

# Public report

Africa Mediators' Retreat  
2007

Conflict Mediation in  
Africa: Challenges and  
Opportunities

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The Centre for Humanitarian  
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prevention of conflict and the alleviation  
of its effects through dialogue.

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# “hd” **Public report**

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## **What is the Africa Mediators' Retreat?**

The Africa Mediators' Retreat is part of the Oslo Forum, a process led by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue. Encompassing an annual gathering in Oslo and regional Retreats, the aim is to:

- Provide a venue for conflict mediators to meet as a peer group, and learn from each other's experiences in an informal and confidential setting.
- Bridge institutional divides so that African Union, United Nations, regional organizations, government or non-governmental mediators are encouraged to look beyond their own institution for advice and lessons.
- Identify where gaps in knowledge or resources exist, and hamper mediation efforts, and discuss ways of overcoming them.
- Contribute to a stronger shared identity among conflict mediators to enhance the professionalism of their work.

The Oslo Forum events aim to stimulate debate and critically examine current practice.

## Summary

The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue co-hosted with the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation the Africa Mediators' Retreat on April 23–25. The Retreat brought together forty senior mediators actively involved in peace processes throughout Africa, including representatives of the African Union (AU), the United Nations (UN), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) as well as analysts and representatives of nongovernmental organizations. The Retreat addressed, in an informal and discrete setting, issues that are directly related to the concerns faced by those working at the Track 1 level in Africa to facilitate negotiated solutions.

The Retreat examined current mediation processes, including in Darfur and Somalia. It discussed the implementation of peace agreements in South Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi and Cote d'Ivoire. It also explored the prospects and challenges for long-term peace-building in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Furthermore, the Retreat discussed Africa's capacity in supporting mediation processes, including the capacity existing within institutions such as the AU and IGAD. All discussions were informal and under Chatham House rules in order to enable participants to exchange opinions as openly as possible.

The Retreat was opened by a Welcome address by the President of Zanzibar HE Amani Abeid Karume. In his address, the President expressed his support for the Retreat and for other efforts to improve the practice of conflict mediation in Africa.

The Former President of Tanzania, HE Benjamin Mkapa, a special guest at the Retreat, gave a keynote address and led the discussion on the future of conflict resolution in Africa during which he urged African governments and institutions to invest more financial and material resources to conflict mediation and prevention. The President also noted that, in many African countries, there is an absence of a common national vision due to the citizens' diverse cultural and tribal allegiances. As a result, peace negotiations often emphasize the right of individual leaders and their supporters to be in power as opposed to the common good. Therefore, argued President Mkapa, mediators need to push leaders toward building national identities and committing themselves to a national vision.

The Retreat benefited from a key note address by the former President of Sri Lanka HE Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga who spoke of her experience in peacemaking in Sri Lanka and stressed the importance of dialogue between governments and armed rebel groups even in circumstances which may seem to make dialogue difficult.

One of the key messages of the Retreat was the need to support African institutions to perform the tasks of conflict prevention and conflict resolution. There was an agreement among participants that African governments and the international community need to translate into action their commitment to the peaceful resolution of conflicts.

In brief, the following issues were discussed:

- The challenges of implementation of agreements and long-term peace-building with a focus on the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, South Sudan, and Liberia and Sierra Leone.

- The current challenges to dialogue in Darfur and Somalia.
- The recent development in the Cote d'Ivoire peace process.
- The current capacity for and practice of mediation in Africa.
- The role of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in Africa – a discussion led by the Chief Prosecutor of the ICC, Mr Louis Moreno Ocampo.

This report summarizes the most prominent themes that emerged during the discussions. The agenda and list of participants are attached in Annex I and II.

## **Darfur: Looking Back, Looking Forward**

Dr Salim Ahmed Salim and Mr Jan Eliasson led this discussion, which emphasized that the efforts to bring peace to Darfur are at a cross roads and that a unified position by the international community is necessary as well as a comprehensive strategy which takes into consideration the future of Sudan and regional politics.

There was an agreement that the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) of May 2006 has not produced the intended results. Even now, most Darfurians are not aware of the agreement's contents. Furthermore, Darfur's Movements have fragmented even more and the task of bringing on board those who did not sign the DPA is extremely challenging; it is difficult to understand who is representing whom and who speaks for Darfurians. The participants also emphasized that it is vital for the international community to present one common position in the current facilitation efforts.

