



THE
CARTER CENTER
OF EMORY UNIVERSITY

**Report of the Mid-Year Meeting of the
International Negotiation Network**

*September 8-9, 1992
Dakar, Senegal*



Conflict Resolution Program

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International Negotiation Network**

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**CONFLICT RESOLUTION PROGRAM
THE CARTER CENTER OF EMORY UNIVERSITY
ONE COPENHILL
ATLANTA, GA 30307**

SUMMARY

The mid-year meeting of the International Negotiation Network (INN) held in Dakar, Senegal September 8 and 9 served a dual function. The first day of meetings brought together members of the Council, Core Group, and Secretariat to evaluate ongoing INN initiatives and to set an agenda for future activities, including the February 1993 consultation to be held in Atlanta. On the second day, representatives from a few key African non-governmental organizations were invited to come to Dakar to talk about their role in conflict resolution and to help assess the role that the INN might play in assisting them.

The idea of a mid-year meeting was initially conceived during the January 1992 Consultation that took place at The Carter Center in Atlanta. Because many of the conflicts that the INN has addressed in the past few years have been in Africa (e.g., Ethiopia, Liberia, Sudan), participants at the Consultation felt that the INN should have a stronger presence in Africa and hold a regional meeting there. Participants at the consultation requested a smaller meeting in which only regional conflicts would be discussed. Attending the meeting were Council members Jimmy Carter, Olusegun Obasanjo, Lisbet Palme, and Marie-Angélique Savané; Core Group and Secretariat members Kumar Rupesinghe, Dayle Spencer, William Spencer, and Vamik Volkan; Conflict Resolution Program Associate Director Joyce Neu. We were joined by UNHCR representative Maxime Zollner de Medeiros and ECOWAS Executive Secretary Abass Bundu as well as the following representatives from African NGOs:

- Jean-Pierre Tshipamba Dikamba, United Volunteers for Progress and Development (Kinshasa)
- Mamadou Diouf, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) (Dakar)
- Buana Kabué, Zaire League for Human Rights (Kinshasa)
- Ngoy Mulunda, All African Conference of Churches (Lomé)
- Mazide Ndiaye, Forum for African Voluntary Development Organizations (Dakar)
- Raymond Sock, African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies (Banjul)
- Fatoumata Sow, Council of Non-Governmental Organizations for Development (Dakar)
- Moriba Touré, CODESRIA (Dakar)

Highlights of the meeting included setting an agenda for the INN that included supporting the African Council of Elders consisting of former heads of state, supporting democratization in Africa, convening regional meetings, presenting strategies for change and prevention of conflict, providing analysis of conflicts, and working with the media to target conflict areas.

With the assistance of representatives from African NGOs, several emerging conflicts were pinpointed as in critical stages. These are the Tuareg conflict in Niger and Mali, and ethnic and governance problems in South Africa, Togo, and Zaire. At the February Consultation in Atlanta, one or more of these conflicts will be spotlighted.

The representatives from the NGOs voiced needs at the grassroots level, at the mid-level, and at the level of heads of state. At the grassroots level, the needs included workshops for NGOs in mediation, awareness building about conflict resolution, providing a bridge between networks in the West and in Africa, assistance in peace building, forums on governance, and strengthening institutional capacity. At the mid-level, participants expressed a desire to see the teaching of government and human rights and responsibilities in secondary and tertiary institutions; the support for a free media; and the encouragement of academics and others to take a role in speaking out and providing leadership. Finally, at the level of heads of state, there is a need to reinforce the positive role of NGOs in their countries, to give multi-party democracy a chance, and to be generous in encouraging elections victors to be lenient with the losers/former leaders.

Two points surfaced several times during the meeting: one, that African NGOs have little access to information, and two, that channels of communication are limited. The INN will attempt to provide more access to information through the inclusion of over 150 African NGOs in its database. This means that they will receive regular INN reports, publications, and newsletters and that they can contribute information to the INN to be shared among its 1200 affiliates. The INN, through media events in conjunction with the release of the State of the World Conflict Report this November, also hopes to focus media attention on some of the conflicts discussed in Dakar, thereby opening another channel of communication.

