



ECOWAS International Conference
TWO DECADES OF PEACE PROCESSES IN WEST AFRICA:
ACHIEVEMENTS – FAILURES - LESSONS
Monrovia, Liberia
22-26 March 2010

CONFERENCE REPORT

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ABBREVIATIONS

AU means the African Union Commission

BBC means the British Broadcasting Corporation

BRIC means Brazil, Russia, India, and China

CDD means the Centre for Democracy and Development

CPX means Command Post Exercise

CSOs means Civil Society Organizations

DDRR means Disarmament, Demobilization, Rehabilitation and Reintegration (DDRR)

ECOBRIQ-HQ means ECOWAS Brigade Headquarters

ECOMIL means ECOWAS Mission in Liberia

ECOMOG means the ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group

ECOWAS means the Economic Community of West African States

ECPF means the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework

ESF means the ECOWAS Standby Force

FTX means Field Training Exercise

ICC means the International Criminal Court

MARWOPNET means the Mano River Women's Peace Network

NGOs means Non Governmental Organizations

NPFL means the National Patriotic Front of Liberia

NSAGs means Non-State Armed Groups

PSOs means Peace Support Operations

R2P means Responsibility to Protect

RUF means Revolutionary United Front

SRSR means the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General

UN means the United Nations Organization

UNMIL means the United Nations Mission in Liberia

UNOWA means the United Nations Regional Office in West Africa

Executive Summary

The ECOWAS International Conference, *'Two Decades of Peace Processes in West Africa: Achievements, Failures, Lessons'*, was organized by the ECOWAS Commission in partnership with the Government of Liberia, and with the cooperation of the African Union, the United Nations and the Danish Government. The Conference, which took place against the backdrop of the AU-designated African Year of Peace and Security, was held in Monrovia from 22-26 March 2010. Its main objective was to consolidate the gains made in conflict prevention, management, resolution and peace-building in West Africa by evaluation the interventions carried out in the last twenty years with a view to learning lessons and building on the achievements in the efforts to further strengthen the evolving regional peace and security architecture.

Participants at the Conference included the President of Liberia, H.E. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, Former President of Nigeria, Flt. Lt. (Rtd) Jerry John Rawlings, former President of Ghana and Sir Dawda Jawara, former President of the Gambia. Also in attendance were the President of the ECOWAS Commission, Ambassador James Victor Gbeho; high-level and senior officials of the UN, AU and ECOWAS; former Force and Field Commanders of the ECOWAS intervention Forces; representatives of civil society organisations; researchers and analysts; and the media.

In the course of exhaustive and exciting deliberations at both plenary and break-out sessions over four days, participants acknowledged several achievements made by ECOWAS and the other stakeholders in conflict prevention, management and peace-building. They also identified several challenges related to the conflict dynamics in the region and ECOWAS's responses to them, and proposed a number of measures that should be taken in the efforts to further strengthen the regional peace and security architecture.

Achievements

Participants at the Conference were of the view that significant achievements in conflict management have been made in the West Africa region over the last two decades. They mentioned the fact that the region had been transformed from a zone of crippling wars (in the Greater Mano River Basin) in the 1990s into a space where no active war is raging today, as evidence of the progress that has been made. It did not also escape the attention of the Conference that democratic culture was steadily taking root in the region. Consequently, participants cited the following among the laudable achievements of the last two decades:

- i. The restoration of peace to troubled Member States of the Community, including Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau and Cote d'Ivoire;
- ii. Effective preventive diplomacy initiatives that averted possible wars or their recurrence in other Member States, such as Togo and Guinea Bissau;
- iii. The adoption and implementation of ground-breaking normative, institutional and legal frameworks for conflict prevention, management, resolution, peace-keeping and peace-building in the ECOWAS region;
- iv. The adoption and effective application of constitutional convergence principles with an accompanying sanctions regime.
- v. The institutionalization of "home-grown" strategies in preventive diplomacy and military intervention;

- vi. The adoption of the ECOWAS Strategic Vision and the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework as an operational tool for meeting the proximate and structural challenges to human security;
- vii. Significant contributions to the development of the continental peace and security architecture and a reference in peer-learning and exchange of ideas on peace support operations on the African continent.

Challenges

Alongside the achievements, the Conference also highlighted past and current challenges to ECOWAS's peace initiatives, reasons for which the ECOWAS region remains precariously fragile and susceptible to relapse into violence and reversals in the democratization processes. Among the factors militating against consolidation, participants highlighted the following:

- i. The challenges that plagued the initial ECOWAS interventions in the region, some of which persist today, including:
 - grossly inadequate and inappropriate logistical backup;
 - lack of clear and robust mandates; language-barriers among troops which adversely affected smooth coordination on the field;
 - insufficient synergy and complementarity between military and diplomatic efforts;
 - Weak police and civilian components of the intervention standby arrangement; and
 - insufficient political will among leaders and senior officials of Member States to take decisive steps towards tackling the security challenges in Member States, in accordance with extant ECOWAS *Protocols and Decisions*;
- ii. Inadequate capacity to address the structural causes of conflicts and instability;
- iii. The absence of a regional normative and structural framework for post-conflict peace-building, especially in areas relating to transitional justice, DDR and the rebuilding of governance infrastructure;
- iv. The absence of a regional capability to deal with natural disasters and humanitarian issues;
- v. The threat to democratic consolidation in the region through the manipulation of Constitutions and electoral laws, and the consequent resurgence of military coups;
- vi. The threat of entrenching a culture of impunity and institutionalised corruption;
- vii. The impacts of emerging illegal trade, including drug trafficking and other forms of transnational organised crime;
- viii. A weak preventive diplomacy architecture.

Recommendations

In the course of four days of intensive deliberations, the participants at the Conference came out with several recommendations at the breakout sessions. Out of these recommendations, the Conference distilled a 16-point short to medium term action agenda, known as *The Monrovia Declaration*, which is listed as follows:

1. ECOWAS should strengthen its mechanisms to ensure the enforcement of the Constitutional Convergence Principles contained in the Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance in order to confront the structural causes of conflicts and enhance democratic culture in Member States. Attention should also be given to building the capacities of electoral management bodies, political parties, parliaments and the judiciary;

2. ECOWAS should review its sanctions regime in collaboration with the African Union and United Nations in order to make it more effective;
3. ECOWAS should prioritize the implementation of the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF), to address the proximate and structural causes of conflict. It should also design and develop a post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding framework in line with the AU Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development Framework, to enhance sustainable peace in Member States and to include a clear policy on Disarmament, Demobilization, Rehabilitation and Reintegration (DDRR);
4. ECOWAS should fast-track the establishment of a Council of Former Heads of State and Government in the region in order to enable them contribute more effectively to conflict prevention and peace-building efforts;
5. ECOWAS should streamline and strengthen its mediation efforts by setting up the Mediation Facilitation Division in the Political Affairs Directorate, drawing on relevant experiences, including those of the United Nations. The Division should facilitate preventive diplomacy activities undertaken by the Commission;
6. ECOWAS should enhance the capacity and effectiveness of the ECOWAS Council of the Wise by expanding its range of expertise and making it more proactive;
7. ECOWAS should take steps to complete the establishment of the Peace Support Operations Division, and scale up efforts to develop the Police and Civilian components of the ECOWAS Standby Force to keep pace with the military component;
8. ECOWAS should enhance its capabilities to engage in the prevention, management and resolution of local and low intensity conflicts by developing a bottom-up Mechanism (i.e. alternative dispute resolution methods, including traditional approaches) to reinforce the existing peace and security architecture;
9. ECOWAS should engage Member States in the enhancement of their capacities to manage and resolve local and low-intensity conflicts by developing national mechanisms to reinforce the existing peace and security architecture;
10. ECOWAS should facilitate the strengthening of civil society, particularly women, youth, religious and community groups, and the media as key stakeholders in peace processes, and actively involve them in the crafting and implementation of peace agreements, as well as in post-conflict peace-building;
11. ECOWAS should engage the private sector to actively involve it in the implementation of post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding programmes;
12. ECOWAS should engage West Africans, both within the region and in the Diaspora, including those who have served in various Peace Support Operations Missions in order to tap their rich experiences;
13. ECOWAS should assist in building the capacities of community-based organizations, including women, the youth, religious groups and the media to engage more effectively in preventive diplomacy. It should also encourage the private sector in the respective Member States to invest in building the capacities of these groups and organizations;
14. ECOWAS-UN, ECOWAS-AU, and other multilateral cooperation arrangements should be enhanced in order to further strengthen the effectiveness of regional peace processes;

15. ECOWAS should increase the proportion of funds allocated for peace and security programmes under the Peace Fund and further broaden its resource mobilization effort, in order to facilitate the implementation of the identified initiatives in this Declaration;
16. Welcome the launch of the ECOWAS Youth Volunteers Programme within the framework of the Conference, and urge ECOWAS to empower the youth of the region under the umbrella of the Programme to contribute more effectively to the realization of ECOWAS' "Vision 2020" and the strengthening of the ECOWAS peace and security architecture.

I. INTRODUCTION

The ECOWAS International Conference, *Two Decades of Peace Processes in West Africa: Achievements, Failures, Lessons*, was organized by the ECOWAS Commission in partnership with the Government of Liberia and with the cooperation of the African Union, the United Nations and the Danish Government. The Conference, which took place against the backdrop of the AU-designated African Year of Peace and Security, was held in Monrovia from 22-26 March 2010.

The Conference was hosted by Mrs Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, President of the Republic of Liberia. It also attracted several eminent personalities, including Sir Dawda Kairaba Jawara, former Head of State of the Gambia, General (Rtd) Olusegun Obasanjo, former President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Ft. Lt. (Rtd) Jerry John Rawlings, former President of the Republic of Ghana. Other participants worthy of note were Ambassador James Victor Gbeho, President of the ECOWAS Commission, Ambassador Said Djinnit, Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General in West Africa, Ms Ellen Margrethe Løj, Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General in Liberia and HE Ramtane Lamamra, AU Commissioner for Peace and Security. Also prominent among the participants were former ECOMOG Commanders, Generals (Rtd.) Arnold Quainoo (Ghana), Adetunji Olurin and Festus Okonkwo (Nigeria). Nigeria was represented by a high level delegation led by Ambassador Thaddeus Hart, Special Adviser to the President of Nigeria on Foreign Affairs. The Government of Denmark, a major sponsor of the Conference, was represented by Ms. Pernille Dahler Kardel, the Danish Ambassador to Ethiopia, with responsibility for the AU and ECOWAS. Other participants were drawn from the ECOWAS Commission, the African Union, the UN System, former warlords, the diplomatic community, development partners, as well as research institutions, NGOs, community groups and the media from within the ECOWAS region and beyond.

The Conference had an overall aim of fostering greater understanding among stakeholders of the dynamics of peace processes in West Africa and to review regional policy frameworks and mechanisms on conflict management and peace-building, with a view to further enhancing the region's posture in conflict prevention. Thus, the main objective of the Conference was to consolidate the gains made in conflict prevention, management, resolution and peace-building in West Africa by evaluation the interventions carried out in the last twenty years with a view to learning lessons and building on the achievements in the efforts to further strengthen the evolving regional peace and security architecture. Within this broad framework, the Conference set out to:

1. subject peace agreements signed in the region over the past two decades to rigorous analysis, against the realities on the ground;
2. identify what has worked, what has not worked in the implementation of peace agreements, and suggest corrective measures for future practice;
3. explore qualitatively new frameworks for cooperation at all levels in response to conflicts in the region;
4. explore the feasibility of establishing a West Africa specific framework for linking conflict response to peace building and peace consolidation

The methodology of the Conference consisted of open and honest discussions at plenary and break-out sessions, often preceded by lead Papers. The former Heads of State and ECOMOG Force/Field Commanders present engaged in moderated interactive sessions with participants.

II. OPENING CEREMONY

The Conference opened with warm welcome remarks from **Ms Olubanke King-Akerele**, the Foreign Minister of Liberia, on behalf of the Government and people of Liberia to the Very Important Personalities, dignitaries and participants at the Conference. She also paid homage to the men and women who sacrificed their lives and comfort so that Liberia might enjoy peace and stability. She noted the role played by ECOWAS in restoring peace to Liberia following the country's first civil war, and its consistent and continued engagement with the Liberian people and other stakeholders which contributed to the ending of the second civil war. She assured the gathering that their sacrifices were not in vain. She singled out Nigeria for its exceptional support and engagement with local stakeholders in the peace process in the country, which helped to reduce the levels of fatalities, destruction and atrocities witnessed earlier in the conflict. She told participants that Liberia provided a pertinent case study for assessing the effectiveness of ECOWAS peace processes, and expressed the hope that the Conference would make recommendations capable of enthroning sustainable peace and development in the region.

In his introductory remarks the Chairperson of the occasion, **HE General (Rtd) Olusegun Obasanjo**, highlighted the timeliness of the Conference as imperative to the capitalization of achievements with a view to enthroning sustainable peace in the region, and congratulated ECOWAS on the initiative. He described the peace processes in the region as a success story, albeit with a few challenges, and urged the Conference to tackle such challenges. He urged participants, in the course of deliberations, to place the emphasis on the factors that militated against the unqualified success of the conflict management project, rather than on personality flaws. He urged participants to examine why it had been difficult to negotiate effective ceasefires in the peace processes; why conflict often recurs in some countries, and what the appropriate role of the International Criminal Court (ICC) should be in ensuring that destructive conflicts are significantly reduced in the region.

On his personal involvement in the search for peace in the region, General Obasanjo singled out the relative stability the region enjoyed today as the major achievement of the peace processes, especially when viewed against the chaos in the first half of the last two decades. Going forward, he called for greater emphasis to be placed on the underlying structural and systemic causes of conflicts, rather than the symptoms. Expanding on this, General Obasanjo described bad governance, inadequate communication and interaction between the leaders and the people, injustices and violation of human rights, poverty and corruption as some of the underlying causes of conflicts and called for good and accountable governance, transparency and equity, adequate education, effective communication and cultural rebirth as ways through which sustainable peace could be enthroned in the ECOWAS region.