The discussion addressed the need to accelerate the political process leading to a more comprehensive agreement. It was pointed out that, until now, substantial effort has been placed on the question of an improved peace-keeping force and on the delivery of humanitarian assistance in Darfur. In this regard, the agreement of March 28th 2007 on humanitarian access is a hopeful sign. However, the international community also needs to mobilize political energy and to tell the parties that the time to engage seriously in talks is now. In terms of the road ahead, there is a need to determine the structure of negotiations, the venue and who will be included. One of the key challenges is to bring in the non-signatories and to broaden contacts with civil society and a wide array of political actors.

It was pointed out that a comprehensive, political strategy for Darfur and Sudan is necessary. What is the context in which peace in Darfur is sought? Such a strategy would include an understanding between Chad and Sudan without which a solution in Darfur will be difficult to reach. Participants agreed that all regional stakeholders, including Chad, Libya and Eritrea need to work together with the rest of the international community on the peace process. It was pointed out that the international community has tried to engage with all the non-signatories of the DPA and all other stakeholders, including regional stakeholders. It was agreed that the region needs to coordinate and deliver to the parties the message that negotiations are imperative. There was also agreement that the SPLM should play an important role in the Darfur peace process and should be encouraged to do so. In this connection, it was mentioned that the SPLM may host a discussion with the various Darfur actors in June of this year.

The discussion also explored the question whether a mediation strategy needs to take into consideration the fact that the regions in Sudan feel marginalized and seek meaningful participation in government and that the situation in Darfur impacts the implementation of the 2005 agreement in the South. Some participants brought up the idea of a national conference to create a national context within which to seek peace in Darfur. Is there room for a national process parallel to the Darfur process? Participants also pointed out that the civil society of Darfur has become very politicized and opinionated, and, as a result, has become a major political actor in the process. It is therefore important that the peace process creates some space for their participation.

In the discussion, it was pointed out that pressure needs to be placed not just on the government, but also on the Movements to move forward with talks. Some of the movements are just as responsible for the deteriorating security situation in Darfur and in some cases may be stalling and blocking negotiations.

During the discussion, participants pointed out various ways in which the DPA impacts current efforts to engage the parties in talks. It was pointed out that some may wish to amend the DPA and that, while the government may be open to amendments, it would not agree to re-negotiate the whole text. Also, while the DPA is being implemented, it is difficult to bring to the negotiating table non-signatories who oppose key aspects of the agreement. However, both the government and the movements which have signed the DPA, for different reasons, want to move ahead with the implementation of the DPA.

Also, the discussion addressed the need to support AMIS and the current troops on the ground in Darfur. It was pointed out that, although it is important to negotiate the arrival of more troops, in the meantime the boots on the ground urgently need financial and technical help.

Some participants argued that there is no hard distinction between the current informal consultations being conducted by the AU and UN envoys, and a more formal negotiation process. According to this view, the more informal consultation should continue for a while in order to build confidence among the parties and to, finally, end up in a more structured dialogue.

Finally, a brief discussion was led by General Lamine Cisse on the current situation in the Central African Republic (CAR) and emphasized how CAR is influenced by events in Darfur. It was pointed out that CAR is destabilized by the conflicts in its neighboring countries. This source of instability combined with deep socioeconomic problems has fuelled rebellions in the several regions of the country. General Cisse briefed the group about the recent efforts to launch a peace effort, including the appointment and activities of a Group of Wise People in November 2006 with the mandate to oversee these efforts.

## **Somalia: the challenges of dialogue**

Ambassador Francois Fall and Mr Walid Musa Abdelkarim led the discussion on the current efforts to encourage dialogue in Somalia. Both speakers set the context of the

discussion by emphasizing that dialogue is necessary for Somalia to move forward noting the ongoing violence in Mogadishu. They also pointed out that the National Reconciliation Conference, which is planned to be held in the near future, is an opportunity to engage all sides in dialogue.

