand, the High Authority for the control on the importation of weapons and their use was established by Decree No. 2001-005 of 24 January 2001 in Burkina Faso. This structure is also attached to the Prime Minister. However, it does not directly intervene in the field of SALW.

In addition, the Burkinabe legislation does not provide specific mechanisms for the reinforcement of border controls whereas it is a requirement of Article 22 of the ECOWAS Convention.

Broadly speaking, the Burkinabe institutional framework, though efficient, will not master effectively the control and management of the use of SALW unless it has resolved the operational weaknesses of its structures by providing them with personnel and resources in line with their missions.

1.2 General Overview of legislation and regulations in Mali, Senegal and Niger

A comparative analysis of the process of harmonization of national laws in Senegal, Mali and Niger is a reflection of the efforts in this area and the challenges for greater convergence of legislation on SALW in the three countries and ECOWAS in general.⁸

⁷ IBRIGA Luke M. and YAMEOGO Salamane, 2007/3, West Africa, *The harmonization of national legislation on SALW. A case-study of Burkina Faso*, Ed. Reports of GRIP

The reform of obsolete laws which date as far back as the colonial period or the post colonial period has been under way for several years. Thus in Mali, this process led to the adoption of Legislation No. 04 -50 dated 12 November 2004. Niger has amended the penal code in view of strengthening the penalties for violations of the provisions for legislation on weapons and the aggravation of the incurred punishment in this case. Niger is also considering the revision of the Decree of 23 April 1963 on the regime of weapons and adopted on 8 June 2004, a law on the implementation of the Ottawa Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-personnel Mines and their Destruction. As for Senegal, it introduced in March 2005, under the auspices of the National Commission, the procedures to revise the law of 18 January 1966 on the general regime of arms and ammunition and the decree of 17 November 1966 laying down the procedure for implementing the Act.

It emerges from these initiatives in the three countries, a convergence in the desire to adapt their legislation to the dynamics of consolidation and uniformity of standards and mechanisms to control the manufacture, import, export, possession, carrying, registration, trade and the movement of SALW in all its aspects on the one hand, and preventing their uncontrolled proliferation and illicit trafficking on the other hand.

In addition, as recommended by the Code of Conduct of the ECOWAS Moratorium on 10 December 1999, the three states have established a National Commission to combat the proliferation and illicit circulation of SALW, which is the point of contact at the national level for the implementation of the PoA.

- Despite the often outdated texts adopted in the 1960s, we can see points of sustainable convergence among the laws of the three countries. For example, weapons and ammunition for use by armed forces, police forces and other state agents are excluded from the scope of the legislation on weapons and ammunition.

- Points of convergence also exist in the guidelines of the legislation. The first is the prohibition of the acquisition, importation, possession and carrying of arms and ammunition by individuals.

- In all three countries, the commitment of public authorities to exercise control over all activities relating to weapons and ammunition is obvious. The general rule of prohibition (except prior authorization of the competent authorities) applies to individuals, merchants and manufacturers.

- The three legislations have taken measures to strictly control the conditions to be met by individuals to acquire, import, possess, carry, transport or dispose of weapons or ammunition:

- These are conditions relating to the minimum age, good mental health and the absence of a court sentence for a felony or misdemeanour.
- The license to possess and carry weapons for private individuals and for strictly personal use, renting weapons is strictly prohibited by the three legislations.
- In all three countries, the authorization is issued by the Interior Minister after an investigation of good morality. It should be noted that in its new legislation of 12 November 2004, Mali has standardized procedures for the authorization of the use of firearms by centralizing the procedures at the level of the Minister for homeland security.
- The willingness of the public authorities who have granted permission to exercise permanent and strict control is expressed through the fact that they can at any time withdraw the authorization if the authorized holder has lost the safeguards required or has violated the existing laws, or when the needs of public order or state security so require.

⁸ CISSE Hélène, 2005/5, West Africa, *The harmonization of national legislation on small arms. Convergence criteria for Senegal, Mali and Niger*, Ed. Reports of GRIP

- Similarly any holder of a weapon must be able to produce weapons and all supporting documents (permission to purchase, import license, license to possess and bear arms) on any request by the relevant Authority.
- The conditions attached to firearms for defence are much stricter than for sport weapons.

- In all three legislations, permission to hold a firearm for defence (pistol or revolver) can be granted only in exceptional cases to persons who have a need for special protection as a result of their belongings or functions.

- In all three legislations, specific measures are taken to ensure the control of the license of acquisition, import, possession and carrying of arms granted, as well as ammunition and other related materials.

- Points of convergence among the laws of the three countries also appear through the control measures of trade and manufacture of light weapons, ammunition and other related materials. Thus any individual or company wishing to engage in the manufacture, export, trade and storage of firearms and ammunition can do so only after authorization by the administration and under its control. Merchants and manufacturers are subject to the system of official authorization. The importation of arms and ammunition is carried out according to a quota set by the Administration on an annual basis.

- Some laws and regulations tend to strengthen the control on the identification of all weapons and ammunition which are subject to transactions and the monitoring and transparency of its various related operations. These provisions have also established a system of registration of the different stakeholders, the various operations performed as well as the weapons and ammunition involved in such transactions. These records also try to monitor and trace the events associated with the acquisition, importation and circulation of arms and ammunition.

In the three countries, accredited dealers are required to maintain records of the entry and exit of arms and ammunition in their warehouses. The legislations of Niger and Senegal include details in the particulars to be included in the weapons register. The new Malian legislation of 12 November 2004 has made significant progress in view of strengthening rigor in record keeping. This element could be taken into account as part of the revision of laws and regulations currently in Senegal and Niger.

- Merchants and manufacturers of arms and ammunition holding permits must keep a register which has been classified and initialled by the State representatives.

- The three countries have set up National Commissions to combat the proliferation and illicit circulation of SALW in accordance with the provisions of the Code of Conduct of the ECOWAS Moratorium and the UNPoA. In accordance with the guidelines for the establishment of these commissions developed by the PCASED (Programme for Coordination and Assistance for Security and Development) in March 1999 and adopted by the Assembly of Heads of States and governments of ECOWAS on 10 December 1999, these Commissions have the task of being the focal point at the national level for the implementation of policies related to the fight against the proliferation of SALW.

2. ECOWAS MECHANISMS

2.1 From the declaration of the Moratorium to the ECOWAS Convention on SALW

Even before the international community defined the broad outlines of its policy to combat illicit small arms and light weapons (SALW) through the adoption of the United Nations Programme of Action in 2001, the West African States had already taken the initiative of aligning themselves on a

regional document. Adopted in 1998, the declaration of the Moratorium on the Importation, Exportation and Manufacture of Light Weapons represented the conclusion of a process that began five years ago with the creation of a fact-finding mission, sent by the UN Secretary General in the sub region, on the effects of the uncontrolled proliferation of light weapons.

Having been for a long time, the direct victims of the consequences of this phenomenon, the Member States of ECOWAS took the initiative of launching a strong political message, intended to set an example on the international scene, and to provide a first collective response, as against national responses. Coordinated by the PCASED, the implementation of the Moratorium led to several national initiatives and the creation of National Commissions to fight the proliferation of illicit SALW.

Since its inception, the ECOWAS Moratorium and its code of conduct were intended as a transitional measure to be used for the development of a permanent framework that would preserve its basic principles and spirit.

After a renewal of commitments contained in the Moratorium in 2001 and two evaluation studies on the implementation of those provisions carried out in 2000 and 2002, the Conference of ECOWAS Heads of States finally took the decision to transform the Declaration of 1998 into a legally binding instrument. This courageous decision, which illustrates the willingness of governments in the sub-region to establish a more effective tool in the preservation of human security and the reduction of armed violence, was also influenced by the significant contribution of the West African civil society. The latter has also played an active and constructive role in the process of developing an instrument to replace the Declaration of Moratorium by providing a Draft Convention to the Executive Secretariat of ECOWAS since March 2005.

After working on the basis of a consultation made by experts⁹ and suggestions made by civil society and the PCASED, the Executive Secretariat of ECOWAS presented the Draft Convention early 2006. The draft Convention was initially examined by a group of independent experts, followed by governmental experts of the Member States. The ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and light weapons, their ammunition and other related materials was adopted by the Heads of States and Governments at the summit in Abuja on 14 June 2006¹⁰. A week earlier, the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS, Dr. Ibn Chambas, had inaugurated the project for the control of small arms, referred to as "ECOSAP" intended to replace the PCASED.

2.2 Analysis of the ECOWAS Convention on SALW

The Convention is structured around a Preamble and 7 chapters with a total of 32 articles.

Preamble

It refers to the basic texts¹¹, with a particular emphasis on certain principles, including the right to self-defence, non-interference in the affairs of Member States and the prohibition of the use or threat of use of force in international relations.

⁹ The experts appointed to draw up the draft convention were Dr. Sola Ogunbanwo (Nigeria), an international consultant, and Ilhan Berkol (Belgium), researcher with the GRIP.

¹⁰ The Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons, ammunition and other related materials, "June 14, 2006, Abuja. The full text of the Convention is available on: http://www.grip.org/research/convention_CEDEAO_FR.pdf

¹¹ As the principles of the United Nations Charter, international humanitarian law, human rights, the ECOWAS Revised Treaty (including Articles 58 and 77 relating to regional security and sanctions), resolution 1325 of the UN Security Council on women, peace and security as well as a series of initiatives such as the United Nations Programme of Action, the Firearms Protocol, the UN International Tracing Instrument, the Bamako Declaration, the African Common Position for the 2006 United Nations Review Conference on SALW.

The Convention also recalls some legal instruments of the ECOWAS, including the Protocol on the mechanism for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts, peacekeeping and security, which are the foundations of the ECOWAS policy in the areas of defence, security and promotion of peace.

In this section, the Member States also expressed their concern about the effects of the proliferation of SALW as a direct threat to human security, a universal concept that goes beyond the concepts of states' security and commercial security.

The Member States also assert their determination to maintain the achievements of the Moratorium by a legally binding agreement and to strengthen the capacity of the Executive Secretariat of ECOWAS¹² in combating illicit SALW. This last point is very important because virtually all the chapters of the Convention refer to the duties of the Secretariat of ECOWAS in view of effectively carrying out its implementation.

Chapter I - Definitions and Objectives

This chapter is to enable a same understanding of the Convention by using approved/ validated definitions at the international level. Among the key words are:

- **Small arms and light weapons**, for which a distinction¹³ is made, the first which can be used by a group of people and the latter for personal use;

- **Ammunition**, a term that is excluded from all existing instruments at the international level. This is a unique situation because the Convention regards them as a weapon on its own, and all the texts have made provisions for them. Member States have realized the importance of ammunitions since on the one hand, without them weapons cannot be operated, and on the other hand monitoring them could lead to illegal weapons;

- **The other related materials**, such as components and spare parts will also be seriously monitored, which is a new development;

- **Transfers**, which are included for the first time with a definition in an international instrument. This is to take into account any movement of weapons, including transportation, transit, import, export and use.

- **Non-state actors**, a term which also appears for the first time in such an instrument. This is a very important innovative aspect in the sub-Saharan region as states have failed to give it a definition at the international level.

This section of the Convention also sets objectives that are to consolidate, improve and adapt the achievements of the Moratorium. The Convention is proactive and the concept of prevention prevails. This is also new because generally, in existing instruments we act only when the weapon is used in an illegal situation, which means that one must wait before being able to trace it. In this case, the weapons are controlled from the starting point of the transfer and any suspicion of deviation will be quickly traced. The proactive controls accepted in this case by the West African States have been rejected by other States during UN debates for political and commercial reasons.

¹² It evolved into the ECOWAS Commission since January 2007. However, in deference to the language of the Convention, we will use the term of ECOWAS Executive Secretary in the present document.

¹³ In accordance with the definition given by the United Nations Group of Experts on Small Arms in 1997.

Chapter II: Transfer of SALW

Even though the spirit of the Moratorium prevails, the Convention also incorporates the principle of prohibition (Article 3), with the possibility of exemption, which operates through the broader concept of arms transfers and includes the devices used in their manufacturing.

The clause for absolute prohibition of transfer of arms to non-state actors has been added, if this transfer has not been authorized by the Member State.

Finally, since SALW are not considered as goods, they fall outside the scope of Article 45 of the revised Treaty of ECOWAS, which advocates for the free movement of goods within the region.

Sections 4, 5 and 6 of the Convention set the conditions, procedures and criteria for exemption. The aim is to provide the Member States, under special conditions, with opportunities to be exempted from the prohibition principle by giving the Executive Secretariat elements to analyse the requests for exemption.

In addition, states are required to develop strict regulation systems governing transfers, whereas the Secretariat is obliged to justify the notified refusal of exemption and must publish an annual report detailing the authorizations.

Decision-making

The Executive Secretariat issues a first opinion on the request and forwards it to the Member States which must decide on the basis of consensus. This approach of deciding collectively creates mutual confidence among the States by eliminating all arbitrary behaviours. Indeed, any unjustified refusal of a State would put the latter in the opposite position should it in turn request for an exemption. In the absence of consensus, the ECOWAS Mediation and Security Council takes the final decision.

Section 6 provides the criteria for exemption to allow the transfer. These criteria were based on different existing documents at the international level as the European Code of Conduct and the draft treaty on arms trade (ATT). All the conditions are fulfilled in this article for the respect of human rights and international humanitarian law, embargoes, the UN Charter and any other treaty or decision binding the Member States.

Chapter III - Manufacture of SALW

Articles 7 and 8 set down the principle of the strict control on the manufacture of SALW:

- By regulating the activities of local manufacturers through a policy of reduction and limitation;
- By gathering information on industrial production wherever it exists;
- By submitting the activity of manufacturing to prerequisites related to the provision of accurate information to the Executive Secretariat of ECOWAS.

In the framework of the moratorium, local manufacture is prohibited. It was noticed that, in practice, such a ban was impossible to control, especially in some states where manufacturing is deeply rooted in the local culture. Hence, there is a risk of pushing local manufacturers to work clandestinely. Authorizing this activity under state control would shed the light on a number of manufacturers so that their activities can be monitored to be in conformity with the requirements of the Convention (Article 8). The data will be collected at the national level and forwarded to the Executive Secretariat of ECOWAS.

Chapter IV - Transparency and Exchange of Information

The Convention establishes a number of means and instruments that should enable the promotion of transparency and confidence amongst Member States, by:

- Institutionalising databases and registers of small arms and light weapons¹⁴ (Articles 9 -11);
- Establishing dialogue with manufacturers and suppliers (Article 12) in order to ensure their support for the Convention;
- Fighting corruption with preventive and effective measures (Article 13)

The databases and registers are computerized and centralized at the national level on the one hand and at the regional level with the ECOWAS Executive Secretariat, on the other hand. These contain the full details of transfers. The data are stored indefinitely. These transparency measures amongst the States will lead to mutual trust by actually eliminating suspicions and mistrust that are often the root causes of conflicts.

Article 11 provides for the first time a register of arms for peacekeeping operations thus requiring the registration of all weapons introduced in the sub-region to that effect. This has posed a major problem in the management of these weapons, as so far, no country participating in peace-keeping operations in the sub-region was willing to provide an inventory of the weapons held by their units. Thus, a number of these weapons remained in the ECOWAS sub-region after the departure of peacekeepers becoming a source of proliferation which was difficult to control. With these new measures, peacekeepers' weapons can be traced from their entry into the sub-region until their effective withdrawal at the end of operations.

Article 12 provides for the establishment of a dialogue with manufacturers and suppliers. Thus, it stipulates that the Executive Secretariat and Member States will strengthen their cooperation and dialogue with national and international producers and suppliers of weapons as well as the competent international and regional organizations in order to ensure their support, their respect for and compliance with the spirit and letter of the Convention.

This chapter highlights the important role played by the Executive Secretariat as it will have to take measures for the proper registration of weapons and closely monitor the Member States. It should also carry out extensive work on information and monitoring at the international level to raise awareness on the requirements of the Convention.

Chapter V - Operational mechanisms

This chapter establishes all the activities to be conducted in order to render effective the fight against the proliferation of SALW.

Possession by civilians

Article 14 provides for the control of the possession by civilians:

- Ban on the possession of small arms;
- States have to regulate the possession, use and trade of small arms by civilians;
- The ECOWAS Executive Secretary defines the procedures for the authorization and communicates them to the competent national authorities;
- The license is granted only if there is evidence of a legitimate reason and after a “cooling off” period of 21 days;
- Introduction into legislations of penalties for the possession and use of illicit SALW.

¹⁴ The registration and marking are a means of tracing weapons in order to detect any misuse. Without proper registration, responsibilities can not be identified and sanctioned, thus leading to a chronic impunity.

Management and security stockpiles

This article provides for the control of military weapons for the first time in an international legally binding instrument. To this end, states commit themselves to:

- define standards and effective procedures for the management and security of national stockpiles, including those of manufacturers and dealers as well as individuals;
- undertake the review, on a regular basis, of facilities and conditions of the stockpiles of SALW held by the armed and security forces and other authorized bodies in order to identify, for their destruction, the surplus and obsolete stocks;
- take the same steps for the management of weapons collected during the peacekeeping operations under the supervision of the Executive Secretariat.

Marking

Article 18 provides for the appropriate marking¹⁵ of all SALW, including their ammunition and other related materials¹⁶:

- "classic marking" with a unique serial number, the manufacturer's identity, as well as the identification of the country and the year of manufacture;
- "security marking" applies to each weapon manufactured after the entry into force of the Convention¹⁷;
- Import marking;
- Marking of ammunition with batch numbers as well as the packaging (i.e. cartridge) details¹⁸.

Tracing

Article 19 provides for a tracing mechanism based on a binding exchange of SALW data among the member states. It was inspired by the best practices of existing instruments at the international level, including the United Nations SALW Tracing Instrument¹⁹. However, the latter is a political instrument which provides for a voluntary system granting the States, parties to the instrument, the right to refuse to respond to requests under certain conditions. The ECOWAS Convention has rendered responses to requests mandatory. In addition, the Executive Secretariat coordinates the exchange of data among Member States as well as tracing requests.

A Member State can introduce a tracing request to the Executive Secretariat if it believes that the weapons are illegal and provide necessary information. Once aware, Member States respond reliably to the tracing request within one month from the date of receipt of such request.

Brokering

Article 20 seeks to regulate brokering activities by imposing:

¹⁵ Emphasis should be placed on the importance of this article by recalling that without an appropriate marking the weapons and ammunition can not be listed in a registry.

¹⁶ This article was largely based on the Draft convention on the marking, registering and tracing of SALW developed by the GRIP: http://www.grip.org/pub/rappports/rg04-4_convmarquage-fr.pdf

¹⁷ This is a new development that makes possible a return to the original marking in case the apparent classic marking would be erased or tampered with.

¹⁸ For the marking of ammunition see GRIP information paper by Holger Anders, "Scope for international minimum standards on tracing illicit SALW ammunition" <http://www.grip.org/bdg/g4575.html>

¹⁹ Document A/60/88 of the United Nations, 27 June 2005, see: <http://www.grip.org/bdg/pdf/g4304.pdf>

- The registration of brokers as well as financial agents and transportation agents on armament
- Obtaining authorization for each individual transaction;
- Information on points and routes of transit, as well as on brokers and transporters involved in the transaction;
- The criminalization of the illicit brokering of SALW.

This is a new development for the sub-region in the sense that most member states so far felt that they had no arms brokers and that transactions were primarily a state affair. Some government experts have expressed concern that the introduction of brokering might give some legitimacy to private actors who could also act on the illicit market. Others felt on the contrary that, the failure to regulate and the refusal to acknowledge brokering would create a gap in the legislation to control transfers via brokers and if necessary punish illegal activities as most suppliers of arms have representatives even if the latter are not established in the importing countries. Majority of experts have finally decided to regulate brokering.

Other measures

States undertake to update and harmonize their legislation and tighten border controls. Any activity in violation of the Convention will be punished as criminal offence. The Executive Secretariat of ECOWAS will play an active role in the establishment and implementation of these measures with a view to strengthening sub-regional cooperation. The public awareness programmes will be developed in collaboration with civil society.

Chapter VI - Institutional and implementation arrangements

This chapter covers the establishment of a set of actors and mechanisms for the implementation and evaluation of the Convention. Some of these provisions relate directly to the Member States and place on them the primary responsibility for the implementation of this Convention. These include the establishment of National Commissions and National Action Plans, capacity building for the security forces, sub-regional cooperation and partnership with civil society.

National Commissions

- Establishment of National Commissions according to the existing ECOWAS guidelines contained in the National Manual prepared by the ECOWAS on the functioning procedures of the National Commissions;
- Strengthening the existing National Commissions in accordance with the requirements of the Convention;
- Allocation of an independent budget to National Commissions in order to ensure effective functioning;
- Development of a National Action Plan on SALW with the participation of all stakeholders, including the civil society.

National Commissions have a leading role in implementing the Convention.

ECOWAS Executive Secretary

Article 25 highlights the vital role of the ECOWAS Executive Secretariat in the implementation of the Convention. The Executive Secretariat shall:

- Develop an Action Plan for the implementation of the Convention and submit it to the appreciation of the Member States for adoption;

- Identify the necessary resources to carry out its tasks;
- Provide assistance to the Member States and ensure effective cooperation among States and within the same State;
- Supervise in order to ensure the monitoring of the implementation of the Convention's provisions;
- Conduct an annual report on the implementation and to work closely with the ECOWAS Mediation and Security Council on specific issues;

Member States shall take the necessary steps to equip the Secretariat with institutional and operational capacity. This is a particularly delicate and important.

Monitoring and evaluation of the Convention

Arrangements involving the ECOWAS Executive Secretariat in the monitoring and evaluation of the Convention provide essentially measures to establish a group of independent experts appointed by the ECOWAS Executive Secretary. It is once again a new development: the Independent Group of Experts will have access to credible information sources in carrying out its tasks, including with Member States and arms suppliers, and submit to the Executive Secretariat an evaluation report on an annual basis.

Each state will also submit an annual report to the Executive Secretary on its activities related to SALW and a review conference shall be convened as soon as possible after the entry into force of the Convention.

Chapter VII - General and final provisions

Complaints and sanctions

In case of violation of the Convention, complaints can be filed with the Executive Secretariat, which appeals to the ECOWAS Mediation and Security Council for appropriate action. As a last resort, the ECOWAS Court of Justice could also be seized (pursuant to Art. 77 of the revised Treaty which provides for the possibility to impose sanctions on all Member States).

Final Provisions

The Convention shall enter into force upon the deposition of the 9th instrument of ratification. The depositary of the Convention is the ECOWAS Executive Secretary.

It should be noted however that so far, only Niger has deposited the instruments of ratification with the ECOWAS Commission. Hence the awareness campaign conducted since the beginning of 2007 by the ECOWAS Commission among Member States to convince them to expedite the ratification process of the Convention.

3. DIALOGUE WITH THE MANUFACTURERS

This was a strategy initially developed by the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa (UNREC) within the framework of the ECOWAS Moratorium which aimed at convincing supplying countries to operate in conformity with the new measures related to the transfers of SALW taken in the sub-region. To this end, discussions were held on several occasions, with the countries which are signatories to the Wassenaar Arrangement. This strategy was included in the Convention, where Article 12 envisages the implementation of dialogue with the manufacturers and the suppliers. The initiative of reinforcing cooperation and dialogue with national and international arms producers, regional and international organizations is largely due to the ECOWAS Executive Secretary as well as the Member States in a bid to secure their support,

their respect and their adherence to the spirit and content of the Convention. It is a question of international advocacy to raise awareness on the Convention and to gain respect for its requirements.

4. OTHER REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS

At the United Nations (UN) level, three main instruments are in place: on the one hand, the Firearms Protocol²⁰, which is legally binding, and on the other hand, the UN Programme of Action (UNPoA)²¹ and the International Tracing Instrument²² which represent only political commitments, two African sub-regional instruments (The Nairobi Protocol and the SADC Protocol, one European regional instrument (The European Union Code of Conduct and an Inter - American sub-regional instrument (The Inter-American Convention to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the illicit production and sales of firearms will be hereby reviewed.

4.1 The United Nations Programme of Action on SALW (UNPoA)

It is a document which addresses all the problems of SALW at three levels: national, regional and international. Several provisions of the PoA refer to the obligations of states and, in this context, also the role of parliamentarians and the civil society.

Let us first cite article 22 of the Preamble, which defines the means to prevent, control and eradicate the illicit trade in SALW by developing standards and measures at the global, regional and national levels.

The different chapters of the PoA place emphasis on the establishment of laws, regulations and administrative procedures meant to exercise effective control over the production, export, import, transit²³ or the return²⁴ of SALW. Where this is not yet the case, States should take legislative measures or other measures to criminalize the manufacture, possession and illegal trade at the national level. The legislation should also cover brokering activities (Section II.14 and II.39).

The Programme also provides for the establishment of mechanisms or coordinating bodies to develop guidelines and monitor efforts to prevent the illicit trade in SALW, as well as the establishment of a focal point at the national level who will be in charge of the implementation of the PoA. It is advisable to consider control measures of stockpiles under the control of the security forces and to ensure the destruction of surplus weapons²⁵.

The PoA provides public awareness on disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), especially in relation to the issue of children (articles II.20-22 and II.30).

At regional and global levels, the PoA calls on States to ratify existing instruments (Section II.38),

²⁰ Also called the Vienna Protocol, "Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing and Trafficking in Firearms, their parts, Components and Ammunition, additional to the United Nations Convention against Transnational organized Crime," Document of the United Nations, A/RES/55/255 of 8 June 2001: <http://www.grip.org/bdg/pdf/g1879.pdf>

²¹ "Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects" Document of the United Nations, A/CONF.192/15, sect. IV (1) c), July 20, 2001: <http://www.grip.org/bdg/pdf/g1877.pdf>

²² "International instrument to enable states to identify and trace, in a timely and reliable manner, illicit SALW" Document of the United Nations, A/60/88, June 27, 2005: <http://www.grip.org/bdg/pdf/g4304.pdf>

²³ Articles II.11 and II.12 deals with the authorizations and control of import / export and transit. They empower states in strict granting of licenses. One positive point is that transit is covered as well as imports / exports.

²⁴ Art.II.13 deals with the control of re-exportation and requests the maintenance of control, even indirect, over the original exporting State. This is crucial in the fight against diversion into illicit or black markets.

²⁵ Articles II.15-19 and II.29

and harmonize legislations. It encourages the exchange of information and cooperation (Article III.2), including the creation of regional and sub-regional mechanisms.

Monitoring

Monitoring of the PoA is done every two years through the Biennial Meetings of States with the first two which were held in 2003 and 2005. States are to submit national reports on a voluntary basis, as well as data and information on the implementation of the PoA (Section II.34). Unfortunately, so far, the reporting is difficult, and the content of the reports as compared to the requirements of the programme, is far from satisfactory²⁶. The PoA Review Conference in July 2006 ended without reaching its revision, creating a sense of failure among many participants. However, it is necessary to moderate the scope of this setback and try to retain the positive aspects. Indeed, the states have shown that they are acutely aware that the implementation of the PoA should be seriously improved. There is still hope, even though much remains to be done. The next biennial meeting will be held in July 2008.

4.2 Firearms Protocol

The Firearms Protocol entered into force on 3 July 2005 after the 40th ratification. This is the only legally binding instrument which regulates SALW globally. However, given the limited number of signatories, it lacks unanimity²⁷. It was developed in the context of the fight against transnational organized crime and therefore does not relate to the transfer of state-to-state. However, by the measures it provides, it affects a large part of the national control system and also deals with the weapons owned by states, particularly with regard to the manufacture, marking, registration, licenses and penalties. It will undoubtedly influence positively the control measures on a global scale.

In its broad outlines, the Firearms Protocol applies only to firearms²⁸ and ammunition (Article 3). It differs from the definition given by the Group of Experts of the United Nations in 1997, which made a distinction between small arms and light weapons, including ammunition²⁹ and explosives³⁰. The Protocol provides for the marking³¹ (Article 8) and registration (Article 7) of firearms, which is a world first. Section 9 provides for the deactivation of firearms.

Article 10 sets out the obligations of permits of firearms transfers. Therefore, legislative measures must be taken at the national level to regulate the import, export and transit of firearms and their spare parts and ammunition. States must cooperate and exchange information especially with a view to verifying the receipt of weapons by the importing State (Articles 12 and 13). Article 11 provides for security measures to increase the effectiveness of controls on transfers and stockpiles.

The Protocol also provides for non-binding measures on brokering and tracing of firearms. It calls

²⁶ See the report, also known as the 'Red Book', "Reviewing Action on Small Arms: Assessing the First Five Years of the UN PoA," *Biting the Bullet*, 2006: <http://www.iansa.org/un/review2006/redbook2006/index.htm>

²⁷ The protocol includes 52 signatories and 57 States Parties. Among these, there are a number of African states of the sub-Saharan region, see: http://www.unodc.org/unodc/crime_cicp_signatures_firearms.html

²⁸ Regardless of the category, and they are only operated through the propulsion of an explosive element. Although it is SALW, the term "firearms" has a more limited scope than SALW in international and regional documents and seeks a framework for the regulation of criminality.

²⁹ Here ammunition includes not only those for SALW, but also ammunition used for weapons such as hand grenades, for example.

³⁰ Document A/52/298 of the United Nations in 1997, paragraph 26. Here the term "small arms and light weapons" includes both small arms and light weapons, ammunition and explosives. In recent documents, ammunition and explosives are excluded from the term "small arms and light weapons" to avoid confusion.

³¹ Ammunition has been however excluded from the marking and registration measures as well as tracing.

for the criminalization of illicit manufacturing of and trafficking (Article 5) and the confiscation of illegal weapons (Article 6). These two articles therefore require the adoption of legislation at the national level.

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), on whom the administration of the Protocol has been entrusted, is developing a best practice guides on marking, registration and licensing with the aim of making them available to the states. The follow-up for the implementation of the Firearms Protocol and raising awareness among the states should be carried out in the future by UNODC.

4.3 The International Tracing Instrument

In accordance with the recommendations contained in the PoA³², an international instrument on the tracing of SALW was adopted by the UN General Assembly in December 2005.

This instrument represents a modest but unique step which is part and parcel of measures to combat the proliferation and uncontrolled circulation of SALW. It strengthens international standards for marking and registration and establishes for the first time a mechanism for tracing at the global level. However, as adopted, this instrument is far from what can be used in an efficient manner, as it is not legally binding. Based on a voluntary and bilateral mechanism, its implementation will be variable. We can, however, point out that all the ingredients are made available to States willing to exercise effective control on the circuit of SALW.

Ammunitions were excluded from the Instrument, thus emptying it to a large extent of its substance³³. However, ammunitions are the only possible tracing elements of weapons that are already on the illicit market and their follow-up could lead to finding these weapons. The report on the Instrument recommends, however, that the issue of ammunition should be addressed in a separate process within the UN (Paragraph 27 of the report). However, the launching of such a process might require several more years and an important promotional work remains to be done with government delegations.

The UN PoA does not give a clear definition of SALW but refers implicitly to the definition of the 1997 Experts Group aforementioned, whereas the Firearms Protocol refers to the definition of firearms only. The Tracing Instrument adopted a hybrid definition resulting from these two documents. This definition clearly distinguishes for the first time in an international instrument³⁴ small arms from light weapons (par. 4a and 4b)³⁵.

According to paragraph 6 (a), SALW are illicit if "they are considered illicit under the law of the State within whose territorial jurisdiction the small arm or light weapon is found". This provides definitions as different as the UN Member States. There is also uncertainty about whether the state concerned could open a tracing investigation, which introduces political subjectivity into the process. The state in question should also have the means and interest to trace the weapons, which will not necessarily be systematic. Here lies the difficulty to implement efficiently and comprehensively this document, which contains no preventive and proactive provisions, indirectly inciting states to a passive attitude, whilst waiting for a crime to be committed with SALW from the black market. But in order for such a system of control and fight to be effective, the authorities

³² Section IV.1 (c).

³³ Currently, there is no instrument which covers ammunitions worldwide.

³⁴ This is also the case in the ECOWAS Convention on SALW as described above.

³⁵ Small arms are for personal use, while light weapons can be carried by two or three people while still portable by one. A significant difference exists in relation to the definition of the first 1997 Expert Group, which included in the category of light weapons, which weapons that can be carried by a light vehicle, but not by men. Such is the case with some heavy missile launchers and surface-to-air mortars of large dimensions.

should be able to monitor systematically SALW by making them traceable at any time, which requires that the legal circuit is controlled from its manufacture to its use. The control of transfers should therefore be provided in the regulations.

The clauses on marking and registration have been strengthened compared to the Firearms Protocol. The only weakness lies in the fact that there is no legal constraint; the monitoring of the implementation of the Instrument therefore becomes absolutely necessary. Similarly, the tracing mechanism being voluntary, it is essential that there be an effective follow-up at the national level, prompting national authorities to undertake tracing requests in a systematic way, whenever there is a finding of illicit SALW, and to respond in turn to requests from other states. Parliamentarians could play an important role in terms of follow-up in this regard.

States are also required to submit reports to the Office for Disarmament Affairs (UNODA) of the United Nations on the implementation of the Instrument. As part of the Biennial Meeting of States on the PoA, the implementation of the Instrument will be discussed and possible improvements could be made.

4.4 The Nairobi Protocol

The Nairobi Declaration on the problem of proliferation of SALW, adopted in March 2000, is a fairly comprehensive document, but its implementation has been far from perfect. Based on a political commitment of States, its implementation on the field has faced several difficulties. The signatories of the Declaration therefore adopted on 21 April 2004 the Nairobi Protocol in order to take effective measures for a harmonized and effective implementation. It entered into force on 5 May 2006 as a legally binding instrument.

The 2nd Ministerial Conference within the framework of the Nairobi Declaration decided to establish a Regional Centre on Small Arms (RECSA) for the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa with a broader mandate than that of the former Nairobi Secretariat. This agreement was discussed, adopted and signed by the 3rd Ministerial Conference on 21 June 2005 granting at the same time RECSA with the status of an intergovernmental organization. This status allows it to be funded directly by the States, including the "friends" of the Nairobi Declaration. The main objective of RECSA is to ensure the effective and efficient implementation of the Nairobi Declaration and the Nairobi Protocol. RECSA was also chosen as the organization in charge of the implementation of projects from the "peace and security" section of the International Conference on the Great Lakes³⁶, with a focus on SALW related issues. To cope with these multiple responsibilities, RECSA is in the process of strengthening its institutional and operational capacities.