The Dakar meeting provided a small, comfortable environment in which representatives from African NGOs had the opportunity to voice their concerns to the Council and Core Group. The Council and Core Group were thus given the chance to learn, firsthand, about the experiences of NGOs working in countries where governments often view the NGOs as the opposition and where resources are extremely limited.



from left: Bill Spencer, Fatoumata Sow, Raymond Sock, John Hardman, Jean-Pierre Tshipamba Dikamba, Ngoy Mulunda, Vamik Volkan, Dayle Spencer, Jimmy Carter, Olusegun Obasanjo.



from top: Ngoy Mulunda, Vamik Volkan, Dayle Spencer, and Marie-Angélique Savané, chair of the day's meeting.

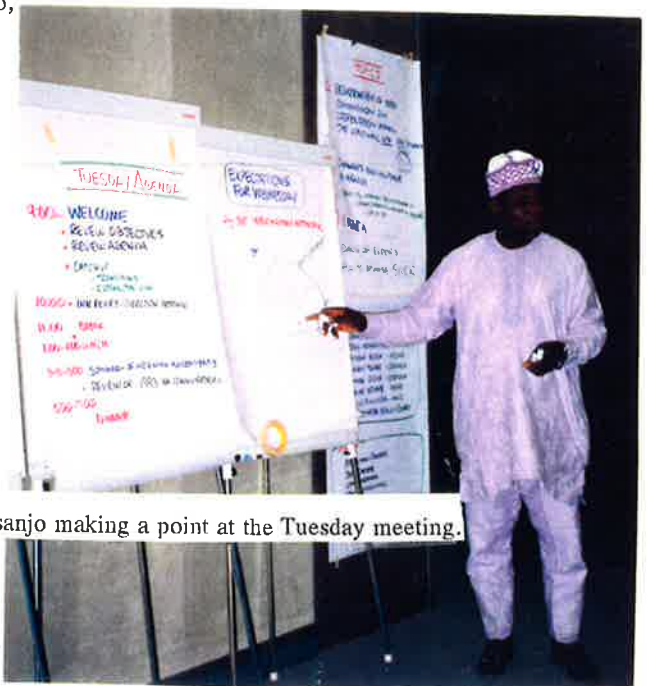


Photos: Joyce Neu

standing from left: Maxime Zollner de Medeiros, Moriba Touré, Abass Bundu, Mazide NDiaye, Ngoy Mulunda, Rosalynn Carter, Jimmy Carter, Buana Kabué, Olusegun Obasanjo, Vamik Volkan, Fatoumata Sow, Dayle Spencer, Lisbet Palme, Bill Spencer. Front row: Marie-Angélique Savané, Raymond Sock, Mamadou Diouf, Jean-Pierre Tshipamba Dikamba.



Dayle Spencer, Lisbet Palme, and Marie-Angélique Savané after dinner in the hotel's poolside restaurant.



Olusegun Obasanjo making a point at the Tuesday meeting.

PRIVATE MEETING OF THE INN COUNCIL, CORE GROUP, SECRETARIAT, AND STAFF

September 8, 1992

Participating in this meeting were Council members Jimmy Carter, Olusegun Obasanjo, Lisbet Palme, Marie-Angélique Savané; Core Group and Secretariat members Kumar Rupesinghe, Dayle Spencer, William Spencer, Vamik Volkan; and Conflict Resolution Program Associate Director Joyce Neu. Rosalynn Carter and John Hardman, Associate Executive Director of The Carter Center, attended as guests. The agenda for the day included a review of INN members' activities and the role of the INN in conflict resolution.

INN Council and Core Group Activity Updates

Beginning the review of INN members' activities, *Marie-Angélique Savané*, who has recently moved from Geneva to Dakar, said that she has been appointed team leader for the UN Fund for Population's 16 regional advisors for West and South Africa to provide a coherent response to development issues. She said that she felt that the April trip to Liberia undertaken by her, Lisbet Palme, Dayle Spencer and Susan Palmer had been productive and had increased the viability of the INN.

Lisbet Palme reaffirmed Marie-Angélique's comments about the value of the April trip to Liberia. She remains involved with UNICEF and children caught in war. UNICEF has been fundraising for Somalia and has worked in conjunction with Swede Relief.