In his Opening Speech, the President of the ECOWAS Commission, **Ambassador James Victor Gbeho**, noted that the Two Decades Conference marked the beginning of an overdue process of self-evaluation, self-documentation and capitalization of the region's rich and at times, pioneering efforts in conflict management. He also described it as a memorial to the tens of thousands of the ordinary people, civilian and military personnel, who paid the ultimate price to secure peace in the region. He lauded the sacrifices made by all the dignitaries that graced the occasion and the ones that were not present, and promised that ECOWAS would ensure that their sacrifices were not in vain.

Ambassador Gbeho traced the beginnings of ECOWAS, emphasizing that economic integration was the original mandate of the Organization. Developing the idea, he submitted that the new threats to

development, peace and security, and the changing dynamics of conflicts at the end of the Cold War, informed the Organization's correct decision to broaden its mandate to encompass greater efforts in conflict management. He acknowledged the ad-hoc approach of ECOWAS in its interventions at the outbreak of civil wars in the 1990s due to inadequate normative and institutional mechanisms. He however praised the Organization for rapidly and incrementally projecting greater professionalism in subsequent missions. Further, he cited the systematic adoption and implementation of robust instruments to underpin the region's interventions as the clear signs of a progressively maturing Organization. Among such instruments, he singled out the Revised ECOWAS Treaty (1993); the Protocol on the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security (1999); and the Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance (2001). Ambassador Gbeho stressed further that the adoption of the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework in 2008 as an operational tool for conflict prevention, demonstrated the determination of ECOWAS to shift emphasis towards combating the proximate and structural causes of violent conflict and engage in peace-building efforts in post-conflict situations.

Ambassador Gbeho lauded the growing cooperation between ECOWAS, the AU and the UN in preventive diplomacy and conflict management as a winning formula in responding to the current and emerging security and political challenges in the region. He cited the transfers of mandate from ECOWAS to the UN during past peacekeeping operations under the process of "re-hatting" as a successful formula that took account of the relative strengths and limitations of the two institutions. In the efforts to consolidate on the gains of the practice, he called on the Conference to propose a framework for developing West African capabilities in sustainable peacekeeping and peace-building to enable the region to fill the void created by departing UN missions in post-conflict countries through the process of "reverse re-hatting".

In conclusion, Ambassador Gbeho paid tribute to the President, Government and people of Liberia for the remarkable progress made in restoring infrastructure, rebuilding governance institutions and instilling optimism in the people since the end of the civil war. He expressed his profound gratitude to the Liberian Government for the warm welcome accorded the participants and the excellent facilities put at the disposal of the Commission for the Conference.

Remarks and Messages were also delivered by a number of eminent personalities. **Mr Ramtane Lamamra**, the AU Commissioner for Peace and Security, paid tribute to ECOWAS for making the boldest move in the African continent to manage conflicts in the face of global indifference in the 1990s. He described as apt, the decision to make the Conference to stock-taking exercise on regional peace processes, especially with respect to the effectiveness of the respective normative, legal and institutional frameworks underpinning the peace initiatives. Referring to some of guiding questions raised in the Conference Concept Note, he was of the opinion that Africa has been practising an advanced form of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) before even the notion gained currency; that peace agreements in the region were never so detailed as to address the root causes of conflict; that innovation is needed with regard the notion and application of transitional justice because in some peace processes, the issue of transitional justice ended up constituting a cog in the efforts to come up with the requisite consensus needed to reach an agreement to address the root causes of conflict. He lamented the fact that very little of home grown conflict resolution methodologies (alternative dispute resolution methods) appeared to be employed in fashioning virtually all the major peace agreements in the West Africa region. He also cited the lack of adequate financial support required to carry out appropriate and holistic recovery programmes as the main pitfall in the peace-building agenda as currently implemented in many post-conflict societies in West Africa. He called for the sustenance and

intensification of the cooperation between ECOWAS and the AU in promoting regional peace and security.

Ms Ellen Margrethe Løj, Special Representative of the UN Secretary General in Liberia, conveyed the greetings of the personnel of UNMIL to the gathering and described the Conference as timely, coming at a point when the drawdown of the UN Mission in Liberia was imminent. She said that West African people were tired of war and needed development in order to enjoy good quality of life. She expressed the hope that the outcome of the Conference would provide new directions that would eliminate violent conflicts as an option for aggrieved people in the region.

Mr. Said Djinnit, Special Representative of the UN Secretary General in West Africa, praised ECOWAS for emerging as a success story in conflict management and a model for other Regional Organizations in peacemaking. He expressed concern about the prevalence of structural causes of conflicts in the region and called for the intensification of efforts to nurture institutions and agree norms to promote and bolster good governance within the Member States. In this respect, he called for the strengthening of ECOWAS-UNOWA cooperation in preventive diplomacy and in the search for durable solutions to the malaise of bad governance in the region.

In her remarks **Ms Pernille Dahler Kardel**, Danish Ambassador to Ethiopia, the AU and ECOWAS, congratulated ECOWAS and the region on behalf of the Government of Denmark on the important initiative. She outlined the range and focus of the Danish Government support for the promotion of peace and security in Africa, stressing that Denmark's commitment to Africa was long-term and tailored to the needs of Africa as expressed by Africans. She expressed concern over the growing incidents of unconstitutional changes of government and gender-based violence in the region and urged regional stakeholders to intensify their efforts to reverse these trends. Concluding, she expressed her conviction that the Conference would provide the opportunity to contribute to the achievement of the goals of the African Year of Peace and Security as declared by the African Union.

Ambassador Thaddeus Hart, the Adviser to the Nigerian President on Foreign Affairs, described ECOWAS's incursions into the domain of peacemaking in the 1990s to stop avoidable loss of human life and save the region from worsening humanitarian disaster as a "paradigm shift" in international peace and security discourse and practice, especially among scholars and practitioners of international relations. He saw the Conference as offering the ideal platform not only for deliberations on strengthening the regional peace and security efforts, but also for recognizing the individuals and institutions that made invaluable sacrifices to make peace possible in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau and Cote d'Ivoire. He reiterated Nigeria's unchanging commitment to the cause of regional peace and security.

The Keynote Address was delivered by **H. E Ellen Johnson Sirleaf**, President of the Republic of Liberia. She welcomed participants to Liberia and assured them of the continued hospitality of the Government and people of the country. Citing Liberia as the first theatre of the region's pioneering home-grown peacemaking efforts, the President was of the view that such an important evaluation conference could not have taken place at a more appropriate time and venue. She paid homage to the leadership of ECOWAS Member States who, in 1990, made it possible to create such a noble and exemplary conflict management structure that has safeguarded the lives of the citizens in the region at a time when the major powers of the international community had all but washed their hands off the war. She saluted the bravery and courage of successive ECOMOG and UNMIL soldiers who withstood the firestorm of mortal shelling to separate the warring factions and ensured a ceasefire and the eventual holding of

elections. She also paid homage to the successive Chairpersons of the ECOWAS Authority; the Executive Secretaries of ECOWAS; the Force and Field Commanders of ECOMOG; the gallant soldiers on the field; and the diplomats who endured sleepless nights in the pursuit of peace in Liberia. She described as indelible, their footprints on the Liberian landscape.

Turning to past and current challenges to peace and security, Mrs Johnson Sirleaf singled out bad governance, lack of respect for human rights, socio-economic and political inequity, and grinding poverty as the root causes of the conflict in Liberia and elsewhere in the region, and urged leaders in the region to fight these malaises. She outlined the achievements of her Government since the end of the latest civil war, including the peaceful conduct of two rounds of elections in 2005, economic growth of up to 9 percent in 2007, rebuilding of roads and houses, health clinics and schools, and increasing agricultural production. She informed participants that her Government was building on these achievements by putting in place a broad set of policies to foster peace, accelerate reconstruction and development, and build a strong system of governance. She thereafter declared the Conference open.

All the eminent personalities who addressed the Opening Ceremony warmly welcomed the new President of the ECOWAS Commission, Ambassador James Victor Gbeho, wishing him success and promising full cooperation. They also paid glowing tributes to the work accomplished by the outgoing President of the ECOWAS Commission, **Dr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas**, in the area of peace and security, and cooperation with sister institutions.

III. PLENARY SESSIONS

1. Violent Conflicts in West Africa: Military and Diplomatic Interventions

This interactive session began with introductory presentations by former Heads of State from the region. Sir Dawda Jawara, the first President of The Gambia, under whose Chairmanship of the ECOWAS Authority the regional body informed participants of how the decision in 1990 to deploy ECOMOG troops in Liberia was taken; General (Rtd) Olusegun Obasanjo, the former Nigerian President, who played a significant role as a peacemaker in the region and whose commitment contributed to bringing the Liberian civil war to a decisive end gave insight into how the successes were attained; while Flight Lieutenant (Rtd) Jerry John Rawlings, the former President of Ghana, whose country provided the first Force Commander for ECOMOG in 1990 gave a detailed account of the role that Ghana played in the efforts towards returning Liberia to peace.

These initial remarks were followed by reminiscences of the former Force and Field Commanders, who acted as respondents, after which the other participants joined in the lively discussions. The Session was ably moderated by Professor Abdoulaye Bathily, the AU Special Envoy to the Mbororos and convener of CODA.

A. Reminiscences of the Presidents

Sir Dawda Jawara recounted the atrocities, brutality and humanitarian carnage that characterised the civil war in Liberia as factors that made it imperative for the Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS to take steps towards restoring peace and order. Given the extent of the humanitarian disaster and the need to prevent the spill-over of the conflict to other Member States, the ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee had met in Banjul in 1990 and founded the ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG),

which was then deployed to Liberia. He informed the gathering that the first set of countries that contributed troops to the Peacekeeping Force were Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea, Sierra Leone and the Gambia. He recalled the initial hostility to ECOMOG by the warring factions, especially the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), led by Charles Taylor, which fiercely resisted the ECOMOG forces when they landed in Monrovia. Eventually, ECOMOG was able to dislodge the rebels from the capital. He recommended that the spirit that informed that initial mission should be retained within ECOWAS and that Member States should sustain their cooperation in the areas of peace and security irrespective of linguistic differences and perceived national interests.

In his introductory remarks, **Flt. Lt. (Rtd) Jerry John Rawlings** made reference to some bad decisions which were responsible for the escalation of the violence at specific times during the civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone. As a case in point, he cited a BBC interview granted by President Samuel Doe immediately after the deployment of ECOMOG in Liberia in 1990, where he stated that the peacekeeping force had come to support his beleaguered regime. This further hardened the antagonism of the rebel factions to ECOMOG. He also referred to an unhelpful statement by some highly placed personalities in the international community at the outbreak of the crisis in Sierra Leone. While stressing the need to appreciate the sacrifices made by troop-contributing countries within West Africa, he recalled that in a bid to satisfy the yearnings of rebel soldiers who demanded for the deployment of neutral troops, soldiers were deployed from East Africa. However, these East African troops, upon landing in Liberia, demanded to be paid fifteen US dollars (\$15) per day, which was by far more than the two US dollars (\$2) paid the Ghanaian contingent of ECOMOG.

Turning to the internal difficulties that plagued the ECOWAS intervention forces, he identified in-fighting among the Generals and senior civilian administrators as responsible for weakening the cohesion and effectiveness of ECOMOG at the initial stages of its deployment. Finally, Flt. Lt. Rawlings lamented the fact that most of the intellectuals and the so-called progressive elements in the region failed to lend their support, skills and expertise to the task of regional peace and security, spending their time instead directing unwarranted criticisms at the ECOWAS initiatives.

General (Rtd) Olusegun Obasanjo shared some of his experiences of having being involved in regional peace processes, citing the issue of unity, or absence of it, among leaders as a decisive factor in seeking solution to conflicts. He also stressed the importance of timeliness in the resolution of conflicts as knowing when a conflict was ripe enough for intervention could determine how effective resolution efforts could be. On the peace process in Sierra Leone, General Obasanjo attributed the achievements of the relatively credible and acceptable solution to the civil war in 1999 to the unity exhibited by West African leaders on the issue. He however described as problematic the processes leading to the decision to accord Foday Sankoh, the main warlord and the leader of the rebel Revolutionary United Front (RUF), such a prominent status in the Lome Peace Agreement. Unlike in Sierra Leone, the ECOWAS leaders were not united in their position on the war in Guinea Bissau, according to General (Rtd) Obasanjo. He attributed the protracted nature of the crisis and the unwarranted destruction it entailed to this lack of unity of purpose. Another factor that complicated the peace process in Guinea Bissau, according to him, was the complete lack of control over the armed forces. He noted, for example, that at the time, there were more Generals in the country's army than in the Nigerian army.

On the factors critical for success in peace processes, Gen. (Rtd) Obasanjo cited the importance of collective action, impartiality and transparency on the part of stakeholders, and the need for troop-contributing countries to count the costs before deployment (in financial, material and human terms).

On the political crisis in Togo in the aftermath of the death of President Gnassingbe Eyadema in 2005, General (Rtd) Obasanjo was of the opinion that the peace process succeeded because of the unity of purpose within the ECOWAS leadership, in spite of the existing differences of opinion among African leaders outside the ECOWAS region. On Guinea, he admitted that the leaders in the region foresaw the looming disaster but were helpless in salvaging the situation. He opined that the important thing to do was for the Conference to recommend ways of dealing with similar situations in the future. With regards to the Ivorian crisis, he cautioned against dismissing the ECOWAS intervention as a failure, and attributed the difficulties being experienced in the process to other external factors outside the control of the regional body. He attributed the success of the peace process in Liberia to the cooperation of Liberians with ECOWAS and the international community, the commitment of major rebel groups, mediators, peacekeepers and the African Union (AU).

Drawing lessons from past interventions, Gen. (Rtd) Obasanjo counselled that achieving success in conflict management is dependent on a number of factors, among which are timeliness of interventions; collective action characterised by transparency, impartiality, and credibility of mediators; awareness of the cost implications (human and financial) of intervention and those to be saddled with the responsibility of bearing them; and the imperative of credible sanctions for intransigence and non-cooperative behaviour.