It was noted that the Conference needs to be inclusive and should address the questions of security and power-sharing. Most of the international community agrees that the moderate parts of the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) should be invited to the Conference. However, the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) insists that the participants of the Conference are invited as individuals and not as members of political parties or groups. However, the ICU wants to be invited and recognized as a political actor and will not send its representatives as individuals to the Conference.

The challenges to dialogue are considerable as there have been few substantive and sustained peace processes among Somalis in the past 16 years. Participants pointed out that Somalia suffers from poor leadership and from general instability in the region. There could be the likelihood of a protracted Ethiopian-presence in Somalia, which could make it even more difficult for the different sides to talk. Also, Somalia poses significant dangers to regional and international security, because it has almost no state capacity left after all the years of conflict and because the presence of extremist Islamists and transnational terrorist networks is very real.

It was also underlined that international attention on Somalia has not been sustained and that, although the international community is currently engaged in the Somalia, this engagement is not unified. There are divisions among different international actors on the analysis of the situation in the country and on what needs to be done. It was argued that a common analysis of the problem is necessary and an agreement on how to move forward not through military action, but through an inclusive political process.

The discussion pointed out that in order to move the political process forward an agreement is needed among all parties, as well as consensus within the international community, on a number of issues: (i) that the transitional charter which was adopted two years ago will remain in place until the end of the transition; (ii) that the outcome of the political process will ensure that the regions retain significant powers; (iii) that the international community will not accept demands for a 'greater' Somalia; (iv) that the international community will remain committed to mediating an end to the conflict and to rebuilding Somalia. For this to be achieved, the international community needs a common approach and strategy on spoilers. Also, the Reconciliation Conference needs to be utilized as an opportunity to start an inclusive dialogue and to review the participation of clans in the political process. The international community needs to convince the TFG of the need to negotiate, and of the fact that it should not be in charge of preparing and running the Conference since it is a party to the process.

In the discussion, participants agreed that the situation in Somalia is very dangerous and that the international community has not been pro-active enough in Somalia. There is a lack of international support for regional efforts, including the work of the African Union in peacekeeping which without greater international support would be very limited.

## Report on Cote d'Ivoire, Discussion with Mr Abou Moussa

In the past few years, Cote d'Ivoire has received considerable attention from the international community and the UN Security Council (SC). The UN SC issued 20 resolutions and 24 presidential statements on Cote d'Ivoire. Also, four international mediation efforts tried to bring the conflict to an end. Furthermore, the UN appointed a Special Representative dedicated to the question of elections in the country. However, although the UN and the rest of the international community have been quite engaged in Cote d'Ivoire, they were not involved directly in the discussions which led to the most recent agreement on March 2007. In 2007, after a month of "direct dialogue" in Ouagadougou between representatives of the two sides, face-to-face talks between President Gbagbo and rebel leader Guillaume Soro produced the Ouagadougou Agreement of March 4th. The agreement allows elections to be postponed, extends President Gbagbo's mandate until early January 2008, and appoints Guillaume Soro as the interim prime minister.

The recent breakthrough remains remarkable. Why did the parties engage in direct dialogue with each other? How did the facilitation efforts of President Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso contribute to the outcome? Mr Moussa argued that Ouagadougou proved to be a useful venue for the talks and that President Compaore's style of facilitation worked well with the parties. Also, as the facilitator and a major regional leader, Compaore knows the parties well and has personal incentives for an agreement to be reached. This was very much a home-grown agreement and demonstrates the benefits of direct dialogue between the protagonists, although some question-marks remain regarding what went on behind closed doors.

After the agreement, the parties acknowledged that the UN is needed. The UN has not been asked to leave and UN troops are redeployed throughout the country as part of electoral preparations. The implementation of the agreement has proceeded quite smoothly as of the end of April. Therefore, observers are hopeful that the transitional period will lead to elections as agreed, although they pointed out that contentious issues such as voter registration and the issuing of identity cards have not been tackled yet and could prove extremely difficult.

## Keeping Peace on track: The DRC, Burundi and South Sudan

The discussions on the three countries demonstrated the very different paths that implementation of peace agreements can take. Although there was a sense that peace was still on track in Burundi and the DRC, albeit more fragile in the DRC, the discussion was quite pessimistic on the future of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in South Sudan.