Olusegun Obasanjo reported on the meeting of elder statesmen held as a result of the Kampala meeting. This group of elder statesmen includes Kaunda, Nyerere, Obasanjo, Pereira, Senghor, and Tutu among others. At their meeting, the participants agreed to do whatever possible to prevent new conflicts from developing while assisting in existing conflicts. They further agreed to share responsibilities: Obasanjo will deal with Kenya, Sudan, and Zambia and Desmond Tutu would attempt to bring Inkatha and the ANC together. Obasanjo has traveled to Zambia to meet with former President Kaunda and President Chiluba. Kaunda has said he will call a meeting of his party to elect a new leader and then will step down as the opposition party leader. Obasanjo also went to Kenya where, he said, Daniel Arap Moi views democracy as dividing the country but is thinking of amending the constitution to allow multi-party elections. He met with Mubarak to discuss the situation in Sudan and the consensus was that there will be no solution to the conflict until Sudan realizes that Islamic fundamentalism is not the only answer. Mubarak (and Obasanjo) believes that as long as Turabi is behind the government, there will be no progress. Finally, Obasanjo will be attending the meeting of the CSSDCA in February.

Jimmy Carter, in Dakar as one of the final stops on his 12-country Africa trip, updated the group on his trip to Africa. He reported on the progress of The Carter Center's Global 2000 Guinea-worm eradication program in Benin, Burkina Faso, Congo, Cote d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Mali, Niger, and Togo, and on the process of democratization in Benin, Ethiopia, Liberia,

and Mali. Following the Dakar meeting, Carter, accompanied by Dayle Spencer, would be traveling to Liberia to meet with Amos Sawyer and Charles Taylor.

Kumar Rupesinghe is currently in transition from being a researcher at the Peace Research Institute of Oslo to taking on the position of Secretary-General of International Alert in London. He has edited three volumes on early warning and prevention with Macmillan Press. He is now in the process of designing International Alert into a flexible, responsive organization. He would like to see it as empowering others--and of being able to transfer the skills we learn in one conflict to another. He is particularly interested in the role of small arms transfers in conflict escalation.

Dayle Spencer recently traveled to North and South Korea to explore the possibilities of future INN activities with regard to reconciliation. She also gave an update on the situation in Liberia and on the trip that she and Jimmy Carter were scheduled to undertake to that country on September 10.

William Spencer was in Moscow this spring conducting a seminar in change management and will return in November. Following the meeting, he will go to the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea for fact finding about the conflict in Bougainville.

Vamık Volkan has traveled to Lithuania and to Turkey where he met with Prime Minister Demirel, who is thinking of developing a think tank in Turkey. He is currently writing papers on racism for the UN.

Role of the INN Council and Core Group

In informal discussions, the group brainstormed about possible roles for the INN. Both Obasanjo and Savané spoke of the *need for conflict resolution training* in secondary and tertiary institutions. Savané added that the concept of conflict resolution and early warning is unknown in many cultures and so these need to be shared with opinion leaders in African countries. They suggested that people be trained in conflict resolution skills so that they could take those skills and train others. Because there is no one model for conflict resolution, the trainers can modify the skills learned to fit within their own cultures. Obasanjo and Savané also noted that access to information is lacking, even by heads of state who may, at times, receive inaccurate information.

The group agreed that the *INN might have a role in providing information and assistance to the mid-level in societies--those individuals and/or institutions who have access to both the elites and the grassroots*. It was also suggested that *the INN send in fact-finding delegations to potential trouble spots before the conflict becomes pathological*; the INN should play a role in conflicts much earlier in the process of the conflict than it currently does. Kumar Rupesinghe outlined the process of conflict from conflict formation, escalation, duration, to resolution and transformation. He said that the INN is exciting because it's trying to do something new--to deal with violence and to prevent large scale violence--but that while

inter-state wars have tended to be relatively short, intra-national wars may last 30 years or longer. Bill Spencer suggested that *the INN act as a change agent to prepare the international environment for peace.*

INN MID-YEAR MEETING WITH AFRICAN NGO REPRESENTATIVES

September 9, 1992

The meeting was convened at 9am by Dayle Spencer. Participating in this meeting were Council members Jimmy Carter, Olusegun Obasanjo, Lisbet Palme, Marie-Angélique Savané; Core Group and Secretariat members Kumar Rupesinghe, Dayle Spencer, William Spencer, Vamik Volkan; and Conflict Resolution Program Associate Director Joyce Neu. Rosalynn Carter and John Hardman, Associate Executive Director of The Carter Center attended as guests. Representatives from African non-governmental organizations included:

- Jean-Pierre Tshipamba Dikamba, United Volunteers for Progress and Development (Kinshasa);
- Mamadou Diouf, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (Dakar);
- Buana Kabué, Zaire League for Human Rights (Kinshasa);
- Ngoy Mulunda, All African Conference of Churches (Lome);
- Mazide Ndiaye, Forum for African Voluntary Development Organizations (Dakar);

- Raymond Sock, African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies (Banjul);
- Fatoumata Sow, Council of Non-Governmental Organizations for Development (Dakar; and,
- Moriba Touré, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (Dakar).

Also attending were the Executive Secretary of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Abass Bundu, and the United Nations High Commission on Refugees' regional representative Maxime Zollner de Medeiros. Council member Marie-Angélique Savané served as the moderator for the session.

The main topics of discussion for the day included 1) some causes of conflict in Africa, 2) the role of non-governmental organizations in Africa, 3) the role of the INN in these conflicts, and 4) planning for the February 1993 INN Consultation in Atlanta.

1. Causes of Conflict in Africa

Maxime Zollner de Medeiros stated that the UNHCR estimates that there are more than 17 million refugees in the world today. Until a few years ago, West Africa had fewer than 20,000 refugees. In the past 2-3 years, the number is nearing 1 million. Kumar Rupesinghe noted that the UNHCR estimate doesn't include the over 20 million internally displaced persons. He predicted that if the world does not improve the manner in which it handles conflict, by the year 2000, we will have a refugee population of 100 million or more. This prediction is based on his belief that the number of intranational wars will increase from the current 32 to 46 in the coming years. Rupesinghe added that these intranational wars are no

longer limited to the Southern hemisphere, but have spread to the North as well. Moriba Touré suggested two main sources of African conflicts: exogenous causes consisting of superpower influences during the Cold War (e.g., Mobutu supported by the U.S.; Mengistu supported by the U.S.S.R.). Leaders in Africa gained and lost power because of superpower pressure. Touré believes that the imposition of sanctions by other countries are a critical and effective tool. He said that superpowers need to accept co-responsibility with African countries for the problems the continent now faces. Endogenous causes are another source of conflict. Prior to independence, ethnicity wasn't a problem because everyone was united against the colonizer. Now there is the phenomenon of exclusion in Liberia and in the Casamance--a sense of disenfranchisement, a sense of being left out of the process and this is a source of conflict.

The issue of ethnicity was discussed at some length by other participants as well. Mamadou Diouf, a program officer at CODESRIA and a historian at University Cheikh Anta Diop in Dakar, said that in the 1960s in Africa, ethnic conflicts were not widespread. The reason for this, according to Diouf, was that people had accepted the challenge of independence to build a nation together. He suggested that territories in Africa were defined by the colonizers and that they might need re-organizing according to ethnic group boundaries. Abass Bundu expressed great concern about the concept of reorganization of nations' boundaries. He suggested that we respect the boundaries as they are, but that we revisit doctrines of non-interference.

Vamik Volkan noted that ethnicity is not static; it changes as one interacts with others--it is a dynamic process. What is important is the interaction between groups. This interaction between groups creates certain rituals. The "non-sameness" ritual occurs when neighbors, who share many traits, take small differences and magnify them to create large differences to make enemies of one another. Each group's issues include historical events and from these each group has its chosen trauma that permeates through generations. When a group gains power, it wants to repair the trauma. Volkan said that we need to teach people about these rituals so that they will understand some of the causes and stages of conflict between neighboring groups.

Raymond Sock added that there was a time when identity in terms of ethnicity was seen by colonizers as the main obstacle to political maturity--Africans were viewed as tribal people fighting tribal wars. But after Nkrumah, ethnicity wasn't a problem. Sock reiterated Diouf's comment that people were united in a struggle for freedom. Then they were told they were too nationalistic, that they were tending towards a communist rather than a capitalist system. The move is now towards how Africans handle their own problems. According to Sock, the main question in Africa is one of governance. African leaders will say it is not a question of governance, but they will not allow multi-party systems since they say that multi-party democracy will lead to ethnic conflict. Sock said that those who suggest this are leaders who have overstayed their welcome and that raising the specter of ethnic problems is used primarily as a reason not to democratize.