The definition makes a distinction between small arms and light weapons and includes, in addition, firearms and ammunition, as well as related materials. A broad definition can be a source of complication but is in line with the definitions of the United Nations Experts Group of 1997, the Firearms Protocol and the ECOWAS Convention on SALW.

Article 3 calls for the criminalization of any illicit activity and violation of the embargoes imposed by the international community. It calls for the regulation of the possession and carrying of arms by civilians (Article 5), registration, marking and tracing (Article 7), control of manufacture (Article 11), seizure and forfeiture as well as the control of brokering (Article 11).

³⁶ Pamphile Sebahara, 2006/02, *La Conférence internationale sur l'Afrique des Grands Lacs*. Ed. Rapport du GRIP, pp.14-15 : http://www.grip.org/pub/rapports/rg06-2_paix%20grands%20lacs.pdf

Article 4 calls for the strengthening of information exchange and cooperation among the member states.

Article 6 provides for the control and management of the stockpiles owned by the State and Article 8 deals with the destruction of surplus and obsolete arms of the State. Weapons seized will be confiscated and destroyed (Article 9).

Article 10 seeks the control of the import, export and transit of SALW and requires a regulatory system based on authorization. Transparency measures are provided in (article16) and, in this framework, States should establish national focal points who will establish national action plans and work in coordination with RECSA.

Other articles provide public awareness and education programmes, as well as mutual legal assistance.

Article 18 deals with the monitoring of the Protocol through the development and publication of guidelines and instructions for the implementation, monitoring, execution and evaluation of the Protocol. This approach can help solve the difficulties encountered in the implementation.

4.5 The SADC Protocol

Although adopted before the other two instruments presented above, the SADC Protocol suffers from the absence of an institutional and organizational background that would coordinate its implementation on the one hand and the lack of consensus among the signatory States on the other hand, some of whom are also parties to the Nairobi Protocol. In addition, organizations such as SARPCCO (Southern African Regional Police Chief Council Organization) do not yet have the mandate to coordinate the implementation of the Protocol. In the future a new organization may be set up to take on this responsibility.

As the SADC Protocol is 80% identical to that of Nairobi, everything that is mentioned in the previous section remains valid here.

4.6 The European Union Code of Conduct

The EU Code of Conduct on arms exports³⁷, adopted on 8 June 1998, lays down certain rules for arms exports from Member States, and authorises exports only if the destination country fulfils the following eight criteria:

- The respect of international commitments, such as embargoes or other relevant international initiatives;
- Respect for human rights in the country of final destination;
- The stability of the domestic situation;
- Maintaining regional balance;
- The security of allied countries, mostly EU Member States;
- The behaviour of the country of final destination towards the international community and especially as far as terrorism is concerned;
- The risk of internal diversion or unwanted re-exportation.
- The compatibility of the contract with the economic capacity of the country: one cannot spend too much as compared to social expenditures and those intended for development.

³⁷ See: <http://www.grip.org/bdg/g1608.html>

The Code calls for stricter control mechanisms and transparency measures, such as the establishment of an annual government report on arms transfers. However, there are still many weaknesses in the Code. One could mention four:

- The code is a mere moral commitment and not a binding instrument;
- Certain criteria are relatively loose but the Code provides that Member States could have a more restrictive policy;
- If a country has declined over the last three years an export which another member state would like to make, it should consult with the country which refused to export, and not with all the Member States as had wished all countries except France. And there is nothing to prevent the sale if the country wishes;
- Transparency is limited since the annual reports on arms exports are transmitted confidentially to the other Member States. However, the EU Council publishes an annual global report on the exports of the 15 Member States.

4.7 The Inter-American Convention to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the illicit production and sale of firearms

The Inter-American Convention to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the production and sale of firearms³⁸ was the first regional legally binding initiative on small arms. Its main goal is to counter the devastating effects of arms trafficking in Latin America. Legislation models have been developed in different areas covered by the Convention, such as the marking and tracing of weapons.

CONCLUSIONS AND POSSIBLE ACTIONS

A large number of international instruments on the control of SALW that have been outlined above, await their implementation on the ground. The member states of ECOWAS are concerned with most of them and are expected to transpose them into their national legislation. In order to facilitate the work of Member States in this process of harmonization, control regulations and mechanisms should be established at the regional level, some of which are already being implemented.

West Africa has the advantage of having an institution, ECOWAS, which has been operational for quite a long time now and has a structure that would coordinate actions in the control of SALW, in particular through the implementation of the Convention on SALW. Two major challenges must still be addressed. On the one hand, the division of roles between different actors (ECOWAS and its SALW Unit, the governments of Member States, national parliaments, the components of civil society, technical and financial partners, etc.) involved in the process of dealing with issues of SALW. On the other hand, the mobilization of financial and material resources so as to allow the various actors assume their roles effectively and complementarily. For example, the Small Arms Unit established within the Department of Political Affairs, Peace and Security of the ECOWAS Commission with the mandate of implementing the Convention is a new entity that should have the necessary means to carry out its task. Practically, for each article of the Convention, the Secretariat should play an active role in coordinating, evaluating and monitoring, and this cannot be done with the resources currently at its disposal.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In this context, the role of civil society members active in the fight against the proliferation of SALW

³⁸ Organization of American States, in November 1997: <http://www.grip.org/bdg/g1659.html>

is important. The Commission of ECOWAS undertook, through its Small Arms Unit, activities to establish an action plan to comply with the requirements of the Convention for its effective implementation once it enters into force. A few lines of actions are suggested below to be undertaken under this plan and which are also likely to be the subject of special attention from the civil society actors.

- Educate and mobilize parliamentarians of the respective governments for the ratification of the ECOWAS Convention as soon as possible. The civil society, despite its weaknesses, could play a key role in cooperating with the National Commissions on SALW and the Executive Secretariat of ECOWAS.

- Contribute to the evaluation of National Commissions when they exist, through the representatives of civil society, and prepare their establishment where they do not yet exist in order to make an assessment of each country on its compliance with the Convention.

- To contribute to the process undertaken by the ECOWAS Secretariat for the preparation of a Plan of Action for the implementation of the Convention. The Plan of Action will clearly define the role of all stakeholders in the process (National Commissions, the various services of the Member States, civil society, governments and partners, suppliers...).

- Contribute to advocacy at the level of the governments and parliaments of Member States in order to endow the National Commissions with the adequate legal framework and human and financial resources necessary to implement the tasks that the Convention has entrusted on them.

- To actively contribute to the activities of National Commissions on SALW in their respective countries, particularly in the development of national action plans for the implementation of the Convention of ECOWAS. Given the knowledge on the field and the expertise in advocacy and mobilization that characterize many civil society organizations, they could play a key role in the identification and registration of local manufacturers, vendors, brokers and intermediaries.

- Carry out awareness campaigns and mobilization on the provisions of the Convention in collaboration with the National Commissions on SALW, and with the support of technical and financial partners.

As far as the ECOWAS Commission and the Member States are concerned, they should also:

- Now provide technical and administrative training on various aspects under the Convention in order to be ready when it enters into force;

- Acquire technical knowledge and adequate policies at international and regional levels in order to establish an effective mechanism to promptly examine exemption requests and agree with the Member States on a set deadline (timeframe) to decide on such requests;

- To envisage information exchange and a cooperation mechanism at the international and regional levels in order to install permanent monitoring for the effective and efficient implementation of the Convention. The Executive Secretariat acts as an intermediary in the relationship with international partners. Member States should work in transparency with their neighbours so as to enable the mechanisms of the Convention establish mutual trust among the states;

- Particularly see to the establishment of registers and initiate operational mechanisms provided for in the Convention and acquire to this effect sufficient technical expertise capacity and work together with the national monitoring and security services and establish standards and procedures necessary for this purpose.

Finally, the Small Arms Unit of the ECOWAS Commission will have to find the financial and technical resources necessary for the preparation and implementation of the Action Plan and work hand in hand with its key partners within the framework of the process. They should have complete independence of operation in terms of funding, expertise and administration.

The success of the mechanisms recommended by the instruments developed over the past decade by the international community to combat and eradicate the scourge of illicit SALW depend mainly on the means that will be made available to actors who are expected to be deployed in sufficient numbers on the ground. The primary responsibility lies with the States that must have a strong political will and support effectively the civil society and international organizations.

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LESSON 4

MODULE 3: PRACTICAL DISARMAMENT IN WEST AFRICA

GOAL:

To present practical disarmament initiatives in West Africa

PEDAGOGICAL OBJECTIVE

To understand the methods of practical disarmament in West Africa

Part One: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

LESSON 9: Practical disarmament and peace-building³⁹

CONTENTS

- ◆ Definitions
- ◆ History
- ◆ Overview
- ◆ Legal norms and instruments at the national regional and international levels
- ◆ The link between practical disarmament and peace-building
- ◆ DDR

TRAINER

Dr Ivor Richard FUNG, Director, UNREC.

LANGUAGE OF PRESENTATION: English and French

INTRODUCTION

Practical disarmament and peace-building are conflict resolution mechanisms representing, each, a set of activities deployed within the framework of a peace agreement so as to prevent a relapse into conflict. Specifically, while practical disarmament activities are related to the control of small arms and light weapons, peace-building is a larger concept involving political, security and socio-economic actions that may sustain peace and stability for nation-building. A successful practical disarmament process reduces the chances for violence to occur and increases confidence which can lay the foundations for an effective peace-building process. When practical disarmament and peace-building activities are conducted in a relatively peaceful society, they take the form of crisis/conflict prevention measures.

³⁹ This title corresponds to Lesson 9 of the Training of Trainers' Curriculum

Traditionally, practical disarmament and peace-building were conceived of as prerogatives of Governments owing largely to their “sensitive” security and political dimensions. The international community had been playing a role limited in most cases to the provision of resources, particularly in the context of multilateral peace operations. In the recent past, however, as societies are opening to democratization, relative space in the areas of peace and disarmament is being created for civil society organizations (CSOs). But in order for them to make the best use of this “window of opportunity” and play an effective role in support of the Governments, CSOs must acquire expertise in these new fields.

1. DEFINITIONS

1.1 Practical Disarmament

Practical disarmament usually refers to the collection, control and disposal of small arms and light weapons. It serves two main purposes: (1) promotion of peace and security, and (2) reduction of violent crime. By implication, it is also a necessary precondition for development. If there is no sense of security strong enough and long enough to make people invest in their futures, socio-economic growth is unlikely to happen.⁴⁰

Regarding the first objective – peace and security - the main focus so far has been on practical disarmament in the aftermath of war. However the operational requirements of post-conflict reconstruction and conflict prevention are much the same. For the future, preventive disarmament deserves more attention and support. As for violent crime, a country that features stark economic inequalities, high unemployment and poorly functioning security sectors are particularly exposed. When unemployment in the age group of 15-24 years comes to 50-70%, as is the case in some countries, acquisition of weapons may become a wide spread surrogate for an accepted role in society, and a short-cut to money and material goods.

The disarmament community naturally focuses on arms control solutions in reference to peace and security, while the law enforcement community deals with illicit manufacturing, possession and trade in the context of crime prevention.⁴¹

Lessons learnt from practical disarmament efforts to date conclude that practical disarmament can contribute to political stability and public security if it is part of a three-pronged effort at demand reduction, weapons control and weapons reduction. Voluntary weapons collections carried out in the context of crime prevention and improvement of community security may support, reinforce and spark other related initiatives by drawing public attention to SALW problems. They are valuable not so much because of their effectiveness in removing weapons from the hands of criminals or because they significantly reduce the number of weapons in circulation, but because they raise public awareness about the potential dangers of widespread possession of firearms. So when designing practical disarmament measures, perhaps the most difficult factors to come to grips with are the cultural one. In a gun culture, the possession of firearms is widespread, and people are familiar with them. This may or may not present a danger to public safety and security. In a culture of violence, on the other hand, people use weapons in pursuit of important objectives such as social standing, property and political power.⁴²

1.2 Peace-building

⁴⁰ LODGAARD Sverre, 2001, *Practical Disarmament*, Ed. NUPI, pp. 7-10

⁴¹ Idem

⁴² Ibid

There are two distinct ways to understand peace-building. According to the United Nations document *An Agenda for Peace*⁴³, peace-building consists of a wide range of activities associated with capacity building, reconciliation, and societal transformation. Peace-building is a long-term process that occurs after a violent conflict has slowed down or come to a halt. Thus, it is the phase of the peace process that takes place after peacemaking and peacekeeping.

Many non-governmental organizations (NGOs), on the other hand, understand peace-building as an umbrella concept that encompasses not only long-term transformative efforts, but also peacemaking and peacekeeping. In this view, peace-building includes early warning and response efforts, violence prevention, advocacy work, civilian and military peacekeeping, military intervention, humanitarian assistance, ceasefire agreements, and the establishment of peace zones.⁴⁴

In a more narrower sense, peace-building is a process that facilitates the establishment of durable peace and tries to prevent the recurrence of violence by addressing root causes and effects of conflict through reconciliation, institution building, and political as well as economic transformation. This consists of a set of physical, social, and structural initiatives that are often an integral part of post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation.

Some draw a distinction between post-conflict peace-building and long-term peace-building. Post-conflict peace-building is connected to peacekeeping, and often involves demobilization and reintegration programmes, as well as immediate reconstruction needs. Meeting immediate needs and handling crises is no doubt crucial. But while peacemaking and peacekeeping processes are an important part of peace transitions, they are not enough to meet longer-term needs and build a lasting peace.⁴⁵

Long-term peace-building techniques are designed to fill this gap, and to address the underlying substantive issues that brought about conflict. Various transformation techniques aim to move parties away from confrontation and violence, and towards political and economic participation, peaceful relationships, and social harmony.

This longer-term perspective is crucial for future violence prevention and the promotion of a more peaceful future. Thinking about the future involves articulating desirable structural, systemic, and relationship goals. These might include sustainable economic development, self-sufficiency, equitable social structures that meet human needs, and building positive relationships.

Peace-building measures also aim to prevent conflict from re-emerging. Through the creation of mechanisms that enhance cooperation and dialogue among different identity groups, these measures can help parties manage their conflict of interests through peaceful means. This might include building institutions that provide procedures and mechanisms for effectively handling and resolving conflict. For example, societies can build fair courts, capacities for labour negotiation, systems of civil society reconciliation, and a stable electoral process. Such designing of new dispute resolution systems is an important part of creating a lasting peace.⁴⁶

2. HISTORY

Practical disarmament began with a number of activities relating to the collection of SALW in Northern Mali following a request to the UN by the President of Mali. As a matter of fact, Mr.

⁴³ BOUTROS-GHALI Boutros, 1992, *An Agenda for Peace*, Ed. United Nations Publications, 174p

⁴⁴ MAIESE Michelle, 2003, *What it means to build a Lasting Peace*, Ed. University of Colorado, Boulder

⁴⁵ Idem

⁴⁶ Ibid

Alpha Omar KONARE who was elected in 1992 in Mali inherited a peace process initiated by his predecessor Lieutenant-Colonel Amadou Toumani TOURE. Fearing that the process would go in shambles with the Tuareg armed rebellion in Northern Mali, Mr. KONARE met with Mr. Boutros Boutros GHALI the then UN Secretary General during the France-Afrique meeting in Port Louis, Mauritius in 1993.

Between 1994 and 1995, Boutros Boutros GHALI dispatched an advisory mission to Mali and its neighbouring countries. In reporting to the General Assembly on the work of this advisory mission, the UN coined the term of micro-disarmament in an effort to underline the fact that we were dealing here with small weapons and not conventional arms nor weapons of mass destruction which were commonly known and constituted most of the disarmament work of the General Assembly.

In 1997 however, the General Assembly through a resolution sponsored by Germany reflected on the myriad of activities that are involved in the so-called micro-disarmament and decided that instead of the use of the term of “micro-disarmament” which appears somehow derogatory or minimizes the impact of SALW, the General Assembly focused more on the type of activities such as weapons collection and destruction, the strengthening of legislations and capacity building for security forces. With that resolution, the General Assembly and in fact, the international community began to move away from the appellation of “micro-disarmament” to “practical disarmament”. The German resolution on practical disarmament since then has become one of the main SALW related resolutions in the First Committee of the General Assembly which is adopted every year.

Peace-building became an object of increased focus following the publication by the UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros GHALI of An Agenda for Peace where post-conflict peace-building was conceived of as that phase of the conflict resolution continuum during which a series of activities are organized to prevent a relapse into conflict. The concept was expanded upon in 2005 by the former UN Secretary General Kofi ANNAN in his publication “In Larger Freedom”. Most peace-keeping missions nowadays make provisions for appropriate measures to be taken to empower national institutions which have been established following the end of a conflict. Increasingly thus, the UN itself, unlike in the past, maintains a medium or long term presence in countries that have experienced long term conflicts. In Liberia, after the civil war which ended in 1999, a UN Peace-building Commission Office was established. Similar offices also exist in Guinea – Bissau, Burundi, and Sierra Leone.

3. OVERVIEW

3.1 Examples of practical disarmament activities

- Arms collection and destruction;
- Stockpile management;
- Harmonization/ updating of legal texts;
- Brokering;
- Marking and tracing;
- Databases/ arms registers;
- (Reduction of military budgets)
- (Sanctions and Arms Embargoes)

3.1.1 Arms collection and destruction

Arms collection and destruction programmes vary depending on the state of the country (peace time, war time or post-conflict). Commonly speaking, weapons are collected in the context of DD & R programmes when combatants voluntarily hand in their weapons to prepare their reintegration

into the socio-economic life of the society. Weapons are also collected during the post-conflict phase when a government or CSOs decide to put in place specific activities to reduce weapon caches. Such weapons collection programmes are usually accompanied by incentives that could be development based: weapons for development, buy-back programmes (cash). Whilst many experts agree that buy – back programmes through the use of cash should be discouraged for fear that SALW markets may be created, weapons for development on the other hand have proven to be successful in rural areas where specific needs have been identified and small development activities including farming, husbandry are deployed in exchange of weapons from the beneficiary community.

Other collection programmes involve community policy and sensitisation campaigns through which national authorities encourage people, particularly those who own weapons illegally to give them up as a way of complying with existing rules and regulations. All weapons collected ideally should be destroyed. However, there have been cases when governments will adopt what could be called selective destruction by which only the deficient arms are destroyed.

Weapons destruction in itself requires careful planning. Such planning must take into account a number of elements. It must include the registration of the gun to be destroyed, physical verification for security, identification of the destruction site for environmental safety and discarding of the residue of the weapons. Destruction techniques of weapons include the commonly known weapons bonfire which is cheap and also in some cases offers opportunities for reconciliation ceremonies following the end of a conflict. This was the case of the Flame of Peace ceremony in Mali (Timbuktu) in 1996 and the Flame of Hope in Niger (Agadez) in 2000. Other flames with strong symbolism for the end of conflict have taken place in Congo, Liberia, etc.

The crushing of weapons by the use of suitable vehicles is another technique which unlike the weapon bonfire presents less negative effects to the environment. Other weapon disposal techniques include the dumping of weapons in the high seas which often receive very little support because of the environmental risk that it presents.

3.1.2 Stockpile management

Stockpile management involves the capacity of the state to effectively secure the national weapons arsenals. In many African countries, stockpile management has presented many difficulties as storage facilities are inadequate and the filing of weapons is not carried out properly. In some instances, the filing (registration of weapon) has remained rudimentary and inconsistent. Poor stock management has facilitated the movement of weapons from the legal to the illegal spheres.

3.1.3 Harmonization/ updating of legal texts;

Harmonization of legal texts may take place at the national and regional levels. At the national level, harmonization involves the review of all texts regulating the manufacture, usages and movements, handling of weapons to make sure that these texts do not contradict each other. The same exercise may be carried out at the regional and sub-regional level, particularly for countries which have a common regulating framework such as the ECOWAS Convention on SALW. In this case, the harmonization will consist of ensuring that the legislation of all the countries is not contradictory with the norms of reference.

Updating of legal texts, on the other hand involves the review of such texts to ensure that they are in tune with current realities of the society. As a matter of fact, the updating or reviewing of national legislation is an important exercise for countries that still function on the basis of laws dating back to the colonial period and thus reflecting the state of African countries under colonialism. The harmonization/ updating of legal texts is an activity that has been taking place in many countries in order to ease the role of armed and security forces.

3.1.4 Brokering

The importation of weapons in many countries is usually carried out through intermediaries called brokers. In many countries, those intermediaries including dealers do not function under specific legislative provisions. Their activities are therefore difficult to control, as they are very often not accountable to any authority. Irregularities in arms transfers are in most cases perpetrated by activities of the arms brokers.

Increasingly, countries have begun to establish inventories of brokers and as called for by the report of the June 2007 UN Group of Governmental Experts, legislative provisions are now being inserted into many national laws to cover brokering activities.

3.1.5 Marking and Tracing

Marking and tracing are part of the elements that contribute to promoting transparency in the transfer of SALW. A weapon in order for it to be traced has to be marked either during its manufacture or after, but in any case, countries before storing weapons as part of their arsenal are called upon to ensure that the weapons are marked in accordance with international specifications which should include at the minimum:

- the make,
- the date of manufacture, and
- the authority importing the weapon.

The objective of tracing a weapon is to establish that a weapon found in a crime scene or in violation of an arms embargo can be followed up from the scene right down to the source.

3.1.6 Databases/ Arms Registers

Databases and arms registers are tools for enhancing transparency in weapons management and facilitating accountability and research. Because of limitations in information technologies, many African countries are not adequately making use of these tools.

3.2 Examples of Peace-building activities

3.2.1 The UN Peace-building Commission

The establishment of such a commission was suggested by the former UN Secretary General, Kofi ANNAN, with the aim of supporting in a durable and constant way the implementation of Peace Agreements.⁴⁷

3.2.2 Demobilization, integration, reintegration (ex-combatants)

Demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants are important elements of peace-building. They have the potential of ensuring that those who have been involved in an armed conflict are usefully

⁴⁷ “In my report “In Larger Freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all” (A/59/2005), I recommended that the Member States agree to the establishment of a Peace-building Commission, designed to fill an institutional gap in the United Nations. The United Nations has played a vital role in mediating peace agreements and assisting in their implementation, thereby helping to reduce the level of war in several regions. However, our record of success in mediating and implementing peace agreements is sadly blemished by some devastating failures. Indeed, several of the most violent and tragic episodes of the 1990s occurred after the negotiation of peace agreements – for instance in Angola in 1993 and in Rwanda in 1994. Roughly half of all countries that emerge from war lapse back into violence within five years. These two points drive home the message: if we are going to prevent conflict we must ensure that peace agreements are implemented in a sustained and sustainable manner”. (Kofi Annan, A/59/2005/Add.2).

recycled into profitable activities in society. The repatriation of internally displaced persons or refugees is an activity that focuses on people who have been affected by these conflicts. Such activities seek to normalize the way of life as it was prior to the outbreak of the conflict. However, the normalization of society through these activities has proven to be complex and costly. When peace-building activities are not conveniently and effectively conducted, the possibility of a relapse into conflict always exists. (e.g. Liberia, Chad etc). While international cooperation and assistance is important for an effective DD & R outcome, it is important that the governments concerned maintain ownership of the project so as to ensure the sustainability.

3.2.3 SSR Programmes

These are complementary activities with the potential to support peace-building in a country, particularly those that have suffered a crisis in a security related institution. Institutional building of state departments such as the police, the judiciary, customs, etc are important as they make sure that the structural response to this crisis by the State is effective. While it is important to focus on structures, rules and regulations that can ensure accountability in a security sector, it is above all important that those who carry out the activities should have the proper capacities. The vetting and training of the police and related paramilitary agents including the judiciary should be a periodic activity in order to allow these agents to be adequately exposed to modern practices that underpin the functioning of their institution.

3.2.4 Reinforcing parliamentary, judicial, civil service reforms

Peace-building activities also involve the strengthening of parliament and justice and civil service reforms. The functioning of these institutions usually go a long way to ensuring that governance related issues are addressed in a manner that will prevent frictions that often lead to crises.

4. LEGAL NORMS AND INSTRUMENTS AT THE NATIONAL, REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

At the national level, practical disarmament and peace-building are largely regulated by laws and decrees. While peace-building is in many cases considered as an operational set of activities, practical disarmament is specifically regulated by those texts or legislation which relate at the national level to the bearing of weapons by the citizenry.

At the sub-regional level, the recent disarmament momentum has resulted in a number of Declarations (e.g. ECOWAS and ECCAS). Other frameworks such as Protocols and Conventions also exist:

- The Nairobi Protocol and the SADC Protocol
- The ECOWAS Conventions on SALW

At the regional level we have Declarations such as the Bamako and Windhoek Declarations. The AU is currently working on a continental Treaty.

And finally **at the international level** we are progressively moving towards an Arms Trade Treaty (ATT). There is the UN Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in all its Aspects. However, the only legally binding instrument is the UN Firearms Protocol, additional to the Convention on Trans-national organized Crimes.

5. THE LINK BETWEEN PRACTICAL DISARMAMENT AND PEACE-BUILDING⁴⁸

Practical disarmament and peace-building as reviewed above constitute a set of activities that contribute to the establishment of a peaceful and secure environment that will enable socio-economic development to take place. As a matter of fact, practical disarmament activities are a subset of a peace-building process.

These set of activities are mutually reinforcing and can be deployed during peace times or following the conclusion of an armed conflict in a country.

⁴⁸ “Emphasizing the importance of including in United Nations-mandated peacekeeping missions, as appropriate and with the consent of the host State, practical disarmament measures aimed at addressing the problem of illicit trade in small arms and light weapons in conjunction with disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes of ex-combatants, with a view to promoting an integrated comprehensive and effective weapons management strategy that would contribute to a sustainable peace-building process” (GA res. 61/76 of 6 December 2006)

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LESSON 5

MODULE 3: PRACTICAL DISARMAMENT IN WEST AFRICA

GOAL:

To present practical disarmament initiatives in West Africa

PEDAGOGICAL OBJECTIVE

To understand the methods of practical disarmament in West Africa

Part Two: OPERATIONAL FRAMEWORK

LESSON 11: Practical disarmament initiatives in West Africa⁴⁹

CONTENTS

- ◆ Practical disarmament experiences in West Africa
- ◆ Weapons collection, stockpiling, registration and destruction strategies

TRAINER

Mr Eucher EKLU-KOEVANU, Human Rights Officer, HCHR, Togo.

LANGUAGE OF PRESENTATION: French

INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of the 1990s, the nature of conflicts has changed. The majority of crises which followed the disappearance of the superpowers were internal. We have moved from interstate wars to internal wars. These internal wars serve as platforms for the display and use of weapons of all kinds. In terms of weapons used, one can distinguish those known as "weapons of mass destruction" (WMD), namely the nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons (or biological) and those known as "conventional" or "traditional" divided into two sub-categories: heavy conventional weapons and small arms and light weapons (SALW).

Small arms are weapons with a calibre which is inferior to 100 mm. In this category, one can find revolvers and self loading pistols, guns, rifles and sub-machine guns.

With regards to weapons falling under the category of light weapons, these include heavy machine guns, mortars with a calibre of less than 100mm, missile launchers, rocket launchers, portable anti-tank cannons, non recoil guns, portable grenade launchers, mobile or mounted.

When these weapons fall in the hands of armed groups and insurgents, they are not used for good deeds such as promoting peace and security but rather to perpetrate illicit activities such as organized crime, drug traffic, illegal exploitation of natural resources and terrorism. In West Africa, since 1990 there have been 3.000.000 victims of SALW due notably to conflicts in Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, Sierra Leone Sierra and others. Consequently there is a dire need for disarmament. But what really is disarmament and what experiences have been listed in West Africa?

⁴⁹ This title corresponds to Lesson 11 in the Training of Trainers Curriculum

DEFINITIONS AND CONCEPT EVOLUTION

In 1995, the term "micro-disarmament" (disarmament of SALW) was employed for the first time by the ex UN Secretary General, Boutros Boutros Ghali. For him, the fight against the weapons cannot focus solely on WMD, but it also has to tackle "*the weapon of the poor*": *Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW)*. In 2001, the United Nations adopted the United Nations Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in all its aspects. However before these initiatives, several other initiatives in terms of disarmament practices have been taken at the continental level (Declaration of Bamako) and sub-regional level (SADC, ECCAS and ECOWAS)

Practical disarmament activities usually include the collection, control, stockpiling and destruction of SALW. Practical disarmament initiatives entail both preventive measures in times of peace as well as post-conflict reconstruction measures in societies where the need to re-establish peace depends largely on the efficiency of arms collection and disarmament programmes.

In West Africa, small arms and light weapons are at the heart of the problematic "security and development" which could be summarized in this sentence of the former UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, in his report entitled: *In Larger freedom: "There is no security without development, there is no development without security and there can be neither security nor development if human rights are not respected."*

In this context, disarmament appears as a triple duty: a duty to prevent because it is necessary to prevent the transfers of SALW from the licit circuits towards the illegal circuits due to the risk of seeing these weapons used to violate humans right and international humanitarian law; a duty to react, because in the presence of emergencies, it is necessary to be able to react with adequate measures in accordance with the regional or national instruments, with the sanctions or coercive measures envisaged; and finally a duty to reconstruct, since it is necessary provide assistance for the reconstruction and reconciliation by tackling the major factors which exacerbate conflicts.

This task cannot be carried out solely by the States and the International Organizations (subjects of international law). They must join forces with civil society organizations (CSOs) who have become responsible and credible partners, hence the need to strengthen their capacities. The UNREC capacity building project of CSOs in practical disarmament is an answer to this new trend and deserves to be encouraged and to continue as long as possible so that CSOs can truly supplement, clarify and enhance the actions of governments on the field. The West African civil society Forum on SALW instigated by the ECOWAS Small Arms Programme (ECOSAP) with the support of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) held from 20-21 June 2007 in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire recommended the effective implication of civil society in the activities related to the control of SALW in Member States and the technical and operational capacity building of CSOs.

The problematic of SALW is complex and technical; it still remains the preserve of certain States. Disarmament techniques require a minimum of cognitive pre-requirements, know-hows and pre-conditions which we will be reviewing through this lecture.

1. PRACTICAL DISARMAMENT INITIATIVES IN WEST AFRICA

1.1 Regional level

One of the first significant initiatives of practical disarmament was the signature of the ECOWAS Moratorium on the import, export and manufacture of SALW signed in Abuja, Nigeria on 31 October 1998 by the Heads of States and Governments of the Member States. At the end of the

process, three elements are to be retained, namely the Declaration of the Moratorium, the implementation as from March 1999 of the Programme of Coordination and Assistance for Security and Development (PCASED) to support the Moratorium and the elaboration as of December 1999 of a Code of Conduct specifying the institutional mechanisms and procedures.

The PCASED plan of action comprised of 9 areas of intervention, namely: 1-The establishment of a culture of peace; 2- A training scheme for the military, the police force and the security forces; 3- The reinforcement of the control of weapons at the border posts; 4 – The creation of a data base and a regional register of weapons; 5 – The collection and destruction of superfluous weapons; 6 – To facilitate dialogue with the manufacturers and suppliers; 7 – The review and harmonization of national laws and administrative procedures; 8 – The mobilization of resources for the objectives and activities of PCASED; 9 – The increase of the number of signatories to the Moratorium.

Has the implementation of the Moratorium been a failure or a success for the sub-region? To respond to this question, one can try to evaluate 3 of its main objectives: the National Commissions, the regional register and database, the harmonization of national legislations.

1.1.1 The National Commissions

Almost all the countries of ECOWAS have at least a National Commission. But are they all operational and effective? The constraints which they are confronted with are the insufficient implication or marginalisation of CSOs in their administration, the lack of political good-will, the lack of qualified experts qualified in the field of disarmament and the persistence of financial crises.

1.1.2 The regional register and database

In October 1999, the PCASED held in Accra its first workshop on the implementation of a register and database on SALW. In spite of the provision of international assistance for pilot projects in some selected countries, this component of the Moratorium was never realized. Why? Because there is an absence of arms registers at the national level, because of the difficulties relating to information sharing amongst ECOWAS Member States especially in the sector of peace and security but also because of States which are still very keen to preserve their sovereignty.

1.1.3 The harmonisation of national legislation

In several countries signatories to the Moratorium, the laws on SALW are either non-existent, either old and obsolete or dating from the colonial era, and Parliaments are dragging their feet to adopt laws pertaining to SALW. One can also add the disparity between the legal systems: Consequences:

- In the absence of effective community legislation, the effectiveness of all the other practical disarmament measures is bound to fail.
- No supranational texts to date on the question

Admittedly, the PCASED helped the ECOWAS countries intensify their efforts with regards to the fight against SALW, however, since the Moratorium is itself not a legally binding instrument, its application suffered from the lack of goodwill of the States. To mitigate the insufficiencies of the PCASED, ECOSAP has since been created. Is this a guarantee for success?

1.1.4 ECOSAP

It would be too early to start evaluating the effectiveness of the ECOWAS SALW Programme. Indeed, it has only been operational since June 2006 with the support of UNDP and other partners. Its objective is to promote human security through the adoption of an exhaustive and harmonized approach which places the challenges posed by SALW in a larger context of regional peace-building, conflict prevention, security sector reform and poverty reduction in view of better achieving the MDG.

It is an ambitious programme which takes into account strategic instruments such as the ECOWAS Moratorium of 31 October 1998, the ECOWAS Convention on SALW of 2006 and the 1999 ECOWAS Protocol on the Mechanism of Prevention, Management, and Resolution of Conflicts, Peacekeeping and Security.

1.2 At the national level, two initiatives: the cases of Mali and Togo

1.2.1 Mali

As a pioneer in the fight against the proliferation of light weapons, Mali has often been at the forefront of many activities in practical disarmament. Thus, it was one of the first countries to set up a National Commission against the proliferation of light weapons in 1996.⁵⁰ Within the framework of its activities, the Malian State focused its disarmament efforts on the voluntary handing-over of weapons. Indeed, ex-combatants were asked to deposit their weapons in exchange of the possibility of taking part in community development programmes. During the ceremony of the Flame of Peace organized in Timbuktu, 3000 weapons were destroyed in front of 10.000 spectators. Since then, this type of event has gained grounds and is being organized all over the world. Considered as a high profile national event, the Flame of Peace had been organized symbolically to mark the end of the hostilities, the rehabilitation of former rebels into the Malian nation and the reconciliation of the nomadic communities (Tuareg and Arabic) with the sedentary communities. However, except for the reconciliation symbol behind the Flame of Peace, the disarmament component has to be put into perspective. Indeed, ex-combatants from various factions have stated that only a portion of the 3.000 weapons burnt during the ceremony were actually used during the rebellion. Some handed over old weapons which were practically out of order, whereas others who had never really fought handed over weapons for the sole purpose of being eligible as ex-combatants and to benefit from DDR programmes.