Notable features of the mediation in Burundi included the large number of conflict parties involved and similarly the large number of international institutions and states which staked a claim in the mediation. The co-ordination of mediation efforts and the involvement of first Nyerere and later Mandela as lead mediators were essential,



as was the added support provided by the good offices of President Clinton. Participants debated the impact of sanctions, with some feeling that the neighboring states' threat to use sanctions had been key to forcing the parties to reach a deal.

Overall, the discussion on Burundi was optimistic. All those involved in the discussion recognized the challenges ahead and that the implementation phase has been far from easy. Peace has stayed on track only with the continued and sustained involvement of the UN – many noted under a relatively strong and coherent mandate. With the winding down of the UN role, continued monitoring and encouragement of the process by key outside states and international institutions remained essential. The discussion concluded that Burundi's peace process is “well-entrenched, well-advanced, but still fragile largely due to continuing influence of some political actors who still play by the old rules” and that “Burundians stared their demons down, and came through the other side.”

In DRC likewise, peace remains fragile. Although there is now a new, elected government, it arrives in office with the previous Transitional Government having only achieved at best 50% of its agreed programme. Demobilization and disarmament are key challenges. All the foreign armed groups are not yet repatriated and not all domestic groups are fully disarmed and integrated in a national army. The regional elections, a first for DRC, will be very important and continued international monitoring and assistance will be essential to ensure these proceed successfully. The discussion on DRC particularly highlighted the importance of ongoing mediation for several years after the conclusion of the peace agreement.

The discussion on the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in South Sudan exposed the fact that this “peace” process appears to be very fragile. Key aspects of the CPA are not being implemented, and there is growing distrust between the parties who are meant to be sharing power. The large UN peacekeeping presence keeps a lid on violence, but only just. The Sudanese Government seems to be doing “little or nothing” to make the idea of unity within Sudan attractive, at the same time as the referendum vote on the issue of independence for the South rapidly approaches.

Several participants drew attention to the problems created by dealing with two peace processes in Sudan at the same time (ie the CPA in the south and Darfur). Earlier, international actors may have focused too heavily on Southern Sudan, ignoring problems in Darfur; today, the opposite may be the case.

## **Long-Term Peacebuilding and Reconstruction: Liberia and Sierra Leone**

Sarah Cliffe and Abou Moussa opened the discussion by saying that the wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone were part of complex, regional problems and required regional solutions. They also emphasized the need for long-term commitment to the recovery of these two states to ensure that they have the capacity to deliver basic services and meet the economic needs of their people. This of course requires on the part of the international community an analysis of the potential risks to reconstruction and a long-term commitment.

In her opening remarks, Sarah Cliffe discussed the challenges of reconstruction of post-conflict societies in general and especially the need for sustained efforts over several years after the signing of the peace agreements in order to reduce the risk of a return to conflict. She made the case that the state's inability to deliver services combined with the population's expectations for rapid improvements in living standards constitute key risks to peacebuilding. She emphasized that the population's perceptions of the state's capacity are crucial: a perceived unfairness of how the state apparatus works, including perceptions on who participates in government and how jobs are allocated, may be very damaging, even if not borne out by the facts. Also, the state needs to be seen delivering services in order to bolster its credibility and, in that regard, it is important for international agencies to give credit to national ministries and organizations for achievements in the rebuilding of their economies and the delivery of basic services.

After the 2003 Accra peace agreement, Liberia embarked on a two-year political timetable which included security sector reform, return of displaced persons, demobilization and reintegration of soldiers, and elections. Following an international audit which brought to light massive mismanagement of state funds, a system of robust economic intervention called GEMAP (Governance and Economic Management Assistance Programme) was put in place. The GEMAP places international experts with co-signing authority in key government institutions and contributes to efforts to strengthen the capacity of Liberian institutions. Its goal is to ensure that funds from flow into the government and that the government manages them effectively and transparently.

The adoption of the GEMAP was resisted by the National Transitional Government of Liberia (NTGL), but was finally approved when ECOWAS took the lead in discussing the proposal, thus, lending legitimacy to it. The GEMAP raised the debate during the electoral campaign on issues of governance and corruption, and gave the elected government of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf a platform through which to address these issues. Ms Cliffe argued that ECOWAS could have led the political discussions regarding the GEMAP earlier on. She pointed out that, although the World Bank and the various UN agencies often need to provide major assistance on technical matters, the political dialogue on the acceptability of programs such be led by regional and sub-regional organizations, such as ECOWAS.