2. The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations in Africa

Mamadou Diouf asked how democratization can proceed in contexts where violence is still the language, is still the only way to be heard. How can we support democratization? He stated that the role of NGOs is very important since change must occur internally. But he feared that by focusing on the role of NGOs in conflict resolution this would be telling regional organizations not to deal with conflicts. He asked for clarification on the functions and roles of African governmental organizations and questioned their utility if they were not involved in human rights, in conflict resolution, in supporting democratization. He said that CODESRIA works on supporting the democratization process through the dissemination of knowledge and information.

Abass Bundu responded by saying that the role of NGOs and IGOs is not mutually exclusive. Their roles can be harmonized without either taking sole responsibility. he responded to Diouf's question about democratization when the language is that of violence in saying that the answer lies in constructing new devices and giving those devices new roles. NGOs are relatively new in Africa. Bundu suggested that one way to set up NGOs in our systems so that they can deliver is by getting academics more involved. Universities have a critical role. There should be more encouragement for academics to take responsibility for human rights, democratization issues--according to Bundu, they should come down from their ivory towers and take leadership role in NGOs. Tyrants come to power through the inaction of people, through a "conspiracy of silence." Academics need to take a role in educating people about their rights and responsibilities as citizens.

Jean-Pierre Tshipamba Dikamba, from the United Volunteers for Progress and Development in Kinshasa, works at the grassroots level with peasants to ensure that they understand human rights and their own rights--translating documents about human rights into the four national languages of Zaire. Most Africans today were born after independence, but all want freedom. He said that public education is needed for everyone so that there is an awareness that education is a fundamental right and that Zaire will not proceed far without it. People need to have an understanding of their rights and responsibilities so that they can participate in government and in decision-making. Without this, Zaire will have built a building on sand. Mazide Ndiaye, with the Forum for African Voluntary Development Organizations, and Raymond Sock, Director of African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies in Banjul, agreed and said that their organizations have expanded activities to include grassroots outreach.

Dikamba continued to report on the status of NGOs in Zaire. The NGO movement in Zaire started in 1985 when an informal group gathered because of an awareness that the people's level of misery was so great that something needed to be done. They met officially in Kinshasa for the first time in 1987. In 1990 they created a regional structure trying to connect NGOs because there is extreme difficulty in communicating. Communication in Zaire is difficult even within the country; a letter may take a month to arrive. This does not

help strengthen the role of NGOs, nor does the belief of many governments in Africa that NGOs are subversive help to foster an atmosphere of trust between NGOs and governments.

Fatoumata Sow, with the Council of Non-Governmental Organizations for Development, expanded on why the relationship between NGOs and governments may not be a good one. She suggested that while NGOs are made up largely of youth, governments generally consist of older men so there a generational problem as well. Development NGOs in Africa are realizing that they need to focus more globally on human rights issues, conflict, etc. but while 51% of people are women, NGOs consist of primarily men--there is a lack of focus on women's needs in the economy. She further reiterated that NGOs should help to educate the masses, that there be a dialogue between NGOs and those in power.

The following were identified as needs for African NGOs:

- workshop for NGOs in mediation skills
- awareness building about conflict resolution
- a "how-to-make-democracy-work" workshop
- bridge between NGO networks in the West and in Africa
- assistance in peace-building
- grassroots forum on governance issues
- a strengthening of NGOs' institutional capacity

Bundu suggested a need for a wide network of NGOs so they could raise their voices beyond the boundaries of any one country and Marie-Angélique Savané concluded this discussion by saying that "a crisis is always a risk and an opportunity."

3. The Role of the INN in African Conflicts

"You can smell a conflict coming miles away in Africa," said Raymond Sock. Unfortunately, he added, those who could smell it rarely had the power to stop it. He argued that NGOs must be empowered within Africa so that they would be in a position to stop the development of conflicts. The INN could lend credibility and raise the profile of African NGOs.