On an even more serious note, many weapons did not end up in the Flame of Peace. Some were found in other zones of conflict because of the porosity of the borders with Mauritania, Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire, particularly permeable borders for arms trafficking. The persistence of insecurity and the mistrust of the peace process encouraged many ex-combatants and civilians to keep their weapons. Several community leaders maintained their arsenals on the assumption that the hostilities could begin again. Furthermore, the disillusion towards the peace process and the residual tension between communities encouraged many civilians to keep their weapons. The majority of gangsters who operated under the pretence of being combatants and took advantage of the rebellion to strip civilians and to plunder villages kept their weapons and have continued their illicit activities.

In addition, it has to be noted that the disarmament process resulted only in the collection of small quantities of ammunition. The weapons in general were handed over with only one cartridge; a majority of the people kept their ammunitions in a safe place.

Facing these gaps, the government of Mali supported by Belgium set up between December 2000 and June 2003, a "Programme weapons against development". The personnel allocated to this project collected and destroyed 850 weapons, 12.548 rounds of ammunition and 230 grenades. Five municipalities in the region of Timbuktu took part in the programme and benefited from community funds to set up small development projects in compensation of the restitution of their weapons. The 850 collected weapons were destroyed during smaller ceremonies of "Flames of Peace" in Léré in 2001, Diré in 2001 and Soumpi in 2003.

1.2.2 Togo

In 2001, the Togolese National Commission against the proliferation of SALW was created and became operational effectively in 2003. Its mission is:

⁵⁰ Decree n°96-304/P-RM of November 14, 1996

- To propose to the government any actions which may contribute to the fight against SALW;
- To propose legislation which would enable the carrying out of its mission ;
- To coordinate and animate the actions of various departments and services of the State involved or concerned with the fight against the proliferation of SALW;
- According to provisions of article 2 of the decree relating to its creation, the Commission collects and exploits all the data and information linked to the manufacturing and commercialisation of SALW.

With regards to the Togolese legislation on SALW, the texts governing on this matter are not in conformity with international standards. Nevertheless, there is the will to make appropriate proposals for the next legislature. Destruction of seized illegal weapons has been organized almost each year since its creation. Since 2001, more than 7.500 weapons of wars, more than 153 guns, and more than 611.350 rounds of ammunition of war and for hunting have been destroyed. Registers exist for the legal weapons and regular public awareness campaigns have been initiated and implemented.

2. WEAPONS COLLECTION, STOCKPILING, REGISTRATION AND DESTRUCTION STRATEGIES

Preliminary considerations

When weapons have been distributed by the belligerent factions to the civilian populations or the militia, it is almost impossible to recover them. The same applies when, in terms of social identity, the weapons are perceived as a symbol of prestige. Indeed in certain African traditions, when a boy is born, one has the habit of saying: *"a rifle is born"*. Furthermore, in certain regions where weapons are very marked culturally, it would be a mistake to believe that people will go and register their weapons. In such cases, what strategies need to be implemented in the event of practical disarmament measures? The various strategies that have been applied here and there on the matter are:

- A long-term strategy which aims at reducing the number of weapons available to civilians as the situation in the country or the region improves;
- A global strategy which tackles the issues of security sector reform and good governance;
- A strategy which takes into account the gender oriented roles and which may have changed due to the conflict;
- The comprehensive strategy which takes into account all the actors concerned within the country.

2.1 SALW registration and stockpile management in Africa

The registration of weapons usually refers to the classification of these weapons before their storage. It is an act which confers on a weapon its legal identity after it has been acquired. It involves a listing of physical details such as the serial number, the origin, the name of the manufacturer, the date of manufacture, the make, the date of purchase or acquisition, the intermediaries/brokers, the acquiring institution /owner.

The objective of registration is to have on the one hand appropriate statistics, and on the other hand to ensure security through accessibility to such information which could facilitate the tracing of the weapon in the event of loss or crime.

The registration of weapons often leads to an arms register reflecting the arsenal of a State. Deficiencies in the registration of weapons can lead to poor stockpile management.

However the West African States encounter some difficulties in terms of registration and stockpile management. The most common difficulties encountered are:

- The physical state of stores and national weapons depots which experience deficiencies, namely the absence of outer fencing, metal doors and windows, thick walls. These deficiencies easily expose the depots to breakages and thefts in particular in periods of unrest. These weapons easily move from the licit circuits to the illegal circuits (cf. political disturbances in the 1990s in West Africa)
- For collective outings, it often occurs that the lack of vigilance and experience of new recruits influences the rigorous management of the stocks of weapons. Some do not return their weapons within the time limit;
- The police force does not have adequate files and registers for the registration of weapons flows and they also lack effective computer equipment for a rational management of their stocks;
- The difficulties in mastering the local SALW manufacturing capacities;
- The lack of centralised archives and a suitable classification system;
- The proven and confirmed expertise with regards to the implementation and maintenance of a SALW register in West Africa is not yet widespread.

However, there are some initiatives which need to be encouraged and popularized.

2.1.1 The United Nations Registry on Conventional Arms

In an effort to promote transparency in arms transfers at the global level, the United Nations adopted in 1991, Resolution 46/36 L entitled “Transparency in armaments” which requested the Secretary General to establish and maintain at the United Nations Headquarters in New York a universal and non discriminatory Register on Conventional Arms to include data on international arms transfers as well as information provided by Member States on military holdings, procurement through national production and relevant policies.

2.1.2 The UNREC Register

As a model instrument, the Small Arms and Light Weapons Register in Africa (SALWRA) is an initiative of UNREC which was an output of the SATCRA project (Small Arms Transparency and Control Regime in Africa). Ref: <http://www.unrec-satcra.org> for more details.

With regards, to SATCRA, it should be recalled that it was launched on 1 October 2003 by the Department of Disarmament Affairs of the United Nations (DDA) with the objective of encouraging the States to adopt measures for greater transparency and openness in the manufacturing and storage of SALW. The beneficiary States are Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Djibouti, Gabon, Kenya, Mali, Mozambique, Nigeria, South Africa and Togo. Several activities within this framework made it possible to obtain the following results: national consultations and a regional workshop; the realization of an inventory on local manufacturers of weapons and the publication of the related reports; the development and maintenance of a data base and a register covering eight fields such as the import, export, holdings, seizures and collections, donations, surpluses and licences of SALW.

2.1.3 A software for the registration of SALW for ECOWAS

Since February 2005, a software to register and trace light weapons has arrived in Senegal thanks to the co-operation between the Movement against Light Weapons in West Africa (MALAO) and the Pearson Centre for Peacekeeping. This is a tool which allows the States to either register the weapons which exist amongst the population or to register the weapons which are being collected for destruction. With this registration, one can easily trace the weapons circulating in the whole of West Africa.

2.2 The practice of collecting and destructing SALW

2.2.1 Evaluation of the situation on the field

Four elements must be taken into account and in a particular order, namely: 1. The political situation of the country or zone; 2. The cultural perception of weapons; 3. The public perception of the operation; 4. A common and global solution which has the support and confidence of the populations.

The political situation of the country or the zone

A basic survey on the demography of the country or the community concerned in the country and economic factors, the type of community solidarity, the rates of criminality and violence, the structure and quality of the police force, the state of national legislation on SALW.

The following questions deserve to be carefully asked:

- Is it imperative for citizens to keep their weapons for self-defence reasons and personal security? For example, in the pastoral communities in Kenya, the disarmament of a community poses a serious threat to the survival of such a community.
- Who are people in possession of weapons? What aura do they have amongst the other community members?
- How did they get their weapons?
- Are there existing CSOs which have the capacity to contribute to the efforts of reduction or prevention of access to weapons and their bad use?

The cultural perception of weapons

Is the objective of the operation only to recover the weapons which fall within the military range? Are weapons used for hunting also a target?

The public perception of the operation

A strategy of collection or destruction of SALW without consulting the populations is bound to fail. The best strategy comes from the grassroots and has to be elaborated and approached from the point of view of the culture and the local habits if possible. For example, the Programme "Village without weapons" of the Solomon Islands was successful because it was jointly elaborated with the village chiefs.

Adopt a common and global solution which has the support and confidence of the populations

To have joint programmes of collection and destruction coupled with community development initiatives. For example, in Albania, the UNDP carried out a pilot project in the district of Gramsh associating disarmament with the financing of 4x4 vehicles and the improvement of roads and street lighting.

2.2.2 Strategies of SALW collection

On this matter, there are generally 2 options that can be envisaged: voluntary collection and forced collection.

The forced collection is generally a dangerous option. Who will be in charge of the collection: CSOs? The police? Or an international force? Any party involved in this forced collection can rapidly become the target of illegal weapon holders.

Voluntary collection is by far the most preferable option. Its objectives will be enumerated taking into account a certain number of factors and in particular:

- The support of the different stakeholders to the programme may be motivated by different reasons. Some could be motivated by the will to sincerely disarm whereas others may be primarily interested by what is being offered to them in exchange of their weapons.

- The stakeholders may say that they are pursuing specific objectives whereas actually, they hope to attain other objectives.
- The objectives may have a direct or indirect connection with the collection of weapons.

Examples of objectives with a direct link could be:

- The reduction of weapons through the disarmament of a particular group
- Restoring law and order
- The reduction of the number of crimes caused by SALW as well as related deaths

Examples of objectives with an indirect link could be:

- To give evidence to the national and international opinion that they are truly committed to respecting their engagements
- To convince the population that war and crimes are not inevitable

2.2.3 Incentives for the voluntary collection of SALW

- ❖ **Exchange of weapons against food or goods.** This is a short-term programme with the supply of (accommodation, food and water) which serves as an assistance measure. It presents a moral and symbolic dimension.
- ❖ **Exchange of weapons against development aid.** Incentives are offered solely to encourage the handing over of weapons but the focus is placed on the needs of community development.

Example n°1: Liberia

More than two years after the official end of the civil war, the weapons in circulation in the country continued to stir up instability. To preserve the future, a programme of voluntary collection of weapons was implemented. The strategy used was community based, with the installation of development committees in the districts made up of Administrators, CSO representatives and ordinary citizens who had the mission of raising awareness within the populations on the dangers of SALW, to collect information on weapons caches in the region and to alert the police force and the UNMIL who then sought to recover these weapons. It was known as Operation "District free from weapons vs. dispensaries and solar panels". The development committee would address a request to UNDP on their priority needs. UNDP then offered the funds and the necessary technical support for the construction of dispensaries and rural tracks. Whether that had been required or not, solar panels were systematically provided for public places so that the inhabitants could have a place to meet in the evenings.

Example n° 2: The Democratic Republic of Congo

This programme entailed assistance for the creation of income generating activities in exchange for the restitution of at least one weapon.

Example n°3: Sierra Leone (Method of the stick and carrot)

At the end of hostilities in 2002, facing the frequency of foul crimes with SALW and even though a DDR programme was being carried out, a SALW collection programme was also launched. The 1st phase envisaged the implementation of a partnership with community leaders targeting the ex-combatants and the civilians suspected of hiding weapons, the freezing of gun licences and operations of surrounding and research which made it possible to destroy 9.237 weapons and 34.035 cartridges. The 2nd phase of the programme saw the launching of a public awareness campaign on the dangers of SALW with the objective of changing the minds on the belief that the possession of a weapon confers prestige and demonstrating the advantages of a society which is free from weapons. The programme also entailed the creation of weapons' restitution sites in the communities of which

the vigil was entrusted to two community leaders or to religious leaders (Imam or Pastor) and the handing-over of a certificate of non-possession of weapons during a big ceremony accompanied with an envelop of US\$ 20.000 for a community development project.

- ❖ **Repurchase.** This process can increase the value of the weapons immediately after the weapon price has fallen and thus attracted more weapons in the region. However this strategy was successful in El Salvador but failed in Guatemala. In El Salvador, the repurchase which is known as "buy back" contributed to the collection of 20.000 weapons, whereas in Guatemala, people preferred to keep their weapons rather than to exchange them against money.

Notice: Sometimes there is competition between the handing over of weapons and the development aid. Two communities of similar size are allocated funds for development which is proportional to the number of weapons returned by each community. This process can generate conflicts if these communities are neighbours. This is why, it is always necessary to couple the strategy of voluntary collection with other activities such as information and public awareness campaigns which will sensitize and draw the attention on the perverse effects of SALW, programmes on how to improve the techniques of maintenance of law and order which underscore the sense of belonging of the police force in the community as well as violence reduction programmes, the programmes for peaceful resolution of conflicts, etc.

2.2.4 SALW destruction strategies

The destruction process must "destroy" the weapon in such a way that it discourages any skilful blacksmith or arms manufacturer to reconstitute it. The factors hereafter are to be taken into account: quantity of SALW, type of SALW, place of destruction, organisational security, national transport infrastructures, available techniques, registration, environment and recycling.

The techniques and technologies of SALW destruction vary and the most practised are: Band saw, Burning, Cementing, Crushing with armoured combat vehicles, Hydraulic cutting, Cutting with hydraulic shears, Dumping at sea, Detonation, Shredding and Fusion.

Each technique has its advantages and its disadvantages. Thus, it is necessary to take into consideration the realities of the country or the region concerned and the means one has at his disposal. Burning seems to be the preferred technique in West Africa (Sierra Leone, Mali, Togo, Benin, etc.)

Table comparing the advantages and disadvantages of the techniques

| Technique | Advantages et Disadvantages |
|----------------|---|
| Dumping at sea | Efficient but dangerous for the environment |
| Detonation | 90% destruction ensured but very polluting |

| | |
|-----------|--|
| Burning | Simple and economical but very demanding in terms of skilled labour |
| Cementing | Little training required but the recuperation of the weapons is possible |

Case Study

A Peace Agreement has just been signed between the KPAYO rebels and the CHUAN Government bringing an end to 12 years of internal conflicts. Article 5 of the Agreement relates to the collection and the destruction of SALW in the hands of civilians and the militia. During the conflict, the population decreased by 80%. The unemployed youth represents the most significant social group that remained in the country.

The transport infrastructures are almost non-existent and there is no electricity. On the other hand, the country is always sunny. In the CHUAN culture, the possession of weapons is a sign of power and virility. In addition, only families which have a weapon can marry.

Exercise

Propose a SALW collection and destruction strategy to the government.

Duration: 20 min

Discussions: 10 min

CONCLUSION

When we remember the consequences of conflicts in Africa in general and in West Africa in particular we have the duty of fighting against the proliferation of SALW. Let us be builders of bridges in times of conflict!

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LESSON 6

MODULE 3: PRACTICAL DISARMAMENT IN WEST AFRICA

GOAL:

To present practical disarmament initiatives in West Africa

PEDAGOGICAL OBJECTIVE

To understand the methods of practical disarmament in West Africa

Part Two: OPERATIONAL FRAMEWORK

LESSON 12: DDR in West Africa⁵¹

CONTENTS

- ◆ DDR experiences in West Africa
- ◆ Analysis of incentives
- ◆ DDR costs
- ◆ Actors: Roles and responsibilities
- ◆ Results: strengths, weaknesses, best practices
- ◆ Regional level: porosity of borders, movements of ex-combatants
- ◆ Disarmament programme at the regional level

TRAINER

Mr Napoleon ABDULAI, Disarmament Expert, UNDP, Liberia.

LANGUAGE OF PRESENTATION: English

INTRODUCTION

Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) are all complex and sensitively linked processes that demand considerable human and financial resources to plan, implement and monitor. Past experiences have highlighted the need for the various actors involved in planning and implementing DDR, and monitoring its impacts, to work together in a complementary way that avoids unnecessary duplication of efforts or competition for funds and other resources. This module provides guidelines for improving inter-agency cooperation in the planning of DDR programmes and operations. The module shows how successful implementation can be achieved through an inclusive process of assessment and analysis that provides the basis for the formulation of a comprehensive programme framework and operational plan. This mechanism is known as the 'planning cycle', and originates from both the integrated mission planning process (IMPP) and post-conflict United Nations (UN) country team planning mechanisms.

Young men, and even children, who are brought up in a militarised environment will value commands and force, not discussion and compromise. Disarmament, Demobilization and

⁵¹ This title corresponds to Lesson 12 in the Training of Trainers' Curriculum

Reintegration (DDR) is key to ending violent conflicts. It is a process of demilitarization of a conflict zone. A process that takes many, many years.

“DD” is straight. “R” is a difficult process. DDR programmes have a better chance of success when the DDR planning process starts early (preferably from the beginning of the peace process), builds on the accumulated experience and expertise of local actors, is based on a solid understanding of the conflict (causes, perpetrators, etc.), and deliberately encourages greater unity of effort among UN agencies and their community of partners. All these contribute to “demilitarising the mind”.

1. DDR IN GENERAL

1.1 Concepts and keywords

➤ Mandate:

This is the task and authority provided to a national, regional or multinational peacekeeping force by a political authority such as the United Nations Security Council or the Heads of state of ECOWAS or the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

➤ Mercenary:

There are two conventions on mercenaries. The OAU Convention for the Elimination of Mercenaries in Africa (1977) and the United Nations Convention (1989). Mercenaries sell their labour.

➤ Cantonment and Demobilisation of forces:

This is the gathering at designated assembly points to ensure effective cessation of fighting or hostilities, thus facilitating an orderly demobilisation process. It is an essential requirement after a war.

➤ Collective Security:

This means recognition of the public nature of international peace. It views world peace as an indivisible whole, and makes local conflict a binding matter of concern to the international community.

➤ Combatant:

A combatant is any member of the armed forces or a guerrilla or irregular armed formation, except medical personnel.

➤ Child:

Refers to ‘anyone from birth through youth who is considered dependent on the care and protection of parents and society.’

➤ Peace Agreement:

Peace is not achieved in one step. This term means a legally binding document negotiated among parties involved in a conflict. Past accords in Africa include the Nkomati Accord between Mozambique and apartheid South Africa, 1986; the Lusaka Accord on Angola of 1992 and the Moshie accord on Uganda of 1979.

➤ Peacekeeping:

This is a conflict management mechanism, designed with the central objective of defusing tension, and separating warring factions or parties, to allow diplomacy to find a non-violent solution to the

conflict. The first peacekeeping operation under the UN was in Korea in the 1950s. The first peacekeeping operation in Africa was in Zaïre (current DR Congo) in 1960, and involved the Ghanaian Armed Forces (GAF).

➤ **Peacemaking:**

The United Nations defines peacemaking as the use of diplomatic means to persuade parties in conflict to cease hostilities and to negotiate a peaceful settlement of their dispute. As with preventive actions, the United Nations can often play a role if the parties to the dispute agree that it should do so. Peacemaking thus excludes the use of force against one of the parties to enforce an end to hostilities, an activity that in United Nations parlance is referred to as 'peace enforcement'. Peacemaking should facilitate the reconstruction of the social contract.

1.2 Guiding Principles of DDR

The planning process for the DDR programmes is guided by the principles, key considerations and approaches defined in IDDRS 2.10 on the UN Approach to DDR. Of particular importance are:

Unity of effort: The achievement of unity of effort and integration is only possible with an inclusive and sound mission planning process involving all relevant UN agencies, departments, funds and programmes at both the Headquarters and field levels.

Integration: The integrated approach to planning tries to develop, as far as possible:

- **A** common framework (i.e., one that everyone involved uses) for developing, managing, funding and implementing a UN DDR strategy within the context of a peace mission;
- **An** integrated DDR management structure (unit or section), with the participation of staff from participating UN agencies and primary reporting lines to the Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General (DSRSG) for humanitarian and development affairs
- **Joint** programmes that harness UN country team and mission resources into a single process and results-based approach to putting the DDR strategy into operation and achieving shared objectives;
- **A** single framework for managing multiple sources of funding, as well as for coordinating funding mechanisms, thus ensuring that resources are used to deal with common priorities and needs ; humanitarian and development affairs.

1.3 Efficient and effective planning

At the planning stage, a common DDR strategy and work plan should be developed on the basis of joint assessments and evaluation. This should establish a set of operational objectives, activities and expected results that all UN entities involved in DDR will use as the basis for their programming and implementation activities. There are five general phases (stages) of planning for UN missions and post-conflict peace-building support, namely:

- **Phase I:** Pre-planning and preparatory assistance;
- **Phase II:** Initial technical assessment and concept of operations;
- **Phase III:** Development of a strategic and policy framework (strategic planning);
- **Phase IV:** Development of a programme and operational framework (operational planning);
- **Phase V:** Continuation and transition planning.

Planning time-frames will differ from mission to mission.

1.4 DDR Mission Mandate

The report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council sometimes contains proposals for the mandate for peace operation. The following points should be considered when providing inputs to the DDR mandate:

It shall be consistent with the UN approach to DDR and time-lines for planning and implementation should be realistic.

1.5 Demobilization

This is the heartbeat of any serious peace process. It is the process by which combat units are removed or relieved of military duties, and efforts made to return or integrate the demobilised fighters into civilian life. The Dayton Peace Settlement defines demobilisation as the “removing from the possession of personnel all weapons, including individual’s weapons, explosive devices, communication equipment, vehicles, and all other military equipment”.

1.6 Disarmament

This is the process of building trust, whereby practical measures are put in place to control the number of weapons belonging to the State and irregular armed formations. Disarmament without consent is in reality a combat situation.

1.7 Reintegration

This is the process of equipping the ex-combatants with productive skills and options for employment as effective means for a successful transition to civilian life by broadening their economic opportunity-base. Reintegration measures must also support the political process of national security. Foster sense of ownership and prestige (self-esteem) in ex-combatants as well as provide them with both an entry-point and a stake-hold in the national economy.

The primary objective of Reintegration is to transform the life of the ex-combatants by making them:

- Employable with income generating capacity;
- To understand and accept each group especially the new relationship between ex-combatants and their host communities;
- Aware of civic responsibilities and social roles;
- Aware of the importance to respect and uphold the rule of law;
- Aware of the threats posed by health hazards including HIV/AIDS;
- The importance of education as a tool to achieve economic goals;
- Respect the rights of others;
- Positively participate in civic life;
- Eradicate domestic and gender-based violence;
- Adopt anger management and conflict resolution skills.

2. DDR EXPERIENCES INWEST AFRICA

West Africa currently has two peacekeeping missions carrying out DDR in Côte d’Ivoire and Liberia. Other countries that have undergone DDR include Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Niger and Nigeria following the Biafra war.

In Nigeria, the DDR programme was not a classic one since the UN was not involved in its classic sense. The Federal Republic of Nigeria Government carried out its DDR programme following the Aburi Accord (Ghana). It was the same scenario in Mali, Niger and Nigeria where the national governments carried out their DDR programmes with the support of development partners including the UN.

ECOWAS and the UN intervened in Guinea Bissau (1999), in Sierra Leone (1997 and 1999 at the end of the Agreement of Abidjan and Lome), in Liberia (1990; 2003) and in Côte d'Ivoire (2003-2007 following the different Agreements of Lome, Accra, Marcoussis or Ouagadougou)

3. COSTS OF DDR

United Nations Development Programme

JOINT IMPLEMENTATION UNIT (JIU)

BRIEFING NOTE No. 9

Status of Reintegration Activities for Ex-combatants by Funding Source
(April 18, 2007)




Table 1

| | <i>Source of Funding</i> | <i>Allocation</i> | <i>Description</i> | <i># Covered</i> | <i># Outstanding</i> |
|-------------------|--|-------------------|--------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| TRUST FUND | CASELOAD ALLOCATED TO UNDP TRUST FUND | 62 834 | Formal Education | 32 961 | 791 |
| | | | Projects | 29 082 | |
| | | | TOTAL | 62 043 | |

Table 2

| | <i>Source of Funding</i> | <i>Allocation</i> | <i>Description</i> | <i># Covered</i> | <i># Outstanding</i> |
|----------------------------------|---|-------------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| OTHER PARALLEL PROGRAMMES | <i>UNICEF DFID</i> | 3 500 | CEIP | 2 293 | 1 207 |
| | <i>UNICEF Japan/EC</i> | 3 500 | Skills Training (ST) | 864 | 2 636 |
| | <i>USAID World Vision Program</i> | 2 000 | | - | 2 000 |
| | <i>USAID Save the Children CAFF Program</i> | 2 500 | CEIP & ST | 122 | 2 378 |
| | <i>USAID IRC CAFF & WAFF</i> | 1 060 | CEIP & ST | 600 | 460 |
| | <i>USAID/DAI</i> | 18 166 | Public Works & ST | 7 590 | 10 576 |
| | <i>GAA</i> | 500 | | - | 500 |
| | <i>EC -Phase I (CESD and LOIC)</i> | 2 940 | Skills Training (ST) | 2 887 | 53 |
| | <i>EC -Danish Refugee Council</i> | 2 000 | Public Works | - | 2 000 |
| | TOTAL CASELOAD ALLOCATED TO OTHER PROGRAMMES | 36 166 | | 14 356 | 21 810 |

Table 3

Financially, DDR is a very expensive operation. During its execution, one can observe:

- the decline of national development
- a regression of traditions and culture in general
- a strong influence of foreign cultures. An example is how the ex rebels get dressed
- a loss of sovereignty as it is usually foreign governments which are in charge of the DDR programmes.

4. ACTORS, ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

The past experiences have highlighted the need for the various actors involved in the planning and the implementation of DDR programmes, and the follow-up of its impacts, to work together in a complementary way in order to avoid useless repetition of the efforts or competition for funds and other resources. The State in a post conflict situation, the UN, ECOWAS, and international and national CSOs will each intervene at various levels of the DDR process.

5. RESULTS: STRENGTHS, WEAKNESSES, BEST PRACTICES

5.1 Strengths

- Demobilization of thousands,
- Enhanced security,
- Reduction of the flow of small arms
- Collection and destruction of millions of ammunition and weapons,
- Improvement of human rights,
- Economic recovery, fighting poverty,
- Enhanced political pluralism,
- Peace-building process.

5.2 Weaknesses

- Failure of the reintegration (employment, social integration)
- Political weakness, slow political integration,
- Armed robbery/armed violence,
- Continuous violence against women and children
- Lack of capacity of national institutions

5.3 Best Practices and lessons learnt

Sierra Leone (2002) has been a good example and has made it possible to draw many conclusions

Lesson 1. DDR is a vital catalyst in a peace process, but it can only be successful if the parties to the conflict demonstrate their desire to respect the terms of the ceasefire and the peace agreement. The deployment of a neutral military force with credible deterrent capabilities is necessary to provide security and build confidence in the DDR process.

Lesson 2. A peace agreement, involving all warring parties, should spell out as clearly as possible the details of the DDR process and the respective obligations and responsibilities of all those involved. The international community must support the peace agreement and the DDR programme from the outset, particularly the political, financial and technical needs of the programme.

Lesson 3. Planning for DDR must take into account the technical, human resources and, above all, financial implications of the entire process and must be flexible enough to adapt to a changing political environment

Lesson 4. All parties must be fully involved in the design and implementation of the DDR as there is a national ownership of the process. There should be a clear understanding of the roles and responsibilities.

Lesson 5. A national policy supported by a common framework and institutional arrangement is essential to have all actors work in a coordinated manner.

Lesson 6. An information campaign should accompany the planning of a DDR programme.

Lesson 7. Reliable data on numbers of combatants is essential for good planning.

Lesson 8. Security for disarmament sites and disarmed ex-combatants is essential to build

confidence and encourage disarmament to take place. In December 2003, it was a total fiasco in Liberia.

Lesson 9. A precise timetable, specifying sites and dates, needs to be developed to ensure an appropriate balance between logistical and political/security considerations.

Lesson 10. Eligible criteria for disarmament must balance political realities with the need to collect as many weapons as possible.

Lesson 11. Disarmament must take place before combatants enter demobilization areas. There must be a weapons/ammunitions expert at every disarmament point. Weapons should be destroyed on the spot for psychological effect and improved security.

Lesson 12. Length of stay at encampment sites should be determined by balancing the need for short-term encampment and adequate preparation for reintegration. These must not reinforce command structure.

Lesson 13. Reinsertion benefits provide a strong incentive to disarm and demobilize those who are carrying weapons.

Lesson 14. Women and child combatants need special care.

6. REGIONAL LEVEL: POROSITY OF BORDERS, MOVEMENTS OF EX-COMBATANTS

All the internal and external borders of ECOWAS are porous. The typical example of this porosity is the border between Mali and Mauritania. One finds vehicles, camels and people from the two countries on both sides of the border.

Generally, the borders at the regional level are characterized by an insufficiency and the weakness of:

- customs
- police force and immigration services
- Monitoring and detection equipment (no metal detector for example)

7. DISARMAMENT PROGRAMMES AT THE REGIONAL LEVEL

Some far-reaching sub-regional programmes exist such as:

- The ECOWAS Moratorium on the importation, exportation and manufacture of light weapons (1998),
- The ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light weapons and other related materials (2006)
- The UN Peace-building Fund

It becomes increasingly necessary for the sub-regional mandate of the United Nations to be equipped with a permanent disarmament process for at least one decade.

CONCLUSION

In areas where light weapons reign and armed violence dominate, development patterns are restricted. The States of the sub-region must endeavour to develop a comprehensive policy favourable to a strong national and regional economy.

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LESSON 7

MODULE 4: PEACE-BUILDING IN WEST AFRICA

GOAL:

To understand the peace-building process (conflict prevention and resolution and peace consolidation) in West Africa

PEDAGOGICAL OBJECTIVE

To raise awareness on the strategies and solutions for peacekeeping, conflict resolution and peace-building in West Africa

Part One: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

LESSON 14: Peace-building⁵²

CONTENTS

- ◆ Paradigms of peace-building
- ◆ Paradigms of violence
- ◆ Basic principles of peace-building
- ◆ Peace consolidation (SSR, good governance, etc)

TRAINER

Dr Ivor Richard FUNG, Director of UNREC,
with the assistance of Mr Kwami LAVON, Intern-Researcher at UNREC.

LANGUAGE OF PRESENTATION: English and French

INTRODUCTION

The dynamics of conflicts in West Africa since the years 90's have been characterized by armed conflicts which can be classified into two major categories: internal conflicts and internationalised internal conflicts. Internal conflicts have occurred in the form of civil wars with rebel movements taking arms against the government and separatist armed movements fighting the central government. Examples of this type of conflicts are the civil wars in Liberia, Guinea-Bissau, Côte d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone and the war in Casamance (Senegal).

As far as internationalised internal conflicts are concerned, they begin as civil wars and later evolve into an international conflict when foreign actors take part either directly or indirectly in the warfare. An example of this type of conflict is the civil war in Sierra Leone which witnessed the involvement of sub-regional state actors (Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire) and non-state actors (international financial groups). These violent conflicts have been followed by political and security resolutions by peace-building missions with the objective of consolidating the peace.

Actually, in the aftermath of violent armed conflicts, the international community often undertakes under the aegis of the United Nations or other entities, activities to promote peace and bring the society back on track. Such activities which include disarming, demobilizing and reintegrating ex-

⁵² This title corresponds to Lesson 14 in the Training of Trainers Curriculum

combatants into the society, strengthening the rule of law and democracy, improving the respect for human rights, and promoting conflict resolution and reconciliation mechanisms, are known as post-conflict peace-building.

Post-conflict peace-building which was formerly discussed for the first time in the UN context in *An Agenda for Peace*, has taken place in West Africa where states like Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau, etc have been the theatre of violent armed strife. The need to reconstruct these war-torn countries and prevent a recurrence of armed violence has prompted post-conflict peace-building activities in post conflict and failed states in West Africa. At various degrees, these post-conflict activities have been either a success or a failure. Where failure was witnessed e.g. Liberia, conflict resurged. It should be however noted that peace-building does not necessarily take place within a post-conflict context. In fact, peace-building processes may be undertaken in situations where a socio-political crisis or generalized violence have affected the country's foundations. In such situations, the need to consolidate peace becomes a valid proposition.

This lecture seeks to present the paradigms of peace-building and violence, the basic principles of peace-building and peace consolidation.

1. PARADIGMS OF PEACE-BUILDING

The term paradigm refers to a thought pattern in any scientific discipline or other epistemological context. Historian of science, Thomas Kuhn gave this word its contemporary meaning when he adopted it to refer to the set of practices that define a scientific discipline during a particular period of time.⁵³ This being said, let's examine the existing paradigms in the field of peace-building.

1.1 The Paradigm of Peace-building

As aforementioned, the term "peace-building" entered the international lexicon in 1992 when the former UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali defined it in *An Agenda for Peace* as a "post-conflict action to identify and support structures which tend to strengthen and solidify peace to avoid a relapse into conflict".⁵⁴ Peace-building more specifically "examines non-military interventions by external actors to help war-torn societies not only to avoid a relapse into conflict, but more importantly, to establish the conditions for sustainable peace".⁵⁵ This definition which includes the role played by external actors paves the way for the first and commonly known paradigm of peace-building: the liberal peace-building paradigm.

The liberal peace-building paradigm which was first tested in post-conflict Central American states assumes that the threefold transformation to peace, democracy and market economy is a self-strengthening process leading to sustainable development. Indeed, the international approach to peace-building and conflict prevention is grounded in the concept of "liberal peace" which derives from a long tradition of Western liberal theory and practice. The liberal peace thesis views political and economic liberalization as effective antidotes to violent conflicts. Thus, promotion of human rights, democracy, elections, constitutionalism, rule of law, property rights, good governance, and

⁵³ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paradigm>

⁵⁴ BOUTROS-GHALI Boutros, 1992, *An Agenda for Peace, Preventive diplomacy and peace-keeping*. Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the Statement adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992. A/47/277-S/24111, Ed. United Nations Publication

⁵⁵ TSCHIRGI Neclă, 2004, *Post-Conflict Peace-building Revisited: Achievements, Limitations, Challenges*. Prepared for the WSP International/IPA Peace-building Forum Conference. New York.

neo-liberal economics have become part and parcel of the international peace-building strategy. Liberal internationalism is interventionist by nature.⁵⁶

1.2. The paradigm of national-based peace-building

In contrast to the liberal internationalist paradigm of peace-building is the national-based paradigm of peace-building. The national-based paradigm of peace-building entails the nationals in a post-conflict society taking upon themselves the responsibility to address the structural causes of the armed conflict and rebuild the social and economic foundations of the society. The “Gachacha” traditional tribunals established to judge the perpetrators of the Rwandan Genocide for instance is a national-based post-conflict peace-building strategy. This pattern of peace-building is only possible when the concerned society has the necessary capacity (human and financial resources to undertake a post-conflict peace-building programme. The issue of national capacity will receive further attention when the basic principles of peace-building will be developed.