B. Recollections of the Commanders

Generals (Rtd) Arnold Quainoo (Ghana), Adetunji Olurin and Festus Okonkwo (Nigeria), who served as ECOMOG Force/Field Commanders at various times used the opportunity to reminisce on their achievements and frustrations. According to them, their major achievements included getting the warring parties to lay down their arms amidst the pessimism of the international community, putting an end to the carnage and destruction, and the restoration of security. They also enumerated the difficulties they encountered during their different tours of duty as follows: the absence of clear mandate for their operations; absence of uniform professional standards of discipline; the absence of police contingents and civilian experts at the initial stage of ECOMOG's deployment; ECOMOG'S inability to respond to the brutal guerrilla tactics adopted by the rebels; competing lines of command, control and coordination; the tendency for ECOMOG to support various rebel factions at various times so as to gain tactical advantages; the absence of clear UN/AU/ ECOWAS guidelines on the handling of joint operations; logistical difficulties; language difficulties and the challenges of interoperability among troops. Allegations that ECOMOG was taking sides with some local rebel groups also deflated some of the confidence of the populace in the force; lack of sufficient diplomatic/civilian complement to the military operations; and financial difficulties.

The former Commanders noted that the very first ECOMOG force was designed and launched into Monrovia within seventeen days, which they described as too short a time to allow for adequate preparations. Thus, when the troops landed at the Free Port on 24 August 1990 to enforce a fragile ceasefire, they lacked adequate logistics and had to support factions in order to make a success of their tactical operations. Above all, the Mission lacked a clear and robust mandate that could be operationalized based on the dynamics of the conflict and which was flexible enough to allow the troops to oscillate between peacekeeping and peace enforcement. This factor made the ECOMOG to lose a number of its personnel, who came under rebel attacks at the initial stages of the operation. The troops were also confronted with the problem of effective command and control structures and a lack of sufficient knowledge of the local terrain. Later in the Mission, ECOMOG was also confronted with a lack

of proper coordination with the newly deployed UN Mission. Finally, ECOMOG was unable to convince the factions to see them as neutral and impartial, thus restricting their manoeuvrability. To complicate the situation for ECOMOG, the Commanders noted that external support to the rebels generally, and the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) in particular, made them intransigent.

On the psychological dimension, the Commanders noted that the local population had hoped that the intervention would quickly eliminate Charles Taylor as a force in the power calculus. The inability of ECOMOG to deal with him promptly, therefore, provoked anger and frustration among the populace, who blamed the peacekeepers for their inability to drive Taylor and his forces out of the country.

These shortcomings notwithstanding, the morale of the troops was boosted by the political will and unity of purpose exhibited by the Heads of State and Government in the region and encouraged them to strive for success in the face of these challenges. The Force/ Field Commanders highlighted the vital importance of intelligence to the success of their Missions as it provided clues about the intentions and plans of rebels. One of the Commanders cited a case in point, when intelligence gathered indicated that weapons were coming into the hands of a major rebel faction from Cote d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso. This enabled ECOMOG to take preventive measures, including a pre-emptive strike against the source of illegal weapons flow into the country and to adopt measures to intercept such weapons, a situation which weakened the rebels' firepower and resolve. Further, the Charles Taylor-led NPFL had planned to mix their vehicles with UN vehicles to transport their weapons. The ECOMOG Command became aware of this and so air strikes were carried out along the Liberian-Ivorian border, which achieved its objectives but also caused concern in the region as to why Cote d'Ivoire allowed its territory to be used for the illegal flow of weapons into the conflict zone.

On the deployment of ECOMIL in Liberia during the second civil war, the Commanders noted that the Mission was given two months to stabilize the situation in order for a larger UN Mission to be deployed. Learning from the experiences of the earlier ECOMOG Mission, the ECOMOG Command did two things on landing in Monrovia: First, it carried out a sensitization campaign, explaining to all the armed factions that the ECOMIL troops were not in Liberia to kill, be killed or support any faction. Second, the Mission in a timely fashion intercepted and seized a large quantity of weapons intended for the Charles Taylor regime, thus preventing Liberia from descending into more violence and further delaying the peace process.

Summing up the lessons learnt, the former Commanders noted that both ECOMOG and ECOMIL were enforcement Missions aimed at stabilizing the security situation, and their mandates and support machinery should have adequately reflected such an objective. They observed that there was inadequate coordination between the ECOWAS Secretariat, ECOMIL and troops-contributing countries. Other observations were the insufficient time for planning and preparation; and the delay in setting up the Office of Special Representative to provide overall political direction to the Missions, thus obliging the Force/Field Commander to combine the military and diplomatic duties, assisted only by the Ambassadors of ECOWAS Member States. They also observed that the Joint Monitoring Committee that was later established to give direction to the Mission could not make any meaningful impact because it was set up too late. Ideally, it should have been established as soon as the troops landed in the theatre. For future purposes, they advised that it would be important to have adequate knowledge of the key players and the topography of the theatre of operation in order to make provisions for adequate logistics needs before deploying troops.

Reactions from the Floor

The interventions by the ex-Heads of State and Commanders were followed by lively exchanges between the presenters and other participants. A Liberian civil society activist and an active participant in the peace processes in Liberia lauded the positive roles played by Presidents Rawlings and Obasanjo in enhancing peace in the region. He also commended their personal commitment and urged the current leaders in the region to follow their examples by taking pro-active steps to further stabilise the security environment in the region. Another contributor, a retired Army General from Ghana, cautioned against allowing language to be a barrier to functional cooperative efforts in ensuring sustainable peace in the region. A participant from Guinea Bissau, on her part, urged ECOWAS to recognise the important role played by Civil Society in bringing the wars in the region to the end. She stated that discourse on the issues of peace and security in the region tended to marginalise Civil Society and cautioned against the trend. She wondered whether the region would not have recorded greater successes in conflict resolution had the political leaders exhibited the same level of frankness and truthfulness of civil society actors in their interventions. A Liberian Government official and a key participant in the peace processes cited the leadership of Nigeria, the realism of Ghana and the universal acceptability of the Gambia as a neutral player in the Liberian crises as key to the success of the region's agreement to deploy troops in Liberia. He urged that future interventions should be underpinned by clear mandates for peacekeepers and unity among the leaders of Member States. A participant from the Liberian Inter-Faith Mediation Council urged policy-makers to accord greater recognition to the role played by faith-based groups in the search for peace, stressing that in Liberia, the initial attempts to enthrone peace were made by the faith-based groups. A former Prime Minister of Togo added by demanding for an acknowledgement of the important role that Togo played, especially in the peace processes in Sierra Leone and Guinea Bissau. He also pointed out the contradictory interests of the external powers in the conflicts and questioned the commitment of the international community to the peace in Africa.

In rounding up interventions during the Session, the President of the ECOWAS Commission revealed that certain things were taken for granted at the inception of the regional peace processes. First, Member States did not demonstrate sufficient unity of purpose. Second, Member States were embroiled in cold-war politics, in spite of the changes in the post cold war global dynamics. He stressed the importance of peace education for the citizens of Member States.

2. Violent Conflicts in West Africa: Causes and Manifestations

The session featured presentations by Professor Abdoulaye Bathily, the AU Special Envoy to the Mbororos and Convener of CODA; Dr. Abdel-Fatau Musah, the ECOWAS Director of Political Affairs; and Colonel Mahamane Toure, the ECOWAS Commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace and Security.

Professor Abdoulaye Bathily kicked off the Session with a paper titled *Manipulating Citizenship and Identity – Lethal Root Causes of Conflict*. He traced the genesis and interpreted the *traditional* notion of *African Citizenship*, comparing and contrasting it with the *post-colonial* distortions and manifestations of the concepts. He began by discussing the generally *natural traditional boundaries* of the nascent pre-colonial State and juxtaposed them with the current *irrational State boundaries* bequeathed to Africa by the Colonialists. He traced some of the root causes of conflicts today to this aspect of the colonial legacy. He identified numerous examples from Africa, where citizenship and identity have become in-built structural causes of permanent conflict. According to him, in contrast, the traditional African society, and indeed the anti-colonial movement, drew much of their strengths and versatility from the unity that the elites were able to forge out of rich ethnic and cultural diversity.

What is worrisome, according to Professor Bathily, is that the post-colonial African political and social elites have often manipulated Citizenship and Identity to serve their narrow self-interests, and by so doing, triggering artificial identity crises and subsequent violence in several Member States. He attributed the intractable nature of the primarily natural resource-based low-intensity conflicts in such enclaves as the Casamance of Senegal, the Niger Delta of Nigeria, the northern parts of Niger, Mali, and Ghana, as well as Darfur and elsewhere in Africa, to the inflammatory role played by the cynical manipulation of citizenship and identity.

Analysing the civil wars in West Africa, Professor Bathily identified identity and citizenship-based marginalisation as one of the main drivers of the conflicts. In the case of Cote d'Ivoire, he explained that the articulation of the concept of *Ivoirité* was a clear example of the manipulation of identity for narrow political ends. He reminded participants that before 1947, Cote d'Ivoire did not exist as a distinct political entity and lamented the fact that the politicization of identity was threatening to further polarise the country, in which the mosaic of diverse ethnic and national entities had hitherto coexisted in harmony.

Concluding, Professor Bathily called for a rethinking of the notion of citizenship and nationalism which downplays parochial political considerations and which is based on and reinforces the collective need for integration and inclusiveness, if Africa is to survive in the modern world of collective bargaining. Building on the theme of rethinking, he recommended a paradigm shift in the restructuring of the governance architecture in Member States that embraces diverse identities and citizenship and based on inclusiveness and unconditional acceptance of political, social, cultural and religious diversity.

Dr. Abdel-Fatau Musah spoke to the topic ***Current and Emerging Threats to Good Governance in West Africa***. He stated that he understood the term *Governance* to be the organisation, exploitation, management and distribution of accrued benefits thereof of human and material resources based on the assigned roles determined by power relations between individuals and among groups in a society. Singling out the political as the defining factor in the governance process, he ventured that the type and nature of the political arrangement in society is decisive in determining how good or bad the modus of governance would be in the economic and corporate, as well as the social and cultural spheres. They also, consequently, cast a decisive influence on the dynamics and transformation of conflict in society.

Illustrating conflict transformation dynamics diagrammatically with the *Wheels of Violence*, Dr. Musah argued that the structural causes of violence could be traced to the governance complex driven by negative, discriminatory political arrangements characterised by fragile, dysfunctional and repressive institutions in the face of a weak civil society counterforce. The continued negative transformation of these structural (root) causes accelerates the accumulation of exacerbating factors, including institutional corruption; ethnic/religious intolerance and extremism; manipulation of constitutions and electoral processes; organised crime; environmental degradation and food insecurity; demographic pressures, falling educational standards and youth unemployment; incomplete DDR in post-conflict environments and unmet regional integration expectations.

Beyond the internal governance processes, Dr. Musah described the geographical location and natural resource endowments of West Africa as a double-edged sword. While the endowments, if properly managed, have the immense potential to lift the region out of poverty, the same resources and the region's location make it vulnerable to externalities that exacerbate negative conflict transformation - a paradise for drug trafficking and other forms of transnational organised crime; the illegal exploitation of

resources; and a potential energy-fuelled battleground for external powers. In this context, Dr. Musah touched on the growing impact of the BRIC Group (Brazil, Russia, India and China) on the region. He challenged policy makers in the region to temper their understandable enthusiasm about the potential benefits of relations with this emergent economic powerhouse with caution. While the relationship could deliver the prospects of rapid industrialisation, infrastructural development and a viable alternative to the region's traditional partners, it is imperative that the region takes proactive steps to curb the flip-side of the courtship, such as dumping, questionable quality of products, influx of migrants, and suspect democracy and human rights standards.

Dr. Musah recommended the promotion and upholding of a shared vision as a deterrent against instability and violence in the region. He enumerated the elements of this shared vision as the respect for the constitutional convergence principles as encapsulated in the Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance, and especially in relation to the commitment to promote a robust and functional multiparty and free market systems; the formulation and application of credible, participatory and functional constitutions; respect for the rule of law and the neutrality and democratic/civilian control of the armed forces. He also called for sustained commitment to poverty eradication, efficient community governance, a single regional market and a robust multi-actor response to cross-border destabilisation and criminality.

Colonel Mahamane Touré concluded the introductory panel remarks with a presentation on the ***Overview of the ECOWAS Peace and Security Architecture***. He explained that the architecture was premised on two cardinal protocols: the **Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peace-Keeping and Security** (the Mechanism) of 1999 that outlines the process and modalities of decision-making in the event of a threat to regional peace and security; and the **Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance** of 2001, which defines the common governance values binding member States of the Community and which are outlined in the constitutional convergence principles of the Protocol.

Colonel Touré took participants through the intricacies and hierarchical system of decision-making and consequent actions by different actors from the time of crisis to intervention as contained in the provisions of the relevant articles of the Mechanism, particularly Article 58. In so doing, he outlined the institutions and organs responsible for specific actions, beginning with the Early Warning System to the Mediation and Security Commission at the level of Heads of State and Government. He explained the roles of various Departments of the ECOWAS Commission and other organs, such as the Council of the Wise, the Defence and Security Committee, Offices of the Special Representatives of the ECOWAS President and Special Mediators, as contained in the Mechanism. He also emphasised the *avant-garde* nature of the Mechanism that inspired similar Mechanisms at the regional and continental levels in Africa.

Touching on the Supplementary Protocol, Colonel Touré linked its relevance to the promotion and defence of democratic governance principles, including the accession to power only through democratic and credible elections; zero tolerance for power obtained or maintained by unconstitutional means; the separation and autonomy of powers; the neutrality and democratic control of the armed forces; the right to participate actively in political life; the rule of law; human rights; freedom of association; freedom of the press; and access to justice. Colonel Touré explained how the regional peace and security architecture was linked to the continental architecture, and outlined the several ways ECOWAS interacted with the African Union and the United Nations in the maintenance of peace and security.

Finally, he made a call for the effective domestication and implementation of the provisions of the ECOWAS Protocols by Member States as a means to ensure local ownership and relevance.

The presentations were followed by animated discussion among the participants. Of note was the intervention of Flt. Lt. (Rtd) J.J. Rawlings, who pointed to the failure of the African intellectuals to rise up to the demands of the times for good governance beyond dry criticisms from 'the comfort of armchairs'. He noted that their ideas found no traction among the ordinary people because they lived a world apart from them, spoke over their heads and could not articulate their needs. He urged Africans to temper their newfound love for Western ideas of governance and democracy with the need to explore and utilise traditional values and concepts of equality, fairness and justice.