During the discussion, the question of timing and applicability of mechanisms such as GEMAP was explored. Participants agreed that the question of when one can achieve specific results is difficult to answer. Should, for example, economic governance in Liberia have been a part of the peace process? Would it have been easier to address economic governance issues earlier? Also, some participants pointed out that the task of reconstruction is even more daunting in countries like Somalia where the state has not functioned for more than a decade.

Regarding Sierra Leone, Sarah Cliffe referred to the enormous destruction the country suffered during the war. Over 1.6 million persons were displaced during the height of the war in the 1990s and over 370,000 refugees fled to neighbouring countries. Following the end of the war, Sierra Leone continues to be one of the poorest countries in the world: it is 176th out of 177 countries in the Human Development Index developed by the UN. The country has one of the most distorted income distribution patterns in the world with over 80% of the population living well below the poverty

line. Finally, Ms Cliffe underlined the linkages in countries like Sierra Leone between poverty, unemployment, especially amongst the youth, and the possibility of renewed violence.

The discussion recognized three ways in which long term peace-building and reconstruction practice in the may be improved. First, participants recognized that the international community in general and the UN in particular do not have a strong track record of initiating and committing to long-term peace-building strategies. Therefore, a more focused effort to build such strategies would be welcome. The example of Sierra Leone was offered where the international community has tended to prematurely disengage assuming that the country is sufficient stable. However, Sierra Leone has major challenges ahead of it, including the presidential elections in July 2007, and remains very much dependent on international assistance.

Second, many agencies, UN and others, seek visibility for the assistance they deliver to post-conflict countries and do not always make a concerted effort to give credit to national organizations for services delivered. Ideally, this practice would be reversed. Third, the participants pointed out that the international community needs to engage in an honest dialogue with national governments and prepare them for the fact that they will not realistically be able to deliver as much as they would like in the immediate post-agreement period. It is therefore important that international assistance is offered, while national governments build their capacities to deliver the necessary services to the population.

## **Discussion with the ICC Prosecutor Luis Moreno Ocampo**

Mr Ocampo opened the discussion with brief remarks on the mandate and work of the ICC. He explained that the ICC is actively engaged in Africa because some of the gravest cases of war crimes take place in African conflicts. He also said that it is important to engage with a wide array of actors in order to raise awareness about the Court's work and, whenever possible, to gain the support of others for this work.

The Prosecutor emphasized that lasting peace requires justice and that it is important for those working in the interest of peace to ensure that justice also prevails. He pointed out that the Rome statute, which established the ICC, has revolutionized international law and politics: it has strengthened accountability and offered a new concept of peace through a truly global legal system.

The Prosecutor emphasized that it is important for all those engaged in peace processes to work together to enforce the new legal reality. He recognized that, in the short-term, the Rome statute may take away from mediators the possibility of enticing war-time leaders with offers of amnesty. In the long-term, however, a strong Court has the potential of serving as a deterrent against massive crimes in addition to ensuring accountability when such crimes do occur. Also, he argued that even in the short-term, the work of the ICC makes a real contribution to conflict resolution. First, the work of the ICC focuses the world attention on war crimes, and builds political interest and pressure to stop such crimes. Second, the Court makes it difficult for economic and

political support for massive crimes to continue. Third, the activities of the Court, including the mere possibility of investigation, have had a deterrent impact in several cases. And, finally, the ICC isolates politically those who commit massive crimes.

The Prosecutor emphasized that mediators should not see the ICC as a tool which is flexible politically and which can be discarded for short term political benefit. He stressed that the Court is a legal reality, although there is space for cooperation between him and those leading mediation processes.