1.3 Peace time peace-building

As briefly discussed in the introduction, peace-building may take place in a situation without open warfare, but where there has been a need to implement aspects of peace-building such as transitional justice in the form of national reconciliation and programmes of down-sizing the military. In Togo, a country in a relatively peaceful situation, peace-building activities have been embarked on in the aftermath of the violent socio-political crisis of April 2005. As a matter of fact, peace-building activities in Togo have taken the form of political dialogue, national reconciliation, the holding of fair and free elections and the promotion of civil-military relations.

Having examined the contending paradigms of peace-building, it would be equally enhancing to analyse the various paradigms of violence.

2. PARADIGMS OF VIOLENCE

From the outset, violence may be defined as a general term used to describe an aggressive, non friendly, non pacifist, belligerent behaviour. In other words, violence is an imposed constraint, which causes pain and sorrow.⁵⁷ As far as the World Health Organization is concerned, violence is “the deliberate use or the threat to deliberately use physical force or power against oneself, another person or a group or a community, which involves or is extremely likely to involve traumatism, death, moral damage, poor development or deficiency.”⁵⁸ There are different types of violence, which range from verbal violence to physical violence, with armed violence or conflict being the most pronounced at the state and inter-state level. A sociologist, Lewis Coser defined conflict as a struggle over values and claims and to secure status, power and resources, in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate the rivals. A critical analysis of the above definition indicates that it is too narrow and it focuses on violence or conflict at the macro-level that is the state or international system level, thus neglecting violence, conflict and aggression at the micro or individual level. It is therefore necessary for a holistic analysis of the paradigms of violence to distinguish between microcosmic paradigms of violence or aggression and macrocosmic paradigms of violence or conflict.

⁵⁶ Ibid. Page 5.

⁵⁷ UNREC, 2007, *A Training of Trainers' Curriculum. Capacity Building on Practical Disarmament and Peace-building in West Africa: Strengthening the Grassroots and Civil Society Organizations*. Ed. United Nations Publication.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

2.1 The paradigm of microcosmic violence

The microcosmic paradigms of violence or conflict are underpinned by the biological and psychological theses of aggression. The biological school of thought is based on the evolutionary and genetic aspect of individuals' behaviours. Scholars in this school of thought argue that the psychic nature of individuals can only be understood through the examination of genetic factors. As Peter Corning once observed, without understanding the evolutionary and genetic aspect of behaviours, we cannot fully understand the principles by which life is organized. Indeed, Corning argues that when some specific biological requirements are not met by individuals, it may lead to violent or conflictual behaviours. In the same vein, Abraham Maslow stated that some biological needs must be satisfied before higher psychological needs and when they are not met it may lead to psychic conflict.

Theorists in the psychological school of thought argue that psychic disorder within an individual can produce violent and aggressive behaviours. Scholars here, often base their analysis on the "stimulus-response" prism. As a matter of fact, the two classical schools of psychology rest on the "stimulus-response" prism. The first school, led by Mc Doughall argues that aggression or violence is caused by instinct and instinct is a psychological process inherited by all members of animal species. The other school of thought which was spear-headed by Sigmund Freud contends that aggressive and violent impulses are ever present in humans and constantly seeking release. Furthermore, Korand Lorenz et al maintained that typical aggressive or violent instincts occur among members of the same species and not among members of different species. Our analysis of the psychological theses of violence or conflict will be incomplete without examining the "frustration-aggression" thesis. One of the major proponents of this thesis is John Donald who argued that when a barrier is interposed between persons and their desired goal, extra energy is mobilized within and can ultimately lead to destructive behaviours. Joining issues with John Donald was Robert Ted Gur who also theorized on "expectation, frustration and aggression" prism.

2.2. The paradigm of macrocosmic violence

The macrocosmic paradigm of violence or conflict encompasses the sociological or socio-psychological theses and the cultural thesis.

Apart from the Parsonians who emphasize on social adjustment and system-maintenance (the consensus paradigm of Talcott Parson), other sociologists explained the inevitability of conflict and violence in social intercourse (conflict or aggression paradigm of Hebert Spencer). The socialization and displacement thesis was an attempt to apply the "frustration-aggression" thesis of the psychologists to explain violent conflict at the social level. As John Donald et al asserted, the process of socialization of individuals often gives way to frustration. On the impact of socialization of individuals, he further opined that forced modification of behaviours of individual members often creates frustration on the part of individuals and this invariably leads to violence and aggression. Arguing in a similar vein as John Donald et al, was Gold who argued that socialization of aggression or violence that is the social control of aggressive impulse often increases hostilities among members of a group.

The cultural school of thought argues that the perception of one group by some other groups may affect their social relations. National or cultural perception of other groups is not determined by the masses but by the governing elite. Misperception of other social, cultural or political groups often leads to tension and eventually develops into war which is the most terrible demonstration of violence.

3. BASIC PRINCIPLES OF PEACE-BUILDING

What is required for a peace-building mission to take place? In order to address this question, we shall review the basic principles involved in post-conflict peace-building.

- Cessation of conflict and violence: Cessation of hostilities through the conclusion of a cease-fire agreement or a peace accord between the belligerents is the most important operational principle of a post-conflict peace-building.
- Political understanding and prospects for political stability: There should also be political understanding among the main political stake-holders who were formerly at loggerheads and encouraging prospects for political stability in the post-conflict country. Once these conditions are met, a legitimate political authority that can avoid the resurgence of violence should be established.
- Security: Establishing an insecurity-free, political, social and geographical environment is also an important pre-requisite for post-conflict peace-building.
- “Hierarchy of priorities: while peace-building is a multi-faceted process requiring holistic approaches, it needs to be guided by a hierarchy of priorities established in response to the specific needs and political dynamics in a given context. Establishing such a hierarchy requires an overall political strategy.
- Ownership: The people of the war-torn society must own the reconstruction process. They must actively be involved in setting the agenda and leading the process, which is a highly political process complicated by the deep wounds of the conflict.
- External Actors: Given the fragility of societies emerging from war, support from external actors is critical for post-conflict reconstruction. Yet, external assistance is never neutral. External actors come to post-conflict peace-building with multiple agendas and motivations—which are not necessarily compatible with or driven by the political realities on the ground. Proper mechanisms need to be established to ensure that external and internal actors work within a coherent strategy, establish priorities, and mobilize the necessary resources.
- Capacity Building: A commitment to local capacity building from the earliest stages is vital for sustainability.
- Time Element: Time has two dimensions in post-conflict reconstruction. Timely, opportunistic and quick-impact interventions are critical in influencing peace-building outcomes. However, reconstruction itself is a long-term process that may take a generation to bear fruit. Rapid response is necessary but not sufficient for success.
- Funding: Adequate, predictable and flexible funding is essential to support post-conflict reconstruction. Appropriate funding mechanisms are indispensable to have impact on the ground in a timely manner.
- Response Levels: Post-conflict reconstruction involves appropriate responses at the local, national, regional and international levels.
- Accountability: Given the high stakes in post-conflict environments, the commitment to “do no harm” while supporting peace-building is an essential principle.”⁵⁹

4. PEACE-CONSOLIDATION

Post-conflict peace-building often involves peace consolidation activities which include security sector reform, good governance, transitional justice and economic and social recovery programmes.

⁵⁹ TSCHIRGI Neclă, 2004, *Post-Conflict Peace-building Revisited: Achievements, Limitations, Challenges*, Prepared for the WSP International / IPA Peace-building Forum Conference.

- **Security sector reform:** “Security sector reform” refers to the transformation of the security system-including all the actors, their roles, responsibilities and behaviour-so that it is managed and operated in a way that is more consistent with democratic norms and sound principles of good governance; at the same time, reform should guarantee the good running of the security framework. Responsible and accountable security forces reduce the risk of conflict, provide security for citizens, and create the right environment that is conducive to development.⁶⁰
- **Good governance** is the expression of a consensus essential to the creation and the maintenance of a climate favourable for development. In an operational definition of the concept, good governance refers to a platform supporting the three inevitable conditions for sustainable development: an efficient State, a mobilized civil society, and an effective private sector.⁶¹ According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the six main elements for good governance are: **The obligation to be accountable:** public administrations are able and eager to show in what their actions and decisions are in conformity with precise and agreed objectives. **Transparency:** the action, the decisions and the decision-making of public administrations, to a certain extent, are submitted to the examination of other public sectors, the Parliament, the civil society and sometimes of institutions and external authorities. **Efficiency and effectiveness:** public administrations have to endeavour to provide quality, in particular with regards to services rendered to citizens, and have to make sure that their services are in accordance with the expectancies of public action authorities. **Receptivity:** the public authorities have the means and flexibility to rapidly meet with the evolution of society, take into consideration the expectations of civil society in line with general interest and they are ready to carry out a critical analysis of the role of the State. **Prospective:** the public authorities are able to anticipate the difficulties which may arise based on the data available and the observed trends, as well as elaborated policies which take into account the evolution of costs and foreseeable changes (for example: demographic, economic, environmental). **Rule of law:** the public authorities see to the application of the law, the regulation and the codes equally and in a transparent way.⁶² Good Governance goes beyond the government and the State institutions; it also applies to the private sector, the public sector and associations.⁶³
- **Transitional justice:** Transitional justice refers to a range of approaches (both judicial and non-judicial) that societies undertake to reckon with legacies of widespread or systematic human rights abuse as they move from a period of violent conflict or oppression towards peace, democracy, the rule of law, and respect for individual and collective rights.⁶⁴
- **Economic and social recovery:** Peace consolidation involves economic and social recovery programmes to shift from a war economy to a peace time economy. The civilians as well as the ex-combatants have to be economically empowered. Disarmed, demobilized and reintegrated ex-combatants should be provided with subsistence means in order to avoid their resort to gun-violence to survive.

CONCLUSION

In a nut shell, post-conflict peace-building has turned out to be in recent decades the response to the challenges posed by the reconstruction of strife-ridden societies. The understanding of the normative underpinnings of peace-building and violence, and the efficient implementation of some basic

⁶⁰ DFID et al., 2003, p.30 ; OECD/DAC, 2001, pp. II-35

⁶¹ <http://www.haigo.org/programmes.php+Bonne+gouvernance>

⁶² <http://www.oecd.org/document/>

⁶³ UNREC, 2007, *A Training of Trainers' Curriculum. Capacity Building on Practical Disarmament and Peace-building in West Africa: Strengthening the Grassroots and Civil Society Organizations*. Ed. United Nations Publication.

⁶⁴ <http://www.ictj.org/en/tj/>

principles are essential for successful peace-building missions and programmes. The involvement of grassroots and civil society organizations in post-conflict peace-building should be encouraged, as it paves the way for capacity building and a national ownership of the concept of peace-building as a whole.

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LESSON 8

MODULE 4: PEACE-BUILDING IN WEST AFRICA

GOAL:

To understand the peace-building process (conflict prevention and resolution and peace consolidation) in West Africa

PEDAGOGICAL OBJECTIVE

To raise awareness on the strategies and solutions for peacekeeping, conflict resolution and peace-building in West Africa

Part One: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

LESSON 16: Institutional Framework⁶⁵

CONTENTS

- ◆ ECOWAS Mechanisms
- ◆ Other mechanisms

TRAINER

Mr Emanuel Habuka BOMBANDE, Co-founder and Executive Director of WANEP.

LANGUAGE OF PRESENTATION: English

INTRODUCTION

Peace-building in West Africa from the perspective of institutional framework requires a conceptual clarity and understanding of peace. The pursuance of peace that is durable and can be sustained by stakeholders who find themselves in conflict is a primary objective of this lesson. An understanding of peace therefore begins with an exploration of the concepts of peace.

1. DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS AND NOTIONS

1.1 Notion of Peace

Peace is first of all a political situation other than that of an organized armed conflict (war) and often distinct from a situation of non-war. (Evans & Newnham, 1992:250)

Other more positive definitions are based on 4 concepts. These definitions use elements of at least one of the four interpretations below:

- **Peace as harmony:** Emphasis is on the absence of Conflict
- **Peace as order:** Emphasis is on stability and peace through strength/power
- **Peace as Justice:** Emphasis is social justice, the absence of domination and poverty

⁶⁵ This title corresponds to Lesson 16 of the Training of Trainers' Curriculum

- **Peace as Conflict Transformation:** Emphasis on peace as a process for obtaining interests and needs, rather than an end in itself

These various notions of peace lead to the following crucial question: What exactly does peace mean?

We tend to distinguish the negative peace which refers to the absence of violence from the positive peace which is based on the development of relations, justice, and the creation of a just social system which meets the needs of the population.

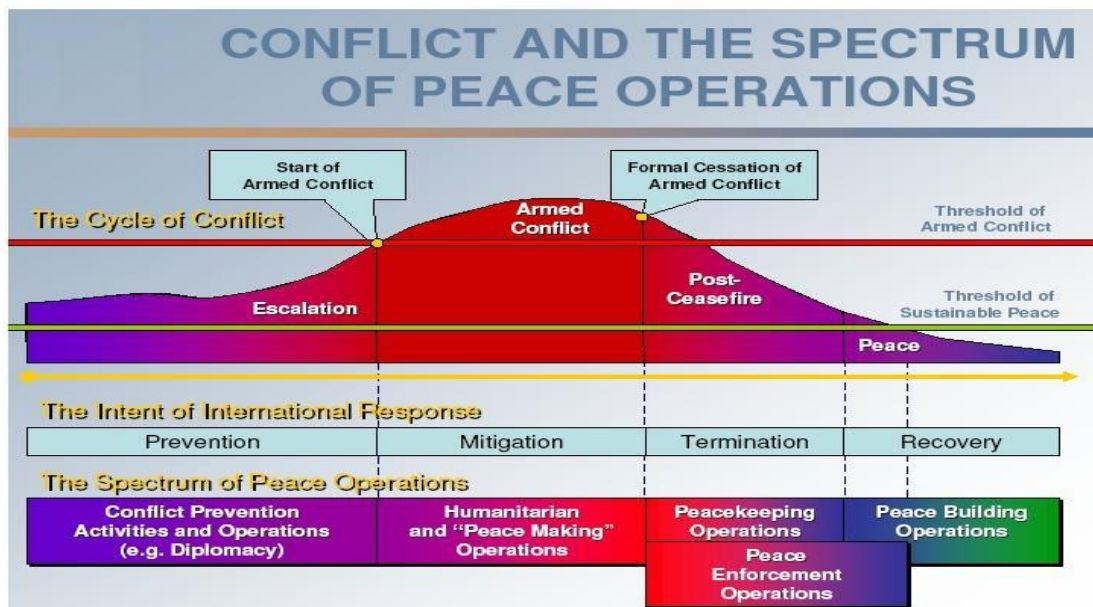
Consequently, peace is the framework in which conflicts occur in a non-violent and creative way.

1.2 Notion of Peace-building

The term "peace-building" is used to refer to the initiatives of long-term prevention, i.e. pre-conflict strategies which consists in taking measures to remove the deeply-rooted causes of conflict and to reinforce structural stability in a country or community threatened by civil war.

Very often, peace-building is also defined in reference to post-conflict actions, military and civilian, actions which are designed to forestall future eruptions by strengthening structures capable of consolidating a political settlement of the crises.

1.3 Institutional Framework



The spectrum of peace operations explains the various peace-building interventions or operations required at each stage of conflict

An institutional framework for peace-building is better understood within the context of the five operating principles for peace-building. It is within the principle of the infrastructure for peace that institutions provide the mandate and the framework for peace. The effectiveness of these frameworks largely depend on the sense of ownership of stakeholders to these institutions, how representative the institutions are and what leverage and good standing they have to support and promote peace activities. Five great operational principles support a peace-building process:

The global principle

- Peace-building requires a perspective of the overall picture in order to effect change within it;
- Durable peace means addressing the multiple sources of conflict at multiple levels of society;
- What vision of peace are we working towards, what actions can get us there and what plan or conception can guide us?

The principle of interdependence

- Peace-building involves a system of interconnected people, roles and activities;
- All things are linked and mutually affect one another;
- Peace-building builds and supports the interdependent relationships necessary for pursuing and sustaining desired changes;
- Processes that forge relationships between people who are not like minded are crucial.

The principle of sustainability

- Violent conflicts occur over generations requiring peace-building to be a long-term prospect;
- Beyond early response to crisis, sustainability requires creating an on-going capacity building within conflict settings to respond to and transform recurring cycles of conflict and crises;
- Seeks to discover and strengthen resources rooted in the context of protracted conflict.

The principle of strategy

- Whilst peace-building needs to have a comprehensive overview, specific programmatic actions also need to be strategic;
- This requires learning to respond proactively to emerging, dynamic social situations and meeting immediate concerns and needs, while at the same time reinforcing a larger, longer term change process;
- Peace-building needs to be crisis-responsive but not crisis-driven;
- What are the activities including where and how they are being implemented;

The principle of Infrastructure

- Peace-building requires an infrastructure to provide the social spaces, logistical mechanisms and institutional framework for supporting the process of change and the long-term vision of peace;
- Institutional frameworks are like the foundations that support peace-building;
- Institutional frameworks provide the basic support that enables people and peace-building processes to engage in the immediate and long-term desired change.

The institutional framework of ECOWAS constitutes a good case study for this lesson.

2. ECOWAS MECHANISMS

Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)



The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was established on 28 May 1975. There were 16 member States but Mauritania has withdrawn.

1. Benin
2. Burkina Faso
3. Cape Verde
4. Côte d'Ivoire
5. The Gambia
6. Ghana
7. Guinea
8. Guinea-Bissau
9. Liberia
10. Mali
11. Niger
12. Nigeria
13. Senegal
14. Sierra Leone
15. Togo
16. Mauritania*

2.1 The legal framework of ECOWAS

Declaration of ECOWAS Political Principles (1991), the Revised Treaty (1993), the Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security (1999), Supplementary Protocol on Good Governance and Democracy (2001), Declaration of Sub regional approach to Peace and Security (2003).

Why the necessity for prevention by ECOWAS? There are two main reasons

- √ The civil war fought in Liberia between 1989 and 1997 ruined many lives and put an end to many aspirations. The situation was also similar in Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire.
- √ Original goals for which ECOWAS was created (economic development) were being compromised by violent conflicts

Certain articles of the above-mentioned legal instruments were instrumental in the understanding of the institutional framework of ECOWAS with regards to peace-building. Some will be reviewed.

2.1.1 Declaration of ECOWAS Political Principles

Article 58: Regional Security

Member States undertake to work to safeguard and consolidate relations conducive to the maintenance of peace, stability and security within the region.

In pursuit of these objectives, Member States undertake to co-operate with the Community in establishing and strengthening appropriate mechanisms for the timely prevention and resolution of intra-State and inter-State conflicts, paying particular regard to the need to:

- a) maintain periodic and regular consultations between national border administration authorities;
- b) establish local or national joint commissions to examine any problems encountered in relations between neighbouring States;
- c) encourage exchanges and cooperation between communities, townships and administrative regions;
- d) organise meetings between relevant ministries on various aspects of inter-State relations;
- e) employ where appropriate, good offices, conciliation, mediation and other methods of peaceful settlement of disputes;
- f) establish a regional peace and security observation system and peace-keeping forces where appropriate;
- g) provide, where necessary and at the request of Member States, assistance to Member States for the observation of democratic elections.

The detailed provisions governing political cooperation, regional peace and stability shall be defined in the relevant Protocols.

2.1.2 PROTOCOL RELATING TO THE MECHANISM FOR CONFLICT PREVENTION, MANAGEMENT, RESOLUTION, PEACE-KEEPING AND SECURITY

Article 4: Institutions

The institutions of the Mechanism shall be:

- The Authority;
- The Mediation and Security Council;
- The Executive Secretariat;
- Any other institution as may be established by the Authority.

In carrying out their missions, the Institutions stipulated in Article 4 shall be assisted by the organs enumerated in Article 17 of this Protocol.

Article 17: Organs

The following organs are hereby established to assist the Mediation and Security Council.

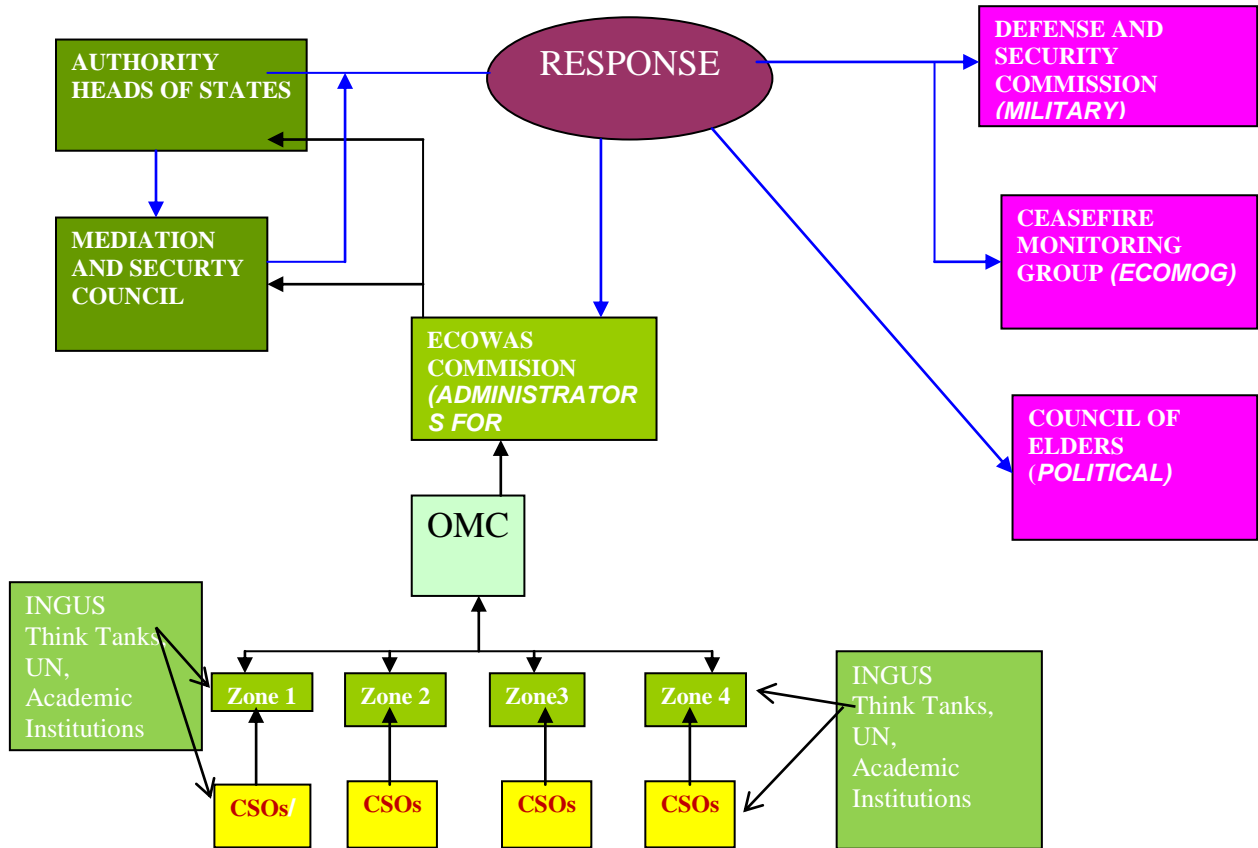
- The Defense and Security Commission;
- The Council of Elders;
- ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG).

Chapter IV: Sub-regional Peace and Security Observation System (Early Warning)

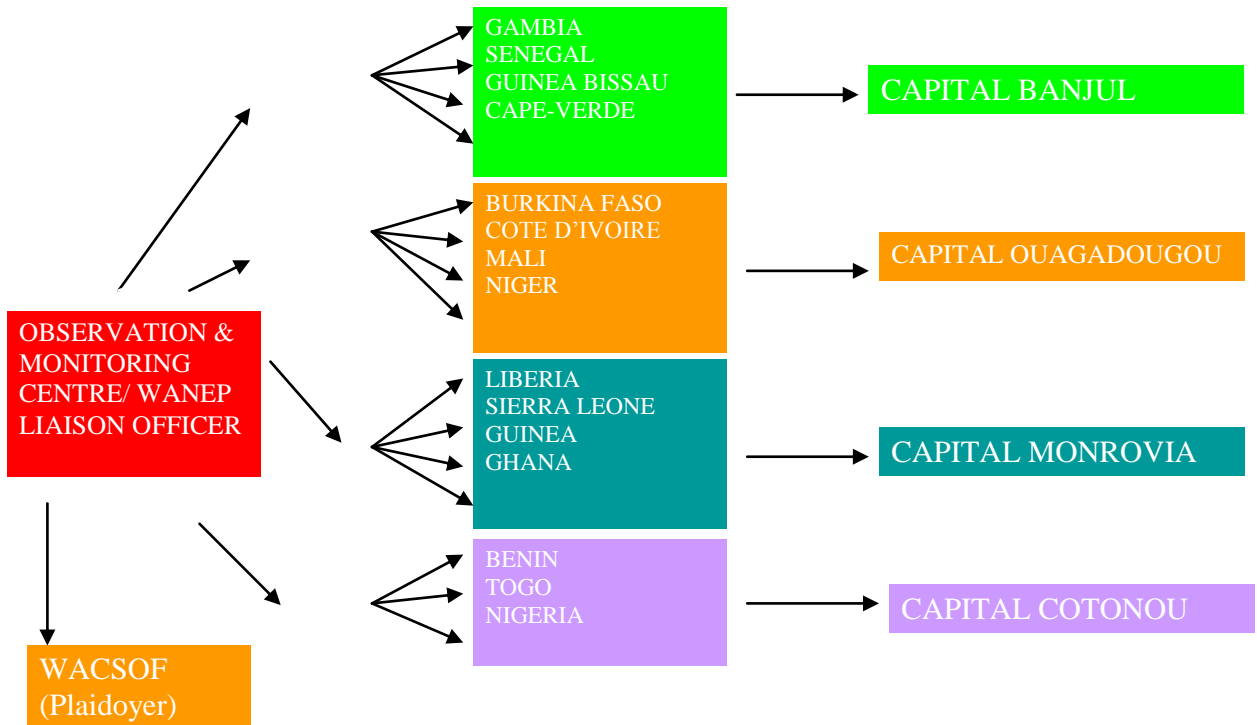
| Zone No | COUNTRIES | ZONAL CAPITAL |
|----------------|--|----------------------|
| 1 | Cape Verde The Gambia Guinea-Bissau Mauritania Senegal | Banjul |
| 2 | Burkina Faso Cote d'Ivoire Mali Niger | Ouagadougou |
| 3 | Ghana Guinea Liberia Sierra Leone | Monrovia |
| 4 | Benin Nigeria Togo. | Cotonou |

The sub-region is strategically divided into 4 zones as the table above shows.

EARLY WARNING SYSTEM RESPONSE STRUCTURE



MECHANISM OF THE ECOWAS EARLY WARNING SYSTEM



Chapter V: Application of the Mechanism

Article 25: Conditions for Application

The Mechanism shall be applied in any of the following circumstances:

- In cases of aggression or conflict in any Member State or threat thereof;
- In case of conflict between two or several Member States;
- In case of internal conflict:
 - a. that threatens to trigger a humanitarian disaster, or;
 - b. that poses a serious threat to peace and security in the sub-region;
- In the event of serious and massive violation of human rights and the rule of law;
- In the event of an overthrow or attempted overthrow of a democratically elected government;
- Any other situation as may be decided by the Mediation and Security Council.

Chapter VI: Conflict Management

- Article 28: Composite Stand-by Units
- Article 29: Mandates of the Force and Missions of Deployed Units
- Article 30: Training and Preparation of the Composite Stand-by Units
- Article 31: Observation Missions
- Article 32: Appointment and Functions of the Special Representative
- Article 33: Appointment and Functions of the ECOMOG Force Commander
- Article 34: The Chain of Command
- Article 35: Role of Member States

Chapter VII: Financing of the Mechanism

- Article 36: Funding

- Article 37: Pre-Financing
- Article 38: Logistical Support
- Article 39: Remuneration and Service Conditions

Chapter VIII: Humanitarian Assistance

- Article 40: Responsibilities of ECOWAS
- Article 41: Cooperation with Other Organisations

Chapter IX: Peace-building

- Article 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

Chapter X: Sub-regional Security

- Article 46: Control of Trans-Border Crime
- Article 47: Coordination of Policies
- Article 48: Anti-Corruption Measures
- Article 49: Measures against Money Laundering
- Article 50: Control of the Proliferation of Small Arms
- Article 51: Preventive Measures against the Illegal Circulation of Small Arms

2.1.3 PROTOCOL A/SP1/12/01 ON DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNANCE SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE PROTOCOL RELATING TO THE MECHANISM FOR CONFLICT PREVENTION, MANAGEMENT, RESOLUTION, PEACEKEEPING AND SECURITY

It comprises of three chapters. Chapter I points out the principles (constitutional convergence, elections, observation of the elections and assistance of ECOWAS, role of the army and forces of security in a democracy). Chapter II determines the sanctions and modalities for implementation. Chapter III contains the general and final provisions.

The table below shows the state of ratification of the two protocols of the CEDEAO in 2007.

PROTOCOL RATIFICATION

| Member States | Ratified Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for CPMRPS | Ratified Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance |
|---------------|--|--|
| Benin | No | Yes |
| Burkina Faso | Yes | Yes |
| Cape Verde | No | No |
| Gambia | No | No |

| | | |
|---------|-----|-----|
| Ghana | Yes | Yes |
| Guinea | Yes | Yes |
| Liberia | No | No |

| Member States | Ratified Protocol to Mechanism for CPMRPS | Ratified Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance |
|---------------|---|--|
| Mali | Yes | Yes |
| Niger | No | Yes |
| Nigeria | No | No |
| Senegal | Yes | Yes |
| Sierra Leone | Yes | Yes |
| Togo | Yes | Yes |

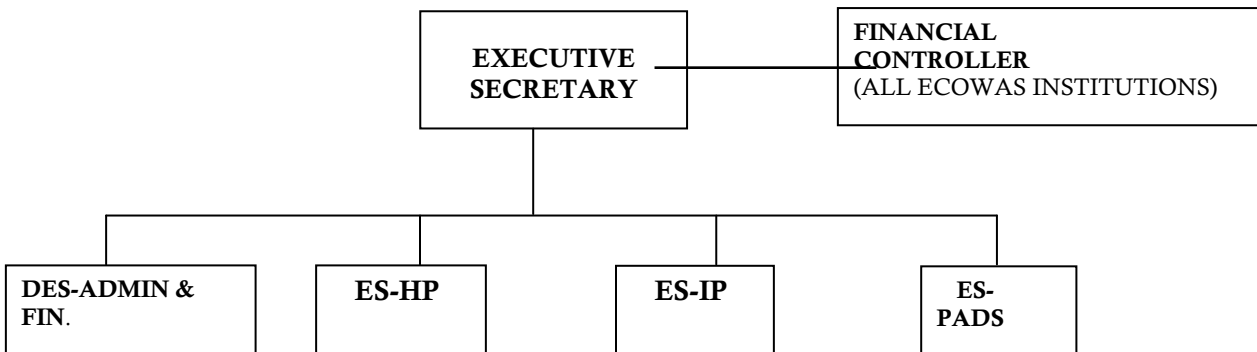
The New ECOWAS Commission

The 30th Ordinary Summit of the Heads of State Authority held in Abuja on the 14th June 2006 adopted a 9 member commission to be guided by the following principles:

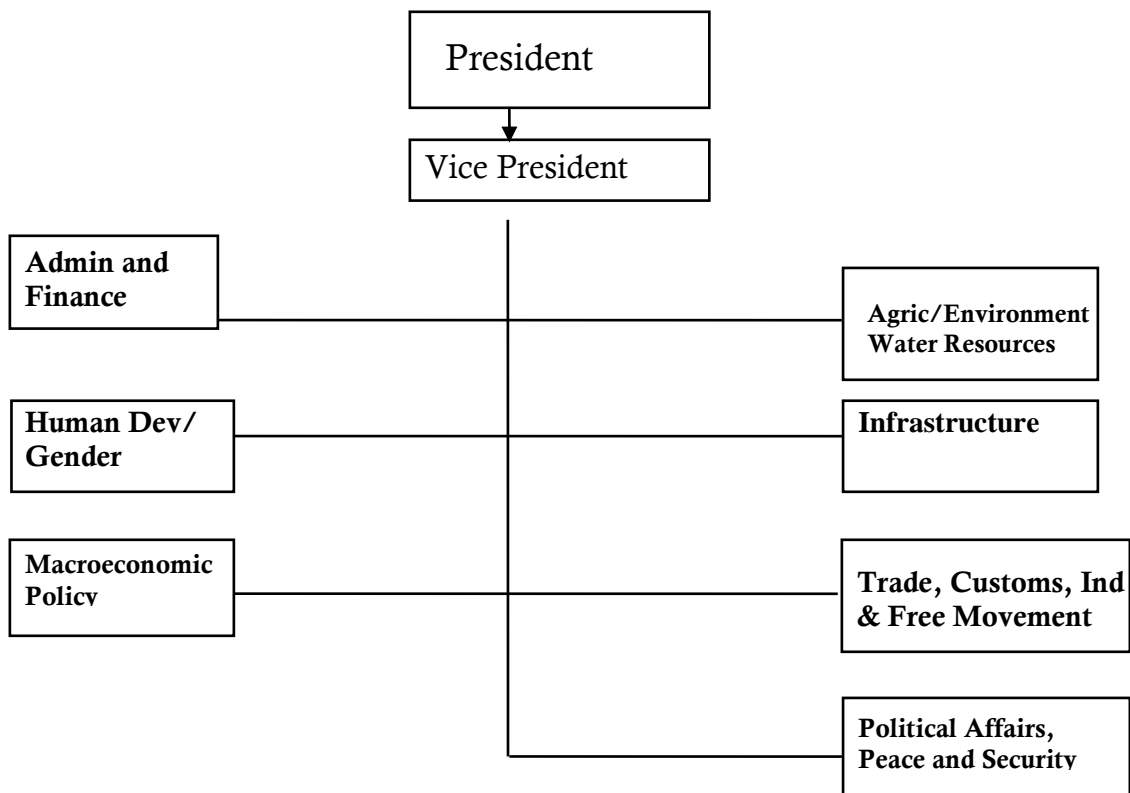
- solidarity, equity, community spirit,
- efficiency, cost effectiveness, affordability,
- transparent, equitable and predictable rotation

Consequently, the flow chart of the Executive Secretariat has changed since then.