In addition to the view of Flt. Lt. (Rtd) Rawlings, the following broad observations and conclusions were arrived at during the discussions:

- Instead of the rich diversities in society serving as the basis for cohesion and progress in the drive for regional integration, the issues of citizenship and identity have become major drivers of instability, being common causes of violence in the region.
- The political and group elites have often manipulated citizenship and identity for their narrow and selfish ends. There was the need to reverse this trend by highlighting the strengths of diversity and the ideals of common citizenship through sensitization and criminalization of the propagation of hatred based on nationality, ethnicity, belief, gender and other social differences.
- Bad governance is at the root of violence in the region and the promotion and defence of common values of democracy and human security as contained in ECOWAS protocols should be a *sine qua non* for regional integration.
- The rich natural endowments and the geographical location of West Africa are major promoters of economic progress and human security, and at the same time major causes of violence. Consequently, there is the need to institutionalise the principles and practice of good natural resource and corporate governance in the region.
- While welcoming the potential benefits of increased cooperation with the BRIC countries, the region should adopt measures aimed at minimizing the downside of the relations, including the signing of non-transparent contracts, unregulated exploitation of natural resources, dumping of toxic wastes and unwanted goods, disregard for democracy and human rights and potential worsening of youth unemployment.
- Immediate measures should be taken to complement the impressive ECOWAS peace and security architecture by facilitating the development of robust peace and security mechanisms at the local and national levels, and building synergies between the local/national and the regional.

3. Negotiating and Crafting Peace Agreements

The second panel discussion was followed by another on ***Negotiating and Crafting Peace Agreements***. The four-member panel included Mrs. Amelia Ward, who led on the topic ***How Inclusive are Peace Processes? Women in Peace Processes in West Africa***; Alhaji G.V. Kromah on ***ECOWAS Mediation Efforts in Retrospect and Prospect***; Dr. Kayode Fayemi, who led the discussions on ***Marginalized or Partners? The Role of Civil Society and the Media in Peace Processes***"; and Ambassador Ansumana Ceesay, who spoke on ***Securing the Consent of Warlords and Difficult Stakeholders in ECOWAS-Facilitated Peace Processes***. The Session was moderated by Dr. Jibrin Ibrahim, a West African pro-democracy activist and Director of the Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD).

Mrs. Amelia Ward of the Mano River Women's Peace Network (MARWOPNET) explained the origins, vision and activities of the Network, which was borne out of the determination of the women in the Mano River Union (Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone) to deliver a coordinated response to and positively impact the civil wars that had broken out in the Union. Being women and mothers, and as such the main victims of the carnage that unfolded in Liberia and Sierra Leone with the attendant internal displacements and mass refugee flows into Guinea, women, according to Mrs Ward, had an interest and a responsibility to end the violence. Consequently, the Network and women in general played key and positive roles in the search for solutions to the civil wars by openly opposing violence and constantly applying pressure and persuasion on protagonists at various peace talks.

Mrs. Ward lamented, however, that women were denied key roles in decision-making post-conflict and called for a paradigm shift in thinking on the role of women in the peace processes. Turning to the current concerns and activities of the Network, Mrs Ward informed the gathering that the doors of the Network had recently been opened to accommodate women from another troubled country, Cote d'Ivoire, who needed to benefit from the experiences of women in Liberia and Sierra Leone. In addition, the Network, which was influential in the adoption of UN Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security was working to popularize and implement the provisions of the Resolution. Finally, she called on ECOWAS to involve women at the highest levels of regional conflict management, both in the crafting and implementation of peace agreements.

In his presentation, **Alhaji G.V. Kromah, former leader of the ULIMO-K** rebel group in the first civil war in Liberia, gave a fascinating insight into the roles of the various rebel groups in the civil war. On the civil war itself, he placed the blame for the prolongation of the war and the suffering of the population on politicians who benefited from the status quo. He described how some of the warring factions, including ULIMO-K, cooperated with ECOMOG and thus contributed in no small means in the restoration of peace in the country. According to Alhaji Kromah, it was unfair to label all the so-called warlords as uncooperative and enemies of the peace process, because the actions of some warlords actually ensured the rapid end to hostilities and the success of the peace process.

Alhaji Kromah lamented the distortion of the roles and the demonization of some of the rebel factions and their leaders in sections of the media and the international community in the discourse on the civil war in Liberia, and called for an objective reassessment of the roles played by various parties in the war and peace processes. He emphasized that the so-called ex-warlords had an important role to play in helping to strengthen regional instruments for conflict prevention, management and peace-building, and urged the policy makers to actively involve them in the processes.

Dr. Kayode Fayemi, a renowned West African pro-democracy activist and civil society leader, analysed the roles Civil Society has played in the search for solutions to the civil wars and the fight against dictatorship in the region, focusing on the peace processes in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea Bissau. He emphasised that civil society organisations provided the platform for coalition-building and mediation efforts for the restoration of peace in the region. He described the successful efforts made by the Centre for Democracy and Development in the course of the Akosombo peace process in 1999, to persuade Foday Sankoh and other warlords, within the framework of the parallel CDD-sponsored civil society forum, to engage their opponents in constructive dialogue towards peace in Sierra Leone. He also cited the role of the women's organizations and the Faith-based groups in nudging combatants towards the negotiating table in Liberia and elsewhere.

Dr. Fayemi also attested that civil society groups, including NGOs, student and labour movements, were at the forefront of the struggles against military dictatorship and authoritarian rule throughout West Africa in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and credited the current democratic dispensation to the sacrifices made by these groups. Explaining the limits of civil society in the governance process, Dr. Fayemi warned participants against attributing unfounded credentials to Civil Society and conflating its role with that of Government. He also admitted that not everything about Civil Society is positive and that the dark side of Civil Society included its penchant for antagonistic relationship with Government, the problems of in-fighting and division, lack of sufficient training, capacity and resources, and its vulnerability to external influences.

In order to enhance its relevance and effectiveness in the promotion and consolidation of democracy and peace, Dr. Fayemi emphasised the need for civil society to maintain its neutrality in situations of conflict. It must concentrate its efforts on building bridges and providing the platform for the promotion, domestication and application of regional norms and standards aimed at enshrining common values underpinning regional integration, democratic culture, peace and security.

Ambassador Ansumana Ceesay, the Special Representative of the ECOWAS President in Liberia, concluded the plenary presentations with a paper on ***Securing the Consent of Warlords and Difficult Stakeholders in ECOWAS-Facilitated Peace Process***. He identified as one of the major challenges in any peace process, the ability to get protagonists to the negotiating table, without which there could not be talks. He cited the cases of Sierra Leone and Liberia, where 'incentives' were given to warlords to secure their cooperation in peace processes. Ambassador Ceesay submitted that, for example, neutrals and victims were rightly incensed by the major incentives offered to Foday Sankoh (as Minister responsible for minerals and a de-facto Vice-President) in the 1999 peace agreement, and also the safe passage given to Charles Taylor in order to secure the Accra Comprehensive Peace Accords as in the case of Liberia. He however, noted that such concessions were at times necessary in the short term in order to secure lasting peace. He also cautioned that such approaches should be an exception to the rule in order not to give the impression of rewarding impunity.

The Ambassador also cited the success of the ECOWAS Mediation Team in convincing Mr. George Weah, the first runner up in the 2005 Presidential elections in Liberia to recognise the results of the elections so as to move Liberia forward. He reiterated the need for confidence-building and transparency among the stakeholders in the peace process and proposed greater use of the Council of the Wise and the Special Representatives of the President in building confidence among stakeholders and securing the cooperation of difficult stakeholders during peace processes.

During the question and answer period after the presentations, participants were generally in agreement on the following observations:

- Civil society in general, and particularly women's, faith-based and community groups played and continue to play significant roles in the search for lasting peace in the region, and that their contributions have often not been adequately recognised and rewarded in the way these groups are often marginalised when it comes to high-level peace processes and roles assigned to stakeholders in peace agreements;
- Peace agreements should contain special provisions for the rehabilitation of the most vulnerable groups during conflicts, especially child soldiers and women fighters;

- Peace processes should not lump all so-called warlords and rebel groups as spoilers in the peace process and mediators should recognise and capitalise on the positive contributions of some of these groups to the overall peace process;
- While securing the peace remains a priority in situations of conflict, care should be taken not to encourage impunity by rewarding warlords and rebels at the expense of victims during negotiations.

4. The fourth panel discussion on ***Implementing Peace Agreements*** was chaired by H.E Ellen Margrethe Løj, SRSG of the United Nations Secretary-General in Liberia. The panel included Gen. (Rtd.) Ishola Williams, Executive Secretary of the Pan African Strategic and Policy Research Group (PANAFSTRAG), who led on the topic **‘One Size Fits All? A Critical Analysis of the Implementation and Sequencing of Peace Agreements’** and Dr. Adedeji Ebo, Head of the Security Sector Reform Unit, Office of the UN Secretary-General, whose presentation was titled **‘Security Sector Reform in Post-Conflict States: The United Nations and Regional Economic Communities’**.

General (Rtd.) Ishola Williams, in his presentation titled ‘One Size Fits All? A Critical Analysis of the Implementation and Sequencing of Peace Agreements’ began by stressing the importance of peace agreements to the management and resolution of conflicts in the region. After reviewing the structure and formats of peace agreements, he suggested that they should be dynamic enough to capture the shifting character of conflicts in the region. According to him, given the fact that the nature of conflicts in the region is shifting to non-armed conflicts, there is the need for peace agreements to be crafted in such a way that they can respond to the new security challenges. He alluded to the growing importance of Regional Organizations in peace processes and the need for Member States in the region to demonstrate more commitment to conflict prevention and management, rather than wait for the intervention of the United Nations. Gen. (Rtd.) Williams outlined the end-state objectives of mediation as stability, security, justice, infrastructural and economic development, and social cohesion, and described the political architecture and governance structure as key factors in employing peace agreements as tools of conflict transformation. He also made a call for the full exploration of local remedies before seeking to engage outsiders as mediators. Some of the best practices while crafting peace agreements as outlined in his presentation include: the need for stakeholders to be made to reach a consensus on the objectives of the Agreement; the need to put in place a new legal framework or review the existing one; collective decisions on the length of the transition period; and the need for elections to be conducted only after the building blocks of democracy have been put in place or structured. He recommended that post-conflict states should not be in a hurry to conduct elections, and when it is time to conduct elections, a ‘bottom-up’ rather than ‘top-down’ approach should be devised by first putting local governance institutions in place, so that the maturation of democratic institutions can be achieved. Finally, he stressed the need for peacekeeping forces to always strive to add value to their mission by engaging in development processes in their areas of operation. He recommended that mediators should have roles to play during the implementation stage of peace agreements so as to prevent the recurrence of conflict and promote the stabilization of the political system.

Dr. Adedeji Ebo made his presentation on the topic ‘Security Sector Reform in Post-Conflict States: The United Nations and Regional Economic Communities’. He started by acknowledging the importance of ECOWAS’s strategic goal of transforming the West African region from “an ECOWAS of States to an ECOWAS of the Peoples”. He gave a definition of the security sector, noting that it is not synonymous

with security agencies but encompasses security agencies, the institutions that oversee them and the institutions tasked with managing the security sector. He gave a historical overview of West African security institutions and noted that they were originally created by the colonial authorities to keep the natives in check and for aggressive taxation purposes. Unfortunately, the successive post-independent political leadership did little to re-orientate the security institutions that they inherited. Rather, the security sector was tailored to ensure regime security rather than that of the people and institutions. He stated that nowhere is the gap between the state and society more evident (and with devastating consequences) than in the security sector. Dr. Ebo posed the question 'why do we have the type of security sector we have in West Africa?' and attempted to answer by noting that the Security Sector is both an instrument of good and bad governance, depending on how it is configured. For successful and efficient Security Sector Reform, Dr. Ebo pointed out that some necessary conditions need to be in place. He stated that SSR succeeds within a framework of economic and political reform, and viewed as one of the root causes of conflict that must be tackled in the case of post-conflict societies. Against this backdrop, he articulated the basic aim of reform in the security sector as that of facilitating the attainment of operational efficiency and adherence to human rights and the rule of law, sharpening oversight over the security sector by democratic authorities. The UN, according to him, has no particular position on what the security sector should look like but as stated in the UN Secretary-General's Report on Security Sector Reform, five common necessary conditions must be fulfilled to achieve well governed security sector institutions. They include: a legal and constitutional framework; an institutionalized system of governance and management; capacity, structures, equipment, and personnel to provide effective security; the existence of a mechanism for interaction among security sector actors and; a culture of service characterized by a sense of unity, discipline, impartiality, integrity and respect for human rights among security sector actors. He emphasized the importance of SSR in post-conflict societies and stressed that it is a necessity for avoiding a relapse into conflicts. In addition, he submitted that SSR must be based on national ownership, a common vision of the society being reformed, that the society must be ready to deploy its resources for the security sector, and it must be monitored and evaluated by civil society. He posited that SSR based exclusively on donor funding is not sustainable. Dr. Ebo concluded by analyzing the UN perspectives on security sector reform and articulated four basic rules of the UN in the SSR process as follows: normative roles, which concern the rules to guide reform in post-conflict environments; the need for SSR to strive to attain the twin goals of accountability and efficiency; mainstreaming of gender in the SSR process and finally; the implementation of SSR at the earliest possible time during a peace process.

IV. SYNDICATE SESSIONS

The three plenary sessions set the scene for in-depth deliberations and recommendations at break-out sessions. Six working group sessions, each dealing with specific thematic issues, were held. The methodology at the sessions consisted of the Chairpersons or lead speakers throwing up the key issues to be discussed, followed by deliberations and recommendations. The recommendations were then put

presented at plenary sessions, where participants were given the opportunity to comment on the conclusions of the syndicates before adopting the recommendations as Conference documents.

1. Syndicate One:

- a. Facilitating Conflict Resolution and Peace Agreements
- b. Prospects for UN-REC Cooperation in Mediation

Chairperson: Mr. Conmany Wesseh, Liberian Ambassador-designate to Belgium and the European Union

The Group began its work by reviewing the conflict resolution initiatives in the region over the years, focusing not only on the civil wars in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau and Cote d'Ivoire, but also on the political conflicts, particularly in Togo. Through the analyses, the Group was able to appreciate the successes while acknowledging the shortcomings. Within this context, it also looked at the cooperation between ECOWAS, the AU and the UN in the areas of conflict management and preventive diplomacy, with a view to suggesting ways to strengthen the collaboration.