During the discussion, some of the participants pointed out that when indictments are announced, they harden the negotiating positions of the conflict parties and paralyze the negotiations. The example of Charles Taylor's indictment in June 2003 and its impact on the Accra peace talks was mentioned. Also, some participants argued that indictments by the ICC create expectations among the conflict parties that their opponents will be arrested and they therefore may reduce the incentives to continue talking. Bearing this in mind, participants pointed out that sometimes the relevance and effectiveness of the Court depends on timing of indictments and argued that they should come after peace talks have progressed and agreements have been signed. Some argued also that indictments should come when there exists, internationally and domestically, a political will to enforce arrest warrants. They pointed out that, in Liberia, without a major military and peacekeeping presence on the ground it may have been more difficult to have arranged for Charles Taylor to leave the country. Also, some argued that, given that the ICC does not have the power to enforce its arrest warrants, as for example in the example of Joseph Kony in Northern Uganda, it should consider not issuing them during ongoing peace processes.

However, the Prosecutor emphasized that attempting to time the Court's work based on progress in peace talks is not possible because it is never a good time politically to talk about accountability: it is either too early to prosecute war crimes or too late. Therefore, all he can do is keep the profile of his investigations low and share some information with the mediators, but not time indictments based on political timetables.

## **Perspectives on the Future of Conflict Resolution in Africa**

Africa's capacity to engage in conflict prevention and resolution, including mediation, was discussed throughout the Retreat. On one hand, it was recognized during the discussions that significant progress has occurred in African mediation, especially if mediation is seen as a process which runs through the implementation of agreements. It was pointed out that the international community and African governments have supported several peace processes in the past decade and continue to do so with some success. Also, mediation capacity exists in Africa both inside formal institutions and elsewhere, as for example in civil society and in transnational networks.

However, there was an emphasis on the urgent need to strengthen existing capacities to engage in conflict mediation in the continent. In a session led by former President Mkapa, the President argued that Africa has not been able to empower itself to bear the costs of negotiation and mediation. As a result, many initiatives are funded from

outside Africa. Furthermore, although there is a conflict prevention machinery in place in institutions such as the African Union, it has not been adequately strengthened. The President argued that organigrams are not enough for institutions to actually work and be effective. Financial empowerment is key: African countries must bear more of the costs of mediation and post-agreement recovery. The President emphasized that African governments need to rid themselves of a great deal of self-delusion and understand that “no developed country owes Africans peace in our continent, we owe it to ourselves”. The time of self-delusion, he said, is over.

A separate discussion led by Ambassador Said Djinnit, Dr Attala Bashir and Laurie Nathan also addressed directly the question of African mediation capacity. In that discussion, all presenters agreed that African regional and sub-regional organizations have made a difference to peace and security in the continent. However, they argued that African institutions often work under difficult circumstances and that they need more support and capacity in order to be effective.

Ambassador Djinnit emphasized that the biggest challenge for the African Union is the effort to solve crises with little capacity. He pointed out that low capacity often results in a simplistic approach to mediation due to the lack of adequate research and information gathering. In the absence of important information, the relevant solutions may not be identified. Also, due to the lack of dedicated resources for mediation, mediation teams tend to function with difficulty and often cannot keep up the momentum in their mediation efforts. Also, lessons learned are not recorded and there is little institutional memory of what may have happened during previous mediation efforts. As a result, reflection is lacking on what was done wrongly and how it can be improved in the future.

Ambassador Djinnit also listed a number of separate problems that face mediation efforts. First, the disposition of the parties to engage in dialogue can be an obstacle. Often, conflict parties pursue the military solution making an entry point for mediation difficult. This poses a dilemma for organizations such as the AU as there may not be any road to dialogue until the parties are ready to talk. Second, the cooperation of regional stakeholders in mediation efforts is crucial as many conflicts may have internal and regional dimensions. Third, the proliferation of mediation initiatives can often be detrimental as institutions and countries compete instead of cooperating in their efforts to seek mediated solutions. In this respect, the relationship between the AU, UN and sub-regional organizations is not clear. Sometimes, argued Amb Djinnit, it is advisable to apply the principle of subsidiarity: those closer to the conflict are better placed to mediate. However, this depends on the region. If a region has a united position, then, a sub-regional organization may have the chance to mediate successfully. Finally, a challenge facing mediation efforts is the fact that the low capacity of rebel groups to engage in negotiations. Groups often lack the necessary skills and need to become acquainted with the basics of mediation in order to be able to participate in talks.