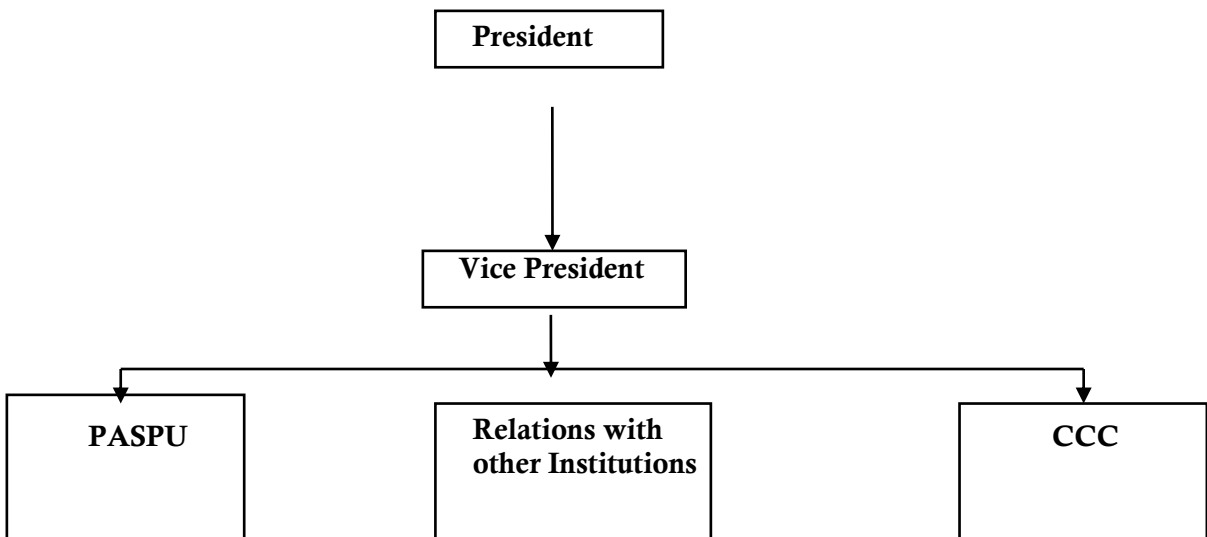
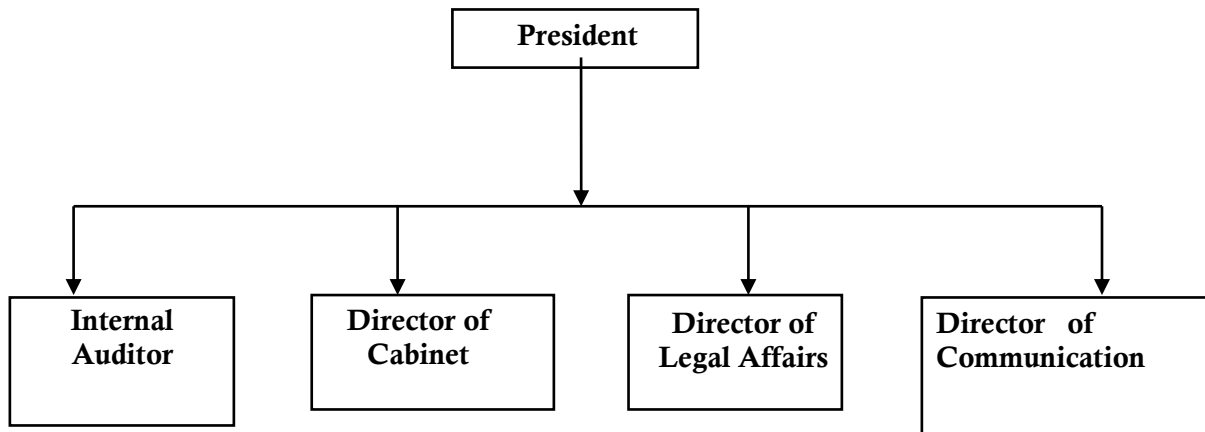
**The Executive Secretariat
(Former Structure)**



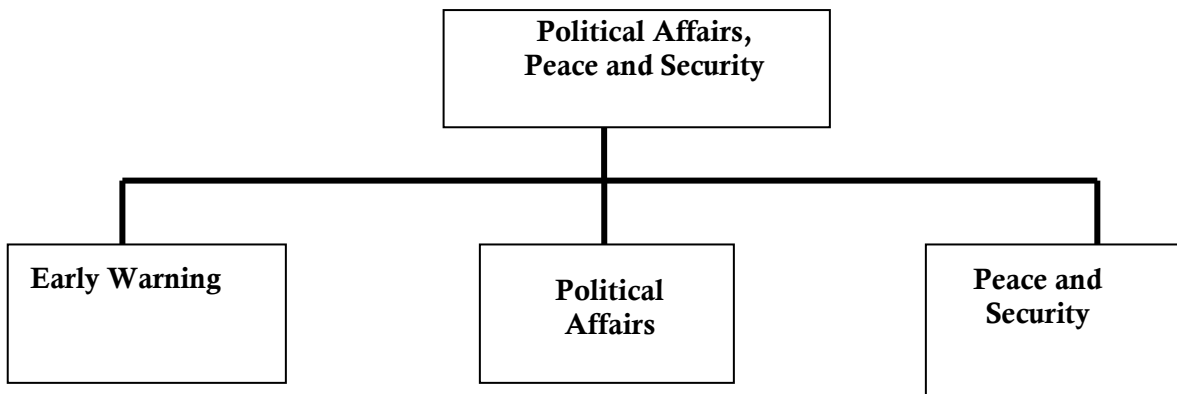
**The ECOWAS Commission (9 Members)
(New Structure)**



The Office of the President



The Commission for Political Affairs, Peace and Security



3. OTHER MECHANISMS

Why Prevention?

“For the United Nations, there is no larger goal, no deeper commitment and no greater ambition than preventing armed conflict. The prevention of conflict begins and ends with the protection of human life and the promotion of human development.” (*Kofi Annan, Report to the UN Security Council on the Prevention of Armed Conflict, 2001.*)

3.1. UN Peace-building Commission (PBC)⁶⁶

It is often cited that roughly half of all countries that emerge from violent conflict relapse into violence within five years. On 20 December 2005, upon the recommendations of the Secretary-General and his high level panel, the Security Council and the General Assembly ended a long phase of intergovernmental negotiations by adopting joint resolutions (1645 and 60/180) establishing a new UN Peace-building Commission. The Commission will be responsible for addressing a critical gap within the UN and global system by providing a coordinated, coherent and integrated approach to post-conflict peace-building and facilitating dialogue amongst key actors. The Commission, which will submit annual reports to the Security Council and the General Assembly, will be able to respond to requests for advice from the Security Council, ECOSOC, the GA only in specific situations, vulnerable countries, and the Secretary-General. The Commission will be composed of an intergovernmental Organizational Committee to address country specific situations, a Peace-building Support Office within the Secretariat, and a multiyear standing Peace-building Fund to support initiatives on post-conflict stabilization and capacity building.

3.1.1 Functions

The Commission’s specific functions will be to:

- bring together relevant actors to marshal resources;
- advise on integrated strategies for post-conflict peace-building and sustainable development;
- focus attention on reconstruction and institution-building efforts;
- provide recommendations and information to improve coordination of all relevant actors;
- identify best practices;
- help to ensure predictable financing;
- extend the period of attention of the international community to post-conflict recovery.

3.1.2 Structure

The Organizational Committee will consist of 31 members as follows:

- 7 members of the Security Council, including the 5 permanent members;
- 7 members of ECOSOC, elected from regional groups;
- 5 top financial providers, selected by and among the ten top providers;
- 5 top providers of military personnel and civilian policy to UN missions, selected by and among the ten top providers;
- 7 additional members elected according to rules and procedures of the GA giving due consideration to regional representation and experience in post-conflict recovery.

In the Commission's country-specific meetings, where the bulk of its substantive work is expected to take place, the Organizational Committee will be able to invite representatives from:

- the country under consideration;

⁶⁶ Overview_PCB Background_26April06_rev1.pdf
<http://www.reformtheun.org/index.php/issues/1735?theme=alt4#overview>

- countries within the region engaged in post-conflict work;
- relevant regional and sub-regional organizations;
- major financial, troop and civilian police contributors to the recovery effort;
- the senior UN representative in the field;
- relevant regional and international financial institutions.

Representatives of the Secretary-General, the World Bank, IMF and other institutional donors will be invited to participate in all meetings of the Commission.

3.1.3 Agenda and Reporting Lines

The Commission's agenda will be established by the Organizational Committee on the basis of requests for advice from the Security Council, ECOSOC or the GA in specific situations, member states on the verge of lapsing or relapsing into conflict, in cases in which the Security Council is not already seized, and the Secretary-General. The Commission will be responsible for submitting an annual report to the General Assembly and the Security Council.

3.1.4 Operations⁶⁷:

The PBC opened in June 2006 and is comprised of 31 members. A Peace-building Fund and Peace-building Support Office were launched to complement and support the work of the Commission. Currently the PBC has two country-specific configurations, Burundi and Sierra Leone. The PBC has recommended support from the Fund for both countries.

3.2 European Centre for Conflict Prevention⁶⁸ (ECCP)

3.2.1 Mission

The ECCP is a non-governmental organisation that promotes effective conflict prevention and peace-building strategies, and actively supports and connects people working for peace worldwide. Most of its activities revolve around the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC), the network of which the ECCP holds the Global Secretariat.

3.2.2 Vision and guiding principles

“We envisage a world in which people are able and willing to prevent and transform violent conflicts peacefully. We believe in:

- a multi-track approach
- the importance of local capacities for peace
- partnerships with local organisations
- a long-term engagement
- impartiality

3.2.3 The ECCP as a Secretariat

The European Centre for Conflict Prevention holds the Secretariat for the European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation and for the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict. (GPPAC)

2.2.4 Major Programmes

ECCP operates through four major programmes:

⁶⁷ <http://www.reformtheun.org/index.php/issues/1735?theme=alt4#overview>

⁶⁸ <http://www.conflict-prevention.net/index.html>

. **The Global Partnership**

The Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict is an international network of organisations working in conflict prevention and peace-building worldwide. The ECCP acts as the International Secretariat for the GPPAC network. In July 2005 this network launched its Global Action Agenda for the Prevention of Violent Conflict at the Global Conference "From Reaction to Prevention: Forging Partnerships to Prevent Violent Conflict and Build Peace" at the UN headquarters in New York. Since then, the network has developed regional work plans to put the Global and Regional Action Agendas' recommendations into practice.

. **Searching for Peace**

The *Searching for Peace* programme is aimed at recording, describing and analysing prevention and management efforts in the main violent conflict areas in the world. The goals of this programme are threefold. The first is to **provide essential information** about different actors in conflict prevention and transformation in different regions; this includes information on who is doing what, comprising hundreds of organisations, as well as important publications, resources, contacts, websites, and databases. Second, it aims to provide **insights into various approaches** to conflict prevention and peace-building in different contexts. The third objective is to provide space for the **voices of local civil society** organisations.

The *Searching for Peace* programme produces conflict surveys, both online and hard copy publications, and Regional Directories of NGOs working for peace, organises workshops to share experiences, exchange lessons learned and to strengthen networking. Many parts of the world are affected by wars and violent conflicts. Many of these conflicts have been analysed thoroughly and much is known about their causes and the reasons for their escalation and violence. Far less information is available on what has been done and what is currently being undertaken to de-escalate these conflicts. Nor is there sufficient information available about the people and institutions that have gained expertise in specific conflicts or sub-regions. There is a hard-felt need for facilitating the exchange of information, experiences and lessons learnt among participating organisations, which will stimulate cooperation and synergy.

. **People Building Peace**

This is a publication of the European Centre for Conflict Prevention in cooperation with IFOR and the Coexistence Initiative of the State of the World Forum. The books *People Building Peace I & II* are now available in full online at www.peoplebuildingpeace.org/thestories.

The publication includes over 60 stories of civil society successes, many which have never previously been documented and most of them written by practitioners involved in the initiatives themselves. These stories are accompanied by thematic analysis and insights from key experts in the field of conflict prevention such as Hizkias Assefa, Catherine Barnes, Norbert Ropers and Andres Serbin and by personal anecdotes from a number of high-profile peace-builders such as President Xanana Gusmao, Desmond Tutu, Her Majesty Queen Noor, together with a foreword by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan.

. **Media and Peace-building**

The Power of the Media is a publication that aims to highlight the role of the media in peace-building and conflict prevention and strengthen its capacity to exert positive, constructive influence in these situations. Building upon existing research and experience, the book identifies best practices and develops operational guidelines for different forms of media in a variety of conflict or peace-building situations. Drawing on case studies and examples from around the world, and providing a directory of media organisations, *The Power of the Media* is an essential resource for peace-builders everywhere.

2.3. The Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC)

The GPPAC is a world-wide civil society-led network aiming to build a new international consensus on peace-building and the prevention of violent conflict. GPPAC works on strengthening civil society networks for peace and security by linking local, national, regional, and global levels of action and effective engagement with governments, the UN system and regional organizations.

2.3.1 GPPAC's Programmes

Following the 2005 Global Conference, the GPPAC entered its implementation phase. Based on the Regional Action Agendas, each of the regions developed its own Regional Work Plan, which in combination with the Global Action Agenda fed into the Global Work Plan 2007-2010, focusing on five key programme areas:

- Awareness Raising
- Interaction and Advocacy
- Network Building
- Knowledge Generation and Sharing
- Early Warning and Early Response

The GPPAC is structured through fifteen regions, each of which has its own Regional Action Agenda and Work Plan, as well as participating in activities at the global level. The Regional Action Agendas fed into the Global Action Agenda, which was launched at the GPPAC Global Conference at UN Headquarters in July 2005.

The fifteen regions are Central and East Africa, West Africa, Southern Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, North America, South Asia, The Pacific, Southeast Asia, Northeast Asia, Central Asia, Middle East and North Africa, Western Commonwealth of Independent States, The Caucasus, The Balkans, Northern and Western Europe.

The Global Secretariat of GPPAC is held by the European Centre for Conflict Prevention (ECCP) in The Hague, The Netherlands.

2.3.2 Action Agenda for the Prevention of Armed Conflicts in West Africa⁶⁹

In its preamble, the agenda focused on the magnitude of destructive violent conflicts that have hijacked the prospects for economic and social development in all West African states, the poor performance of all West African states on the Human Development Index of the United Nations with 13 of the 15 ECOWAS Member countries occupying the last unenviable bottom position of the scale, the poverty and bad governance (characterized by rampant corruption, abuse of power, fraudulent elections, lack of transparency, and unfair international trade regulations), the proliferation of ethnic militias, rebel movements and mercenaries, small arms and light weapons, gross human rights violations, growing popular discontent, poorly managed transitional processes, transnational influences and war economies as incentives for the escalation of violent conflicts and recalled the United Nation's Secretary General's call to action: "...*there is no higher goal, no deeper commitment, and no greater ambition for the United Nations other than the prevention of armed conflicts*", the representatives of the West Africa Civil Society organizations active in conflict prevention took the resolution to establish a "West Africa Civil Society Platform for Conflict Prevention, the Promotion of Human Security and Good Governance within the West African sub-region;

⁶⁹ http://www.wanep.org/gppac/docs/w.a_action_agenda_sep04.pdf

Challenges of CSOs in West Africa were identified as follow, preventing armed conflict, human rights, elections, youth, chieftaincy, small arms proliferation, gender, religion and media.

Action Agenda was then developed as a result of the identified challenges. This Agenda recommends specific actions to each thematic area:

. Prevention of Armed Conflict

In the short to medium term ECOWAS through its Zonal Bureaus, WACSO and WANEP, should make available to CSOs the protocols on conflict prevention, peace and security, information on NEPAD and the Millennium Development Goals. These documents should be translated into local languages and disseminated by CSOs at the community level using appropriate media such as radio, TV, Flyers, plays, drama, songs and poems. At the national level, CSOs should set mechanism for monitoring and evaluating the implementation of protocols by government. They should form national networks across borders for the collaboration and sharing of best practices and lessons learnt.

. Human Rights

CSOs should embark on campaigns to sensitize communities about their fundamental human rights such as the right to food, shelter, health, education and freedom of speech. CSOs should advocate for and lobby national governments, ECOWAS and international organizations to enforce laws that protect people's rights. In order for laws to be effective government should improve conditions of service for the judiciary and law enforcement agencies.

. Elections

CSOs, political parties and government should research into the national electoral process to assess its strength and weakness so that it can later be improved upon to enhance the overall democratic process. CSOs should embark on civic education campaigns to sensitize citizens about electoral processes thereby encouraging them to participate in it. (...) At the state level government should recognize the independence of National Electoral Commissions. (...) Governments should respect term limits for the Presidency to ensure smooth and violence free transitions. (...)

. Youth

WANEP, WACSO, GPPAC and ECOWAS should develop a regional youth policy with minimum standard to be included in national policies. The youth policy should focus on youth skill development and youth in the prevention, management and resolution of conflict. UNICEF, UNDP, Africans in the Diaspora, corporate bodies and the international community should be contacted for financial support for youth skill training. (...)

. Chieftaincy

Government and CSOs should research into and document the history of chieftaincy lineages in communities to serve as a guide to smooth succession. CSOs build the capacity of traditional leaders on conflict prevention at community, national and regional levels. They should create awareness among ECOWAS citizens about the ECOWAS protocol on free movement of people, good and services which by implication included settlers. (...) King-makers should respect traditional laid down procedures in choosing chiefs, kings and queen-mothers. (...)

. Small Arms Proliferation

(...) CSO should involve national parliaments, government authorities, the media and the general public in the fight against the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. Carnivals, durbars and fun games should be organized at the community level to sensitize the public about the relationship between small arms and violent conflicts. (...)

. Gender

CSOs should embark on sensitization campaigns to improve on the understanding of gender. The Women in Peace-building Network (WIPNET), the Manor River Union Women in Peace-building Network (MARWOPNET) and other women networks and the donor community should build capacity of CSOs especially women to advocate and lobby for women's involvement in conflict prevention management and resolution process. (...)

. Religion

CSOs call on faith based organizations to exhort their followers to eschew fanaticism and tolerate other believes. (...) Networks of inter-faith councils should organize joint activities and celebrations. (...)

. Media

WACSOF and WANEP in partnership with other actors should facilitate and coordinate the formation of media networks across West Africa. (...)

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LESSON 9

MODULE 4: PEACE-BUILDING IN WEST AFRICA

GOAL:

To understand the peace-building process (conflict prevention and resolution and peace consolidation) in West Africa

PEDAGOGICAL OBJECTIVE

To raise awareness on the strategies and solutions for peacekeeping, conflict resolution and peace-building in West Africa

Part Two: PRACTICAL FRAMEWORK

LESSON 17: Peace-building initiatives in West Africa⁷⁰

CONTENTS

- ◆ Concrete examples: Sierra Leone, Liberia, Guinea Bissau, Côte d'Ivoire, Togo, etc.
- ◆ Lessons learnt

TRAINER

Dr Kokou Folly Lolowou HETCHELI, Professor and Researcher, University of Lome

LANGUAGE OF PRESENTATION: French

INTRODUCTION

The programme, which describes itself as the practical part of the process of peace building in West Africa, seeks to acquaint participants with different actions and activities of national, regional and international stakeholders in peace-building and peace consolidation in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Guinea and Côte d'Ivoire.

At the end of this lesson, participants should be able to:

- identify actions and activities undertaken by state actors and non-governmental organizations in the process of maintaining and consolidating peace in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Guinea and Côte d'Ivoire,
- analyse the strengths and limitations of national, regional and international initiatives in peace restoration and consolidation in these countries,
- outline innovative peace-building approaches for their respective countries.

Given that the participants are women and men with practical experience and some knowledge in this field, this course will be conducted in order to take advantage of the skills and experiences the participants have.

To put ourselves in the context, perhaps, it should be recalled that in recent decades, West Africa has been confronted with profound crises, including large scale armed conflicts. States are not

⁷⁰ This title corresponds to Lesson 17 in the Training of Trainers' Curriculum

affected in the same way by this social phenomenon, but they are all affected in one way or the other.

The conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Ivory Coast, the Tuareg rebellions in Mali and Niger, the guerrilla movements in Casamance, political and religious tensions in Nigeria and the chronic socio-political crisis in Togo adequately show the state of fragility and instability in the sub-region. The causes of these conflicts are complex and reside in multidimensional aspects such as the colonial legacy, the nature of political power, the failure of state institutions, political and social exclusion, the inconsistencies of democratic transitions, the instrumentalization of ethnic differences, failures of electoral processes, the struggle for the control of resources, poverty and underdevelopment, the militarization of the civil society, etc. These conflicts are a dynamic phenomenon and operate at various levels (local, national, regional).

The regional dimension is a feature of these conflicts. They often erupt in the form of intra-state conflicts, but because of the internationalisation of intergovernmental, inter-communal, and inter-ethnic relations, they acquire a momentum that gets out of their instigator's control and become quasi-regional.

The civil war in Liberia led by Charles Taylor with its immense⁷¹ political, economic and social consequences plunged almost the entire West African sub-region in a cycle of chronic socio-political instability. The countries most directly affected are Sierra Leone, Guinea and Côte d'Ivoire.

In such a context of conflict regionalization, it appears that we cannot effectively resolve conflicts in West African countries, focusing solely on the national level. That is why the initiatives of peace-building in countries affected by the conflict must revolve around actions capable of strengthening relationships and restoring equitable political, economic and socio-cultural systems (Chapter I) and interconnected and integrated regional strategies for conflict prevention and resolution (Chapter II). Therefore, the process of restoration and peace consolidation must be based on international solidarity (Chapter III).

1. CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF PEACE-BUILDING INITIATIVES IN WEST AFRICA

Peace-building is a long-term process, which is to build confidence and understanding among peoples and nations. It is both a result and a process. A result insofar as it seeks to carry out relevant actions that could put an end to conflicts that have already broken out. These actions can be of short and / or medium term in order to rebuild what was destroyed by war and conflict. They encompass vast political, social and economic reforms intended to ensure structural stability in countries affected by armed conflict. Peace-building is a process to the extent that it does not aim at the short term but the long term. It is a process which intends to further tackle the root causes of conflicts and put in place mechanisms to anticipate on situations that may threaten peace and security.

1.1 The mechanisms for the promotion of equitable systems of government and social relations in countries affected by war in West Africa

The path towards peace in West Africa is very difficult. Countries in West Africa, such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea and Ivory Coast have bitterly experienced and continue to experience open and widespread conflict. Even if weapons are now somewhat silent and clashes between warring

⁷¹ Brutal killings, massacres of people, displacement of populations, massive destruction of infrastructure and the questioning of the State and its political and administrative institutions, and so on.

parties are no longer systematic, peace is still very fragile in these countries and by extension in the region.

The complexity of cyclical and structural causes of these conflicts, the quest for power by actors involved in the conflict, the presence of new actors and the emergence of a war economy has rendered the process of resolving these conflicts very delicate. Indeed, war offers rebel leaders a framework for rapid access to wealth and power. Ending the war would mean for the latter, putting an end to their "political career" and the benefits associated with them.

For example, Charles Taylor manipulated the war in Liberia to satisfy his personal interests. He did not hesitate on the measures to perpetuate the war. Moreover, he encouraged other conflicts in the sub-region. Several analysts affirm that the Sierra Leonean rebellion is a direct consequence of the Liberian conflict⁷². Also civil wars in Guinea and Côte d'Ivoire are the aftershocks of the conflicts in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Despite the difficulties mentioned above, Liberians, Sierra Leoneans, Guineans and the Ivorians have made commendable efforts in promoting peace in their respective countries.

1.1.1 The process of structural stability in post-conflict West African countries

Structural stability is based on social peace, respect for the rule of law and human rights, economic and social development. It requires political structures and dynamics including mechanisms to effectively manage change and regulate conflicts. This process is supported by the following pillars: the reform and reinforcement of the political and institutional structures, restoration of security, and the involvement of social structures, transitional reconciliation and justice.

1.1.2 Reform and the strengthening of political and institutional structures

In times of conflict, many governments have enormous difficulties effectively operating their administrations. This is due to the fact that, one of the goals of rebel groups is to undermine the state by denying the resources necessary for its functioning and also to destroy the administrative infrastructures. Furthermore the government in place, given the demands of the war, invests most of the State's wealth not in the areas of development, but rather in the war. After the war, the State feels totally weakened, and as a result faces enormous difficulties in putting its administration back on track. In such a case, the great challenge of a State emerging from a civil war is to make a political choice and establish public institutions that can mobilize the support of the vast majority of the population towards the reconstruction of the country. This poses a real challenge for such states. Areas where reforms are often indispensable include administration and land tenure, the functioning of the judiciary, the systems of internal security and the economy.

Whether it is in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea or Côte d'Ivoire, political and institutional reforms are yet to satisfy the conditions for a lasting peace. Permanent structural and non-structural efforts must continue in a bid to stabilize the country.

In Liberia, for example, efforts to resolve the crisis have not taken into account the real structural problems which are the root causes of conflict. Energies were devoted to the ceasefire and the holding of elections. The resumption of hostilities in 1999 is the result of the failure to take into account the real socio-political data of the parties in conflict. Today, the post-conflict legacy that President Ellen Johnson has to contend with is not simple. Despite the broad legitimacy she enjoys,

⁷² The appearance of Charles Taylor before the International Criminal Court to answer for the crimes he committed in Sierra Leone, confirms these allegations.

the current political configuration does not allow her to make large scale political and institutional reforms. She has made enormous efforts to ensure the representation of all parties in her government, but she must cope with a legislature that is particularly hostile. Indeed, the ruling party, the Unity Party (UP), has only 8 of the 64 seats, and at the Senate, it has only 3 of the 30 available seats. The dispersion of power between the Presidency, the Senate and Parliament does not augur a peaceful democratic transition. The slightest dissatisfaction of the population can be quickly manipulated by politicians.

Sierra Leone has certainly experienced in 2002 and 2007 relatively calm and pacific elections, but due to the fact that political and economic transitions are moments of tension, particularly when the balance of power changes in favour of certain groups and at the expense of others, it is therefore appropriate that efforts continue to be conducted to establish a "participatory democracy".

In Côte d'Ivoire, with the agreement of Ouagadougou, a step has been made forward, but much remains to be done in bringing peace to the country. The Ivorian political and social class must take advantage of this climate of trust that exists today between Laurent Gbagbo (The President) and Guillaume Soro (The Prime Minister) to undertake political and institutional reforms that take into account the real problems of the country in order to avoid the resurgence of conflict. They could initiate a non-passionate national debate about political choices, structures and political institutions and carry out an in depth exploration of these issues.

1.1.3 The need to restore security

A civil war is characterized by losses of life, severely disabled people, displaced people, homeless people and the destruction of infrastructures, the emergence of a war economy and the proliferation of weapons. One of the first priorities of a state in the aftermath of a war is to establish the authority of the state and bring a sense of security in the country. To this end, certain measures have to be taken:

1.1.4 To fight against the privatisation of violence

The major activities in this process of rehabilitation of the State focus on the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme (DDR), the reform of the security sector, control and monitoring of small arms, collective security and regional security.

DDR has been systematically applied in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea within the context of peace-building in those countries.

Indeed, the peace agreement signed in 1996 and 1999 respectively, in Abidjan and Lome between the government of Sierra Leone (GOLS) and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone (RUF-SL) provided prominently for DDR programmes. The Observer Mission of the United Nations and ECOMOG (ECOWAS Monitoring Group), have been charged with disarming all combatants, including members of RUF-SL, the Civil Defence Forces (CDF), the Sierra Leonean Army (SLA) and the paramilitary groups. The aim was not only to collect, store and destroy all the conventional weapons and ammunition seized from fighters, but also to demobilize some 45000 fighters and to ensure their reintegration.

As in most countries in post-conflict situation, reconstruction of the armed forces and the demilitarisation of the society are an extremely sensitive process, which requires significant political, social, and financial efforts from the state as well as the civil society. The main objective is to create a favourable environment for the revival of the activities of development.

1.1.5 The implementation of a system of sustainable development

The experience of Liberia, Sierra, Guinea Bissau and Ivory Coast, showed that powerful groups and organized crime networks of global outreach put in place a political economy of war through the exploitation of precious natural resources and therefore had no interest in seeing the end of war in the concerned countries.

Security is increasingly seen as a global situation in which individuals and communities live freely, at peace, safe from any danger, involved in the management of public affairs, enjoying their fundamental rights with access to resources and staples, and living in an environment that is not harmful to their health and welfare.⁷³ Security in countries emerging from violent conflict is a key factor for reconciliation and long-term development.

In a nut shell, the efforts to consolidate peace, based on sustained economic growth, provide exceptional avenues for an ascending individual and collective mobility, and reduce the continuing economic grievances likely to cause a conflict in its most complete form.

1.1.6 The involvement of social structures in the process

The West African CSOs have played and continue to play a leading role in the process of conflict resolution and peace-building.

- ❖ **Example of Sierra Leone and the role of CSOs in the pacification process.** In 1994, as other civil society organisations, women's associations in Sierra Leone gave an undeniable support to the peace process and were actively involved in the transition of their country towards democracy. Groups of women from Freetown endeavoured to get the rebels to go to the negotiating table by initiating sensitization campaigns in the villages and hamlets to convince the belligerents to hand over the weapons. In spite of the difficulties with which they are confronted, these female associations persevered in their efforts, and managed to mobilize a broad support in favour of democratic elections among the trade-union organizations, teachers' associations and other associations representing civil society and traditional groups.

Generally, the actions and activities of civil society organizations are carried out independently or in collaboration with other national organizations, with the State and/or other transborder organizations and intergovernmental organizations.

1.1.7 The stakes of transitional justice and reconciliation

In a peace-building process, it is important to find appropriate strategies to assume the "past" and discuss the "future" with confidence and serenity. Several options are possible. They range from the establishment of truth and reconciliation commissions, public awareness campaigns, training on peace and non-violence to the creation in many cases of special courts.

❖ Truth and Reconciliation Commissions

The Truth and Reconciliation Commissions have become one of the most commonly used options in a post-conflict situation to reconcile people wounded by the atrocities of war. They represent for the people a better way of transcending grudges and feelings of blind hatred or helplessness. It allows them to free new energies that might lead them to further pursue the reconstruction of their country instead of brooding on past events.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Sierra Leone (TRC) was established in July 2002 in

⁷³ See "The problems of security and development cooperation: a conceptual framework designed to improve policy coherence" in Dossier du CAD, Vol 2, No.3

accordance with a law passed by the Parliament. It was implemented “*to establish an impartial historical record of violations and abuses of human rights and international humanitarian law in connection with the armed conflict in Sierra Leone, from the beginning of the civil war in 1991 to the signing of the Lome Peace Agreement, in order to attend to impunity and the claims of victims, to heal the wounds of war, to promote reconciliation and prevent the repetition of atrocious violence.*”⁷⁴

In Liberia, the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission provided for by the Peace Agreement in Accra (Ghana) in August 2003 which ended the conflict, was adopted by the transitional Parliament in June 2005. The Commission is responsible for documenting all abuses, establishing and validating the stories of victims and perpetrators, to establish the extent, nature and causes of violations of human rights; to analyse the claims of the victims of violations of human rights and provide at the end of its mandate clear and useful recommendations on how Liberia can restore the past and move forward in unity to face the future. At the inauguration of this Commission, the Liberian President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf had this to say: “When the truth emerges, mankind redeems itself from cowardice and frees itself from the clutches of violence”.

Altogether, the Truth and Reconciliation Commissions are a good compromise between the desire for justice and the desire for reconciliation. It is worth noting that these institutions cannot completely supersede the judiciary institutions. Hence, there is the need to rehabilitate the law enforcement sectors.

❖ **National and special courts in post-conflict situations**

Given the urgency of some cases of grave violations of human rights and international law during conflicts, special courts may be established to deal with these complex issues that go beyond the competence of Truth and Reconciliation Commissions.

In the case of Sierra Leone, the UN Security Council passed on 14 August 2000, Resolution 1315 which gave a mandate to the UN Secretary-General to establish a Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL), a joint jurisdiction, which was responsible for trying the "main perpetrators of crimes against humanity, war crimes and certain crimes listed in the Sierra Leonean law and committed since 30 November 1996." After the signature of the Agreement in January 2002 between the United Nations and the Sierra Leonean government and its ratification by the Parliament of Sierra Leone in March of the same year, the Court was formally established in July 2002. The judges were sworn in on 2 December and the first indictments were confirmed in March 2003.

The key persons indicted by the SCSL include Foday Sankoh, (who died on 30 July 2003), Johnny Paul Koroma (declared dead on 1 June 2003), Samuel Hinga Norman, Sam Bockarie (declared dead on 6 May 2003), Morris Kallon, Alex Brima, Augustine Gbao, Brima Kamara, Issa Sesay and Charles Taylor, former President of Liberia.⁷⁵ The latter is accused of war crimes and crimes against humanity, and in particular for supporting the Revolutionary United Front (RUF). To counter threats to the security and stability of Liberia, the trial was relocated to The Hague. The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1688 concerning this transfer was passed unanimously on 16 June 2006. The then Secretary-General Kofi Annan said the capture and trial of Charles Taylor "would clearly signal to the continent and the rest of the world that impunity would no longer be tolerated and that the rule of law should prevail."⁷⁶

⁷⁴ William A. Shabas (2003), The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Sierra Leone, in *Droits fondamentaux*, No. 3, January-December 2003, pp 114-115 (www.droits-fondamentaux.org).

⁷⁵ For more details visit http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special_Tribunal_for_Sierra_Leone

⁷⁶ *Afrique Renouveau*, Vol 20, N° 4, janvier 2007, p.7.

2. REGIONAL STRATEGIES FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT AND CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE IN WEST AFRICA

An important fact in Africa in general and in West Africa in particular is that conflicts have regional interactions. In this context the question of peace and security in the sub-region can be dealt with effectively only within a concerted and integrated framework. It is upon this observation that the sub-regional and regional organizations have been actively involved in seeking a solution to these conflicts through peace-keeping and peace consolidation operations. And to establish a lasting peace in the region, they are working at strengthening mechanisms for conflict prevention.