Observations

The Group's overall assessment was that the region had made significant gains in the area of conflict management, pointing out the relative peace in the region today as proof of the strides made. It also pointed out the impressive array of normative and institutional frameworks that the region had put in place to underpin a proactive approach to conflict prevention and management. Regarding inter-institutional cooperation, the Group described the existing cooperation between ECOWAS and the UN as healthy and productive, and praised the growing collaboration between ECOWAS and the AU. The Group however called for greater efforts to build on the achievements.

Recommendations

In the efforts to build on the achievements of the region in peace and security, the Group put forward the following recommendations:

- i. To further strengthen the region's mediation architecture, ECOWAS should concretise the idea of establishing a forum of Former Heads of State and Government.
- ii. ECOWAS should set up a database of expertise in all aspects of conflict management to enable the Organisation to draw on to assist mediators. These thematic experts should preferably be from the region, but expertise from outside the region or the continent should also be considered. The database should be sanitised against experts with questionable reputation and negative baggage.
- iii. Preventive diplomacy should be encouraged before, during and after violent conflicts. To this end, mapping of potential conflict areas should be undertaken.
- iv. Timely financial, technical and logistic support should be provided to mediation processes, especially at the grassroots level.

- v. Political directives and operational guidelines to mediators must be clear, concise and explicit, and should be based on the proper appreciation of the nature of the conflict.
- vi. ECOWAS should prioritise the establishment of a mediation support capability within the Commission as provided for in the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework. To this end, the Group welcomed the preparedness of the UN Mediation Support Unit to assist ECOWAS in the area of capacity building for its new Mediation Facilitation Division.
- vii. Greater financial and technical assistance should be provided to post-conflict states while ensuring that their citizens progressively assume ownership of peace-building through effective skills transfer and financial support.
- viii. Partner support for conflict management should only be accommodated by ECOWAS within the framework of its own strategic objectives and priorities;
- ix. Functional horizontal relationships should be established between ECOWAS and other RECs while strengthening vertical relationships between ECOWAS, the AU and the UN through permanent consultations, exchange of experiences and views, as well as the transfer of expertise. In these relations, the principles of subsidiarity, comparative advantage and complementarity should be observed.

2. **Syndicate Two:**

- a. *Track II Mediation in ECOWAS Space – Need for a Bottom-Up Mechanism?***
- b. *The Role of Civil Society in Preventive Diplomacy in West Africa.***

Chairperson: Mr. Philip Banks III

The Group began its deliberations by setting the parameters of the discussion as “an assessment of the relevance and modalities of *an all-inclusive diplomacy*”. The Group devoted much of its deliberations to the roles, strengths and weaknesses of civil society in peace processes and how its roles could be further enhanced. It cautioned about the need to put civil society role in the proper context to ensure result-oriented involvement. It was of the opinion that identifying the limitations and constraints faced by the civil society was vital to finding solutions and improved working structures for them in the regional peace processes.

A corollary debate ensued as to whether civil society should limit itself to only non-violent interventions or actively take part in peace enforcement exercises. The general view was that civil society activity should be exclusively non-violent even when it is called upon to play a role in peace enforcement.

Observations

It was agreed that exerting pressure on protagonists to reach a consensus was part of non-violence action, as occurred during the Accra peace talks on Liberia when a women’s group locked up protagonists at the agenda-setting plenary session until they agreed on the way forward, was a part of non-violent action. The Group identified the main strength of civil society in all-inclusive diplomacy and peace processes as its capacity to reach out to all sides involved in a conflict.

Regarding the constraints, the Group noted that the link between ECOWAS mediation institutions/organs and civil society were weak and needed to be strengthened. As examples, the group was of the opinion that, information flow from the ECOWAS Early Warning System to civil society was

practically non-existent, thus civil society groups could not react proactively to the concerns of ECOWAS. Participants questioned how such elaborate network to detect early signs of conflict could be put in place and information received is not passed on to those who can act swiftly to prevent its escalation. It also pointed out the absence of any synergy between the work of the ECOWAS Council of the Wise and civil society.

Turning to the internal weaknesses of civil society, the Group pointed to the unnecessary in-fighting and scramble for donor support as a factor impeding greater civil society cohesion. It also noted that some civil society groups are usually financially compromised and beholden to parties to conflict. Consequently, while they are restricted in their ability to confront erring actors in conflict and become apologists and sycophants in conflict situations.

Recommendations

Flowing from the observations made, the Group made the following recommendations:

- i. ECOWAS should take proactive steps to scale up information dissemination of information between the ECOWAS system and civil society by streamlining the relations between the two and empowering the media in the region by associating them with ECOWAS programs and facilitating training programmes for the media to enable them to have regular access to ECOWAS activities and disseminate relevant information to the wider Community.
- ii. Civil society groups should work towards creating a credible interface with the ECOWAS Commission by evolving an inclusive, representative and transparent civil society platform from the grassroots. Towards this end, there should be greater, formalised and coordinated interactions on issues among civil society groups across the region in order to build a strong network for smooth and swift transfer of information.
- iii. ECOWAS should facilitate the creation of a mechanism to ensure the accommodation of civil society inputs into the decision making process by institutionalising the effective participation of civil society in the meetings of ECOWAS decision making and contributing organs.
- iv. Civil society should work towards maintaining and strengthening its institutional and operational autonomy in its dealings with Governments and the ECOWAS system.
- v. ECOWAS and civil society in general should facilitate greater capacity building for organisations beyond the formal NGOs, such as faith-based groups, traditional groups, women's community groups and trade unions, in order to further enhance their substantial roles in mediation and conflict prevention.
- vi. Civil society organisations should demonstrate greater courage and determination to speak up and mobilise against political and governance actions that may provoke conflicts in Member States, thereby exerting pressure on and emboldening ECOWAS to act. There was a request to find ways of ensuring the autonomy of civil society groups so as to ensure that their positions on issues are not compromised.

3. Syndicate Three

Strengthening Future Peace Support Operations (PSOs): From ECOMOG to ESF Raising the Profile of the Police and Civilian Components in Integrated PSOs

Chairperson: Colonel Mahamane Touré

The session began with an introductory presentation by Colonel Mahamane Touré on the evolution of work on the establishment the ECOWAS Standby Force, the proposed regional Brigade of 6,500 personnel under the AU's Continental Standby Arrangement. He described the progress made in setting up the military, police and civilian components of the ESF, with the support of the US, France and UK and other partners known as the P3+, and with the facilitation of the ECOWAS Centres of Excellence in Abuja, Accra and Bamako.

Since the process began in 2005, ECOWAS has moved incrementally to establish the military Task Force of 2,773 made up of the Eastern, Western and Logistics Battalions from personnel pledged by Member States. The three components, which constitute the ECOWAS rapid deployment capability, are at an advanced stage of validation through Command Post Exercises (CPX). ECOWAS is also in the process of setting up the Brigade with an initial CPX for the ECOBRIG HQ personnel, as well as drafting a contractual MOU with Member States to underpin future deployment and manage expectations between the parties.

According to Colonel Touré, progress has also been made with regard to the police and civilian components of the ESF. The Vision and Structures of the Police Component have already been developed and personnel would soon be recruited to take the work forward. With regard to the civilian component, ECOWAS is currently working hard to develop internal capacity and recruit core civilian PSO expertise in the second half of 2010 with a view to bringing the process up to speed with the progress made in developing the military component. The staff to be recruited includes the Head of Civilian Component and Officers responsible for Training & Rostering as well as Logistics and Planning.

Colonel Touré pointed out that the ESF process faces a number of challenges including language and interoperability (harmonisation of communication, procedures and equipment); a clear definition of mission; logistics and equipment; and a civilian capacity. These challenges notwithstanding, much progress has been achieved. According to him, visits to Member States to verify the status of pledged units indicated that as at 2010, the ESF boasts projected numerical strength of 6,576, made up of a Military Component 4,946 personnel; a Police/gendarmerie component of 1,470; a Civilian Component structure of 60; and 100 Military Observers.

Observations

In the course of deliberations, the Group made a number of observations on the structural and operational challenges, as well as logistics and command problems that plagued ECOMOG and ECOMIL and urged that these be taken into account in the establishment of the ESF. Among the challenges, they pointed out the following:

- Past deployments were hampered by a lack of air support, which had to be provided by a private American company funded by the US.
- Past Missions suffered from a lack of clear chain of command, leading to conflicting communication and poorly coordinated operations.
- Another major weakness of past Missions was the absence of civilian oversight and a framework to incorporate civilians in the operations.

Recommendations

To mitigate the challenges observed and to enhance future peace support operations, members of the Group put forward a number of recommendations, including the following:

- i. Member States of ECOWAS should, as a matter of urgency, make air support available to future PSOs.
- ii. ECOWAS should move at speed to finalise the establishment of the ESF logistics facility in Sierra Leone to cater for the needs of the ESF.
- iii. ECOWAS should centrally provide the command for future PSOs and not cede this responsibility to any Member State on a unilateral basis.
- iv. ECOWAS should establish minimum training standards for troop-contributing Member States for the ESF.
- v. Disaster awareness and management, as well as the humanitarian dimensions of PSOs should constitute an organic part of the training curriculum of ESF personnel.
- vi. ECOWAS should take urgent steps to bring the development of the police and Civilian Components of the ESF up to speed with the Military Component and should adopt measures to ensure that the Police and Gendarmerie are not subordinated to the Military as 'junior' partners in PSOs.
- vii. ECOWAS should put in place an effective ESF communication system to sensitise Community citizens on the rationale, mandate and activities of the ESF in order to generate mass support for the Force.

4. Syndicate Four

Challenges of Implementing Peace Agreements (Customising and Sequencing)

CHAIRPERSON: Mr. Phillips Banks

Observations

Even though the elements of a peacebuilding framework are generally similar, the Group was of the opinion that there is no golden rule for peacebuilding. Each conflict is unique and would need to be carefully analyzed in its own context. Different circumstances demand different responses. This, they submitted, must be considered when designing a framework for implementing peace agreements in West Africa. They were of the view that sufficient attention has not been given to detail in designing and implementing peacebuilding after conflicts in West Africa.

The Group observed in this regard that the sequencing in the implementation of activities in peace agreements require a rethink. They were of the opinion that **transitional justice** must have its roots in the history of the country concerned. The sequencing and timing of transitional justice are, therefore, very important and must be considered in such a way as to avoid privileging one community/person over another, encourage or reward impunity, thereby entrenching the sense of injustice. The timing and methodology of truth and reconciliation processes should ensure a level playing field for all and bring about genuine healing through justice and reconciliation.

In a related observation, the Group felt that adequate resources have not been put into peacebuilding while the time frame allotted is often too short. Combined with insufficient local content and buy-in,

peacebuilding initiatives in the region have often lacked sustainability. The Group felt that incomplete peacebuilding entrenches fragility and leaves post-conflict societies vulnerable to relapses.

Recommendations

Based on these broad observations and the need to achieve the desired goals of peacebuilding, the following recommendations were made:

- i. On DDR:** In order to ensure complete and sustainable DDR, the program should be well-resourced in terms of financial, human and technical inputs. Further, DDR should be defined in the regional context, should consciously seek local content and ownership to avoid the marginalisation of key target groups and also ensure its sustainability. ECOWAS should also develop a quick-impact project implementation component within DDR aimed at the quickest possible disarmament, demobilisation and resettlement of ex-combatants and the rehabilitation and resettlement of victims.
- ii. Role of Region:** ECOWAS should give serious consideration to building a regional peacebuilding capability to avoid creating a vacuum upon the drawdown or withdrawal of UN/International Missions from post-conflict countries.
- iii. Constitution Making and Constitutional Reform:** Peace agreements should focus great attention on constitution making or constitutional reform to eliminate the provisions of the Constitution that undermined the political system and provoked the conflicts. The role of independent constitutional courts should be emphasised and strengthened to prevent future manipulations by leaders.
- iv. On Political Parties:** In the immediate post-conflict period, ECOWAS should seek to facilitate the restructuring and strengthening of political parties to serve as the vehicles of peaceful political mobilisation for democratic governance in the new dispensation. ECOWAS should not seek to create new political parties but should encourage all parties to the just-ended conflict to seek only peaceful means of contest within the framework of political parties. ECOWAS has a responsibility to encourage internal party democracy and organisation.
- v. Elections:** Though elections are an important element in the implementation of peace agreements, they should not always be seen as a panacea. Under certain circumstances, it is necessary for national reconciliation processes to precede elections. Also, it may be desirable to build post-conflict governance from the bottom up, meaning that local and district elections must precede national elections.
- vi. Monitoring and Oversight Bodies:** ECOWAS should give serious thoughts to setting up oversight and monitoring structures in the immediate post-conflict period, including the nature, composition, mandate and duration of such bodies to ensure proper coordination of efforts and impartiality in the implementation of peace agreements.
- vii. Civil Society** constitutes a key stakeholder in post-conflict processes. ECOWAS should ensure the active and equal participation of organised civil society in the design, planning and implementation of peace agreements, in particular their peacebuilding aspects. Their capacities should be enhanced to mobilise the population to actively participate in peacebuilding activities, to effectively monitor the implementation of agreements and to hold leaders accountable.

- viii. The International Community:** ECOWAS should insist on clearly defining the role of the international community in post-conflict countries, including the International Contact Groups, and should ensure that foreign powers do not impose their preferred groups and candidates on the people. ECOWAS should also ensure the effective coordination of partner efforts in the peacebuilding process to avoid unnecessary competition and duplication of efforts.
- ix. Civic/Peace education** of the population is essential and should be included in peace agreements. The sensitisation campaigns should be carried out preferably in the local languages for wider and effective dissemination among the population.
- x. Sanctions:** ECOWAS should strengthen its sanctions regime by broadening the range of sanctions and incorporating targeted sanctions against regimes or individuals that breach peace agreements and ECOWAS protocols. ECOWAS should actively seek the cooperation and agreement of the AU, UN and other international partners in the enforcement of such sanctions.

5. Syndicate Five:

Building Local/Regional Capacities for Post-Conflict Peacebuilding and Reconstruction

Chairperson: Mr. Togba-Nah Tipoteh

Observations

The Group described post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding as the weakest link in the ECOWAS peace and security architecture. Even though a few local civil society groups have made impressive accomplishments in peacebuilding, their experience has not been replicated and capitalised on. It called on ECOWAS to take urgent steps to build regional, national and local capacities, capitalising on experiences from the region's rich traditional practices, women's groups, such as MARWPONET, and other similar networks. The Group also identified West Africans in the region and the Diaspora who have served in various UN and international Missions as a valuable resource for building a regional capability in the area of post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding.