Dealing with the issue raised earlier about the poor relationship between NGOs and their governments, Fatoumata Sow said that the role of the INN is critical in helping to institutionalize and legitimize African NGOs within their own countries. NGOs need to learn how to negotiate with their own governments since they are in conflict with their own governments. Members of NGOs need training in conflict resolution since these are new issues. They need a way to learn about conflict resolution so that they can handle conflicts themselves. In the African context, receiving such information is difficult since communication channels are lacking--she expressed a hope that the INN might help with this. Moriba Touré repeated that NGOs are sometimes regarded as the opposition and are excluded. He felt that outside pressure could help give legitimacy to NGOs and that the INN could help to apply this pressure.

Reverend Mulunda of the All African Conference of Churches agreed and suggested that the INN be brought in before conflicts occur. Maxime Zollner de Medeiros, UNHCR said that the INN could play an important role in helping autocratic leaders leave power without threats against their or their entourage's lives--that it could assist in developing a process by which former leaders can leave office without loss of face or life. Abass Bundu said that the INN should support teaching of government in schools.

Specific steps outlined for action by the INN were:

- support African Council of Elders
- support democratization process
- hold regional meetings
- provide analysis of conflicts
- focus media attention on African conflicts
- Track two diplomatic efforts
- provide link between research and activism

4. February 1993 INN Consultation

Dayle Spencer opened this discussion with an explanation that in February 1993, the INN will hold its second annual consultation at The Carter Center in Atlanta to discuss the role of intergovernmental organizations in conflict resolution. United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Ghali has been sent an invitation to deliver the keynote address and former Secretary-General and INN Council member Javier Pérez de Cuéllar has agreed to co-chair the meeting with INN Council chair Jimmy Carter. The topic of the 1993 consultation complements and expands the 1992 theme of the role of non-governmental organizations in conflict resolution in that, as Marie-Angélique Savané pointed out, the INN is searching for a way in which NGOs and IGOs can create better conditions for mediation.

In line with comments from participants at this meeting for the INN to become involved in conflicts at an earlier stage, Dayle Spencer requested participants to identify emerging conflicts in Africa so that some of these conflicts might become a focus for the February meeting. Abass Bundu then posed the question of how an "emerging" conflict could be determined. The following three criteria were suggested: 1) governance-related problems, 2) resource-based conflict, and 3) identity/ethnic problems.

Countries/regions were identified by participants as emerging conflicts and then ranked these conflicts according to expected severity as follows (where 10=most severe, 0=least severe):

- Algeria (2)
- Angola (4)
- Burundi/Rwanda (7)
- Cameroon (1)

- Central African Republic (2)
- Chad (1)
- Ethiopia (5)
- Ghana (0)
- Guinea (1)
- Kenya (5)
- Madagascar (2)
- Malawi (2)
- Mali/Niger (Tuareg) (9)
- Mauritania (1)
- Nigeria (1)
- Senegal (3)
- South Africa (9)
- Sudan (5)
- Togo (9)
- Zaire (10)

Zaire was the country felt to be most at risk for serious conflict because of governance and ethnic problems, followed closely by the Tuareg conflict in Mali and Niger, ethnic and governance issues in South Africa and in Togo. Buana Kabué, chairperson from the Zaire League of Human Rights, is now participating in the national conference taking place in Zaire and said that Zaire now shows all the signs for a breakout of a major civil war. If it occurs, it will affect nine other countries. There is right now a serious economic crisis in Zaire: as an example, Kabué said that when the country was formed US\$2.00 equaled 1 Zaire. Recently a banknote was issued in Zaire for 1,000,000 Zaire and this 1,000,000 Zaire will buy only US\$1.55. Bundu added that Zaire is growing into a pan-African problem that was created by the American government who put Mobutu in power.

Maxime Zollner de Medeiros gave more information on the Tuareg conflict in Niger and Mali saying that it touches many countries in the region and is a complex situation involving 100,000 refugees as well as internal refugees. He urged an early settlement to this situation.

Bundu suggested that with democratization comes demilitarization--and asked how can the international community stop the flow of arms to some of these countries. He said that African conflicts cannot endure without outside support.

From the themes emerging from this meeting, the INN Consultation in February will spotlight emerging conflicts in Africa and elsewhere in the world, and examine two thematic issues in conflicts: early warnings in order to prevent full-scale armed conflicts from developing and the transfer of small arms.