2.1 Peace-keeping and peace consolidation operations of African regional organizations

The active involvement of the African regional organizations in the resolution of internal conflicts and the sub-regional approach to restore peace and security began with the break-up in 1989 of a civil war in Liberia, following an armed rebellion led by Charles Taylor whose consequences have affected all of the West African sub-region and plunged it into a cycle of chronic instability. Other initiatives of this kind were to emerge, including in Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau (1999), Ivory Coast (2002) and again in Liberia (2003).

2.1.1 ECOWAS and the Liberian conflict

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) took various initiatives in order to secure a peaceful settlement of the conflict. It set up a peacekeeping force, known as ECOMOG (ECOWAS Monitoring Group). This ECOWAS Military Observer Group was deployed in Liberia on 24 August 1990 at the request of the then Liberian President Samuel Doe. Its mission was to assist the ECOWAS Mediation Commission in overseeing the application and the strict compliance by the parties to the provisions of the ceasefire signed by the protagonists of the conflict.

The ECOMOG faced several difficulties in carrying out its mission. The first challenge related to the lack of clear, consistent and jointly pursued objectives by ECOWAS Member States as well as the rest of the international community. The second problem was related to a lack of resources, the complexity of the conflict including an exponential multiplication of armed groups financed and armed by the trafficking of natural resources and mining, the number of which has been strengthened by the recruitment of child soldiers. It should also be noted that Charles Taylor, the leader of the rebellion, did not make it easy for the mission of ECOWAS which he accused of supporting the government. Consequently, heavy fighting erupted between the ECOWAS interposition force and the men of Taylor.

In 1997, an agreement ended the war in Liberia and provided for the disarmament of armed groups, law enforcement, the disarmament of armed movements and the training of new security forces. The ECOWAS mission, which left the country in 1999 was forced to return in 2003 with the resurgence of hostilities.⁷⁷

2.1.2 The intervention of ECOWAS in the Sierra Leonean conflict

Just as in Liberia, the ECOWAS Military Observer Group intervened in Sierra Leone on a request by the government of Joseph Momoh. This was the first intervention of the Military Observer Group

⁷⁷ For more details visit www.operationspaix.net

(ECOMOG) in the Sierra Leonean conflict. It intervened to assist the Sierra Leonean armed forces in their fight against the rebellion of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), led by Foday Sankoh. Joseph Momoh was finally overthrown by his own army during one of the many coups d'Etat the country experienced.

ECOMOG intervened for the second time in Sierra Leone where the democratically elected President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah was overthrown on 25 May 1997. Under pressure from the ECOWAS Committee of Five, the ruling military junta signed a peace agreement on 23 October 1997. ECOMOG was in charge of monitoring the ceasefire agreement and supervising the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of combatants.

In February 1998, the cease-fire was violated by the military junta, resulting in a forceful response from ECOMOG which eventually overthrew the military junta and reinstalled Ahmed Tejan Kabbah on 10 March 1998 in his capacity as President. However, fighting between ECOMOG and the RUF continued until 1999. The hostilities actually ended on 7 July 1999 with the signing of a peace agreement in Lome, allowing for the formation of a national unity government. This agreement enabled the United Nations to deploy a United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) on 22 October 1999, to replace the Mission of the United Nations in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL) and ECOMOG.⁷⁸

2.1.3 The involvement of ECOWAS in the conflict in Guinea-Bissau

ECOWAS deployed its ceasefire monitoring group (ECOMOG) in Guinea-Bissau at the request of President Joao Bernardo Vieira, faced with a rebellion led by General Ansumane Mané⁷⁹. The support offered earlier by Guinean and Senegalese troops to loyalist forces of President Vieira had not allowed him to defeat the rebellion. However, an agreement was signed between the parties on 1 November 1998 in Abuja (Nigeria) under the auspices of ECOWAS. This agreement provided for the establishment of a cease-fire, the withdrawal of foreign forces and the deployment of an interposition force of ECOWAS and the establishment of a provisional government of national unity. The mission of these 600 men was to ensure the withdrawal of Guinean and Senegalese troops and supervise the elections to be held.

After a brief resurgence of hostilities by loyalist troops and the conclusion of a new truce, the ECOWAS troops eventually replaced the Senegalese and Guinean forces that left the country on 17 March 1999. In April, after the parliamentary inquiry on the responsibilities of General Ansumane Mané concluded on his innocence, President Vieira started losing his credibility. Refusing to relinquish power, he faced further attacks by the rebel forces on 6 May 1999. He was impeached on 7 May and his departure into exile in Portugal put an end to the conflict that had caused 2,000 casualties and 350,000 internally displaced persons. The ECOMOG forces withdrew from Guinea-Bissau late June and were replaced by the United Nations Office for the Consolidation of Peace.⁸⁰

2.1 Initiatives for the establishment of a regional collective security

Facing the multiple conflicts in West Africa of regional dimension, peace-building and security in this region can only be based on a regional and integrated approach of security. It is in this context that the African Union (AU) and other African regional organizations have in recent years developed a system of conflict prevention, which if effective, could lead to the formation of genuine

⁷⁸ For more details visit www.operationspaix.net

⁷⁹ He was suspended from his duties in January 1998 on charges of negligence in a case of arms trafficking with the rebels in Casamance.

⁸⁰ For more details visit www.operationspaix.net

collective security organizations. Current efforts to develop an intervention force of the African Union should lead to the reinforcement of regional security.

It is in this same spirit that the ECOWAS Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution has institutionalised the ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), which existed on an ad hoc basis since 1990. ECOMOG will be composed of troops from the Member States which must equip and train them. After three months of operations on the ground, ECOWAS will then support the financing and logistics of the troops, contrary to the system that prevailed before the mechanism. Before the adoption of this mechanism, the States were to fully support their soldiers. However, these States benefited in most operations, from the logistical and financial support of Western States. With this Mechanism, the Special Fund for the Peace Mechanism should fund peacekeeping operations. The Force Commander should provide a report to the Executive Secretary.

2.3 The ECOWAS - WANEP partnership in conflict prevention in West Africa

ECOWAS has planned within the Mechanism, a Peace and Security Observation System called the Early Warning or the "System". Its function is to analyse the factors that could affect the peace and security in West Africa, by providing information on a daily basis. And to facilitate the collection of information, the West African region has been divided into four (4) areas of observation and monitoring with the following headquarters based in Banjul (Gambia) for Cape Verde, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Mauritania and Senegal, Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso) for Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali and Niger, Monrovia (Liberia) for Ghana, Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone and Cotonou (Benin) for Benin, Nigeria and Togo. These observation and supervision offices are to submit their reports to the centre for observation and monitoring of the Executive Secretariat, which will analyse the information collected. The system set up by ECOWAS aims at monitoring signs of a potential conflict, rising violence and threats to humanitarian disasters. More specifically, it means selecting, and monitoring essential political, social and economic indicators such as military expenditures, changes in the sharing of power, status of human rights, ethnic relations, population movements, economic and social disparities, the running and accessibility of essential services, plurality and freedom of the press, external support to extremist groups.

To render its warning system more effective and efficient, the ECOWAS has signed since 2002 with the West African Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP), a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU). One of the purposes of this agreement is to establish a liaison between the WARN program of WANEP and the early warning system of ECOWAS in order to optimise early warning actions for conflict prevention in Africa West. In view of this development, WANEP manages a liaising office within the Secretariat of ECOWAS in Abuja in Nigeria since April 2003 and has established early warning and conflict prevention offices in the four (4) ECOWAS observation zones. It should be noted that the Early Warning Network in West Africa (WARN) is an integral part of the West African peace-building preventive programme.

3. THE UN INITIATIVES OF PEACE-BUILDING IN WEST AFRICA

The United Nations has played and continues to play a significant role in the process of conflict resolution and peace-building in West Africa. Its interventions take many forms. But we will highlight the peace-keeping and peace-consolidation missions undertaken by the United Nations in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire.

3.1 Peace missions of the United Nations in Liberia

The United Nations did not remain indifferent to the war in Liberia. It contributed to various actions by the signing of the Peace Agreement of 1997. In order to enable the peace process to be

consolidated, it set up an Observation Mission, known as the UN Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL). The Mission was responsible for monitoring compliance with the Peace Agreement, and for verifying its implementation by stakeholders.

Concomitantly, the United Nations created, in November, the United Nations support Office for the consolidation of peace in Liberia (UNOL) to replace UNOMIL whose term of office was expiring on 30 September 1997. The United Nations Office in Liberia has been very active in the mobilization of financial, material and human resources to promote national reconciliation and reconstruction of Liberia. The Office also proceeded with the capacity building in human rights of the government of Charles Taylor in view of the consolidation of peace.

It is worth noting that UNOL failed to bring the political and military actors of Liberia to adhere fully to the process of peace building. In 1999, rebel groups opposed to Charles Taylor launched attacks along the Guinean border and the war resumed again.

Faced with the tragedy experienced once again by this country, the Secretary General appointed on 8 July 2003, Jacques Paul Klein to coordinate UN activities in Liberia and support actors in the new transitional arrangements. And with the signing of the overall political agreement of 18 August 2003, the Security Council, acting on a recommendation of the Secretary General, authorized the deployment of a multidimensional peacekeeping mission to Liberia (UNMIL). UNMIL includes political, military, police, criminal justice, civil affairs, human rights, gender balance, child protection, DDR, information and support components as well as an electoral component. This Mission worked closely with ECOWAS and the African Union and CSOs to finally bring Liberia out of the spiral of armed violence.

3.2 The United Nations intervention in Sierra Leone

The Sierra Leonean conflict has enjoyed strong involvement of the United Nations. This was characterized by the sending of representatives of the Secretary General, military and civilian observing missions.

Indeed, in February 1995, Mr. Berhanu Dinka, was sent by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to assist the African regional organizations to find a negotiated solution to the Sierra Leonean conflict. In November 1996 a Peace Accord was reached in Abidjan between the government and the RUF, but this agreement was challenged by the RUF rebels who staged a coup d'Etat against President Kabbah with the complicity of Liberia's armed forces. The latter had to flee the country to seek refuge in Guinea. After much haggling, the ECOWAS Committee of Five managed to sign a peace plan with the ruling junta. ECOMOG was in charge of monitoring the ceasefire contained in the Peace Plan with the assistance of United Nations military observers. But the non-compliance with the peace plan forced ECOMOG to overthrow the ruling junta and reinstall President Kabbah to power on 10 March 1996. The armed conflict continued until 1999, when the government and the rebels signed an agreement in Lome for the end of the war and the establishment of a national unity government. To assist in the Sierra Leonean peace process, the Security Council authorized on 22 October 1999, the creation of a new United Nations Mission (UNMISIL), in charge of overseeing the implementation of the provisions of the Lome Peace Accord. The initiated peace process led to the organization of elections in 2002 and in 2007.

3.3 Role of the United Nations in the resolution of the Ivorian crisis

Just like in Liberia and Sierra Leone, the United Nations intervened in Côte d'Ivoire to help the country resolve the conflict and establish a lasting peace. Thus, the UN Security Council authorized the establishment of the United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (UNMICI). This political mission set up in May 2003 was to facilitate the implementation of the Linas - Marcoussis Peace Accord

signed in January 2003 between the rebels led by Guillaume Soro and the government of Laurent Gbagbo. Given the persistence of the crisis, the Security Council established by resolution 1528 of 27 February 2004 the UNOCI to replace the ECOWAS force deployed in the country since 31 December 2002 with the aim of bringing peace to the country.

UNOCI's mandate is to intervene in the observation of the ceasefire and movements of armed groups, in the disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, repatriation and resettlement process. It must also provide support to humanitarian operations; provide new momentum to the peace process by assisting the Ivorian authorities in the promotion of human rights and information; and then assist the government in conjunction with ECOWAS and other actors in the organization of elections.

4. LESSONS LEARNT

- ❖ In West Africa the majority of the conflicts have regional repercussions because of interstates, intercommunity and interethnic relations. The search for a solution to a conflict – even if it is internal – requires inter-connected and harmonized efforts. Hence the need for a regional approach of peace-building. That supposes, in fine, the reinforcement of the institutions and existing mechanisms in the field of conflict resolution.
- ❖ At the national level, efforts must be carried out to find a political system which privileges dialogue between the various spheres of power in the country. This permanent dialogue between the political and social forces will contribute to the emergence of a rational strategy of healthy management of the material, financial and human resources of the country.
- ❖ Since the peace-building mechanisms are related to the good functioning of the society and the State, it is important to set up policies likely to generate integration and social cohesion by making the institutions and political, socio-economic and cultural structures accessible to all the social and political forces.
- ❖ Whilst it is appropriate to adopt an approach of proximity in seeking solutions to conflicts in West Africa, an action of the international community as a whole is as well essential in order to support the efforts of regional actors. The international community has a major role to play in mobilizing the resources needed for conflict prevention in West Africa. Efforts are made, but the budgets allotted to conflict prevention activities are significantly lower than those devoted to violent conflicts. It is therefore important to tackle this issue.

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LESSON 10

MODULE 5: BUILDING PARTNERSHIPS IN THE AREA OF PRACTICAL DISARMAMENT AND PEACE-BUILDING IN WEST AFRICA

GOAL:

To equip participants with the necessary tools and to enhance CSO to effectively engage with national governments, regional and local authorities/communities, and the international community, including donors, international NGOs, ECOWAS and the UN system on practical disarmament and peace-building initiatives in West Africa.

PEDAGOGICAL OBJECTIVE

To improve the knowledge, skills and understanding of participants on existing CSO partnership models in relation to practical disarmament and peace-building in West Africa.

LESSON 20: Basis for partnership in practical disarmament, SALW control and peace-building in West Africa ⁸¹

CONTENTS

- ◆ Definition of the notion of partnership
- ◆ Partnership models for CSOs in the area of practical disarmament, SALW and peace-building
- ◆ Criteria for effective partnership
- ◆ Basic principles of strategic partnership
- ◆ Key elements of strategic partnership, collaboration and cooperation
- ◆ Dialogue with arms' producers (The Wassenaar Arrangement countries, etc)

TRAINER

Mr Jonathan SANDY, Programme Manager, ECOSAP.

LANGUAGE OF PRESENTATION: English

INTRODUCTION

Modest investments in national and local partnerships in tackling Practical Disarmament, SALWs Control can in turn stimulate private, public and citizen's support on what are often considered to be sensitive issues associated with national and individual security needs. Partnership is important to enhance future sustainability of programme management and implementation outcomes. Partnership creates the opportunity for understanding and respecting the views, roles and responsibility of different stakeholders (Consensus building through dialogue); leads to policy coherence and harmonization; solidarity, trust and confidence building mechanism, local ownership, better cooperation and aid efficiency.

However, the sheer diversity of partnerships and their competing interests can also generate contradictions and challenges that may affect the successful design and implementation of Practical Disarmament, SALWs Control and Peace-Building initiatives. In other words, while necessary, partnerships are frequently difficult to manage and must therefore be handled in a flexible fashion.

⁸¹ This title corresponds to Lesson 20 in the Training of Trainers' Curriculum

It is expected that this lesson will help:

- Provide knowledge, skills and understanding of existing partnership approaches in relation to Practical Disarmament, SALWs Control and Peace-building initiatives in West Africa;
- Raise awareness on the necessary principles and tools to effectively engage with national governments, regional and local authorities/communities, and the international community, including multilateral, bilateral donors, International NGOs, the UN Agencies, inter-governmental Organisations such as ECOWAS/ECOSAP and AU.
- Develop a perspective on the basic principles for meaningful partnership; ability to identify the key elements of 'Implementing Partnership' and 'Supporting Partnership';
- Understand the importance of improved governance, accountability and effective partnership for Practical Disarmament and SALWs Control in the context of peace-building initiatives;

1. DEFINITION OF THE NOTION OF PARTNERSHIP

Partnership indicates a formal agreement between two or several parties which have concurred to work in co-operation in the pursuit of common objectives. Partnership is worthy of its name when it is characterized by common goals, mutual respect, a collegial structure, shared values, and when it has been concluded on principles of decision making, achieving the objectives and sharing the costs and advantages of collaboration.

For example, collaboration between the citizens, the community and institutional components of society and the police force largely contributes to the maintenance of public security in certain countries. In Canada, for example, the police force recognizes the importance of partnership with the population in the search for durable solutions to the problems of collective security; this is why it privileges the introduction of partnerships with the local communities.⁸²

2. PARTNERSHIP MODELS FOR CSOs IN THE AREA OF PRACTICAL DISARMAMENT, SALW AND PEACE-BUILDING

2.1 The ECOSAP Framework

In West Africa, it is becoming increasingly easy to speak about specific ways of framing, institutionalising effective partnership arrangements for Practical Disarmament, SALWs Control and peace-building initiatives. The most recent regional partnership and development Framework is the ECOWAS Small Arms Control Programme, ECOSAP.

The development of ECOSAP involved extensive consultations with the ECOWAS Commission, several national small arms commissions in ECOWAS countries, the United Nations Office for West Africa and other UN agencies, representatives of development partners in several countries in West Africa, Mano River Union and several experts in the field of small arms and light weapons. A Stakeholders Meeting, to review the new ECOSAP, was successfully convened in October 2004.

The new ECOWAS Small Arms Control Programme (ECOSAP), supported by the UNDP-Regional Bureau for Africa and other partners, is a successor to the Programme of Coordination and Assistance

⁸² http://www.spvm.qc.ca/fr/service/1_5_3_1_definition-partenariat.asp

for Security and Development (PCASED); built on the consolidated achievements of PCASED, as they relate to the implementation of the Moratorium on the Importation, Exportation and Manufacture of light weapons in West Africa and its associated Plan of Action.

ECOSAP is conceived to provide a broad spectrum of technical and financial support to build the capacity of National Commissions within ECOWAS Member states, CSOs, and at the regional political level, strengthen the capacity of the new Small Arms Unit (SAU) for policy development and coordination of operational activities related to the implementation of the Moratorium. Support for the SAU complements the ongoing effort of the ECOWAS Commission to build its own capacity to conceive and execute peace and security initiatives in the sub-region in an efficient and sustainable manner.

ECOSAP has a wide diversity of actions, which therefore requires an equally high degree of co-ordination and effective partnership. This is being achieved through formal and informal contacts. Regular weekly and monthly senior staff meetings provide the forum for assessing Programme progress and constraints, and actions decided. Such a forum allows a flow of information from the programme manager to staff and vice versa. Although not always easy to achieve, it has been the objective of the programme Manager to proactively prevent problems, to minimize instances of problem solving through regular management meetings. Programme staff continue to undertake missions in member states either to review specific activities or on general site visits.

At a higher level the Programme is guided by the **Programme Steering Committee (PSC)** composed of representatives from ECOWAS, UNDP, the United Nations Office for west Africa (UNOWA), the African Union (AU), the West Africa Action Network on Small Arms(WAANSA), the Chair of the Annual Conference of National Small Arms Commissions (NATCOMs), and contributing financial partners. Chaired by the President of the ECOWAS Commission, the Steering Committee meets every six months to provide policy directives, technical and administrative guidance to the programme. In addition, the Steering committee is responsible for approving Programme work plans. The role of the Steering Committee is complemented by a **Programme Advisory Board (PAB)** to provide strategic support to programme management, partnership development and resource mobilization.

A Programme **Regional Technical Committee (RTC)**, comprising of ECOWAS, ECOSAP, UNDP, UNREC, and other development partners support the ECOSAP Programme management operational framework, providing as it were, an innovative means of getting development partners a little more involved in the planning and programming of priorities. The Committee is expected to meet periodically, as appropriate, at the instance of project management.

At the Operational level, sector-wide **National Commissions for Small Arms control (NATCOMs)** have been established, political space has been created for CSOs to participate in the decision making process of the NATCOM.

The Programme Management continues to foster close relations with other organisations and institutions operating in fields related to ECOSAP's area of activity. In the normal course of its operations ECOSAP continues to maintain close functional contacts with relevant **sub-regional and national institutions** in member states, **UNDP country offices** as well as international organisations and NGOs working on peace and security in the sub-region.

In addition, during this inception phase contacts have been established with regional research institutions such as WAANSA, the UN Regional for Peace and Disarmament in Africa (UNREC) and the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (Accra, Ghana) because of their long standing association and support in the area of security and small arms control in ECOWAS.

ECOSAP is thus managed in a fashion which encourages regional and national initiatives and innovations within the confines of the agreed **Annual jointly developed and harmonised Implementation Action Plans**, Annual Work Programme and Budgets, the use of **Memorandum of Agreements (MOAs)**. The objective is to place emphasis on national ownership and institutional capacity building to support the overall ECOWAS SALW control goal for future sustainable development. Other sub-regional cases deserve attention such as the OXFAM West African Small Arms Control Programme.

2.2 The OXFAM GB/CSOs Partnership Model in West Africa

Oxfam (Oxford Committee for Famine Relief) is an international development, relief and campaigning which works with others to overcome poverty and suffering around the world. Created during the Second World War (1942) in Great Britain to be of assistance to Greek civilians who were victims of the war⁸³, Oxfam GB has intervened in West Africa for several decades in several areas. Its sub-regional programme on the control of arms aims at reducing conflicts in West Africa. The effective implementation of this programme obliged Oxfam GB to develop partnerships with different CSOs working in the field of peace, security, arms reduction and conflict prevention.

2.3 The ECOWAS/ WANEP Model⁸⁴

ECOWAS is a sub-regional interstate organization which envisages in the framework of its Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution Mechanism of December 1999, the establishment of an Observation System of Peace and Security called "the" Early Warning System "of ECOWAS (ECOWARN). But the strategy for the implementation of the system was lacking. At the same time, WANEP (West Africa Network for Peacebuilding), a network of CSOs was experimenting the WARN in the sub-region the WARN (Warning and Responses Network/an early warning system and rapid responses) with 12 of its national offices and more than 450 members. Consequently, ECOWAS and WANEP signed in 2002, a Memorandum of Understanding to work in partnership on ECOWARN.

The object of this agreement is to establish a point of connection between the WANEP WARN programme and the early warning system of ECOWAS in order to maximize early warning actions for the prevention of conflicts in West Africa. Since then, WANEP manages a liaising office within the ECOWAS Commission in Abuja, Nigeria and has established early warning offices and conflict prevention in the four (4) observation zones of ECOWAS.

3. CRITERIA FOR EFFECTIVE PARTNERSHIP⁸⁵

The evaluation studies have helped identify a certain number of elements which seem to characterize successful partnerships whatever the type. The success of the partnerships depends to a large extent on the level of sharing of the ownership, power and commitment of the partners towards the pursued objectives. To maximize this sharing, successful partnerships have been based on the elements studied below.

⁸³ <http://www.oxfam.co.uk/>

⁸⁴ <http://wanep.org>

⁸⁵ The ideas exploited at this level are largely inspired by the work of Douglas Horton et al., Evaluation at the heart of the organisational reinforcement, ISNAR/IDRC/CTA 2003, 188p, especially its **chapter** entitled: Towards a partnership in the reinforcement of the organisational capacities. The document is available on the web at: http://www.idrc.ca/en/ev-43625-201-1-DO_TOPIC.html

3.1 Partnership based on the missions, strategies and values of the organizations

Generally, organizations set up a partnership on a project or a programme. When this programme is not well related to the mission and the vision of the partners, there are strong chances for the involved organizations and the project to suffer from an insufficient implementation. Observation has shown that the partnerships are all the more productive when the parties involved share the same commitment in the levels of effort and a strong feeling of ownership on the process and expected results.

Ownership is promoted when the activities contribute to the missions and strategies of partner organizations. The partners appreciate their co-operation because they work towards the realization of similar goals. With regards to the control of arms, none of the parties can achieve the required goal alone because it needs a coordinated local and international action.

3.2 Partnership based on a clear goal and intention

Each organization determines why the partnership is useful for the achievement of its objectives. A preliminary discussion on this issue is very important because a wrong estimation of the expectations of the parties can later lead to dissensions, and even silent conflicts. A dissonance on the understanding of the partnership can lead to unrealistic expectations or frustrations.

3.3 Partnership based on a clear division of the roles and responsibilities

An international organization can encourage and contribute to the capacities of a national organization by providing motivation, ideas, resources, technical expertise but it cannot do its work on the field. Local leadership in the execution of activities must come from the national organization. The roles and tasks of each partner are different: for example a partner in development generally has its procedure in accounting just as the local partner has its own procedures. The result is an imbalance in power which will have to be fully recognized. New principles and acceptable procedures will have to be negotiated making it possible to work together. Transparency is important on the part of each partner. This is how a national CSO can gain credibility and legitimacy.

3.4 Partnership based on the negotiation of the principles and joint decision making

Before carrying out actions, the principles of co-operation must be established beforehand and adopted by the partners in the form of an agreement, or a letter of approval, or memorandum of understanding, etc. The feeling of ownership will be all the stronger if all the parties are actively involved in the process of decision-making. What is generally negotiated, are the key aspects of the co-operation in particular, the objectives, the principles of decision-making and the sharing of expenditures and profits, etc. In this negotiation, it is advisable that no party imposes its will on the others.

3.5 Opening to training and change

The evaluation studies have shown that all parties committed in a partnership bring some value to the table in terms of knowledge, experience, or ideas. In the same way, each partner always learns something from the collaboration. The partnership will be all the more profitable if each party is devoted to learning new experiences in a bid to improve the work. This training is favoured by periodic reflexions on the objectives, the activities and the results through the mechanisms of systematic follow-up and evaluation.

3.6 Continuity and persistence

Practical disarmament and peace-building can not be the result of an isolated activity. These social changes are built with time. The internal and external pressures which usually require the fast production of results generally interfere with the needs for transformation on the long term. The ideal situation would be that partners agree to be in a partnership over a more or less long period to hope for strengthened confidence, a strong feeling of ownership and concrete results.

3.7 Flexibility

The relations between partners must keep adjusting to the changing conditions and the possibilities. All partnerships come to an end at one point or the other, consequently, the strategies to conclude the partnership must be thought out well in advance. Negotiations between partners do not stop with the clarification of the objectives but continue during the life of the relation in response to the changes and challenges which may emerge; this allows for the taking into account of the necessary adjustments.

4. BASIC PRINCIPLES FOR A STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

A precise definition of the framework of the partnership is one of the key factors for success. This phase must force the future partners to question and measure the involved stakes and in particular their range taking into consideration their respective evolution. These stakes and the conditions for the partners to come together must be used as a basis for the drafting of an agreement and its preamble. This preamble, after having pointed out the core of the activities of each partner, often describes the nature and the objectives of the projects and synergies which brought the partners together.⁸⁶

When the partnership implies the realization of a joint project, it is advisable to define the practical and legal execution methodology of this project and more specifically to put in place the follow-up infrastructures and the implementation of a conformity control of the services carried out within the framework of the partnership. This type of partnership generally leads to a phase of promotion of the products and/or services jointly developed or suggested.

There again, a precise definition of the role of each partner makes it possible to avoid any conflict on the responsibility of each in case of failure or deficiencies in the operations considered initially, particularly when it involves a financial assumption of responsibility by one or the other of the parties. The definition of the financial conditions can prove to be sensitive since it will be based on probabilities of profit and an often difficult distribution, to define a priori, in a balanced way.⁸⁷

5. KEY ELEMENTS FOR STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP, COLLABORATION AND CO-OPERATION⁸⁸

In spite of the difficulties encountered when working together, organizations are increasingly seeking to broaden their capacities through collaboration. The organizations which lack the resources and

⁸⁶ <http://www.journaldunet.com/juridique/juridique040330.shtml>

⁸⁷ <http://www.journaldunet.com/juridique/juridique040330.shtml>

⁸⁸ The ideas exploited on this level are largely inspired by the work of Douglas Horton et al., Evaluation at the heart of the organisational Reinforcement, ISNAR/IDRC/CTA 2003, 188p., especially its chapter 5 entitled: Towards a partnership in the reinforcement of the organisational capacities. The document is consultable on the Web: http://www.idrc.ca/en/ev-43625-201-1-DO_TOPIC.html

capacities necessary to achieve their objectives perceive the importance of collaborating with others which have the complementary resources and capacities. In a partnership, the capacities of various organizations can be associated or shared to achieve common goals. The major challenge is to know how to develop viable partnerships. Certain strategic elements to consider for this purpose are:

- **Partners targeting particular requirements in technical capacities**

In certain cases, the primary objective of a partnership is just for the development of the capacities of partners.

- **Partners who have a common mission**

Two or more organizations can work together for a same cause.

- **Partners targeting a common problem**

Several organizations do not have a common mission, but interests which are cross-cutting in a broader prospect.

- **Partners working in a network**

In a network, many different stakeholders are bound to intervene in a non-hierarchical way. Each one is related to the others because he/she sees the advantage for all to share information, experience and other resources. The members of a network can aspire to the same mission or target common problems. A network is a fabric of complex relations between many people and organizations.

6. DIALOGUE WITH PRODUCERS OF WEAPONS (Countries within the Wassenaar Arrangement, etc.)

Certain partners in practical disarmament and peace-building can start negotiations with the producers and inform them of the mechanisms which govern the transfers of weapons towards West Africa.

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LESSON 11

MODULE 5: BUILDING PARTNERSHIPS IN THE AREA OF PRACTICAL DISARMAMENT AND PEACE-BUILDING IN WEST AFRICA

GOAL:

To equip participants with the necessary tools and to enhance CSO to effectively engage with national governments, regional and local authorities/communities, and the international community, including donors, international NGOs, ECOWAS and the UN system on practical disarmament and peace-building initiatives in West Africa.

PEDAGOGICAL OBJECTIVE

To improve the knowledge, skills and understanding of participants on existing CSO partnership models in relation to practical disarmament and peace-building in West Africa.

LESSON 21: Capacity building for civil society⁸⁹

CONTENTS

- ◆ Enhanced skills in the field of advocacy, accountability, respect of transparency, reactivity, participation and evaluation
- ◆ The involvement of civil society in specific areas such as « national sovereignty » along with other partners
- ◆ Resource mobilisation
- ◆ Relations with the media (international, national, community).

TRAINER

Mr Baffour Dokyi AMOA, President of WAANSA.

LANGUAGE OF PRESENTATION: English

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this lesson is to help:

- Enhance skills in understanding and applying the principles of advocacy, accountability, respect for transparency, reactivity, participation and evaluation,
- Know how to involve civil society in specific areas such as “national sovereignty” along with other partners,
- Enhance skills in Resource mobilization,
- Enhance skills in relating to the media (international, national, community)

1. ENHANCED SKILLS IN THE FIELD OF ADVOCACY, ACCOUNTABILITY, RESPECT OF TRANSPARENCY, REACTIVITY, PARTICIPATION AND EVALUATION

The concepts hereafter which underlie the principles mentioned above are explained and discussed.

⁸⁹ This title corresponds to Lesson 21 in the Training of Trainers' Curriculum

1.1 Advocacy:

The science of organizing to effectively draw attention to a problem, an issue and/or a challenge that cannot easily be solved or changed unless some momentum is generated by committed and passionate individual(s) or group(s) to bring about the desired change.

1.2 Accountability:

Giving an account of an organization's or one's stewardship in the use of resources available to achieve community or organizational goals.

1.3 Transparency:

Accepting to be open about how things get done.

1.4 Reactivity:

Refers to a situation where one feels the urgency to respond in a timely manner to address a problem or deal with an issue and/or a challenge.

1.5 Participation:

The art of making room for all concerned by a given situation to be involved by sharing their experiences, knowledge and resources in responding appropriately to that situation.

1.6 Evaluation:

A process one follows to assess the impact of a given action by measuring the outcome against predetermined objective(s) to determine gaps, lessons and useful insights to aid future performance.

2. THE INVOLVEMENT OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN SPECIFIC AREAS SUCH AS "NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY" ALONG WITH OTHER PARTNERS**2.1 National sovereignty:**

The concept of national sovereignty encompasses all that relates to, belongs to, represents or affects a nation, especially a nation as a whole rather than a part of it or section of its territory; owned, maintained, or controlled by the central government of a nation; relating to or characteristic of the people of a nation; a citizen of a particular nation, especially when living in another country.

3. RESOURCE MOBILIZATION

Knowing the objective to be achieved, determining resources required to work to accomplish the tasks involved in achieving the objective such as people, money, equipment, materials, etc and putting together a plan as to how much is needed and where to get the resources and funds needed for the job.

4. RELATIONS WITH THE MEDIA (International, National, Community)

The word relationship implies making a conscious effort to build a bond between a person and another or an organization and another. Media is the set of commercial entities available to aid mass communication. Building a relationship with the media implies that a message has to be put out there in the form of a print or audio or video or all or a mix of these media supports with the assistance of the appropriate company that specializes in that business. The word commercial implies fees will have to be paid. You may pay the required fees but the strategic placement of your

information may depend on the bond that has been developed between your organization and the selected media house.

5. CLASS DISCUSSIONS

5.1 What constitutes a good partnership in the implementation of practical disarmament, SALWs control and peace building initiatives?

Some suggested answers:

- Maintenance of good public image,
- Common goal,
- Common interest,
- Participative,
- Transparency,
- Monitoring and Evaluation, Accountability,
- Advocacy,
- Effective resource mobilisation,
- Memorandum of Understanding

5.2 What are the key opportunities and challenges for CSOs engaging with multiple stakeholders at different levels of society?

Some suggested answers:

An opportunity is a situation you can benefit from or take advantage of.

A challenge is phenomenon you must overcome or whose impact you must be able to minimise as you make progress in whatever you do.

Key opportunities:

- Right to speak out as a citizen,
- Sell your organization to the public,
- Build channels of communication at all levels,
- Gain social recognition,
- Become influential,
- Learn more about: issues, government machinery and different characters at play in leadership positions.

Key Challenges:

- Effective Communication,
- Protocol,
- Knowledge/being factual,
- Effective leadership,
- Capacity to provide timely response,
- Knowing what is political as opposed to national interest,
- Ability to breakdown information.

5.3 Why are people reluctant to be involved with CSOs?

Some suggested answers:

- Impression that a civil society organization (CSO) is a club of privileged few,
- CSO is a “cult”,
- CSO is partisan,
- CSO has no outreach programmes/membership drive,
- Leadership struggle,
- Internal squabbles,
- No gain or benefit to all members.

5.4 Simulation Exercise

5.4.1 Mastering the concepts discussed

To appreciate the value of the principles and concepts discussed, participants can be divided into groups to undertake a simulation exercise.