Recommendations

Based on the afore-mentioned observations, the Group proceeded to make recommendations for building local capacities to enhance peacebuilding as follows:

- i. ECOWAS should collate, study and capitalise on existing practices and resources in West Africa in peacebuilding – traditional, CSO/NGO and individuals – as a basis for a regional policy, and enrich the policy with UN and other international practices in the area.
- ii. ECOWAS should develop an institutional framework for Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration, making use of its Small Arms Unit and Small Arms Commissions in Member States to sustain UN-facilitated DDR programmes.
- iii. ECOWAS and its partners such as UNOWA and the AU, should facilitate the capacity building of local civil society groups to actively engage in post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding by leveraging financial and technical support from development partners, and providing qualified technical support for this purpose.

- iv. ECOWAS should work with the AU's Post-Conflict Reconstruction Framework in the area of capacity-building to share expertise and maximise impact.
- v. ECOWAS and partners should facilitate basic literacy and skills development for ex-combatants to encourage them to lead purposeful and peaceful lives post-conflict.
- vi. ECOWAS should promote peace education in institutions of learning and facilitate capacity-building for the West African media to enable them to play the role of an informed and constructive partner in peacebuilding.
- vii. ECOWAS should encourage the Chambers of Commerce and the private sector in the respective Member States to invest in capacity building of local civil society, especially women, youth and religious groups in reconstruction and peacebuilding.
- viii. ECOWAS should facilitate capacity enhancement of political parties, in addition to its work with electoral commissions, to promote peaceful and credible electoral processes and good governance.
- ix. ECOWAS should set up a database of expertise in different aspects DDDR, from local groups, ex-soldiers, veterans of UN Missions and other talents from the West African Diaspora, to tap for the purpose of developing a regional capability in post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding.

ECOWAS should increase the share of its operational budget earmarked for peace and security from 0.5 percent to 1 percent to generate additional funding for the implementation of the Conference recommendations.

6. Syndicate Six:

Strengthening the ECOWAS Peace and Security Architecture

Chairperson: Colonel Mahamane Touré

Observations

After subjecting the ECOWAS peace and security architecture to detailed discussion, the Group was of the opinion that in the Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security of 1999 and the Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance of 2001, ECOWAS had established an excellent normative basis for peace and security in the region. It was also convinced that the various institutions and organs under the Mechanism, particularly the Authority of Heads of State and Government, the Mediation and Security Council and the ECOWAS Commission, have significantly and incrementally improved their capacity for proactive intervention and the efficacy of their actions. The Group felt that greater adherence to the supra-nationality norm adopted by ECOWAS would further ensure greater successes in conflict management in the region.

Despite the positives, however, the Group was of the view that the mode of intervention was top-down, cumbersome and often required consensus at the level of the Authority of Heads of State. The syndicate argued for the devotion of time and effort to the search for complementary bottom-up approaches to intervention. It was also noted that ECOWAS had ceded full responsibility for 'local conflicts' to Member States. This, the Group considered problematic as some so-called local conflicts left to the concerned

states have dragged on for decades and often generated regional implications. The Niger Delta in Nigeria and Casamance in Senegal were cited as examples. The syndicate was of the view however that ways and means of intervention that do not provoke sensibilities of national sovereignty should be sought. In so doing, recourse to traditional resources and the agency of ECOWAS field organs, such as the Council of the Wise, might introduce non-threatening and more acceptable modes of intervention.

The Group also noted that the ECOWAS sanctions regime is not robust enough and often fails to serve as a deterrent to impunity and undemocratic practices in Member States.

Recommendations

Below are the recommendations of Syndicate Six, flowing from the observations above:

- i. ECOWAS should take urgent steps to update the relevant provisions of its Treaty and Protocols to take cognisance of current and emerging threats, just as the Organisation should also replace outmoded terms, such as ECOMOG, with the new and appropriate terminologies, such as ESF, in the texts.
- ii. ECOWAS should develop a workable framework for a bottom-up approach to conflict management to complement the existing architecture, exploring the opportunities offered by ECOWAS structures and organs in the field, as well as traditional resources, including traditional rulers and their mediation structures, griots and faith groups. In so doing, however, ECOWAS should also take steps to guard against the manipulation of the traditional systems for selfish and anti-democratic ends.
- iii. ECOWAS should facilitate the establishment and or strengthening of local and national peace and security mechanisms and streamlining them with the regional architecture to ensure greater complementarity. In doing so, it should recognise identifiable local/national groups as bona fide peace and security institutions and organs in its terminology. These groups include non-state actors such as faith-based groups, women's organisations, non-governmental organisations, labour and professional groups.
- iv. ECOWAS should make information and processes emanating from its Early Warning System and Response Mechanisms to the broader civil society to promote inclusiveness and early multi-actor responses to conflict.
- v. ECOWAS should work with its partners, including the AU, UN and EU, to strengthen its sanctions regime and streamline it with international practice to ensure greater impact and universal application and enforcement.

Side Events at the Conference:

- a. Launch of the ECOWAS Youth Volunteers Programme;**
- b. Seminar on Non-State Armed Groups in West Africa.**

Two main side events took place during the Conference: The official launch of the ECOWAS Youth Volunteers Program and a Seminar on "Non-State Armed Groups (NSAGs) and Human Security in the ECOWAS Region: Challenges, Lessons Learned, and Approaches".

The President of the ECOWAS President, H.E James Victor Gbeho, launched the ECOWAS Youth Volunteers Program on 26 March 2010 amidst much fanfare. It is expected of the members of the

volunteer corps to strengthen the capacities of local organizations by assisting them in the development and implementation of projects and program. Under the program, a group of volunteer men and women (ages 18 to 35 years) from ECOWAS countries, with the capacity to adapt to different social, cultural and political circumstances, will be deployed in selected community-based associations, national and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and specialized agencies that are active in socio-economic, cultural, political, and humanitarian work. The volunteers will also help consolidate peace, recovery, national reconciliation and rehabilitation in crisis-affected communities. The Volunteers Programme was initiated with the support of the African Development Bank (ADB), based on a joint agreement within the framework of the Peace and Development Project (PADEP).

The Seminar on “Non-State Armed Groups and Human Security in the ECOWAS Region: Challenges, Lessons Learned, and Approaches”, was co-organized by Geneva Call and UNOWA. The Seminar reviewed challenges and lessons learned in addressing the human security challenges posed by NSAGs in West Africa; identified new frameworks for cooperation at all levels in response to conflicts in the region, specifically with respect to the engagement of NSAGs on humanitarian norms; and suggested ways of addressing NSAGs in the post-conflict phase. Presentations made during the session included a Historical Overview of Policy Challenges Posed by NSAGs in West Africa for the Past Twenty Years; Engaging NSAGs in West Africa Towards Respecting International Norms Related to Landmines; Opportunities to Further Protect Civilians in Situations of Armed Conflict Involving NSAGs in West Africa and; Challenges to Human Security Posed by NSAGs in the Post-Conflict Phase, and to the Extent to which DDR and SSR have Addressed these Challenges. The report of the Seminar will be separately released by the organizers.

V. CONCLUDING PLENARY SESSION (GROUP REPORT-BACK) FRIDAY, 26 MARCH 2010

A. Discussion and Adoption of the Monrovia Declaration

A technical team had been working throughout the conference, teasing out the salient recommendations from the various sessions. Those conclusions and recommendations were then put together as the draft Monrovia Declaration. The Session commenced with a review of events since the beginning of the conference by Dr. Abdel-Fatau Musah, ECOWAS Director of Political Affairs. He highlighted the main recommendations made in the course of deliberations and called for the aggregation of the views, especially on issues on which participants were yet to agree. Thereafter, Colonel Mahamane Touré, ECOWAS Commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace and Security, read out the draft Declaration to participants and then invited comments and contributions. After lengthy and exhaustive deliberations, the Conference agreed on the following Draft Declaration:

We the Participants at the Conference:

ACKNOWLEDGING that West Africa was one of the most unstable regions in Africa in the 1970s through to the 1990s, and noting that the civil wars in the Greater Mano River Basin took a heavy toll on life and property, and resulted in the rapid and devastating deterioration of the security environment, thus gravely undermining the original economic integration agenda of ECOWAS;

SALUTING the role of ECOWAS, Member States, Civil Society, the AU and other partners in intervening in the civil wars and stabilizing the security situation in the region;

RECOGNIZING the pioneering efforts by ECOWAS to scale up its peace and security agenda by rapidly developing comprehensive normative and institutional mechanisms to meet the exigencies of the times, including the adoption of the Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security in 1999, and the Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance in 2001;

ACKNOWLEDGING that due to the concerted efforts of ECOWAS, its Member States, Civil Society and partners, the West Africa region has experienced impressive improvements in the security environment and that the region is today free of active high-intensity conflicts and that most of the leaders in West Africa secure their political legality and legitimacy through the ballot box;

NOTING with concern, however, that the region continues to be characterized by fragility and remains vulnerable to reversals in the democratization and peace consolidation processes;

RECOGNIZING that in this AU-designated African Year of Peace and Security, the region should take immediate steps to promote and consolidate justice, democracy, peace and security;

TAKING a retrospective look at the ECOWAS interventions in conflicts in West Africa over the past twenty years, and having reviewed the current state of peace and security, and drawing the appropriate lessons from the interventions with a view to strengthening current and future preventive diplomacy, conflict management, resolution and peace-building in the region;

HEREBY DECLARE AS FOLLOWS:

1. ECOWAS should strengthen its mechanisms to ensure the enforcement of the Constitutional Convergence Principles contained in the Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance in order to confront the structural causes of conflicts and enhance democratic culture in Member States. Attention should also be given to building the capacities of electoral management bodies, political parties, parliaments and the judiciary;
2. ECOWAS should review its sanctions regime in collaboration with the African Union and United Nations in order to make it more effective;
3. ECOWAS should prioritize the implementation of the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF), to address the proximate and structural causes of conflict. It should also design and develop a post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding framework in line with the AU Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development Framework, to enhance sustainable peace in Member States and to include a clear policy on Disarmament, Demobilization, Rehabilitation and Reintegration (DDRR);
4. ECOWAS should fast-track the establishment of a Council of Former Heads of State and Government in the region in order to enable them contribute more effectively to conflict prevention and peacebuilding efforts;
5. ECOWAS should streamline and strengthen its mediation efforts by setting up the Mediation Facilitation Division in the Political Affairs Directorate, drawing on relevant experiences, including those

of the United Nations. The Division should facilitate preventive diplomacy activities undertaken by the Commission;

6. ECOWAS should enhance the capacity and effectiveness of the ECOWAS Council of the Wise by expanding its range of expertise and making it more proactive;

7. ECOWAS should take steps to complete the establishment of the Peace Support Operations Division, and scale up efforts to develop the Police and Civilian components of the ECOWAS Standby Force to keep pace with the military component;

8. ECOWAS should enhance its capabilities to engage in the prevention, management and resolution of local and low intensity conflicts by developing a bottom-up Mechanism (i.e. alternative dispute resolution methods, including traditional approaches) to reinforce the existing peace and security architecture;

9. ECOWAS should engage Member States in the enhancement of their capacities to manage and resolve local and low-intensity conflicts by developing national mechanisms to reinforce the existing peace and security architecture;

10. ECOWAS should facilitate the strengthening of civil society, particularly women, youth, religious and community groups, and the media as key stakeholders in peace processes, and actively involve them in the crafting and implementation of peace agreements, as well as in post-conflict peacebuilding;

11. ECOWAS should engage the private sector to actively involve it in the implementation of post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding programmes;

12. ECOWAS should engage West Africans, both within the region and in the Diaspora, including those who have served in various Peace Support Operations Missions in order to tap their rich experiences;

13. ECOWAS should assist in building the capacities of community-based organizations, including women, the youth, religious groups and the media to engage more effectively in preventive diplomacy. It should also encourage the private sector in the respective Member States to invest in building the capacities of these groups and organizations;

14. ECOWAS-UN, ECOWAS-AU, and other multilateral cooperation arrangements should be enhanced in order to further strengthen the effectiveness of regional peace processes;

15. ECOWAS should increase the proportion of funds allocated for peace and security programs under the Peace Fund and further broaden its resource mobilization effort, in order to facilitate the implementation of the identified initiatives in this Declaration;

16. Welcome the launch of the ECOWAS Youth Volunteers Program within the framework of the Conference, and urge ECOWAS to empower the youth of the region under the umbrella of the Program to contribute more effectively to the realization of ECOWAS' "Vision 2020" and the strengthening of the ECOWAS peace and security architecture;

17. Express profound gratitude to President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and the Government of the Republic of Liberia for the exemplary interest shown in the Conference, and the support and excellent facilities put at our disposal for the successful holding of the Conference

B. Concluding Remarks

The President of the ECOWAS Commission, H.E. James Victor Gbeho, concluded the session by reviewing the major ECOWAS endeavours in peace and security over the past twenty years, which he described as significant and often groundbreaking. The President emphasized that over the past twenty years, considerable progress has been made in the region's peace processes. He praised the power of innovation and improvisation that propelled the region's peace efforts to success, noting that when conflicts began in the region, there were limited resources and virtually no road-maps on how to tackle such occurrences. He paid tribute to the gallant soldiers and other stakeholders who paid the ultimate price for the peace the region enjoys today. He stated that ECOWAS would ensure its presence in all the Member States in the region and continue to facilitate the consolidation of the security environment. Ambassador Gbeho highlighted the paradigm shift that had occurred in the regional peace and security architecture with greater emphasis being placed on operational and structural conflict prevention. The new approach, according to him, put human security first, as encapsulated in the "ECOWAS of the Peoples" Strategic Vision 2020. He called on stakeholders in the region to take ownership of the programmes and activities of ECOWAS as the implementation of regional normative frameworks was basically their responsibility. He specifically called for the commitment of Member States in the implementation of the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF). He further sought the cooperation of all stakeholders in taking concrete actions on the ECPF through its enabling mechanisms such as advocacy and communication, resource mobilization, cooperation, and monitoring and evaluation.