Laurie Nathan agreed that capacity building is one of the highest priorities for the AU and other African institutions. Chronic lack of skill and capacity is a key problem. Mediation tends not to be viewed as a profession, but rather as a form of tough diplomacy. Mr Nathan pointed out that the specific challenges facing mediation in Africa include insufficient expertise in mediation, inadequate institutional support for mediators and lack of institutional memory. Importantly, he argued that the practice of

mediation in Africa is not based on a viable concept. He made the case that mediation efforts often underestimate the complexity of conflicts and do not focus early enough on peacemaking and on the crafting of agreements which are owned politically by national actors. Instead of power diplomacy, argued Mr Nathan, mediation efforts need to invest in confidence building and to resist pressures to reach hasty agreements.

Dr Attala Bashir reinforced the points above, but also argued that there has been important progress in the effectiveness of African institutions in conflict mediation which needs to be recognized. One of the key efforts he mentioned to improve capacity is IGAD's engagement in a lessons-learned exercise of its mediation efforts.

The discussion acknowledged that often mediation is conducted by the "talented amateur" as opposed to the well-informed and appropriately supported professional. There was also agreement that institutional support is crucial in order to maintain the momentum through lengthy mediation and even longer implementation processes.

Overall, there was consensus among the participants that, although African regional and sub-regional organizations have made significant contributions, they continue to operate under difficult circumstances and remain under-equipped for the challenges of mediation efforts. There was therefore a call for more support from the international community and governments in strengthening African institutions.

# Agenda Africa Mediators' Retreat 2007

## Monday April 23

- 18.00 – 18.30 Welcome address by the President of Zanzibar,  
H.E. Amani Abeid Karume
- 18.30 – 21.00 Drinks followed by Dinner – Red Snapper Restaurant

## Tuesday April 24

- 07.00 – 09.00 Breakfast – Red Snapper Restaurant
- 09.00 – 10.30 Zamani Conference Hall  
The Future of Conflict and Conflict Resolution in Africa  
Chaired by the Former President of Tanzania,  
H.E. Benjamin William Mkapa
- 10.30 – 11.00 Coffee Break
- 11.00 – 12.30 Zamani Conference Hall  
The International Criminal Court (ICC) in Africa:  
New Player, New Rules?  
Discussion with Luis Moreno-Ocampo,  
Chief Prosecutor of the ICC
- 12.30 – 14.30 Lunch – Red Snapper Restaurant
- 14.30 – 16.00 **2 parallel sessions - participants choose**  
Zamani Conference Hall  
Keeping Peace on track: The DRC and Burundi  
Panellists: McAskie and Haile Menkerios
- 
- Kigwenga Conference Hall  
Long-term Peace-building and Reconstruction:  
Liberia and Sierra Leone  
Panellists: Abou Moussa and Sarah Cliffe
- 16.00 – 16.30 Coffee Break in both session rooms
- 16.30 – 18.00 **2 parallel sessions - participants choose**  
Zamani Conference Hall  
South Sudan: The Challenges of Implementation  
Discussion led by Lt General Lazaro Sumbeiywo
- 
- Kigwenga Conference Hall  
Report back on recent developments in Côte d'Ivoire  
Discussion led by Abou Moussa
- 19.00 – 21.30 Cocktails followed by Dinner – Red Snapper Restaurant

The Former President of Sri Lanka, H.E. Chandrika Kumaratunga shared and discussed her experiences of peace-making in Sri Lanka.

## **Wednesday April 25**

- 07.00 – 09.00 Breakfast - Red Snapper Restaurant
- 09.00 – 11.00 Zamani Conference Hall  
Darfur: Looking back, Looking forward  
Chair: Sir Kieran Prendergast  
Panellists: Dr Salim Ahmed Salim  
and Ambassador Jan Eliasson
- 11.00 – 11.30 Coffee Break
- 11.30 – 13.00 Zamani Conference Hall  
Somalia: The Challenges of Dialogue  
Chair: Welile Nhlapo  
Panellists: Ambassador François Fall  
and Walid Musa Abdelkarim
- 13.00 – 15.00 Lunch - Red Snapper Restaurant
- 15.00 – 17.00 Zamani Conference Hall  
African Mediation: A Reality Check  
Chair: Dr Salim Ahmed Salim  
Panellists: Ambassador Said Djinnit,  
Dr Attala Bashir and Laurie Nathan