Three groups of donors: (A) disposes of US\$100,000, (B) disposes of US\$250,000 and (C) disposes of US\$500,000 to be allotted to CSOs working in the field of peace and security.

The rest of the class represents development partners at different levels and with different capacities who have the same opportunity to apply for those funds.

a) Task for donor groups: the Donor organizations are to develop criteria for determining the capacity of a development partner to access the funds they are managing and to decide the amount to award.

b) Task for Development Partner: the CSOs are to discuss and develop a set of topics they will discuss in a project proposal and submit for funding to their donor and state the amount they are expecting from the donor as well.

5.4.1.1 Debriefing on the simulation exercise using the concepts discussed

Leaders of each group of donors and that of development partners report on the criteria, the group dynamics and lessons learned by the group. Group members may complement.

The facilitator will then wrap up the session:

At the end of the exercise, the facilitator debriefs the participants to bring out key issues in the exercise such the group dynamics, team building, decision-making process, donor-development partners tensions, project proposal key elements, etc.

5.4.2 Planning in practice

Participants will return to their groups and this time around undertake a different exercise.

Task:

Decide on one action your group wishes to undertake on practical disarmament and peace-building. Develop a set of questions your group must find answers to ensure smooth realization of the chosen action.

The objective of this exercise:

The objective of this exercise is to determine how much care, participants ought to take in planning and executing actions. In other words when preparing an action plan.

5.4.2.1 Debriefing on the exercise on the elaboration of a plan of action

Some key questions to ask and which have to be answered precisely at this stage could be:

- What problem, issue or challenges are we going to address?
- How are we going to approach the task ahead?
- What activities or actions will be necessary?
- Who will do what?
- Where will the action be?
- When will the action take place?
- What resources will be required?

Types of resources required:

- People: What kind and with what skills?
- Space: Land or building?
- Equipment: Long-term assets
- Materials: consumables
- Time: How much is needed for what?
- Money: How much to buy what?
- Administrative systems: Who will request for what and who will authorise the use of what?

NB: Do not forget to take into account degrees and dimensions of the action.

LESSON 12

MODULE 6: THE ROLE OF NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY AND COMMUNICATION IN PRACTICAL DISARMAMENT AND PEACEBUILDING IN WEST AFRICA

GOAL:

To familiarize the participants with the use of NITC in practical disarmament and peace-building

PEDAGOGICAL OBJECTIVE

To help the participants acquire a general understanding of NITC as well as its utilization in the field of practical disarmament and peace-building initiatives

LESSON 23: Internet⁹⁰

CONTENTS

- ◆ Internet as a means of communication (Information flow)
- ◆ Computer/ Internet security (virus, firewall, cryptography, back-up, authentication, etc)
- ◆ Types of Internet connexion
- ◆ Internet Research (search engine, where to find the information, etc.)
- ◆ Typology of Internet websites (domain names, hosting, different types of website, functionality and costs)

TRAINER

Mr Jérôme TATRABOR, IT and Logistics Associate, UNREC.

LANGUAGE OF PRESENTATION: French

INTRODUCTION

This lesson focuses on how NITC can contribute in the field of disarmament practices and peace-building in Africa by revealing certain secrets and tricks which will facilitate Internet research and enable the user have the best results as quickly as possible.

The primary objective is to understand and master the technique of research with the use of keywords, research by repertoire as well as the functions of advanced research. This corresponds to the following objectives:

- To understand the web, search boots/ search engine, metasearch engine and repertoire or directory;
- To understand and to master the tricks of research;
- To distinguish the types of tools available, to understand their specificity in order to choose the most suitable tool.

The second objective is to present an introduction on security on Internet, to mention the data-processing risks related to its use and to indicate some means to avoid them.

⁹⁰ This title corresponds to Lesson 23 in the Training of Trainers' Curriculum.

1. INTERNET AS A MEANS OF COMMUNICATION (Information flow)

1.1 A few preliminary definitions

1.1.1 World Wide Web

The contraction of «*World Wide Web*» gives the acronym *www*, which is a possibility given by the Internet network to sail through documents which are related to each other by hypertext links.

A website (also called Internet site) is a set of HTML files stored on a computer which is permanently connected to the Internet and which hosts web pages. A website is usually structured around a central page, called "**front page**" which proposes links towards a set of other pages hosted on the same server, and external links which are web pages hosted on another server.

URL (The address of a website) appears as follows: <http://www.unrec.org/salwra.php>

Let us analyse this address more into details:

- **http://**indicates that we wish to browse on the web with the use of the HTTP protocol which is the protocol used by default to browse on the Internet. There are other protocols which correspond to other uses of the Internet.
- **www.unrec.net** corresponds to the address of the server which hosts web pages. By convention web servers have a name starting with *www*, in order to properly show that they are servers dedicated to the use of the web. It also helps to memorize the address in a bid to ensure coherence. The second part of this address is called the domain name.
- **/salwra.php** makes it possible to indicate the location of the document on the machine.

1.1.2 Search boot/ Search engine

It is a specific machine (material or software) which has the responsibility of indexing web pages so as to enable research with keywords in a research form.

1.1.3 Metasearch Engine: A "**metasearch engine**" is a research tool which functions based on the exploitation of the results of other search engines.

2. COMPUTER/INTERNET SECURITY

Computer security is a vast theme which could be the subject of a whole course. Any computer which is connected to a data-processing network (especially Internet) is potentially vulnerable to an attack.

2.1. What is a computer attack?

An "**attack**" is the exploitation of a fault of an information processing system (operating system, software or even of the user) for unknown reasons to the owner of the system. These attacks are generally harmful.

On the Internet, attacks are always occurring, at a rate of several attacks per minute on each connected machine. These attacks, in majority, are launched automatically from infected machines (by viruses, Trojan horses, worms, etc), without the knowledge of their owner.

In order to counter these attacks it is essential to know the main types of attacks on the Internet in order to implement preventive provisions.

In general, the risks can be:

- **Physical** (access to the buildings and the machines, opening of case of the computer, etc.);
- **Interception of communication** (usurpation of identity, theft of session, diversion of messages);
- **Refusal of service** which is an attack aiming at disturbing the correct operation of a service;
- **Intrusion** (in general sweeping of the ports);
- **Social engineering** (the opening of an attachment by the user opens a breach in the system, only common sense and a little information on the various practices can avoid falling into the trap);
- **Trap doors** (it is about a backdoor dissimulated in the software by the designer).

The motivations behind the attacks on a network particularly on Internet can be of various kinds:

- To gain access to the system;
- To steal information, such as industrial secrets or intellectual properties;
- Collect personal data on a user;
- To collect banking data;
- To inform oneself on an organization (organization of the user, etc.);
- To disturb the regular functioning of a service;
- To use the system of the user as a "rebound" for an attack;
- To use the resources of the user's system, in particular when the network on which it is located has a high band-width.

It should be known that once your machine is connected to Internet, you become vulnerable to the majority of these attacks.

Each person who has handled a computer at least once is surely familiar with the realities of viruses, worms, Trojan horses, etc.

What are they really?

2.2 Virus

A **virus** is a small data-processing programme located in the body of another programme, which, when launched, installs itself in the memory and carries out the instructions that its author has programmed. The definition of a virus could be as follows:

"Any computer programme able to infect another computer programme by modifying it so that it can in turn reproduce itself."

Thus, since there is a vast range of viruses which can accomplish various actions, they are not classified according to the damage they cause but according to their mode of propagation and infection.

Thus, one can distinguish various types of virus:

- **Worms** are viruses which are able to propagate through a network;
- **Trojan horses** are viruses which make it possible to create a fault in a system (generally to allow its designer to penetrate the infected system in order to take control of it);
- **Logical bombs** are viruses which are activated following a particular event (date system, distant activation...)

For the past few years another phenomenon has appeared, known as **hoaxes**, i.e. announcements received by mail (for example an announcement of the appearance of a new destroying virus or the possibility of winning a free mobile telephone) accompanied by a note specifying that the message should be forwarded to close relations. The purpose of this process is the clogging of the networks as well as the misinformation.

The **spyware or informer** which has become increasingly current is a programme in charge of collecting information on the user of the computer on which it is installed in order to send it to the company which diffuses it to allow him to draw up the profile of the Net surfers.

A **keylogger** is a device in charge of recording the strikes on the keys of the keyboard, without the knowledge of the user. Thus it is a spying device.

These are to a certain extent the dangers to which you are exposed once you are connected to the Internet.

2.3 Symptoms of a possible infection

Generally, an infection by a Trojan horse occurs following the opening of a contaminated file containing the Trojan horse and results in the following symptoms:

- Abnormal activity of the modem, the network card or the disc: data is loaded in the absence of activity of the user;
- Curious reactions of the mouse;
- Impromptu opening of programmes;
- Repetitive crashes.

2.4 Efforts to protect

Do not install software when you are not sure by 100% of its source and reliability (in particular freewares, sharewares and more particularly software for the exchange of files in peer-to-peer). Here are some examples (non exhaustive list) of software known to have one or more spywares:

- Babylon Translator,
- GetRight, Go!Zilla,
- Download Accelerator,
- Cute FTP,
- PKZip,
- KaZaA, ou encore
- IMesh.

It is the responsibility of administrators (or personal users) to be constantly informed of the updates of the programmes which they use in order to limit the risks of attacks.

The strict minimum for the use of Internet. Any person with Windows and Internet should follow these rules

| |
|--|
| Windows Update + Antivirus + Firewall + AntiSpyware |
|--|

A machine which is not connected to a network or to Internet, only needs an antivirus but once on the Internet, it is imperative especially nowadays to take into account the dispositions referred to above to be sure of being protected.

- **The antivirus** as its name indicates prevents viruses from attacking your machine.
- **The firewall** is a small programme which will intercept all the Internet communications and authorize/forbid each of these communications according to a number of rules that you yourself would have determined. It will control what **leaves** your computer, and what **enters**.

2.3. Recommendations

It is recommended:

- either to make to make a *Windows Update* each week; (Launch Internet Explorer)
- or to be informed of current issues related to internet security and to visit the websites listed below to download and install antivirus, Firewall and anti spyware.

| Windows Update | Antivirus | Firewall | AntiSpyware |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| windowsupdate.microsoft.com | Antivirusfree.com | zonealarm.com | Lavasoft.de |
| | Antivirusall.info | Curio.com | Safer-networking.org |
| | Blogantivirus.info | Omniquad.com | |
| | | smb.sygate.com/products | |

The 100% computer/Internet security **does not exist**.

On the Internet, no safety device can protect the user 100% against attacks. Only common sense, reasoning and a little information on the various practices can prevent the user from falling into the trap.

There are a certain number of devices (firewall, systems of detection of intrusions, antivirus) which make it possible to add an additional level of security.

3. INTERNET RESEARCH

3.1 How a search engine operates?

When you launch a research:

- Robots (software), called **spiders** must run through the web whilst following recursively the links to the million web pages and indexing the contents in gigantic data bases in order to be accessible to the browsers.

- No search engine can run through the total number of web pages in one day (this process generally takes several weeks). Thus, each engine adopts its own strategy; some even calculate the frequency of the updating of the websites.

3.2 Recommendations to be followed prior to any research: vital lead: Distinguish the different types of tools

3.2.1 Engines, Directories/ Repertoires

Many internet users have the tendency of using in the same way:

- **directories (or repertoires)** such as Yahoo!, NomadeYahoo, Dir.com, ODP.com, About.com, Topic Guides, LookSmart ;
- **and search boots** such as Google, Altavista, MSN, AOL Search, Lycos, Ask Jeeves, MetaCrawler, AllTheWeb, Vivisimo, Metasearch, Teoma

However, these two types of tools are of different nature. It is essential to understand their specificities well in order to choose the tool which is more adapted to your needs.

| DIRECTORIES | ENGINES |
|--|---|
| <p>Indexing of sites - by documentalists</p> <p>Research - on sites - and categories</p> <p>Advantages - choice of information - intelligent classification by categories and subcategories</p> <p>Disadvantages - less exhaustiveness, - Slower updating</p> <p>Remember Exploring by categories often proves more profitable than by the use of websites.</p> | <p>Indexing of words - by robots</p> <p>Research - in complete text - on web pages</p> <p>Advantages - more exhaustiveness, - faster updating</p> <p>Disadvantages capturing of web pages no intelligent classification</p> <p>Remember Research by keyword gives better results on search boots</p> |

The metasearch engines use simultaneously several engines and directories.

| Search boots | Directories and Repertoires |
|--|---|
| Google.com Altavista.com MSN.com, AOL.com Search.com Lycos.com Ask.com Jeeves.com MetaCrawler.com AllTheWeb.com Vivisimo.com Metasearch.com Teoma.com | Yahoo.com Nomadeyahoo.com Dir.com ODP.com About.com Topicguides.com Looksmart.com |

3.2.2 What to do before a research

Always use a time to reflect asking yourself at least the 3 following questions:
 What exactly am I looking for? Why? Where can I find it?

| | |
|---------------|---|
| Who? | Profile |
| What? | Nature of the information |
| Where? | Geographical boundaries, location, resources |
| Why? | Objective(s) |
| How? | Tools, methods, strategy |

3.3 Do you really know how to carry out a research on the Internet?

In this series of examples, the lesson provides various cases showing the easy tricks. Google is currently the best research tool in the world. It will be used as an example.

Trick n°1: Use only spaces!



When carrying out a research, **separate all your keywords by spaces.**

You are looking for....
...information on **tourism** in TOGO

Click on Google:

✓ tourism togo

Rather than:

✗ tourism AND togo

✗ tourismtogo



AND is not necessary,
The space between the words already indicated « and » in Google.

Trick n°2: Use the natural order of words



Place the words in a **natural order** so as to **increase your chances of obtaining relevant results.**

You are looking for...
...information on **tourism** in Togo

Click on Google:

✓ tourism togo

Rather than:

✗ togo tourism

Trick n°3: With or without inverted commas?



To find **the exact expression**, put it in **inverted commas**

You are looking for.....

...a website on cinema relating to the life of Thomas Sankara?

Click on Google:

✓ "cinema on the life of Thomas Sankara"

Rather than:

✗ cinema on the life of Thomas Sankara



With or without inverted commas?

With **inverted commas**, the expression will be treated as **one word**

Without inverted commas, Google will search for **all the words in the text**

Trick n°4: Always use small letters?



In Google, the use of **capital letters** has **no influence** on your research.
Use small letters, even for proper nouns.

You are looking for....
.....the Protocol on Firearms

Click on Google:

- ✓ " protocol on firearms "
- ✓ " Protocol on Firearms "
- ✓ " PROTOCOL ON FIREARMS "
- ✓ " PrOtOcOL ON FIREARMS "



Beware:

Certain research tools ([MSN](#) et [Yahoo!](#), for example), are sensitive to the use of **capital letters and small letters**.

Trick n°5: Be precise



Think of the **most precise and unique element** defining what you are looking for

You are looking for.....

... a DVD recorder (Band Sony), model **RDR-GX300**

Click on Google:

✓ rdr-gx300

Rather than:

✗ Dvd recorder

✗ Dvd recorder of Sony make, model **RDR-GX300**



You do not have **precise information** on what you are looking for?

- Carry out a **general research** (ex: DVD recorder);
- Find a **precise product** which you would like (model RDR-GX300);
- Carry out a **new research**, more precise (rdr-gx300).

Trick n°6: Enter several words and expressions



No time to browse amongst 1 000 000 results?
If you are looking for **several texts on one same subject**:

Type a **few precise words** which according to you will be included in **the pages searched**.

Do not type complete sentences or questions unless you are certain that they will appear as such on the pages you are looking for.

You are looking for....
...information on UNREC

Click on Google:

✓ UNREC mandate objective

Rather than:

✗ UNREC

✗ Information about the Regional Centre for peace and disarmament in Africa

You are looking for....
... statistics concerning the use of Internet in Togo?

Click on Google:

✓ Statistics on "the use of Internet" togo

Rather than:

✗ The use of Internet

✗ In what proportions is Internet used in Togo?

Trick n°7: Limit your research geographically



To **limit geographically** the extent of your results, type in regional information that will be included on the page that you are looking for:
A country; a province; a town; a regional code; the name of a street

You are looking for.....

...an ivorian restaurant in the street of Hedzranawé in Lome

Click on Google:

Ivorian restaurant hedzranawe

Rather than:

X Ivorian restaurant

X Information on the highest mountains in the world

You are looking for.....

..... A manufacturer of weapons in Lome

Click on Google:

✓ Arms manufacturer in Lome

Rather than:

X Arms manufacturers

Trick n°8: Find known texts



You are looking for a **precise text, the words of a song or a written document** of which you know at least some word or a sentence

Place this sentence in a sequence of words **in inverted commas in order to have access to the whole document.**

You are looking for....

...the words of the song **God is good** of Don Moe

Click on Google:

✓ "God is good all the time" don moe

You are looking for....

...the famous speech of **Martin Luther King?**

✓ "I have a dream"

Trick n°9: Find lists



Internet is full of **lists of all sorts**. To find these precious lists quickly, whilst in **Google**, **click on a few elements which you already know which** are surely included in the list.

You are looking for.....

...a list of UNREC's staff

Click on Google:

✓ "Ivor richard fung" "nathalie ocran"

Rather than:

✗ List of UNREC staff

Trick n°10: Enter part of the answer



When you are looking for **precise information**:

Imagine a simple sentence which will **give the answer**
Place the **known part** of this sentence in **inverted commas**

You are looking for....
.... the name of the biggest planet

Type in Google:

✓ "is the biggest planet"

You are looking for...
....the date of the beginning of the Korean war.

✓ "the korean war starte on"



But beware!

A lot of wrong information circulates on Internet! [Trick n° 11](#) will help you validate the information.

Trick n°11: Enter part of the answer



How to know if this information is correct?

Enter the **key information side by side** in Google to observe if other sites are displaying the same answers.

You are looking for....

... Verify the date of the beginning of **the Korean War (25 june 1950)**

Type in Google:

✓ "korean war" "25 june 1950"



According to Google, more than **500 websites share the same vision:**
it is therefore easier to consider this information as reliable.

However since several websites can display the same error, quickly browse through them to determine if indeed they are **reliable sources**.

These two results were taken from:

- Wikipedia
- The Ministry of National Defence

[Guerre de Corée - Wikipédia](#)

La **Guerre de Corée** de 1950 à 1953. La **Guerre de Corée** de 1950 à 1953. La date du **25 juin 1950**, choisie « fin mai [1950] [...] devant l'insistance de Kim ...

fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guerre_de_Corée - 163k - [En cache](#) - [Pages similaires](#)

[50ème anniversaire de la guerre de corée](#)

La **Guerre de Corée** mit aux prises cinq millions de Combattants. À l'aube du **25 Juin 1950**, les troupes Nord-coréennes enfoncèrent les lignes, ...

assoc.orange.fr/france-coree/histoire/50thann.htm - 60k - [En cache](#) - [Pages similaires](#)

[25 juin 1950 : début de la guerre de Corée](#)

600.000 soldats nord-coréens franchissent le 38e parallèle. La guerre fera plusieurs millions de morts.

www.herodote.net/histoire/evenement.php?jour=19500625 - 12k - [En cache](#) - [Pages similaires](#)

[Calendrier des activités - Anciens Combattants Canada](#)

... Détails : **25 juin 1950** - Début de la **guerre de Corée**. Site Web :

<http://www.vac-acc.gc.ca/general/sub.cfm?source=history/KoreaWar/valour> ...

www.vac-acc.gc.ca/general_f/sub.cfm?eventId=527&source=events - 19k - [En cache](#) - [Pages similaires](#)

[MDN/FC : Documentation : La guerre de Corée et la bataille de Kapyong](#)

À l'aube du dimanche **25 juin 1950**, une force d'invasion de la République ...

pénétrer en République de Corée (Corée du Sud) et déclencha la **guerre de Corée**.

www.forces.gc.ca/site/newsroom/view_news_f.asp?id=95 - 25k - [En cache](#) - [Pages similaires](#)



Now we are assured that 25 June 1950 is the exact date of the beginning of the Korean war!

Trick n°12: Use the symbol * to replace words



Trick n°10 showed how to find information quickly by imagining its answer.
But what do you do when **the answer is in the middle of the sentence?**

Imagine the sentence

Place this sentence in **inverted commas**

Replace the word or the number by **the symbol ***

You are looking for

.... the distance from the Earth to the Moon.

✓ **Once you have entered Google, type in:**
"the moon is * kilometres from the earth"

You are looking for

... the number of provinces and regions in Togo.

✓ **Once you have entered Google, type in:**
"Togo has * provinces and * regions"



Beware: the symbol * replaces only one word or number. To replace 2 words, use * *, for 3 words * * *, etc.

Trick n°13: Look for numbers in a precise interval



In Google,
Place ... between two numbers to include all the numbers
which are found in this interval.

You are looking for

... information on Toyota Camry between **1992 and 1996**
or weapons imported by France from **1976 to 2000**

Once you have entered Google, type in:

✓ "toyota camry" 1992...1996

You are looking for...

... statistics on electronic trading published between **2001**
and **2004**

Once you have entered Google, type in:

✓ statistics "electronic trading" 2001...2004

Trick n°14: Look for only one website



You are browsing on a Web site and you are looking for some information
on this site in particular?

Use the following vocabulary in Google:

The words that you are looking for site: and the site in which you are interested

You are looking for...

.... Information on the CAPPa project. (address of this site: **www.unrec.org**)

✓ Once you have entered Google, type in:
Cappa project site: unrec.org

Trick n°15: To rule out a website form a research



... what is written in general about the **Aeronautical bomber** on the Web:
"aeronautical bomber"

Note that several results have been drawn directly from site belonging to Bomber (the domain name **bomber.com** is part of the address):

The particular websites dedicated solely to the concept of Aeronautical bomber are of no interest to you.

Use the formula **-site**, followed by **bombardier.com** (the domain name that we wish to eliminate from the results without the www)

You are looking for.....

... what is generally written about the **Aeronautical bomber** on the Web:

Once you have entered Google, type in:



"aeronautical bomber" – site : bomber.com

Trick n°16: To find PowerPoint presentations



Even though, most of the results are Web pages, Google enables the user to limit **his/her results to a particular template**:
Word (.doc), Excel (.xls), Acrobat (.pdf), PowerPoint (.ppt)
PostScript (.ps), RTF (.rtf).

You wish to discover a specific domain of activity? Look for PowerPoint presentations only!

In Google, select the advanced research:

The image shows a screenshot of the Google Canada search interface. At the top, the Google logo is displayed with "Canada" underneath. Below the logo are navigation links: Web, Images, Groupes, Annuaire, Actualités, and Desktop. A search bar is present with a "Recherche avancée" link circled in red. Below the search bar, the "Recherche avancée" section is visible, featuring a "Google" logo and a "Conseils de recherche" link. The main search area includes several filters: "Pages contenant" with options "tous les mots suivants", "cette expression exacte", "au moins un des mots suivants", and "aucun des mots suivants". The search term "veille stratégique" internet is entered in the first field and circled in red. To the right, it shows "10 résultats" and a "Rechercher" button. Below this, the "Langue" filter is set to "Résultats pour les pages écrites en" with a dropdown menu showing "Toutes les langues". The "Format de fichier" filter is set to "Seulement" (circled in red) and "Microsoft Powerpoint (.ppt)" (circled in red). The "Date" filter is set to "Date indifférente". The "Emplacement" filter is set to "n'importe où dans la page". The "Domaines" filter is set to "Seulement" and includes a text input field for domain names, with the example "par exemple google.com, .org, .fr, et".

Trick n°17: To find images



You wish to find:

A picture of the **UN Secretary General**, the logo of **OXFAM GB**, an image of **Louis the 14th**.



Web Images Groupes Annuaire Actualités Desktop



Select the link **Images** of Google and type in what you are looking for:

Beware!

Several images on Web sites are protected by authors' rights. For their use, it is essential to contact the authors of these sites.

Trick n°18: Enter part of the answer



Use Google Maps to identify an address on a detailed map!
maps.google.com



Contrary to most of the maps that we find on Internet, Google Maps enable the user to:

Find an address, even though **only part of it has been entered**;

Find close businesses (ex: restaurants, shops)

Obtain a **very detailed itinerary** between two addresses.

Trick n°19: Let Google work for you!



Google can warn you by email when a new page on Internet tackles the subject you are interested in!

You can have access to the free service **Google Alerts**:

www.google.ca/alerts

Type in:

- **The terms you are looking for** (as if you are carrying out a regular research in Google)
- The **type**: Current issues & Web will give a maximum results
- The **frequency** with which Google will carry out the research and your email address (**Email**) ex: *jtatrabor@unrec.org*

Créer une Alerte Google
Entrez le sujet sur lequel vous souhaitez obtenir des informations.

Termes recherchés:

Type: **Peace and disarmament**

Fréquence ::

Email ::

Google s'engage à ne pas vendre et à ne pas communiquer votre adresse de messagerie.



In the example above, Google will carry out a daily research (**once a day**) to find **new pages** (Current issues and Web) where the expression "**peace and disarmament**" appears. When a new page is found, Google will inform me by email!

Trick n°20: How to find lost pages!



A website has disappeared in your Google search results
- **does not exist anymore**
or
- **does not contain the information you are looking for**
Use the link « **En cache** » of Google to have a view of the website as it was when Google last visited!

[La Toile du Québec - Le répertoire des sites web québécois](#)

... RechercheInternet.ca [Nouvelle fenêtre] Site offert par les Étudiants Bien Branchés des HEC, proposant 20 trucs et conseils faciles à utiliser pour mieux ...

www.toile.qc.ca/nouveautes/mj040227.htm - 39k [En cache](#) [Pages similaires](#)

[Technorati: Tag: searching](#) - [[Traduire cette page](#)]

... photo. Help for inexperienced web searchers. 7 hours ago www.rechercheinternet.ca
Des étudiants de HEC Montréal viennent de lancer le site Recherche... ..

www.technorati.com/tag/searching - 27k [En cache](#) [Pages similaires](#)



This function is very useful for the websites whose contents vary very often.

Trick n°21: Thematic research organizes your results



Unlike Google which presents its results in a linear way, Clusty (www.clusty.com) is a **thematic research** tool: it **organizes its results** according to **common themes**.

With Google, when you carry out your research in English about oil from the mammal seal ("seal oil"), the results that come out are often related to mechanics.

Indeed, "seal" and "oil" are terms which are often associated **to engines**.

How to get rid to these useless results?

Here are a **few results transmitted by Google for "seal oil"**. Note that **2 out of 4 results talk about mechanics** rather than "seal oil":

[Searching for Factor X in Whale and Seal Oil](#) - [[Traduire cette page](#)]

... This may have some connection with the effect of whale and **seal oil** on the ... **seal** blubber, a combination of **seal** blubber and cod liver **oil** and no **oil** ...

www.highnorth.no/Library/Other_Texts/se-fo-fa.htm - 5k - [En cache](#) - [Pages similaires](#)

[Find Dynamic Seals, seal, sealing, shaft seal, national seal oil ...](#) - [[Traduire cette page](#)]

Find Dynamic Seals fast using GlobalSpec's Product Finder. Dynamic seals include **oil** seals, hydraulic and pneumatic seals, exclusion seals, labyrinth seals, ...

mechanical-components.globalspec.com/

[LearnMore/Mechanical_Components/Seals/Dynamic_Seals](#) - 36k -

[En cache](#) - [Pages similaires](#)

[Nutrition Facts and Analysis for Agutuk, fish/berry with seal oil ...](#) - [[Traduire cette page](#)]

Nutrition Facts and Analysis for Agutuk, fish/berry with **seal oil** (Alaskan ice cream) (Alaska Native).

www.nutritiondata.com/facts-001-02s068a.html - 72k - [En cache](#) - [Pages similaires](#)

[Elliott Turbomachinery Company - LUBE & SEAL OIL CONSOLES](#) - [[Traduire cette page](#)]

... ~~SYSTEM PROTECTION WITH LUBE CONTROL AND SEAL OIL CONSOLES~~ ... such as **seal** water systems, buffer gas systems, contaminated **seal oil** drainer packages, ...

www.elliott-turbo.com/new/products_lube.html - 20k - [En cache](#) - [Pages similaires](#)

This is the same research carried out in Clusty:

Clusty

Home News Images Shopping Whopeers Jobs Customize

seal oil Cluster Advanced Preferences

Cluster by: Topics

seal oil clusters

- Omega 3 (36)**
- Rubber (26)
- Manufacturer Of Oil Seals (19)
- Rings, oil seals (20)
- Seal Oil Capsules (14)
- Mechanical seals (14)
- Kits (14)
- Replacement (12)
- China (8)
- Mineral Seal Oil (10)

more | all clusters

Tell us what you think.
clusty@clusty.com

Cluster **Omega 3** contains 36 documents.

Sponsored Results for omega 3

- [The Truth About Omega 3](#) What You Don't Know Can Hurt You! Latest Reliable Fish Oil Facts. TruthAboutFishOil.com
- [Premium Omega-3 - DHA/EPA](#) Pure, Deep-sea Virgin Salmon Oil from New Zealand. 1080mg/90 gelcaps www.cancerchoices.com

Search Results

- [Omega-3 seal oil Omega 3 Atlantic ocean seals Tesco Ent](#) ... the highest source of **omega-3** nutritional supplement, backed by a quality producer, this is it. **Seal oil** from Terra Nova brand ... is free of heavy metals. It's clean, pure and has no cholesterol. No ... tesco-shopping.com/terránovadrho.htm - [cache] - MSN Search, MSN, Wisenut
- [Omega 3 Seal Oil - Dr. Cosmas Ho](#) ... company produced the first edible **seal oil** for humans Dr. Ho is referred to as " the father of **seal oil** ." by health journals and the news media Newfoundland Health Foods Corp. JA Subsidiary of Terra Nova ... www.omega3-drho.com - [cache] - MSN Search, GigaBlast, MSN

Some themes appear on the left side of the screen. Since seal oil contains **omega-3**, the results of this category will unavoidably treat seal oil in its literary meaning rather than link it to mechanics.



The results that appeal to the mechanic in you would rather be under categories Rubber, Manufacturers Of Oil Seals, Rings, etc.

It is therefore advised to use the thematic research when your keywords can have several meanings.

Trick n°22: A new search boot: A9



The new search boot A9.com adds **very interesting options to your results in Google:**

- Possibility to consult research results and images simultaneously
- Research films and books
- Strategic information about sites (world ranking, for example)
- Research in blogs, news websites, etc.

A9 gives the following results:



A9 Search:

[Advanced Web Search](#)

Web Books Images
 Yellow Pages Reference Movies
 Blog Search Wikipedia

Web Results [\[full\]](#) [\[close\]](#)
Showing 1 - 10 of about 1,160,000

Ludwig van Beethoven
Article from The Grove Concise Dictionary of music with portrait and links. Includes information on symphonies, concerti, piano and chamber music, ...
<http://w3.rz-berlin.mpg.de/cmp/beethoven.html> - 10k Cached [\[see info\]](#)

Ludwig van Beethoven
Introduction and detailed account of the composer's life. Articles include his deafness, demeanor, daily routine, medical history, final days, and letters.
<http://www.lucare.com/immortal/> - 7k Cached [\[see info\]](#)

Beethoven.com
Beethoven.com is The World's Classical Radio Station with interactive LIVE! Radio and Free E-Mail accounts.

Image Results [\[full\]](#) [\[close\]](#)
Showing 1 - 20 of about 135,000

Trick n°23: Find similar websites



A website is of interest to you, is it possible to find similar websites? The search for similar pages in Google can help you! Select **advanced research**:

Type in the website address in the space « **Similar** ». (The site for job research www.unrec.org has been used in this example)

A screenshot of the Google Advanced Search interface. The search bar contains the text "veille stratégique" internet. The search results show "10 résultats". The interface includes various filters: "Pages contenant" (all, exact, at least one, none), "Langue" (All languages), "Format de fichier" (Only, Microsoft Powerpoint (.ppt)), "Date" (Date indifferent), "Emplacement" (Anywhere on the page), and "Domaines" (Only, par exemple google.com, .org, .fr, etc.). Several elements are circled in red: the search bar, the search button, the "Seulement" dropdown, and the "Microsoft Powerpoint (.ppt)" option.

Note that this function of Google is more efficient when you type in a web address which talks about a precise subject.

PRACTICAL EXERCISES

Exercise 1:

You are looking for information about « **Kalachnikovs** » which were produced between 1964 and 1973. What will you type in Google?

| | |
|---|--|
| a | " Kalachnikov " 1964...1973 |
| b | Kalachnikov 1964-73 |
| c | Kalachnikov 1964 1965 1966 1967 1968 1969 1970 1971 1972 1973 |

The correct answer is: **a**

Trick # 3 indicates that an exact expression (Kalachnikov) has to be placed in inverted commas. **Trick # 13** also indicates that ... between two numbers (1964 ...1973) will include all the numbers between those two intervals.

Exercise 2:

You are looking for a **list of arms manufacturers**. What will you type in Google?

| | |
|---|--|
| a | armscore |
| b | Who are the main manufacturers of weapons in South Africa? |
| c | "french museum" |
| d | "armscore" "berretafirm" |

The correct answer is: **d**

According to Trick # 9, the fastest way to find a list is to enter a few elements which will certainly be part of the list.

Exercise 3:

You have heard about a bill which intends to legalise the manufacturing of weapons in Togo. You wish to know more about the subject.

What will you type in Google?

| | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| a | Manufacturing of SALW |
| b | "manufacturing of salw" " bill" togo |
| c | What are the bills in togo ? |

| | |
|---|--------------|
| d | Bill on salw |
|---|--------------|

The correct answer is: **b**

According to **Trick # 6**, the best way to find general information about a given subject is to enter a few words and expressions which will be part of the researched pages.

Exercise 4:

You are looking for a jewellery shop in Lome. What will you type in Google?

| | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| a | Jewellery shop |
| b | "three-rivers jewellery shop" |
| c | Diamond ring gold carat in lome |
| d | Jewellery shop in lome |

The correct answer is: **d**

As seen in **Trick # 7**, to limit geographically the scope of your results, you have to enter in your research some regional information. In this case, **jewellery shop in Lome** will help limit the research to that region, thus eliminating the results from other towns or countries. **The answer b: "three-rivers jewellery shop" is too restrictive.**

Exercise 5:

You wish to insure your car and you are looking for of insurance companies in Togo.