VI. CLOSING CEREMONY

The Closing Ceremony was chaired by H.E Joseph Boakai, the Vice President of Liberia. The Conference Declaration, referred to as the Monrovia Declaration was read out by Colonel Mahamane Touré, the ECOWAS Commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace and Security to loud applause of acceptance.

In his closing remarks, H.E James Victor Gbeho, acknowledged the keen personal interest of the President of Liberia, H.E Ellen Johnson Sirleaf in ensuring the successful conduct of the Conference. He submitted that the decision to organize the very important Conference in Liberia was quite symbolic, particularly given the fact that Liberia was the epicentre of conflicts in the Mano River area but was now becoming a major source of hope for peace and security. He expressed his happiness at observing the signs of hope and optimism in the faces of ordinary people on the streets of Monrovia. He also lauded the rapid restoration of infrastructure and development on the ground. He expressed the appreciation of ECOWAS to its partners - the African Union, the United Nations through the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) and the United Nations Regional Office in West Africa (UNOWA), and the Government of Denmark for their generosity and support for the success of the important and timely Conference. Ambassador Gbeho submitted that in the course of the Conference, various experiences have been shared by both past and present leaders in the region on how they collectively decided to pool together men, women and enormous resources to put an end to the devastating wars that afflicted the region. He said the Conference was thus used to celebrate our collective successes and to fashion new preventive and intervention tools for the future. He commended the participation of the former Heads

of State, who played pivotal roles in launching the ECOMOG experience, and others who have been instrumental in the consolidation of peace and security in recent years. He noted that their insight into the dynamics of peace processes greatly enriched the conference. He also acknowledged the benefits gained from the experiences of former ECOMOG Commanders, whose heroic and gallant efforts would continue to inspire generations yet unborn. He praised the inputs of experts from both within and outside the West African region for their time and efforts in helping local stakeholders appreciate current and emerging security challenges, and the measures needed to contain them.

H.E Mr. James Boakai, Vice President of the Republic of Liberia, took the floor to express his delight that ECOWAS chose to hold this important conference in Liberia. He reiterated the profound appreciation of the Government and people of Liberia to ECOWAS for its timely intervention in the war in Liberia and the continued efforts to ensure the consolidation of peace in the country. He lauded ECOWAS for the inclusion of women, the elders, and the youth in its programmes, and called for this to continue. The Vice President thereafter declared the Conference officially closed.

APPENDIX 1



ECOWAS International Conference:

Two Decades of Peace Processes in West Africa (1990 – 2009)

◆ Achievements ◆ **Failures** ◆ **Lessons**

22 – 27 2010

MARCH

SKD Stadium, Monrovia Liberia



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AGISSONS POUR LA PAIX

ECOWAS International Conference

Two Decades of Peace Processes in West Africa (1990 – 2010)

Achievements ♦ Failures ♦ Lessons

PROGRAMME

Time	Events / Participants
MONDAY, 22 MARCH 2010	
Arrival, Registration, Orientation	
TUESDAY, 23 MARCH: DAY ONE	
09:00 -	OPENING CEREMONY
09:20 – 09:30	Welcome and Introduction of Chairperson: H.E. Olubanke King-Akerele, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Liberia
	Chairperson: His Excellency General (Rtd) Olusegun OBASANJO, GCFR, Former President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria
09:20 – 09:30	ECOWAS Anthem, followed by the National Anthem of Liberia
09:45 – 10:05	Opening Speech: H.E. James Victor GBEHO, President of the ECOWAS Commission
10:05 –	

Time	Events / Participants
10:30	<p>Remarks: H.E. Ramtane LAMAMRA, AU Commissioner for Peace and Security H.E Ellen Margrethe LØJ, Special Representative of the UNSG in Liberia H.E Said DJINNIT, Special Representative of the UNSG in West Africa</p> <p>Messages: Ambassador Pernille DAHLER KARDEL, Danish Ambassador to Ethiopia, AU and ECOWAS Ambassador Thomas GREMINGER, Swiss Department of Foreign Affairs, PDIV</p>
10:30 - 10:40	Cultural Interlude
10:40 – 11:20	Keynote Address: Her Excellency Ellen Johnson SIRLEAF, President of the Republic of Liberia
11:20 – 11:40	GROUP PHOTOGRAPH
11:40- 12:00	<i>Cocoa/Tea/Coffee Break</i>
12:00 – 14:00	<p style="text-align: center;">Plenary Session I</p> <p>“Two-Way Interactive Session with Former Heads of State, Former Heads of ECOWAS and ECOWAS Force Commanders on One Hand, and Research Analysts, Journalists and Audience on the other”</p> <p>Theme: VIOLENT CONFLICTS IN WEST AFRICA: MILITARY AND DIPLOMATIC INTERVENTIONS</p> <p>Moderator: Professor Abdoulaye BATHILY, AU Envoy to Mbororos and Convener, Coalition for Dialogue on Africa (CODA)</p>

Time	Events / Participants
	<p>Panelists: H.E. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, President of the Republic of Liberia</p> <p>H.E. Sir Dawda Kairaba JAWARA, Former president of The Gambia</p> <p>H.E. General (Rtd) Olusegun OBASANJO, GCFR, Former President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria</p> <p>H.E. Flt. Lt. (Rtd) Jerry John RAWLINGS, Former President of the Republic of Ghana</p> <p>Respondants: H.E. Abass BUNDU, Former Executive Secretary, ECOWAS</p> <p>H.E. Lansana KOUYATE, Former Executive Secretary of ECOWAS</p> <p>Indicative Issues:</p> <p>“Reminiscences of Former Heads of State, ECOWAS Executive Secretaries and Force Commanders”</p> <p>“ECOMOG Interventions in West Africa: Challenges and Prospects for Future Interventions”</p> <p>“ECOMIL’s Intervention in Liberia: The Quick Success and Lessons Learnt”</p> <p>“ECOMOG Interventions and the International Humanitarian Law Dimension”</p> <p>“Dealing with Warlords and Difficult Customers in war and peace processes”</p> <p>“Rehatting from ECOMOG Mandates to UN Mandates”</p>
14:00 – 15:00	Lunch Break
15:30 – 17:30	<p>Interactive session continues with “An Overview of ECOMOG’s Interventions in the Civil Wars in West Africa”</p> <p>Professor Amadu SESAY, Department of International Relations , Obafemi Awolowo University, Nigeria</p> <p>Panelist: H.E. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, President of the Republic of Liberia</p> <p>H.E. Sir Dawda Kairaba JAWARA, Former president of The Gambia</p> <p>H.E. General (Rtd) Olusegun OBASANJO, GCFR, Former President of the Federal</p>

Time	Events / Participants
	<p>Republic of Nigeria</p> <p>H.E. Flt. Lt. (Rtd) Jerry John RAWLINGS, Former President of the Republic of Ghana</p> <p>General Arnold QUAINOO (Rtd), First ECOMOG Force Commander</p> <p>General Adetunji OLURIN (Rtd.), Former Deputy Force Commander, ECOMOG</p> <p>General Festus OKONKWO (Rtd.), Former Commander, ECOMIL</p> <p>Questions and Answers on Issues</p>
17:30 – 17:45	Cococa/Tea/Coffee
19:00 – 21:00	WELCOME COCKTAIL/DINNER BY HER EXCELLENCY, PRESIDENT ELLEN JOHNSON SIRLEAF, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA
WEDNESDAY 24 MARCH: DAY TWO	
09:00 – 11:00	<p style="text-align: center;">Plenary Session II</p> <p>Theme: VIOLENT CONFLICTS IN WEST AFRICA: CAUSES AND MANIFESTATIONS</p> <p>Chair: H.E. Lansana KOUYATE, Former Executive Secretary of ECOWAS</p> <p>“Manipulating Citizenship and Identity – Lethal Root Cause of Conflict”</p> <p>Prof. Abdoulaye BATHILY, Special Envoy of the African Union Chair in the Mbororos; Convener of the Coalition for Dialogue on Africa.</p>

Time	Events / Participants
	<p>“Current and Emerging Threats to Good Governance in West Africa” Dr. Abdel-Fatau MUSAH, Director of Political Affairs, ECOWAS</p> <p>“The ECOWAS Peace and Security Architecture: An Overview Colonel Mahamane TOURE, ECOWAS Commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace and Security</p> <p>PLENARY DISCUSSION</p>
11:00 – 11:30	COCOA/TEA/COFFEE BREAK
11:30 – 13:30	<p style="text-align: center;">Plenary Session III</p> <p style="text-align: center;">NEGOTIATING AND CRAFTING PEACE AGREEMENTS</p> <p>Chair : H.E. Abass BUNDU</p> <p>“Nigeria and ECOWAS Mediation Efforts in Retrospect and Prospect” H.E. General (Rtd) Olusegun OBASANJO, GCFR, Former President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria</p> <p>How Inclusive are Peace Processes? Women in Peace Processes in West Africa” Mrs. Amelia Ward, Second Vice Chair, MAWOPNET and Madam Fatoumata SIDIBE, Adviser to the President of Guinea</p> <p>“Marginalized or Partners? The Role of Civil Society and the Media in Peace Processes” Dr. Kayode FAYEMI/Interfaith Mediation Council</p> <p>“Securing the Consent of Warlords and Difficult Stakeholders in ECOWAS-facilitated</p>

Time	Events / Participants		
	<p>Peace Processes”</p> <p>Ambassador Ansumana CEESAY, Special Representative of the ECOWAS President in Liberia (TBC)</p> <p>PLENARY DISCUSSION</p>		
13:30 – 15:00	LUNCH		
	WORKING GROUP SESSION ONE		
15:00 – 17:30	STRENGTHENING ECOWAS’ PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY		Syndicate III
	Syndicate I	Syndicate II	
	<p>Chair: Ambassador Conmany B. WESSEH, Liberia’s Ambassador Designate to the EU and Belgium</p> <p>Facilitating Conflict Resolution and Peace Agreements:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Enhancing Institutional Capacity (b) ECOWAS-AU-UN Cooperation in Retrospect and Prospect <p>“Prospects for UN-RECS Collaboration in Mediation: The United Nations and ECOWAS”</p>	<p>Chair: Philip A. Z. Banks, Key Peace Neogotiator</p> <p>Track II Mediation in ECOWAS Space –Need for a Bottom-Up Mechanism?</p> <p>“The Role of Civil Society in Preventive Diplomacy in West Africa”</p> <p>Dr. Jibrin IBRAHIM, Executive Director, Centre for Democracy and Development</p>	<p>Chair: Colonel Mahamane TOURE, Commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace and Security, ECOWAS Commission</p> <p>Strengthening Possible Future Peace Support Operations – From ECOMOG to the ECOWAS Standby Force</p> <p>Raising the profile of the Civilian and Police Components in</p>

Time	Events / Participants		
	Ms. Ngozi AMU, UN Mediation Support Unit	(CDD), Nigeria	Integrated Peace Support Operations: Dr. Funmi OLONISAKIN, Director, Conflict, Security and Development Group, King's College, Univ. of London
THURSDAY 25 MARCH: DAY THREE			
09:00 – 10:30	Plenary Session IV Report Back by Syndicates I, II, and III & Discussions		
10:30 – 11:00	COCOA/TEA/COFFEE BREAK		
11:00 – 13:00	<p style="text-align: center;">Plenary Session V</p> <p style="text-align: center;">IMPLEMENTING PEACE AGREEMENTS</p> <p>Moderator: H.E. Ellen Margrethe Løj, SRSG in Liberia</p> <p>“One Size Fits All? A Critical Analysis of the Content and the Implementation Sequencing of Peace Agreements”</p> <p>General Ishola WILLIAMS, Director, PANAFSTRAG</p>		

Time	Events / Participants		
	<p>“Transitional Justice: What kind of National Reconciliation Process for West Africa” David Tam-Baryoh, Media Practitioner, Sierra Leone</p> <p>“Security Sector Reform in Peace Agreements: Way Forward in Future Peace Agreements” Professor Boubakar NDIAYE, Woolster College, USA/Dr. Adedeji EBO, UN New York</p> <p>“Building Regional Capacities and ECOWAS-AU-UN Cooperation for Post-Conflict Peacebuilding and Reconstruction” H.E. R. LAMAMRA, Commissioner for Peace and Security/Mr. El Ghassim WANE, Ag. Director of Peace and Security, AU Commission</p> <p>PLENARY DISCUSSIONS</p>		
13:00 – 14:30	LUNCH		
14:30 – 17:00	WORKING GROUP SESSION TWO		
	Syndicate IV Challenges of Implementing Peace Agreements (Customising and Sequencing)	Syndicate V Building Local/Regional Capacities for Post-Conflict Peace building and Reconstruction	Syndicate VI Enhanced ECOWAS Peace and Security Architecture
17:00 – 17:30			

Time	Events / Participants		
	COCOA/TEA/COFFEE BREAK		
17:30 – 19:00	Plenary Session VI Report back from Syndicate Groups IV,V,VI		
FRIDAY 26 MARCH: DAY FOUR			
09:00 – 11:00	Plenary Session VII Next Steps: A New Framework for Policy, Implementation Strategy and Capacity Needs for Current and Future ECOWAS Interventions Presentation of the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF) Methodology for the breakout session on Next Steps		
11:00- 11:30	Cocoa/Tea/Coffee Break		
11:30 – 13:00	BREAKOUT SESSIONS ON NEXT STEPS		
	Syndicate VII Issues and Stakeholders	Syndicate VIII Institutional capacity	Syndicate IX Principles and Modalities of Cooperation

Time	Events / Participants	
13:00 – 14:30	LUNCH	
	SIDE EVENTS	
13:00 – 15:00	Launch of ECOWAS Volunteers Programme	Geneva Call Seminar (in cooperation with ECOWAS and UNOWA) Non-State Actors in Conflict Dynamics in West Africa
15:00 – 15:30	Cocoa/Tea/Coffee Break	
16:00 - 18:00	FINAL DECLARATION, CLOSING CEREMONY AND PRESS CONFERENCE	
SATURDAY, 27 MARCH 2010 DEPARTURE		



Conférence Internationale de la CEDEAO
Deux décennies de Processus
de paix en Afrique de l'ouest

(1990 – 2009)