### **Closing remarks**

- 19.00 – 19.15 Transport to the Beach Club, meet in the lobby
- 19.30 Informal Barbeque at the Beach Club



## Mediators Retreat 2007, Zanzibar

### Participants and Speakers

#### Participants

Mr Walid Musa Abdelkarim	Senior Adviser on Somalia, European Union
Dr Emmanuel Kwesi Aning	Head of the Conflict Prevention Management and Resolution Department (CPMRD) of the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KA IPTC) in Accra, Ghana
Dr Attala Bashir	Executive Secretary, Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD)
Ms Betty Bigombe	Former Chief Mediator between the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the Government of Uganda
Mr Ridha Bouabid	Adviser for Peace, Democracy and Human Rights, Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (OIF)
General Lamine Cisse	Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary General to the Central African Republic; Chief of the UN Office in Central Africa Republic (BONUCA)
Ms Sarah Cliffe	Head, Fragile States Group, World Bank
Mr Brian Currin	Expert facilitator and mediator in socio-political, institutional and constitutional transformation
Ambassador Berhanu Dinka	Former Chairman, Power Sharing Commission, African Union Darfur Mediation Team
Ambassador Said Djinnit	Commissioner for Peace and Security, African Union
Mr Vebjørn Dysvik	Adviser, Peace and Reconciliation, Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Ambassador Jan Eliasson	Special Envoy of the United Nations Secretary-General for Sudan
Ambassador Marika Fahlén	Special Adviser for the Horn of Africa, Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Ambassador François L. Fall	Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General to Somalia
Mr Hans Jacob Frydenlund	Director for Eastern and Central Africa, Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Mr Martin Griffiths	Director, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue
Ms Fabienne Hara	Deputy Director, Political Affairs Division, United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS)
Ambassador Sam Bassey Ibok	Head, Darfur Peace Agreement Implementation Team, African Union
Colonel Yore Kone	Director, Center for Observation and Monitoring, Department of Political Affairs ECOWAS Department of Defence and Security
Mr David Lambo	Former United Nations Assistant High Commissioner for Refugees
Ms Béatrice Le Fraper Du Hellen	Director, Jurisdiction, Complementarity and Cooperation Division in the Office of the Prosecutor, International Criminal Court (ICC)

Dr Ram Manikkalingam	Former Adviser to the President of Sri Lanka; Visiting Professor University of Amsterdam; Adviser to the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue
Ms Carolyn McAskie	United Nations Assistant-Secretary General for Peacebuilding Support
Mr Dennis McNamara	Director, Inter-Agency Internal Displacement Division, United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)
Hon. Bernard Membe	Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Relations of Tanzania
Mr Haile Menkerios	Deputy Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General for the Democratic Republic of Congo
Mr Abdul Mohammed	Head, Preparatory Committee Darfur-Darfur Dialogue and Consultation (DDDC), African Mission in Sudan
Mr Luis Moreno-Ocampo	Chief Prosecutor, International Criminal Court (ICC)
Mr Abou Moussa	Principal Deputy Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General Côte d'Ivoire
Ambassador Ami Mpungwe	Former Ambassador of Tanzania to South Africa; Formerly active in the Rwanda mediation efforts
Ambassador Liberata Mulamula	Executive Secretary, International Conference on the Great Lakes Region of Africa
Mr Laurie Nathan	Research Fellow, London School of Economics and University of Cape Town
Ambassador Welile Nhlapo	Director, Africa I Division, United Nations Department of Political Affairs
Sir Kieran Prendergast	Former United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs
Dr Salim Ahmed Salim	Special Envoy, African Union & Chief Mediator of the Inter-Sudanese Peace Talks
Lt Gen Lazaro Sumbeiywo	Chief Executive Office, Moi Africa Institute and Former Special Envoy for the IGAD Peace Process in Sudan
General Ishola Williams	Head, Transparency Nigeria

### **Speakers**

President Amani Abeid Karume	President of Zanzibar
Former President	
Chandrika Kumaratunga	Former President of Sri Lanka
Former President	
Benjamin William Mkaapa	Former President of Tanzania