You will use:

| | |
|---|---|
| a | A repertoire |
| b | A search boot |
| c | The maps from Google Maps |
| d | "museum of fine arts" "contemporary art museum" |

The correct answer is: a

The best option is to use a repertoire (ex: La Toile.com). Since it is organized in categories, a repertoire enables the user to have access rapidly to a list of websites in the same field. **(Trick #18)**. By browsing in "la Toile.com", you will obtain this list.

WEBOGRAPHY

A. Websites on Virus/ Trojan Horses/ Spywares

1. <http://www.assiste.com>
2. <http://www.secuser.com>
3. <http://www.securite.org>
4. <http://www.securiteinfo.com>
5. <http://abcdelasecurite.free.fr/>

B. Websites on vulnerabilities

6. <http://www.certa.ssi.gouv.fr>
7. <http://www.cert-ist.com>
8. www.cri.uhp-nancy.fr/secinfo/index.php?id_rub=7&id_ssrub=41
9. www.us-cert.gov
10. www.secunia.com
11. www.securityfocus.com
12. www.securitytracker.com
13. www.microsoft.com/france/technet/securite/
14. www.frsirt.com
15. www.secuser.com/communiqués/index.htm

C. Websites on security issues

16. www.fr.ixus.net
17. www.zataz.com
18. www.vulnerabilite.com
19. www.clusif.asso.fr
20. www.theregister.com/security/
21. blogs.technet.com/msrc/
22. www.sebsauvage.net/safehex.html
23. www.lesnouvelles.net
24. www.branchez-vous.com
25. www.secunews.org
26. www.tplpc.com/modules/news/article-cat-0017.html

D. Other interesting links

- A website with advices and guidelines: <http://gerardmelone.free.fr/IT/IT.html>
- ABC on security: <http://abcdelasecurite.free.fr>
- FAQ of forum fr.comp.securite.virus: <http://www.lacave.net/~jokeuse/usenet/faq-fcsv.html>
- A document on CERT: http://www.cert.org/tech_tips/home_networks.html
- Forums where you can come and ask your questions. **Please carry out a research on Google and these forums before asking your question (see chapter on "the secrecy of research on Internet").**
 - <http://www.commentcamarche.net/forum/>
 - Forum: aide-informatique.org : <http://aide-informatique.sebmaster66.org/portal.php>
 - <http://forum.hardware.fr>
 - <http://forum.clubic.com>
 - <http://forum.telecharger.com>
 - <http://www.forumschoixpc.com>
 - <http://www.posse-press.com/forum/>
 - <http://forums.zdnet.fr/>

LESSON 13

MODULE 7: ELABORATION OF PROJECTS AND RESOURCE MOBILIZATION FOR PRACTICAL DISARMAMENT AND PEACE-BUILDING IN WEST AFRICA

GOAL:

To build the capacity of trainees in the elaboration of projects, fund raising and resource management for practical disarmament and peace-building initiatives in West Africa

PEDAGOGICAL OBJECTIVE:

To equip the participants with techniques and methods in project and budget elaboration for resource mobilisation

LESSON 26: Développement de projets⁹¹

CONTENTS

- ◆ Project elaboration techniques
- ◆ Budget elaboration techniques

TRAINER

Mr Ivor Richard FUNG, Director, UNREC

LANGUAGE OF PRESENTATION: English and French

INTRODUCTION

A project formulation process requires the use of direct, straightforward and concrete view of the subject matter to be dealt with. The style should be voluntarily simple and concise in order to enable the potential donor to grasp the problem and the manner in which you intend to resolve it. Three styles are involved in a project formulation process. The first is what one can call prerequisites. The second is the actual elaboration of the proposal. And the third is budgeting.

1. PROJECT ELABORATION TECHNIQUES

1.1 Prerequisites

Prerequisites refer to the moment when the project drafter begins to identify the problem in his or her community. After the problem has been identified in the mind of the drafter, he or she must make sure that other efforts and activities of the same nature are not being initiated by another actor in order to make the project viable. This is what we call a review of existing projects or initiatives. Once you are certain that you will not be duplicating the project of others, it is imperative that you examine your personal and institutional capacity with the view of ensuring that you are capable of implementing that project in its entirety. This is what is often referred to as the institutional delivery capacity.

The next step after ascertaining that you have the necessary capacity to deliver on that project, it is

⁹¹ This title corresponds to Lesson 26 in the Training of Trainers' curriculum

advisable to think about potential partners who might undertake the implementation of the project. The identification of potential partners is indeed an important factor that may strengthen your ability to deliver. Increasingly also, many donors encourage institutions to pull together their comparative advantage so as to enrich and enhance the quality of the project. The last element that you consider under prerequisites is the ability of being able to sell your project to donors. This why it is recommendable that before you begin to elaborate a project, you should also begin to identify the potential donors.

1.2 Elaboration of proposal

Various elements are involved in the elaboration process. The most important of these elements are: the context, the problem, the objectives, the activities, the outputs, the beneficiaries, the implementation arrangements, the project evaluation and the timeframe.

1.2.1 Context

Under the context, you review the socio-political and security elements that underpin the society or community within which the project subject matter evolves. Practical disarmament and peace-building project contexts often deal with the security, disarmament, post-conflict, and crisis issues of the community. A well conceived context of a project prepares you to develop the problem that you intend to tackle.

1.2.2 Objectives

Objectives refer to the description of the situation which the project is setting out to address and to normalize.

1.2.3 Activities

Activities refer to the various concrete actions that the project would address in order to achieve the project object, thereby resolving the problem that has been stated. Practical disarmament and peace-building activities for example would reflect those actions that are intended to attain peace, security, stability and development.

1.2.3 Outputs

Project outputs include the tangible and concrete results of a given project activity. For instance, one of the CAPPa project output would be the curriculum that has been adopted by the experts. It would also be the database of CSOs that has been established in the context of the project.

1.2.4 Impact

A project impact refers to the effect, usually positive that, results from the implementation of the project. For instance, one of the impacts of the CAPPa project would be the improved knowledge of CSOs in West Africa on practical disarmament and peace-building aspects.

1.2.5 Beneficiaries

Beneficiaries are usually the people who will profit from the results of the project. The beneficiaries of the CAPPa project as an example are the CSOs of West Africa working in the area of peace, security, and disarmament whose capacities, the project intends to build.

1.2.6 Implementation arrangements

Implementation arrangements are the description of the measures, the institutional interactions by which the project will be executed. It is important that in setting out to implement a project, proper

arrangements be made so as to avoid improvisation which sometimes impacts negatively on the project.

1.2.7 Project evaluation and monitoring

It is important to describe, the tools and the frequency of an implementation in view of establishing the framework in which the project is being operated. Monitoring and evaluation requires that specific and inbuilt review measures be stated at the time of the conceptualisation of the project. There are two types of monitoring and evaluation mechanisms: one is internal and the other is external.

The internal monitoring and evaluation is usually undertaken by the project implementation institution. It involves a periodic substantive and operational review of the manner in which the project is progressing towards the attainment of the objectives that have been laid down.

External evaluation, on the other hand, involves bringing experts from outside to carry out an independent review of the operation of the project. Monitoring and evaluation activities are healthy management tools for strengthening the processes involved in a project implementation. Within the CAPP project, for example, Oxfam GB set up a monitoring and review mechanism consisting of biannual meetings of partners for the review of the manner in which the project is being executed.

1.2.8 Time frame

Timeframe refers to the scheduling of activities within the duration of the project. It is important to have a timeframe which enables the activities of the project to be programmed in a sequential manner. Timeframe is important because it serves as a disciplinary element which makes sure that activities do not stretch beyond the project duration.

2. BUDGET ELABORATION TECHNIQUES

Each project must be accompanied by a budget which most often is annexed to the proposal. A standard budget will comprise of elements such as: personnel, travel, communication, equipment, rental of premises, supplies, transportation/vehicle, media, printing, postage, maintenance of office equipment, maintenance of premises, vehicle fuel, miscellaneous, administrative charges/overhead.

Each of these is called a budget line which should reflect the amount to be allocated for the execution of the various project financial aspects. It is important when calculating the budget of a project to always bear in mind that the cost of personnel is not more than the cost of the activities themselves. Many donors accept personnel cost to be about one third of the cost of the entire project.

LESSON 14

MODULE 7: ELABORATION OF PROJECTS AND RESOURCE MOBILIZATION FOR PRACTICAL DISARMAMENT AND PEACE-BUILDING IN WEST AFRICA

GOAL:

To build the capacity of trainees in the elaboration of projects, fund raising and resource management for practical disarmament and peace-building initiatives in West Africa

PEDAGOGICAL OBJECTIVE:

To equip the participants with techniques and methods in project and budget elaboration for resource mobilisation

LESSON 27: Resource mobilisation⁹²

CONTENTS

- ◆ Strategies for resource mobilisation
- ◆ Typology of projects to be financed
- ◆ Donors, zones and sectors of interest and intervention

TRAINERS

Mr Ivor Richard FUNG, Director, UNREC.

LANGUAGE OF PRESENTATION: French

INTRODUCTION

Fundraising involves the mobilization of financial resources from donors for a specific purpose. Fundraising can be individually or institutionally oriented. During the past few decades, fundraising has assumed greater importance given in particular the emergence in many societies of CSOs, the objective of which is to promote development. Indeed, many NGOs and often public institutions and programmes depend on voluntary contributions from states, foundations and other institutions and even individuals. Fundraising has become a full-time activity of most individuals and institutions. As such, for it to be successful, it requires specific techniques and skills. In this lecture, we will focus on some of these techniques and skills including the profile of an efficient fundraiser, approaching donors, donors' project document requirements and the necessary partnership which increasingly has become a major requirement for many donors.

1. STRATEGIES FOR RESOURCE MOBILISATION

1.1 The Profile of an Efficient Fundraiser

An efficient fundraiser must be knowledgeable. Knowledgeability involves a mastery of the subject matter for which funds are being sought, the problem of the environment within which the problem will be addressed and the history of the beneficiaries of the activity for which funds are being sought.

⁹² This title corresponds to Lesson 27 in the Training of Trainers' Curriculum

An efficient fundraiser should possess “charm”. A fundraiser with an outgoing personality, jovial and social mixer may easily create intimacy and the necessary friendship that contributes to attracting the donor. These to a large extent are part of public relations skills and personal tact that are known to have constituted the personality of most successful fundraisers. They are like the skills of a salesman who knows how to market his or her merchandise.

An efficient fundraiser must also be patient. Bureaucratic delays in many donors’ bureaucracies sometimes are so lengthy and complex that it is easy to lose patience and even sometimes to become frustrated. Some fundraising processes however take several months and years to come to fruition.

Very often, donors want to have a sense of trust. They want to feel that the person coming to them for money is someone credible, someone they can trust in the management of the funds to be put at his or her disposal. Credibility and trustworthiness are very important attributes that each fundraiser should cultivate. A personal disposition that would instill feelings of friendship in a donor is also useful. This is the reason why it is useful to maintain some degree of friendship like ability with contact points in the donor bureaucracy.

Last but not the least, the profile of an efficient fundraiser must point to the maintenance of regular contacts and availability. Fundraising is a business that has to be sustained all times. Very often, donors may want to contact you following their own priorities which do not necessarily take into account your own time table. Maintaining a profile that takes into account the foregoing characteristics is already an important step towards approaching donors.

2. TYPOLOGY OF PROJECTS TO BE FINANCED

There are essentially two categories of requirements: the project document proposal and the contract.

2.1 Format of Project Document Proposal

Project document proposal formats vary from one donor to the other. While some donors may give money without paying attention to the format of the document, important elements that go into the document no matter the format include most importantly: a description of the problem, the objectives, an output of the project, the various project activities and the methodological approaches describing the manner in which the activities will be executed. Institutional frameworks referring to the various partners that will take part in the project execution are also important. In fact, many donors encourage partnership particularly with CSOs in the execution of many projects. Project execution timeframe, address of the institution executing the project and references to the project execution history are recommended items to be included in the proposal. In a nut shell, while the proposal focuses on the substance of the project, there is another document that governs the relationship between the donor and their recipient institutions.

2.2 Contract

Contracts have several legal forms. While some donors prefer letters of agreement, others require a memorandum of understanding or a simple conventional grant agreement. No matter the form, these documents formalize and bind in legal terms the donor and the recipient institutions and the execution modalities of results.

3. DONORS, ZONES AND SECTORS OF INTEREST AND INTERVENTION

A number of elements are useful in the approach to donors. These elements include most importantly the establishment of a donors' database, the maintenance of a donor's fiscal year, knowledge of donor's funding structure, donor's funding history and practices, and as well as personal innovation and creativity.

3.1 Establishing a donors' database

This involves maintaining and updating contact addresses of donors. It is also important to include in that database structure a contact person in the donor institution with whom professional relationship and even friendly relationship may be built. Another element in the structure of the database is the indication of the areas in which the donor is interested. Some donors give money by considering the theme or the subject matter such as practical disarmament, capacity building of CSOs or merely by geographical consideration in terms of the country to which the money will be sent. This latter consideration often relates to the political practices of the donor. Some donors would like to know that the money will be sent in a country where there is political openness in the sense of democratisation. Once a database is established comprising the elements above which are not exhaustive, it is easy for a fundraiser to select the donors he or she wants to approach with a specific project proposal.

3.2 Donor's Fiscal Year

Donors have varying fiscal years. The knowledge of the donor's fiscal year allows you to know at what specific point to submit a funding proposal to the donor. Many donors recommend that proposals be submitted before the end of the fiscal year when resources are being allocated for the following year. This way, they have the opportunity to study the proposal and recommend it sufficiently in time for resource allocation for the next fiscal year.

3.3 Donor's Funding Structures

Each donor has its internal funding structures. Generally, these structures are divided into two categories:

- the development oriented institutions such as ministries of cooperation and similar outfits (e.g. USAID, GTZ etc. usually provides funds for the promotion of development and related projects in the developing world);
- the second category is the ministries of foreign affairs which provide support for political and human rights related activities. In other donor countries, ministries of defence particularly at the bilateral level also provide direct financial assistance. .

It is important to know that in terms of the size of funds, the first category of institutions is more generous and is known to provide funds in some cases up to hundreds of millions of US dollars while the second category is usually limited in funds. One could in many donor countries add a third category of independent funding agencies such as foundations and other well endowed governmental and non-governmental institutions where direct funding or indirect funding in the form of partnership and technical assistance may be obtained. Research institutions such as universities may be classified under this category with the specificity that their area of concentration in most cases is research.

3.4 Donor's Funding History and Practices

It helps to know that this or that donor was in the past interested in one particular line of projects or has supported particular organizations. In most cases, it is beneficial to bring to the attention of your

contact person in the donor country useful aspects of his or her country funding practices and relate this of course to their application.

3.5 Innovation and Creativity

Innovation and creativity relate to the manner in which the proposal has been formulated. It relates also to the content and substance of the proposal. Many donors want to chart new grounds. This entails risk taking but taking risks to solve a problem through new approaches can sometimes be productive. What is important in such cases is to make sure that the management elements of the funds are strong enough to guarantee credibility and a sense of money well spent. While all these elements for approaching donors are essential in guaranteeing tangible results, there are other requirements that are also essential in ensuring that the subject matter for which funds are being sought is well packaged. Furthermore, since funding matters are delicate in nature, it is useful to pay attention to the donors' project document requirements, some of which are legally binding in character.

3.6 Partnership

Any entity including governments, inter-governmental organizations, NGOs and others may go to donors for funds. However, as stated in part two above, partnership among these entities in the execution of a specific project is encouraged and in fact is attractive to many donors. One of the significance of partnership is to increase coordination and avoid duplication of efforts, particularly at a time when many actors scramble for resources for activities that are sometimes similar to each other. Friendship also increases chances of cooperative approaches to common issues. In fact, it has been empirically demonstrated that when many actors come together, the search for solutions to problems is more comprehensive in nature and solid in character.

CONCLUSION

Fundraising should not be perceived as an activity that borders upon opportunism. Although many have joked that fundraisers are international beggars, fundraising is an art that requires skills, synonymous to the skills of a good merchant who has a good project to sell. Fundraising requires specific techniques such as those reviewed in this paper. It is important however to caution that these are simple guidelines, for as seen in part one of the paper, the profile of an efficient fundraiser reflects characteristics most of which tell more about personality and the social and moral disposition of the person involved in this enterprise.

LESSON 15

MODULE 8: IMPLEMENTATION, FOLLOW-UP AND EVALUATION OF THE TRAINING PROGRAMME

GOAL:

To follow up on capacity building initiatives in practical disarmament and peace-building in West Africa

PEDAGOGICAL OBJECTIVE

To ensure the replication of the training

LESSON 29: Implementing the training programme in West Africa⁹³

CONTENTS

- ◆ Identification of training needs and targets
- ◆ Human and material resources
- ◆ Adaptability of the lessons
- ◆ Tools for replication
- ◆ Elaboration of a plan of action

TRAINER:

Mr Thierry ZANG, Programme Manager, UNREC.

LANGUAGE OF PRESENTATION: French

INTRODUCTION

The specific objectives of this lesson are to:

- Examine the content of national training replication plans;
- Analyze the methodology and practical feasibility of these plans;
- To agree on the structuring of the national replication plan.

The methodology applied is based on the three steps hereafter:

- Group work: Practical exercise;
- Discussion in plenary sessions;
- General synthesis.

1. IDENTIFICATION OF TRAINING NEEDS AND TARGETS

To facilitate the identification of these needs, practical exercises aiming at evaluating the cognitive, organisational and physical capacities will be carried out around the following key questions:

- At the end of this training, do you feel you have learnt enough topics to be able to teach others what will help enhance local and national leadership, knowledge and skills?

⁹³ This title corresponds to Lesson 29 in the Training of Trainers' Curriculum

- Do you have sufficient human and material resources to replicate this training at local and national levels? If not, what will you require?
- What plan of action should you follow in seeking to replicate this training?

The answers to these questions could reveal the needs for training in terms of contents such as the definition of SALW, the problematic of the proliferation of SALW, the control of SALW, practical disarmament, conflict prevention, management and resolution, national legislation and sub-regional instruments on SALW, project elaboration, resource mobilization, etc.

The target aimed by the replication will include primarily the grassroots communities, the members of CSOs working in the field of peace, SALW and related subjects, the Members of the National Commissions, the members of Parliament, women's associations, youth groups, religious confessions and other relevant socio-professional categories.

2. HUMAN AND MATERIAL RESOURCES

2.1 Human resources: trainers, resource persons, pilot trainers (civilians or military)

2.2 Pedagogical tools: Training Curriculum, books, articles, posters, films, photos.

3. ADAPTABILITY OF THE LESSONS

According to the context of each country, the replication can insist on the political and security situation of the country, the actors involved in armed violence and the victims, the types of weapons used, the national mechanisms of conflict prevention and fight against SALW, the action of the NGOs besides the government, the development of projects and resource mobilization, etc.

4. TOOLS FOR REPLICATION

It could well be organized through an internal workshop or a workshop bringing together several associations, a village meeting, the distribution and reading of the training manual, radio and/or TV shows, newspaper articles, etc

5. ELABORATION OF A PLAN OF ACTION

One can develop a plan of action structured in the following way: Context and justification; Objectives; Strategy of implementation; Framework of results; Work Plan; Management; Provisional budget.

5.1 Context and justification

One can consider the following three principal issues, namely, the fact that several CSOs are interested by issues related to peace and disarmament, the fact that CSOs have a deficit of precise knowledge, and finally the need to train them.

5.2 Objectives

To be in line with the momentum of the replication of the training workshop on practical disarmament and peace-building, a precise objective can be: To train X number of people.

5.3 Implementation strategy

It can consist of:

- Organization of X number of regional workshops
- Organisation of a national workshop

5.4 Framework of results

Based on the CAPPA project results, the results can be:

- X number of regional and national workshops organized
- X number of people trained
- One training document available

5.5 Work Plan

This will consist of a synoptic table presenting:

- The workshop (place and period)
- The estimated cost

5.6 Management

This aspect will outline precisely issues such as: X numbers of CSOs are in charge of the practical implementation; X institution ensures the political leadership; the follow-up and evaluation of the activities and the results of the implementation will be carried out this way.

5.7 Provisional Budget

It shows the total cost of the project and the main lines of expenditure envisaged.

CONCLUSION

The whole process can be summarized as follows:

- Analyse your context and proceed as follows;
- Choose the lessons to be taught in the training curriculum;
- Determine the selection criteria of the participants for training at the local or national level;
- Select the resource persons to deliver the training;
- Choose the support documents to be distributed to the participants;
- Choose the location for the training;
- Choose the training timeframe;
- Choose the adequate teaching aids;
- Set up a reporting process for UNREC.

LESSON 16

MODULE 8: IMPLEMENTATION, FOLLOW-UP AND EVALUATION OF THE TRAINING PROGRAMME

GOAL:

To follow up on capacity building initiatives in practical disarmament and peace-building in West Africa

PEDAGOGICAL OBJECTIVE/

To ensure the replication of the training

LESSON 30: Follow up and evaluation of the training in West Africa⁹⁴

CONTENTS

- ◆ Follow-up mechanisms at the local and national levels (indicators)
- ◆ Evaluation of results and impacts

TRAINER

Mr Baffour Dokyi AMOA, President of WAANSA.

LANGUAGE OF PRESENTATION: English

1. FOLLOW UP MECHANISMS AT THE LOCAL AND NATIONAL LEVELS (Indicators)

1.1 The first steps to take

The important questions to be asked are the following:

- To whom or to which body will you report to on your return home about the UNREC training?
- What report are you going to make?
- What recommendations are you going to make in your report?
- Will your recommendations include seeking permission to replicate this training on any form?
- Who or which body has the authority to approve or reject your recommendation?
- Do you need support from UNREC or WAANSA to assure a positive response to your recommendations?
- If your recommendation to replicate this training is approved, what level of training do you envisage: local or national?
- Will you plan the training alone or a committee will be appointed to help you plan the training?

Once these issues have been addressed, your training implementation plan can then be put together by you or the planning committee.

1.2 Defending your training plan

⁹⁴ This title corresponds to Lesson 30 in the Training of Trainers' curriculum

This concept implies that you have to have strategic indicators which will allow you to convince others and partners of the relevance of your project. The questions below can help identify the relevant indicators:

- What indicator (s) will you use to show that the training will be beneficial to a local community?
- What indicator (s) will you use to show that the training will be beneficial to a national network?
- What will tell you or the planning committee that the training will impact your organization, network or community?

This concept implies that you have to indicate to others in few words how you think you can guarantee that the action you intend to take or the activities you wish to do will prove useful, helpful and impactful. A good indicator can be either qualitative or quantitative.

1.3 Number of persons to be trained

One can determine the number by resorting to the following strategies:

- Number of organizational staff and member bodies selected as participants of the training;
- Number of member organizations expected to nominate a participant;
- Number of geographical areas and communities to be covered by the trainees at the end of the training.

With regards to the number of participants, here are some examples of quantitative indicators:

- 20 participants will be drawn from 10 communities in 3 districts in the southern part of the country. (Local training)
- 20 participants will be drawn from 10 NGOs affiliated to the national network with sizeable membership working for peace and security. (National level training)

2. EVALUATION OF RESULTS AND IMPACTS

2.1 Evaluation of the training

A series of questions will help evaluate the training?

- What are some of the pertinent questions you will ask when evaluating your training programme with a view to assessing its impact over time?
- What was your expectation in training the participants?
- What were you seeking to achieve with the training?
- What did the participants say at the end of the training?
- Did what was said meet your expectations?

2.2 Lessons learnt

To determine the lessons learnt from the activity, some questions can prove useful:

- What lesson (s) can you draw by comparing your expectations with participants' assessment of the training?
- What did you learn in terms of strengths and weaknesses of the planning, implementation and content of the training?
- What gaps did you identify after the training in content, organization and training objectives?

- How do you rate your resource persons and their facilitation skills and inputs?
- What will you do different giving another chance?

2.3 Impact

Other questions can help measure the impact of your activity.

- How did the training impact on the participants?
- How did the participants impact their organizational work?
- What has been the demand for the training since the participants went back to the field?
- How did the participants help their organizations impact services to the community?
- What changes were observed over the period following the training? (Over a period of two or more years)

SYNOPSIS OF TRAINERS

1. Mr Napoleon ABDULAI

Mr Napoleon Abdulai is the Chief Technical Advisor for security sector reform, UNDP Liberia. Previously, he worked as a senior information analyst at the Organisation of African Unity, now the African Union, in Ethiopia. He also served as an intervention manager at the African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) in Durban, South Africa.

Mr Abdulai also worked as the Africa Programme Manager at the London based conflict resolution NGO, International Alert.

His published works include: Introduction to small arms, (2003), Genocide in Rwanda (1994) and Ghana: Kume-Preko Demonstrations (1995)

He holds a Masters degree in International Law and Social History.

2. Mr Cyriaque AGNEKETHOM

Doctor in Political Science (University of Montesquieu, Bordeaux IV) and Head of the Small arms Unit of the ECOWAS Commission (Commission of the Economic Community of West African States).

Mr Agnekethom served from 1999 to 2005 as a Senior Researcher and Programmes Coordinator at the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa (UNREC). While at UNREC, he conducted successive researches on the problem of SALW, most notably a research entitled: "Weapons Routes and caches in Africa" (2001). He also served as a trainer on the Capacity Building Programme of armed and security forces in the control of small arms and light weapons in the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes region ("Clearing House" Project, 2001) and Central Africa (2003). He served from 2002 to 2004 as the Rapporteur of the UN Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa.

Mr Agnekethom was a lecturer at the University of Lome (2002-2004) and at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Relations (2004) in Ouagadougou where he taught the course entitled "The problem of armed conflict in Africa" and "Collective security and Peace operations".

3. Professor Kossi AGOKLA

Mr Agokla served as an international civil servant for the former OAU, ECOWAS and the UEMOA Commission. He has also occupied high ranking positions within the Togolese Administration in particular as the Secretary General of Ministerial departments and more recently in the capacity of Advisor to the Prime Minister in charge of institutional reforms.

Mr Agokla is an academician, and he is currently the Project Coordinator of ASSEREP-Togo (African Security Sector Reform Programme/ Togo) at UNREC.

4. Mr Baffour D. AMOA

Mr Amoa, a Ghanaian by birth, is currently the President of the West African Action Network on Small Arms (WAANSA). He is also the current President of the Africa Forum on Small Arms (AFoNSA).

He holds a Post-graduate Diploma in Business Administration (PGBDA) (1990) and a Master of Business Administration (MBA) degree (1991) both from the University of Birmingham, U.K. He has also received training in Theology at the Centre Universitaire d'Etudes Oecumeniques, University of Geneva, Switzerland (1976). He studied French at L'Accueil Fraternel, Le Chambon-sur-Lignon, France (1979). He also holds a Diploma in Accounting, University of Ghana, Legon (1974).

Mr Amoa has several years of experience working with non-governmental organizations. As an international consultant, he has rendered services to a number of local and international organizations. He has undertaken several speaking engagements at many august gatherings and including some at the United Nations.

5. M. Emmanuel Habuka BOMBANDE

Mr Bombande is a co-founder of the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) and the current Executive Director. He is a peacebuilding practitioner, international trainer in conflict Mitigation and Prevention across Africa and beyond with a strong background in conflict analysis. Mr Bombande has been a lead mediator in many community based mediation efforts in West Africa. Among major international organizations, he has facilitated several training courses for CARITAS International. He also teaches various peace-building courses in different institutions of high learning and peace-building practice such as the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (Accra-Ghana) and the Folke Bernadotte Academy (Sando-Sweden).

Mr Bombande holds an M.A. in Conflict Transformation from the Eastern Mennonite University (Virginia-USA) and a B.A. in Social Science from the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Ghana. His working languages are English and French and he speaks Hausa and several other Ghanaian languages.

6. M. Eucher EKLU-KOEVANU

Mr Eklu-Koevanu, from Togo, is a jurist by profession. He is currently the Human Rights Officer at the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights in Togo. He lectures on Public Law at the University of Lome since 2004.

Mr Eklu-Koevanu served as a Researcher at the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa and also worked as a consultant for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

7. Dr Ivor Richard FUNG

Dr Fung, Cameroonian by birth, is a PhD holder in Political Science. He has served with the United Nations and its agencies in various capacities since 1988.

Specifically, he has held the following positions: Director, United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa, UN/DDA (1998 to present); Director of PCASED (1999-2001); Regional Manager for Governance and Peace Building, UNDP (1996-1998); Political Affairs Officer, UN/DPA (1990-1995); Research Associate, UN/DDA (1988-1990); Executive Assistant to the President of the International Peace Academy (1990).

He represented the UN to the peace processes in Mali and Niger (1995-1997) where he developed the DD&R project for Mali for the demobilization, disarmament and reintegration of over 12,000 ex-combatants into civilian life, and assisted in the integration of 2,500 ex-combatants into the uniformed forces of Mali. He planned and supervised the destruction of some 3,000 small arms collected from the Tuareg rebels in Northern Mali (1996 Flame of Peace), and the destruction of 17,000 small arms and light weapons and about 20 million rounds of ammunition following the end of the civil war in Liberia (1999). He also supervised the destruction of 2,500 small arms and light weapons in the context of the Tuareg rebellion in Niger (2000). He participated in the peace talks on Sierra Leone which led to the signing of the Lome Peace Accord in 1999, and the peace talks on Côte d'Ivoire (2002-2004).

He played a key role in the conceptualization and the implementation of the ECOWAS Moratorium on light weapons (1998-2003).

8. Dr Kokou Folly Lolowou HETCHELI

Dr Hetcheli, from Togo, is a lecturer at the University of Lome, Togo and a Programme Manager on "conflict prevention" at WANEP-Togo.

He has participated in several international and sub-regional conferences and fora on issues related to peace-building, conflict prevention, management and resolution in Africa. Dr Hetcheli is currently conducting research on the following topics "rebellions in contemporary Africa: from rational to irrational" and "State mismanagement and the crisis in Togo: towards "another management" of the State.

Dr Hetcheli holds a PhD in Political Science, Sociology and Educational Sciences at the University of Munster (Germany). He has a good command of French, German and English.

9. Mr Jonathan SANDY

Jonathan P.J Sandy is currently the Programme Manager and Chief Technical Advisor (CTA) of the ECOWAS Small Arms Control Programme (ECOSAP), based in Bamako, Mali. He was formally Chief of Staff (COS) in the Office of the President (National Security Secretariat/Office), Sierra Leone. Principal Facilitator of the Sierra Leone Security Sector Reform Programme, including Small Arms Control and Armed Violence Reduction in post-conflict Sierra Leone.

Head of UNDP Governance Reform Programme Management, Governance Advisor- Electoral and Political Party Reforms, Local Governance and Decentralisation, Justice Sector Reforms (JSSR), Capacity Building of Civil Society Organizations within the context of Peace Consolidation in Sierra Leone (2005 – 2006). Member of the OECD/ DAC Critical Review Expert Panel on Armed Violence Reduction and Development; and the African Security Sector Reform Network (ASSN).

Mr Sandy holds a Masters Degree in Public Policy and Management from the University of Manchester, United Kingdom, with a focus on Economic dimension of Conflict Prevention and poverty reduction in West Africa. He also received a Bachelors of Science (with Honours) in Economics, from the University of Sierra Leone, Fourah Bay College. He is currently a registered PHD research fellow with the Institute for Development Policy and Management (IDPM), University of Manchester. The topic of his research is "Examining the Challenges to Higher Level Management of Security Sector Reform (SSR) in Africa.

Mr Sandy is an experienced strategist in programming, resource mobilization and advocacy. He is familiar with Security Sector Reform in Guyana, Jamaica, the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), transnational crime and security environment. He has considerable knowledge of the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF), the African Union Defence and Security Policy, the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention and Resolution Mechanisms; the Mano River Union(5th Protocol on Joint Border Security and Confidence Building; the Pact on Good Neighborhood, Stability and Solidarity between the States and the Peoples of the Mano River Union.

10. M. Pamphile SEBAHARA

Mr Sebahara is a Belgian researcher and an international consultant. He is currently a Senior Researcher with the international non governmental organization GRIP (Groupe de Recherche et d'Information sur la Paix et la Sécurité).

Mr Sebahara holds an Advanced Post-graduate Diploma and a BA in Sociology.

At the request of the Parliamentarians Forum on SALW, Mr Sebahara conceptualised and developed a manual on strengthening parliamentary control on SALW in Africa. He contributes in the evaluation of programmes and tools for cooperation between the EU and the ACP States. He was actively involved in the development and coordination of an Observatory for conflict and crisis management in Central Africa. He has a good knowledge of theoretical and practical issues related to democratic governance and institutional development in Francophone Africa.

He speaks fluent French, English, Swahili and Kinyarwanda.

11. M. Jérôme TATRABOR

Mr Tatrabor, from Togo, is an IT professional with extensive experience in database driven web applications, Microsoft Office applications and Macromedia web design and graphics software with proven success in managing multi e-projects for governmental institutions, private businesses as well as with the United Nations.

He holds diplomas in Computer Network engineering and administration Science Institute, in Electronic Technology and in Oracle Database administration with proven skills in intranet and internet database designing and development.

As IT & Logistics Officer at UNREC, he has developed the first online Small Arms and Light Weapons database system in Africa, entitled, Small Arms and Light Weapons Register for Africa (SALWRA) within the framework of the project entitled Small Arms Transparency and Control Regime in Africa (SATCRA). He also designed UNREC's first interactive website (www.unrec.org), which consists of an online debate system, the African disarmament News, which provides daily news on peace and disarmament issues in Africa and a newsletter system.

Member of the "Agreement of Specialists in Communication and Information Technologies", Mr Tatrabor is fluent in French and English.

12. M. Thierry ZANG

Mr Zang, from Gabon holds a Master Degree in International Relations and Strategic Studies and an Advanced Post-graduate Diploma in Disarmament and Arms control. In 2002, he was an intern-researcher at the French Ministry of Defense and served at the Foundation for Strategic Research in Paris (FRS). He also attended a practical training course on the French new method of operational planning called "MARS" in 2000 at the Institut des Hautes Etudes de Defense Nationale (IHEDN) and the College of Defence in Paris.

Since 1999, he served as a research associate at the Centre for Defense Research and Diplomacy in the Contemporary World of the University of Paris III - Sorbonne Nouvelle. In 1998, he served as an intern-researcher at the Department of International Organizations within the Gabonese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

From 2003, Mr Zang worked at the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa as an Associate Expert and as Program Manager and serves as the Officer-in-charge in the absence of the Director. He provides assistance to the Director in the overall management of operations and projects that UNREC implements in the areas of peace, security and disarmament in Africa.