◆ **Acquis** ◆ **Echecs** ◆ **Enseignements**

22-27 mars 2010

Monrovia, Liberia



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**Conférence Internationale de la CEDEAO sur le
Thème : *DEUX DECENNIES DE PROCESSUS DE
PAIX EN AFRIQUE DE L'OUEST (1990-2010)***

Succès Echechs*Leçons*

AGENDA

<i>Date/Heure</i>	<i>Activités/Participants</i>
LUNDI, 22 MARS 2010 Arrivée, Inscription, Orientation	
MARDI, 23 MARS :JOUR 1	
9:00	CEREMONIE D'OUVERTURE
09:20-09:30	Mot de Bienvenue et Introduction du Président de Séance: S.E.M Olubanke King-Akerele , Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, République du Libéria
	Président de Séance: S.E.M. le Général Olusegun OBASANJO, GCFR , Ancien Président de la République Fédérale du Nigéria
	Hymne de la CEDEAO suivi de l'Hymne du Libéria
09:30-09:45	
	Discours d'Ouverture: Ambassadeur Victor GBEHO , Président de la Commission de la CEDEAO
09:45-10:05	
	Remarques: S.E.M. M. Ramtane LAMAMRA , Commissaire de l'UA pour la Paix et la Sécurité
10:05-10:30	
	S.E.M. Margrethe LÓJ , Représentante Spéciale du SG des NU au Libéria
	S.E.M. Ambassadeur Said DJINNIT , Représentant Spécial du SGNU pour l'Afrique de

	<p>l'Ouest</p> <p>Messages : Ambassadeur Pernille DAHLER KARDEL, Ambassadeur du Danemark en Ethiopie auprès de l'UA et de la CEDEAO</p> <p>Ambassadeur Thomas GREMINGER, Département des Affaires Etrangères de Suisse, PDIV</p>
10:30-10:40	Intermède culturel
10:40-11:20	Discours principal: S.E.M. Ellen Johnson SIRLEAF, Présidente de la République du Libéria
11:20-11:40	PHOTO DE GROUPE
11 40-12:00	PAUSE CACAO/CAFE/THE.
Date/Heure	Activités/Participants
	Séssion Plénière 1
	Session interactive entre Anciens chefs d'Etats, Anciens Chefs de la CEDEAO, Anciens Commandants des Forces ECOMOG et Chercheurs, journalistes, participants.
12:00-14:00	Thème: CONFLITS VIOLENTS EN AFRIQUE DE L'OUEST: INTERVENTIONS

MILITAIRES ET DIPLOMATIQUES

Modérateur: Professeur Abdoulaye BATHILY

Panelistes :

S.E.M, Ellen Johnson SIRLEAF, Présidente de la République du Libéria

**S.E.M Sir Dawda Kairaba JAWARA, Ancien Président de la République de
Gambie**

**S.E.M le Général Olesegun Obasanjo, Ancien Président de la République Fédérale du
Nigéria.**

**S.E.M. le Capitaine Jerry John RAWLINGS, Ancien Président de la République du
Ghana**

Discutants: S.E.M. Abbas BUNDU, Ancien Secrétaire Exécutif de la CEDEAO

S.E.M Lansana KOUYATE, Ancien Secrétaire Exécutif de la CEDEAO

Thèmes indicatifs

"Réminiscences des Anciens Chefs d'Etat, des Anciens Secrétaire Exécutifs de la CEDEAO et des Anciens Commandants des forces ECOMOG",

"Les Interventions de l'ECOMOG en Afrique de l'Ouest: Défis et Perspectives pour des futures Interventions "

" les interventions de ECOMIL au Libéria : Succès rapides et leçons apprises"

"Les Interventions de l'ECOMOG et la Dimension du Droit International Humanitaire"

"Les défis de la négociation avec les seigneurs de guerre et les partenaires difficiles dans les processus de paix

"le transfert de mandat de la CEDEAO à l'ONU dans les processus de maintien de la paix"

14:00 – 15:00

DEJEUNER	
15:30 – 17:30	<p>La Session Interactive Continue avec “Une analyse des Interventions de l’ECOMOG dans les Guerres Civiles en Afrique de l’Ouest”</p> <p>Prof. Amadu SESAY, Département des Relations Internationales, Université Obafemi Awolowo, République Fédérale du Nigéria</p> <p>PANELISTES : S.E.M, Ellen Johnson SIRLEAF, Présidente de la République du Libéria</p> <p>S.E.M Sir Dawda Kairaba JAWARA, Ancien Président de la République de Gambie</p> <p>S.E.M le Général Olesegun Obasanjo, Ancien Président de la République Fédérale du Nigéria.</p> <p>S.E.M. le Capitaine Jerry John RAWLINGS, Ancien Président de la République du Ghana</p> <p>Général Arnold QUAINOO, Premier Commandant des Forces ECOMOG</p> <p>Général Adetunji OLURIN, Ancien Commandant Adjoint des Forces ECOMOG</p> <p>Général Festus OKONKWO, Ancien Commandant ECOMIL</p> <p>Questions et Réponses</p>
19:00 – 21:00	<p>COKTAIL DE BIENVENUE /DINER OFFERT PAR SON EXCELLENCE ELLEN JOHNSON SIRLEAF, PRESIDENTE DE LA REPUBLIQUE DU LIBERIA</p>
<p>MERCREDI 24 MARS : JOUR 2</p>	
<p>Session Plénière II</p>	

09:00 – 11:00	<p>LES CONFLITS VIOLENTS EN AFRIQUE DE L'OUEST: CAUSES ET MANIFESTATIONS</p> <p>Président: S.E.M. Ambassadeur Lansana KOUYATE, Ancien Secrétaire Exécutif de la CEDEAO</p> <p>"Manipulations de la Citoyenneté et de l'Identité – "Causes Profondes et dangereuses de Conflits"</p> <p>Prof. Abdoulaye BATHILY, Envoyé Spécial du Président l'Union Africaine en pays Mbororos, Coordonnateur de la Coalition pour le Dialogue en Afrique, Addis Abéba</p> <p>"Menaces Actuelles et émergentes sur la bonne Gouvernance en Afrique de l'Ouest"</p> <p>Dr. Abdel Fatau MUSAH, Directeur des Affaires Politiques, CEDEAO</p> <p>"L'Architecture de la Paix et de la Sécurité de la CEDEAO : Vue d'ensemble"</p> <p>Colonel Mahamane TOURE, Commissaire des Affaires Politiques Paix et Sécurité de la CEDEAO</p> <p>DISCUSSIONS EN PLENIERE</p>
11:00 –11:30	PAUSE CACAO/CAFE/THE
11:30-13:30	<p style="text-align: center;">Session Plénière III</p> <p style="text-align: center;">NEGOCIATION ET ELABORATION DES ACCORDS DE PAIX</p> <p>Président: S.E.M. Abass BUNDU</p> <p>" Rétrospective et Perspectives des Efforts de Médiation de la CEDEAO et du</p>

	<p>Nigéria"</p> <p>S.E.M. le Général Olusegun OBASANJO, GCFR, Ancien Président de la République Fédérale du Nigéria</p> <p>"Degré d'inclusivité des Processus de Paix ; Les Femmes dans les Processus de Paix en Afrique de l'Ouest"</p> <p>Mme Amélia WARD, Deuxième Vice Présidente, MAWOPNET et Madame Fatoumata SIDIBE, Conseillère du Président de la République de Guinée</p> <p>"Marginalisées ou Partenaires? Le rôle de la Société Civile et des Média dans les Processus de Paix"</p> <p>Dr. Kayode FAYEMI/Conseil Interreligieux de Médiation</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Activités/Participants</i></p>	
11:30-13H30	<p>Les défis de la Coopération des seigneurs de guerre et des parties prenantes difficiles dans les processus de paix?</p> <p>Ambassadeur Ansumana CEESAY, Représentant Spécial du Président de la CEDEAO au Libéria(TBC)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Discussions en Plénière</p>	
13:30-15:00	<p>DEJEUNER</p>	
<p>TRAVAUX DE GROUPE SESSION 1</p>		
	<p>RENFORCER LA CAPACITE DE LA CEDEAO EN MATIERE DE DIPLOMATIE PREVENTIVE</p>	

<p>15:00 – 17:30</p>	<p align="center">Groupe I</p> <p>Président: Ambassadeur Conmany B. WESSEH, Ambassadeur du Libéria auprès de l'Union Européenne et la Belgique.</p> <p align="center">Faciliter la Résolution des Conflits et les Accords de Paix:</p> <p>(a) Renforcer les Capacités Institutionnelles (b) Rétrospectives et Perspectives de la Coopération CEDEAO, Nations Unies, UA.</p> <p>"Perspectives pour une collaboration UN, RECS dans la Médiation: The Nations Unies et CEDEAO"</p> <p>Mlle. Ngozi AMU, Unité de Médiation, Nations Unies.</p>	<p align="center">Groupe II</p> <p>Président : S.E.M. Ramtane LAMAMRA, Commissaire de l'UA pour la Paix et la Sécurité</p> <p align="center">Programme II : la Médiation de la CEDEAO dans l'Espace CEDEAO- nécessité d'établir un mécanisme de la Base vers le Sommet ?</p> <p align="center">"Le rôle de la Société Civile dans la Diplomatie Préventive en Afrique de l'Ouest"</p> <p>Dr. Jibrin IBRAHIM, Directeur Exécutif, Centre pour la Démocratie et le Développement (CDD), Nigeria</p>	<p align="center">Groupe III</p> <p>Président : Colonel Mahamane TOURE, Commissaire Affaires Politiques, Paix et Sécurité</p> <p align="center">Renforcer les Futures Opérations de maintien de la paix – de l'ECOMOG à la Force en Attente de la CEDEAO</p> <p align="center">Renforcement des composantes civile et de police dans les opérations intégrées de soutien à la paix</p> <p>Dr Funmi OLONISAKIN, Directrice, Groupe Conflits, Sécurité et développement, King's Collège, Université de Londres</p>
<p>20:00</p>	<p align="center">EVENEMENT CULTUREL/FILM</p>		

JEUDI 25 MARS : JOUR 3

9:00-
10:30

Session Plénière IV
Rapport des Groupes I, II, and III & Discussions

Discussions

10:30-
11:00

PAUSE CACAO/CAFE/THE

11:00-
13:00

Session Plénière V

MISE EN OEUVRE DES ACCORDS DE PAIX

Présidente: S.EM. Ellen Margerethe LÓJ, Représentante Spéciale du Secrétaire Général des Nations Unies au Libéria

“Une démarche unique ? Une analyse critique des Accords de Paix et des séquences de leur mise en œuvre”

Général Ishola WILIAMS, Directeur, PANAFSTRAG

“Justice Transitionnelle : quel type de processus de Réconciliation nationale pour l’Afrique de l’ouest?”

David TAM-BARYOH, Journaliste, Sierra Léone

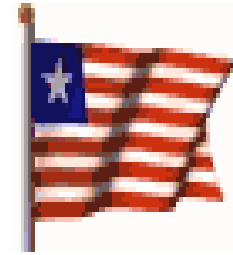
“La Réforme du Secteur de Sécurité dans les Accords de Paix: Perspectives pour les Futurs Accords de Paix”

	Professeur Boubakar NDIAYE, Woolster College, USA/Dr. Adedeji Ebo, UN New York <i>“Renforcer les Capacités Régionales et la Coopération CEDEAO-UA –ONU pour la construction de la paix et la reconstruction post conflit</i> S.E.M. R. LAMAMRA, Commissaire de l’UA pour la Paix et la Sécurité/Mr. El Ghassim Wane, Directeur Adjoint de la Paix et la Sécurité, Commission de l’UA. DISCUSSIONS		
13:00 – 14:30	DEJEUNER		
	TRAVAUX DE GROUPE : SESSION 2		
14:30-17:00	GROUPE 4	GROUPE 5	<u>GROUPE 6</u>
	Les défis des Accords de Paix (Adaptation et Séquences appropriées de mise en œuvre des accords de paix)	Renforcer les Capacités Locales/Régionales pour la reconstruction Post-Conflict et la Consolidation de la Paix	Renforcer l’Architecture de la Paix et de la Sécurité de la CEDEAO
17:00-17:30	PAUSE CACAO/CAFE/THE		
17:30-19:00	Session Plénière VI Restitution du Rapport des Groupes IV, V, VI		

VENDREDI 26 MARS : JOUR 4

Session Plénière VII			
09:00 – 11:00	Prochaines Etapes Un Nouveau Cadre pour la Politique, la Stratégie de Mise en Œuvre et les Capacités nécessaires aux Interventions Actuelles et Futures de la CEDEAO Présentation du Cadre de Prévention des Conflits de la CEDEAO (ECPF) Méthodologie des travaux de groupe sur les prochaines étapes		
11:00-11:30	PAUSE CACAO/CAFE/THE		
11:30- 13:00	TRAVAUX DE GROUPE SUR LES PROCHAINES ETAPES		
	GROUPE VII Thèmes et Parties Prenantes	GROUPE VIII Capacités Institutionnelles	GROUPE IX Principes et Modalités de la Coopération
13:00-14:30	DEJEUNER		
	EVENEMENTS PARALLELES		
	LANCEMENT DU PROGRAMME		

13:30-15:00	DES VOLONTAIRES DE LA CEDEAO	<p>APPEL DU SEMINAIRE DE GENEVE (EN COLLABORATION AVEC LA CEDEAO ET UNOWA)</p> <p>Acteurs non étatiques dans la dynamique des conflits en Afrique de l'Ouest</p>
15:00 -15:30	PAUSE CACAO/CAFE/THE	
16:00-18:00	DECLARATION FINALE, CEREMONIE DE CLOTURE ET CONFERENCE DE PRESSE	
	<p>SAMEDI, 27 MARS 2010</p> <p>DEPART DES PARTICIPANTS</p>	



APPENDIX 2

ecowas international conference on two decades of peace processes in west africa: (1990-2010)
achievements, failures, lessons

conference internationale de la cedeao : deux decennies de processus de paix en afrique de l'ouest :
(1990-2010) succes, echecs, leçons

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS / LISTE DES PARTICIPANTS

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	19.	DR. ABUBAKAR MOMOH	Senior Lecturer, Political Science Department, Lagos State University (LASU)	Lagos State University, Political Science Department Email: amomoh2002@yahoo.com

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